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CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL MUA

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As a consequence of their different origins, populations, legal status, administrations and rates of growth, the post-contact western and eastern Muan communities followed different historical trajectories. This chapter traces the history of Mua, linking events with the family connections which always existed but were down-played until the second half of the 20th century. There are four sections, each relating to a different period of Mua's history. Each is historically contextualised and contains discussions on economy, administration, infrastructure, health, religion, education and population. □ *Totalai, Dabu, Poid, Kubin, St Paul's community, Port Lihou, church missions, Pacific Islanders, education, health, Torres Strait history, Mua (Banks Island)*.

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This chapter attempts to recover aspects of the post-contact history of Mua set against a broader historical context. It attempts to answer questions put to me by the residents of each community about the internal history of the western villages (Totalai, Dabu, Adam, Poid and Kubin) and the origins and development of eastern St Paul's, particularly the growth of social and cultural interconnections between western and eastern Mua.

Despite their present-day similarities, eastern and western Mua were once perceived to be quite different and distant communities. They differed in their founding circumstances, the ethnic origins of their inhabitants, their administrations, legal status, relations with surrounding islands, and degree of outside support and interference; consequently, they followed different historical trajectories. As we shall see, the main pre-war differences between Poid and St Paul's lay in the pace of development, the provision of services and the amount of control by and contact with Europeans. St Paul's as one of only three Church of England missions in Torres Strait (and its major Australian mission for Pacific Islanders), was especially favoured by both church and State. From the outset it was showcased to visiting dignitaries as a model island community, as evidenced by the number and frequency of official visits. To outsiders, on the other hand, Poid was considered a backwater for most of its pre-war history, largely ignored by government and rarely visited by officials other than priests and Protectors. Nonetheless, kinship bonds between the two halves of Mua, shared experiences arising

from World War II, wolfram mining and the post-war Christian co-operative movement, as well as legislative changes, have elided the differences between the two communities to such an extent that younger residents are largely unaware of them: as far as they are concerned, both communities have always been typical Torres Strait communities.

The structure of this chapter is dictated by these concerns and themes: Section 1 deals with colonial Mua; Section 2 with pre-war western and eastern Mua; Section 3 with war-time Mua; and Section 4 with post-war Mua. Each section is historically contextualised and contains essays on the economy, administration, infrastructure, health, religion, education and population, categories which are not discrete but overlap and cross-cut each other. The amount of documentation available has dictated the length of the sections except for Section 4, which is the briefest – there are many people still alive who can better inform the present generation about their post-war history than I can through the written record.

Non-Islanders may object that too much attention is paid to details of the *yabugud* (social connections) between Mua and elsewhere but Torres Strait events cannot be fully understood without such knowledge (see Shnukal, 2000). Despite the island's comparatively large size, its western settlements have received little ethnographic or bureaucratic attention; by contrast, the founding and early years of eastern St Paul's community have been extensively, even excessively, documented. Sources consulted for this chapter

include London Missionary Society reports, journals and correspondence; correspondence and reports from the Queensland Colonial Secretary's Office and relevant Queensland Departments;¹ vital registration data from the Somerset registers of births, deaths and marriages (unreliable for Islanders until 1927); Church of England registers and priests' diaries; Australian Board of Missions (ABM) journals and Diocese of Carpentaria year books;² inquest evidence; and published works dealing in full or in part with Mua.³ Gaps in the documentary record are supplemented where possible by family stories and reminiscences from the author's linguistic field notebooks 1981-2006.

COLONIAL MUA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Following the long sea voyages of the 17th to 19th centuries, when European explorers and surveyors mapped and (re)named vast areas of the Pacific, it was only a matter of time before some European power would find and formally annexe the islands of Torres Strait. The first recorded passage through the strait was in 1606 by the Spaniard Luis Vaez de Torres, followed by the Englishmen William Bligh in 1789 and 1792 and William Bampton and Matthew Alt in 1793, and the Frenchman Dumont D'Urville in 1840. It became increasingly clear that colonial interests would eventually seek to incorporate Torres Strait into the British Empire, thereby opening it up for trade and settlement. British Navy ships began to survey the strait in 1802, facilitating the use by trading and passenger ships of the newly-charted channels seeking a swifter route to Asian and British ports. Despite its reputation as a passage 'under the most favourable circumstances, beset with intricacy and danger' (Wilson, 1835: 5), Torres Strait became the preferred route between eastern Australia and ports northwest.

The first European settlement in the region was established at Albany Island, just off Cape York in 1862, removing to mainland Somerset the following year, and to Port Kennedy on Waiben (Thursday Island) in 1877. During the mid-1860s *bêche-de-mer*ers (trepangers) travelled westwards from the Pacific to establish trepang stations on various islands and in 1870 commercial quantities of pearl shell were gathered on Tudu (Warrior Island). The pearl rush attracted men from all parts of the world and had profound consequences for the number and composition of the population. Haddon (1935: xiii) notes dryly of those early years: 'If anything can be

retrieved about the contact of the white men and their South Sea crews with the natives it would make most interesting and doubtless unsavory reading.'

In 1872 Governor Normanby visited Mua Pass – the narrow channel between Mua and Badu – and reported negatively on the treatment and conditions of the 300 to 400 Pacific Islanders employed there. On his recommendation, the islands lying within 60 miles (96km) of the mainland were officially annexed to the colony of Queensland by Letters Patent of 30 May 1872. Some trepangers and pearlers moved to more distant islands and these too were annexed in 1879, making the Islanders British colonial subjects and their islands crown lands. Islanders living near Thursday Island, including the people of Mua and their Kaurareg kinfolk, became increasingly drawn into the colonial British economic and political orbit. Introduced diseases like smallpox, measles, tuberculosis and pneumonia may have halved the population to about 1700 by the end of the 1870s (Beckett, 1987; Mullins, 1992). By the 1880s the common consensus was that they were under threat of extinction (Verjus, 1888: 268).⁴

Hon. John Douglas, a former Queensland premier, was appointed government resident in 1885. Impressed by the productivity of the Islanders, their general demeanor and their receptivity to European material goods and ideas, he argued forcefully against including Islanders in the *Queensland Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* 1897. In time, its original aim of protecting Aboriginal people from abuses was distorted and it became primarily a means for the government to control the Indigenous people and profit from their labour. Douglas had by then instituted a system of Indigenous self-government, unique in Australia, which replaced the previous system of 'mamooses' (island leaders) with island Councils, police and courts. Torres Strait Islanders were henceforth officially responsible for conducting community affairs and empowered to deal with minor crimes through imprisonment or fines (Parry-Okeden, 1897: 12).⁵

FIRST SIGHTINGS OF MUA. The earliest known historical reference to Mua is dated 11 September 1792, when Captain William Bligh of H.M.S. *Bounty* saw in the distance 'a mountainous island' and gave it the name 'Banks' in honour of Joseph Banks, naturalist on James Cook's 1770 voyage. That action of bestowing a European name

(of which the Mua Islanders were unaware) signified its 'discovery' and incorporation into the body of Western knowledge. Although there were no immediate repercussions for the Muans – Bligh merely caught a glimpse of the island – its inclusion on British maps opened possibilities for future European exploration and exploitation.

Bligh's naming of Mua as 'Banks Island' was followed much later by Dumont D'Urville's sighting of 11 June 1840, when, sailing close to Mabuyag (Jervis Island) and out of the main passage, he saw numerous columns of smoke and formed the impression that the islands of the Banks Group (Mua, Badu and Mabuyag) were heavily populated. However, the people appeared to be 'more timid' than the Tudu Islanders of the Northeast Channel and unaccustomed to communicating with Europeans (Dumont D'Urville, 1987: 551).

I can find no further mention of Mua until the mid-1840s, when, according to Barbara Thompson, the Italgal from Mua killed three unidentified Europeans – two men and a boy – who reached the island, presumably from a nearby wreck (MacGillivray, 1852, I: 309). Thompson also reported the slaying of an elderly Muan woman at the beginning of 1849 by men from Badu, who were visiting Muralag (Prince of Wales Island). The woman, married to a Muralag man, was killed along with one of her brothers – two of whom were staying with her at the time – reputedly in revenge for some slight by a man from Mua to one of the Badu men some years previously; the two severed heads 'were carried off to Badu as trophies' (MacGillivray, 1852, II: 7).⁶

As more ships passed through Torres Strait and the trepangers sought replacements for their former haunts in the Pacific, the Islanders began to establish interdependent relations with Europeans, exchanging food and tortoiseshell for metal objects. The Mualgal, their waters still unsurveyed, remained largely aloof from this trade, preferring to gather with the Kaurareg on Kirriri (Hammond Island) to prey on foundering vessels and avoiding too close an association with the government settlement of Somerset (Chester, 1870). The first police magistrate observed that they were held 'in the greatest dread' by the Aboriginal people of Cape York and seemed to be 'of a more savage nature' than the Kaurareg, 'although intelligent, and giving

considerable attention to the cultivation of yams, bananas, etc.' (Jardine, 1865).

CYCLES OF WAR. As well as the occasional unexpected killings, the Mualgal were subject to seemingly endless cycles of war, which were not to end until just before contact with Europeans. Their usual enemies were their Badu neighbours, separated only by narrow Mua Pass, who allied themselves with Mabuyag. The rewards of victory were heads for trade and women for wives, not land.

The long-standing enmity between the peoples of Mua and Badu reached its climax with the 'final massacre' of the Muans, probably in August 1870 (see 'The last battle of Mua' chapter 3, this volume). This last mass killing on Mua before the arrival of Christianity marks the end of sanctioned revenge killings. Contemporary observers note that the Muans were greatly reduced in numbers, had abandoned their coastal camps and were living in fear in the interior of the island. Although they were 'noted for their cruelty to defenceless whites', they were 'themselves fearfully oppressed' by their neighbours and occupied 'only the interior and the weather [southeastern] side of the island through terror of the Badu warriors' (Gill, 1876: 200). Taken with the abuses perpetrated by foreign pearling crews, this final battle helps explain the Muans' preparedness to begin negotiations with European officials and accept missionaries in 1872.

FIRST CONTACT. After many attempts H.M. Chester, who had just relinquished the office of police magistrate at Somerset, at last established contact with the Italgal of Mua in August 1871.

Living in perpetual dread of their powerful neighbors of Badoo and Marbiack they are compelled to be constantly shifting their camps, which they take great care to conceal on the side to seaward; so that I passed and repassed several without any idea of their vicinity. The men complained piteously of the Gamaleega [Goemulgal]⁷ and bewailed the destruction of their tribe which was, they said, no longer able to contend with its numerous enemies, but if the whites would only assist them they would soon be revenged for all they had suffered. They argued that we ought to help them against the Badoo men particularly, who had so often killed white men while the Italeega [Italgal] had always been friendly, and, no doubt, should it ever be necessary to punish the Mulgrave islanders for future outrages it might easily be done with the assistance of these people, who are familiar with their

country and camping grounds. I had no means of estimating their number owing to their distribution in several camps, but they cannot be very numerous. They appeared to have few canoes and being afraid to venture out on the reefs are mainly dependent for subsistence on the roots and fruits furnished by the island. They have a few small groves of cocoa-nut trees and their island appears to be the southern limit of this useful tree in these waters (Chester, 1871).

THE ECONOMY. The pearlrush, which was to propel Torres Strait Islanders into the world economy, began in 1870. During 1871 the value of pearlshell taken from their waters amounted to more than £25,000 (Jardine, 1872), a fortune in today's terms. Late that year pearl-ers discovered two rich pearl beds close to Mua: Banks Passage to the south and Mua Pass to the west.⁸ Mua Pass made a fine sheltered harbour, attracting vessels manned chiefly by Pacific Islanders, who seized the local men and women as divers and raided the adjacent islands for food and firewood. Pearl-ers travelled to and from Somerset to take on stores and unload their shell: the Somerset water police log records 58 boat visits to Banks Passage and Mua Pass between December 1871 and July 1876 (Powell et al., 1876), about half the total, suggesting that it rivalled Tudu as a pearling centre (Table 1). The passages were soon practically fished out, although the Somerset police magistrate was optimistic that 'after a few months rest places that are now exhausted will again pay for working, but not upon a large scale' (Chester, 1871).

It would seem that by the end of 1873 the Muans had joined the Kaurareg in their readiness to sign on ship's articles⁹ as swimming divers and receive some share of the economic benefits of the industry (Beddome, 1873). The following year the new police magistrate visited the pearling fields and found 'many of the natives of the various islands in the boats, and at the stations occupied for fishing purposes.'

Their engagement is generally for from one to two years, but they are allowed a holiday of about 2 months and sometimes more during the height of the N.W. season. They are then paid up to date in 'trade', and in several instances to my knowledge have been entrusted with boats to return to their islands and to employ in fishing or visiting other islands during the term of their holiday. They are paid like the Polynesians 10s per month with rations which consist generally of a kind of flour called 'sharps.' Corn meal, molasses, tea, sugar and in some instances beef. They are not however paid in cash, but

in trade, which they prefer; and as they are all regularly shipped and paid off before me, I am able to testify to the liberality with which they are treated. Were they to be paid in money, like Polynesians, they would not be nearly so well off as they are now, for they could not purchase retail anything like the amount of trade which they now get for the money which it represents [...] It is found to be a matter of good policy to treat the natives liberally and well for there is a good deal of competition for their services[...] The diving while fatiguing whilst it lasts, does not continue for more than two or three hours as it can only take place during a portion of a lay. The natives have therefore plenty of spare time in which to catch fish for their food. The depth they dive in, ranges from 3 to 8 fathoms (Aplin, 1875f).¹⁰

Being signed on to articles, however, did not guarantee freedom from ill-treatment. Individual abuses were rarely recorded but on 22 April 1873 Captain Owens reported seeing Captain

TABLE 1. Names of boats and their captains recorded in the vicinity of Mua 1871-1876. Source: Somerset water police log (1871-1876); Aplin (1875c).

Boat name	Boat type	Captain
<i>Challenge</i>	unknown	Francis
<i>Dairy Maid</i>	schooner	unknown
<i>Enchantress</i>	cutter	Thompson
<i>Fanny</i>	cutter	McAusland
<i>Franz</i>	brig	Redlich
<i>Ida</i>	cutter	Redlich
<i>Kate Kearney</i>	schooner	Hastings
<i>Loelia</i>	cutter	Websdale
<i>Mamoose</i>	lugger	unknown
<i>Margaret & Jane</i>	schooner	McAuley
<i>Mary & Christina</i>	schooner	Bell
<i>Melanie</i>	schooner	McAusland
<i>Pacific</i>	schooner	Pearson
<i>Pearl</i>	steamer	Owens
<i>Pevenil</i>	cutter	Chapman
<i>Retrieve</i>	ketch	Thompson
<i>Storm Bird</i>	schooner	Hastings
<i>Vivian</i>	cutter	Hastings
<i>Vivienne</i>	yacht	Ware
<i>Western Star</i>	brig	Hastings
<i>Wikingen</i>	schooner	McCourt
<i>Woodbine</i>	barque	Edmunds



FIG. 1. Members of the Mothers' Union demonstrating their sewing, St Paul's Mission, Easter 1924. Granny Lilywater (Linnewata) from Efate (wearing hat), the oldest inhabitant, 7th from left. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

Edwin Redlich of the schooner *Franz* lying in Banks Passage not long after fishing at Muralag, where he 'burnt and plundered the natives (of that island) camp for running away from him and taking away a quantity of trade' (Powell et al., 1876). The casually brutal nature of pearling in Mua Pass in the 1870s is also illustrated by a case of desertion in July 1872, which ended with the death of a crewman; two court cases brought against Captain Henry McAuley of the British schooner *Margaret and Jane* in 1874 and 1875 (acquitted on legal technicalities); a shooting in 1875; and 'an affray' in 1878.

A short time [after the desertion of six men from the *Melanie*] the master and mate of the *Woodbine* were mobbed by their crew and given a severe beating. The officers were powerless to restore order so James Ware, the master of the *Woodbine*, went to Somerset for help. Jardine made out a summons against two of the *Woodbine's* crew for attempted murder and sent the water police to arrest them. When the police arrived at Moa Pass where the incidents were alleged to have taken place the diving boats were out on Warrior Reef – the men were working as usual but refused to be directed by the shelling masters. The police arrested 11 ringleaders, clapped them in irons, and set sail for Somerset. On the return voyage one of the prisoners made a desperate attempt

to escape overboard and probably drowned (Mullins, 1994: 72).

In the case of *Regina vs Margaret and Jane*, McAuley was charged with a breach of the 1872 *Kidnapping Act*.¹¹ His vessel and three of its boats were seized and brought back from Mua Pass to Somerset on 25 August 1874 and in September he faced the Vice-Admiralty Court of Queensland on a charge of having illegally shipped labourers from the Pacific before the Police Magistrate 'as Queensland natives belonging to Long Island (Sasi).'¹² One of them was Linnewata, a woman from Efate (formerly Sandwich Island in Vanuatu), who in old age retired to St Paul's with her husband (Fig. 1).¹³ The vessel and its cargo of one ton and 16 cwt of live pearlshell (1.8 metric tons) and about 500 cwt (2,540kg) of dead pearlshell were seized, as well as stores to the value of £600. A month before the vessel's seizure McAuley was accused of 'feloniously unlawfully and maliciously' wounding a Polynesian woman diver named Coffey in Mua Pass in July 1874, although the case was not heard until May 1875. According to evidence, the woman was beaten and raped but the police in Somerset refused to act.¹⁴

Unsurprisingly, when the missionaries arrived again on Mua in April 1875, they found the people

had fled to the bush, a vessel having been there a few days before (the same that was seized by the Queensland government a short time ago for the illegal deportation of natives, and the then Captain of which is still in prison to be tried for murder) from which a drunken sailor went on shore in search of native women; he was armed with a revolver, and when met and opposed by the natives a quarrel was the natural result. The foolish man fired right and left, but fortunately no one was wounded; he was overpowered, and led to the teacher's with a bleeding head, where he was taken care of till morning, which found him, let us hope, a wiser man (McFarlane, 1875).

In January 1878 H.M. Chester reported 'a serious outrage by Polynesians on the natives of Banks island', during which some of the people were killed. The attack was promoted by alcohol – at Christmas time the shellers provided each boat with a case of gin 'which is equivalent to over half a gallon [2.25 litres] per man' (Chester, 1878, 1881).¹⁵

By 1872 Captain Gay had established a pearling station on Mua but had left by February 1875, when there were no permanent stations on either Mua or Badu (Aplin, 1875f). In September 1878 'some shelling stations' were attested on Mua and Badu¹⁶ but by 1879, only one of the 14 pearling stations operating in Torres Strait was located on Mua, managed by Captain William O'Hagan, who had been working in Mua Pass since at least August 1874 (Powell et al., 1876). Muan men and women were almost certainly

among the 32 employed on his six boats (Chester, 1879a). We know that one Mualaig named Basso was working on agreement with Captain Joseph Tucker. He appeared before the Thursday Island court in 1879, speaking one of the earliest recorded local varieties of Pacific Pidgin English and needing no interpreter. Giving evidence for his employer, he stated:

Me savee suppose me tell lie about this case me go to gaol. Me no tell lie me speak true. Jack Mondy he speak to men in boat. He say very good you fellow take dinghy or canoe and run away. The other men asked me to run away I said no – I belong to Capt Tucker's boat. I make paper with him. I hear Mondy tell other men to run away.¹⁷

Thomas De Hoghton reported on the fisheries in September that year:

The available adult population of these islands is employed by the occupants of the various stations as swimming divers, under *The Masters and Servants Act*, and the old men, women and children receive supplies of food in seasons of scarcity. The pay of these aboriginals is ten shillings per month, and their engagement is for one year only, out of which they are usually allowed a spell of two or three months during the rainy season, but are paid for the full time. Payment is made either in my presence or that of the Shipping Master, and consists of slop clothing, blankets, knives, hatchets, beads, etc., charged at reasonable prices, the owner, in most cases, giving a present in addition. If dissatisfied with what they receive, the natives seek a more liberal employer, thus the competition for their services is alone sufficient to secure them fair treatment. They are well fed and by no means overworked [...] Some fatal

TABLE 2. Deaths among foreign boat crews off Mua, 1875-1905. Source: Somerset death register 1875-1905; Queensland inquest files 1875-1905.

Date of death	Name	Place of origin	Boat
17/2/1875	Malee Niko	Espirito Santo	
14/4/1875	John Mongawalla	Navigator Island	
28/5/1875	John Edwards	Sandwich Islands	
19/2/1878	Henry Alfred	Rotuma	<i>Foi</i> (Summers, Possession Is.)
5/4/1890	Ah Mat	Java	<i>Curlew</i> (Scott Henderson, Muralag)
13/6/1891	Luciano Domingo	Philippines	<i>Revenge</i> (Summers, Wai Weer)
8/7/1897	Gujemon Imotu	Japan	<i>Mamoose</i> (Mayeshiba, Thursday Is.)
21/3/1903	Charlie Ontong	Java	<i>Olive</i> (Burns Philp, Thursday Is.)
13/9/1904	Baboo	India	<i>Fortaliza</i> (Zarcas, Thursday Is.)
6/3/1905	Charlie Tulnower	Solomon Islands	

accidents but counterbalanced by decrease of infanticide and in the mortality amongst infants, due to the more regular supply of nourishing food' (De Hoghton, 1879).

By 1880 O'Hagan had moved his station to Giralag (Friday Island), again leaving no stations on either Mua or Badu (Chester, 1880). However, the nearby pearling grounds continued to be exploited by multiracial crews supplied by floating stations. Shore stations were expensive and the innovation of 'mother ships', which provisioned several smaller luggers, boosted profits. Not only Pacific Islanders but men from India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand are attested as pearling off Mua: in early January 1885 the pearler James Clark brought an action against two Filipinos from George Pearson's boat, the *Lily*, who had apparently beaten two of his men, a Javanese and an Indian. The attack took place when the two boats were at anchor off Mua.¹⁸ Nine foreign crew are recorded as having met their deaths off Mua between 1875 and 1905 (Table 2) but there were doubtless others whose deaths went unrecorded.

No further shore stations were established on Mua during the 1890s and no new outrages on its people are recorded after the provision of a government vessel to supervise the pearling fields. By this time Pacific Islanders dominated several Torres Strait communities and Mua became home to several men from Niue (Savage Island), who married locally and whose descendants for the most part are identified with Mua. In 1897, the Muans, together with other members of the Banks Group, fished a large quantity of shell¹⁹ and the government resident used the Islanders' productivity and industriousness in his arguments against their inclusion in the new protection legislation.

Occasionally other ways of exploiting the Islanders' territories were suggested. From an early date the larger islands were being mooted as possible grazing or agricultural land and mineral exploration began in the 1880s. In 1882 Captain Pennefather (1882) suggested that Mua and Badu, which now had 'very few natives' remaining, could be occupied by Europeans. Mua, being large and 'well and permanently watered, with good grass, and soil also very good in places', would make 'a good cattle run on a small scale.' Tin was discovered on Mua in 1887 but the ore proved to be worthless.²⁰ Nevertheless, the following year, the Torres Divisional Board 'advocated the advisability of securing the

services of Mr Jack, the Government Geologist, with a view of having his opinion on the silver, gold and other mineral deposits on this and the adjacent islands, more especially Moa and Hammond Islands.' The government was requested to send the geologist to report on the geological formation of the islands.²¹ The only references to Mua in the annual reports 1879-1893 concern its economic potential.

HEALTH. Life for the pre-contact Mualgal was far from idyllic: they were threatened by raiding parties, suffered from endemic tropical diseases like malaria, dengue fever and yaws and were at times buffeted by cyclones and droughts. If the fish, turtle or dugong of their seas or the yams and fruits of their gardens failed to appear at the usual time or place, the Muans might face starvation. The incantations and secret actions of the magic men were sometimes powerless to call forth good weather and fine harvests. The missionaries had begun planting coconuts as a food source from 1872 after observing their absence on the large islands close to Cape York (Gill, 1876: 201) and, not long after his arrival as the first government resident in 1885, John Douglas ordered the people of Mua and Badu to plant coconuts but even seven or eight years later 'the supply of nuts [was] insufficient for the population' (Douglas, 1895: 8).

Far more devastating than the periodic fishing and crop failures, however, were the infectious diseases brought in by Europeans. The first apparently was smallpox, which 'decimated the coast and inland tribes' of New Guinea after it was introduced via Torres Strait in the late 1860s (Chester, 1883; Chalmers, 1887: 318). Although there is no direct evidence, it must have affected the Islanders. There followed a mysterious illness on Mabuyag (and other islands) in August-September 1873: 'Within about six weeks', wrote Revd Murray (1873a) 'fifteen persons had died of some disease the nature of which I could not well make out [...] The people have taken the alarm and fled for the present from the place where they have been accustomed to live.' But the most havoc was caused by the 1875 measles epidemic. Almost certainly imported from the Pacific, where it culled about 20% of the Fijian population (Shlomowitz, 1989: 586), it added another level of suffering to the assaults and abductions of the shelling crews. The local source of infection was Somerset: all the water police and Aboriginal troopers were ill from April through August

1875 yet no quarantine restrictions were imposed (Aplin, 1875a, 1875b, 1875c, 1875d, 1875e; Chester, 1882a; Mullins, 1994: 134-36). Crews aboard the pearling vessels, the missionary steamer *Ellengowan* and the expeditionary barque *Chevert* moved freely from Somerset to almost every Torres Strait island and the New Guinea coast (Chester, 1883; MacMillan, 1957) and laid waste the non-immune, possibly halving the Torres Strait population. It particularly affected the Kaurareg, who lived close to Somerset.

A resident who has lately arrived from the Prince of Wales islands informs me that no less than fifteen natives had died the week before last principally the older men and women, and that the survivors were too weak to bury them, and simply removed their camp on the occasion of a death, leaving the bodies on the beach (Aplin, 1875d).

The Mualgal, close friends and allies of the Kaurareg, also lost population during these epidemics. Revd Samuel McFarlane, who visited Mua on 10 April 1875, described it as a 'sickly island.' During the past few years, 'about half the population' had been

removed by the pearl shellers and by disease. The teacher has not been able to find more than about 250 people on the island, and they are living in the interior, having fled from the coast to avoid the pearl shellers who are exceedingly anxious to get them for divers. Some have run away from their employers, and so hide themselves whenever a vessel appears (McFarlane, 1875).

RELIGION AND EDUCATION: THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY. In July 1871 the first LMS missionaries from Lifu, Loyalty Islands, were stationed at Erub (Darnley Island), Dauan (Mt Cornwallis Island) and Saibai as a preliminary to evangelising New Guinea. Not long afterwards the lama (Yam Island) chief, Maino, accompanied Revd McFarlane to Mua to attempt to settle ongoing difficulties between the Islanders and missionaries. He persuaded Gara, then chief of Mua, to accompany the party to Mabuyag and, with the chiefs of other islands, from there to Erub. A feast was then held to mark the formal agreement to accept missionaries on all the islands (MacFarlane, n.d.b).

A second party of missionaries and teachers, together with their families and led by Revds Murray and Gill, reached Captain Gay's pearling station on Mua, possibly at or near Dabu, on 18 October 1872 (Langbridge, 1977: 171, 187;

Murray, 1872b). They landed several times on Mua to select a site for a mission station (Gill, 1876: 201) and cleared a piece of ground on which to build a hut. The first missionary teachers appointed to Mua landed from the *Viking* on 9 November 1872; they were Gutacene and Waunaea, both from Mare in the Loyalty Islands, who were sent from Dauan to oversee both Mua and Mabuyag. Mua was chosen as a mission station because it was 'said to be free from fever and ague' and because Gay could be relied on to provide stores and a safe haven if necessary. Moreover, Mua was 'central for two or three other islands, the united population of which must be considerable.' The double posting was not intended to be permanent: only one of the teachers was to take over Mua and Mabuyag, while the other would move elsewhere (Murray, 1872a). However, despite the intention of making Mua their headquarters, unspecified 'circumstances arose, soon after their settlement, which led them to remove to Mabuag where they are likely to remain' (Murray, 1873a).

Little is known about either of the men. Murray considered Waunaea, one of his original missionaries, to be 'a man of great promise' who in 1871 suffered greatly from fever. Waunaea continued his work at Mabuyag with instructions to oversee the 'considerable population' of Mua and Badu and he was still living on Mabuyag in 1873, when Murray reported on his lack of progress. He was relocated to Boigu in 1875, volunteered for service in the China Straits in December 1876 and left Torres Strait (Langbridge, 1977: 171; McFarlane, 1875). Gill had foreseen the teachers' main difficulty as being 'the vagrant habits of the natives' and wondered 'whether it would be possible to do any good amongst a race who, like the aborigines of Australia, build no houses, and have no fixed place of abode' (Gill, 1876: 200). Gutacene, one of the second group of missionaries, was relocated to Tudu at the first opportunity that presented itself (Murray, 1873b).

Waunaea seems to have made little impression; rather, Kerisiano and Gutacene are remembered as the first missionaries. Having taken Gutacene from Mabuyag to Tudu in July 1873 and left Waunaea at Mabuyag to minister to Badu and Mua, Revd Murray wrote that the people of the two latter islands 'are scattered as sheep without a shepherd, and require to be sought out and cared for' – an indication that the Muans had not yet settled at Totalai (Murray, 1873a). In March 1874 Murray reported that Waunaea and Saneish

were permanently stationed on Mabuyag and they were being helped by Kerisiano from Mare and Peshin from Uvea to build a house. They were instructed to evangelise both Mua and Badu from Mabuyag (Murray, 1874).

Kerisiano was one of the original party of missionaries, 'a worthy man, but elderly and often ill' (Murray, 1873a).²² His first placement was Tudu in July 1871, from where in 1872 he moved to Dauan and briefly to Saibai in 1873, where he began building a house. Failing in health, he returned to Dauan but was relieved by another missionary and went to help his comrades at Mabuyag. He was to supervise the beginnings of a mission at Badu but, finding so few people there and they being unwilling to settle in one place, he had shifted permanently to Mua by August 1874; he and his wife lived there until their retirement in August 1876 (Murray, 1873a; McFarlane, 1874, 1875, 1876b; Runcie, 1875: 622). The people had 'assisted him in building his house, and promised to form a village there, and as a pledge the chief has placed his son with the teacher' (McFarlane, 1874). However, despite Kerisiano's attempts to gather the people around him, he reported to McFarlane during a visit to Mua on 10 April 1875 that he had been unable to stop the ravages of the shellers and, although the Muans promised to join him on the coast, they were afraid to leave the safety of the interior. However, '[t]hey seem to have perfect confidence in Kerisiano, and he in them, for he moves about amongst and with them all over the island' (McFarlane, 1875). Returning on 14 February 1876, McFarlane again found Kerisiano and his wife in good health.

This worthy couple have long been endeavouring to persuade the people to leave the bush, where they had gone to live, being afraid of the pearl shellers, who are greatly in want of native divers, and some of whom are not very particular how they get them, and erect houses near the Mission Station. Their efforts, I am happy to say, have been successful to a very encouraging degree (McFarlane, 1876a).

McFarlane's next visit, six months later, was to return the elderly and ailing Kerisiano and his wife to retirement on their homeland of Mare and replace them with Gutacene and his family.²³ In addition to the 'good house and chapel covered in with bark' built by Kerisiano, his 'extensive plantations' and the confidence expressed in him by the people, he had also established 'a promising boarding school in which were ten or twelve lads, but they were enticed away by one of the shellers against the will both of the teacher

and their parents.' The people were again living in the interior to get away from the shellers, whom McFarlane blamed for the decline of the population to about 170; he makes no mention of the catastrophic effects of the measles epidemic of 1875 in which he himself was almost certainly implicated (McFarlane, 1876b).

In 1982 Katua Namai of Kubin, stepson of Anu Namai of Totalai, wrote an account of Gutacene's evangelisation of Mua called 'The coconut and the cross.' It vividly illustrates the syncretic nature of early Torres Strait Christianity as well as the methods used by early LMS missionaries to communicate with the Islanders.

Gassasen [Gutacene] Lifu was the first missionary to stay at Totalai. The people helped him to build a church. Gassasen spread the word of God. It was also Gassasen who showed the people how to wear and tie a lavalava. Behind the church that was built was a big coconut tree that had many good fruit on it. On the trunk of this tree Gassasen cut a cross. This sign of the cross was to tell the people that this was to be a special tree and no one was to pick its fruit. The tree was called 'Arreto wub' meaning 'my body and my blood.'²⁴ One man, and one man only, was allowed to pick its fruit. Every Saturday he would climb the tree and pick one of the coconuts. Then he would take off the outer skin and leave it in the church. On Sunday Gassasen would open the top of the coconut and pour its water into a cup. He would then scrape out its meat and put it onto a plate. During Holy Communion the water and meat from the coconut was used as the wine and wafer is used today for Holy Communion (Namai, 1982).

In April 1880, after touring his five remaining stations, Revd James Chalmers reported that Gutacene was at Dauan, Haxan had transferred his mission station to Mabuyag; Mua, with its estimated 80 inhabitants, was without a resident teacher (Chalmers, 1880).²⁵ This state of affairs apparently continued for several years. On 1 June 1882 the LMS acquired 14-year special leases (Nos. 160-164) on Saibai, Dauan, Mabuyag, Mer and Erub for £5 p.a.,²⁶ indicating that Mua still had no resident missionary and there were no plans to establish a station. No LMS land was ever leased on Mua.

Christianity had by this time become an avenue for prestige and advancement for a selected group of Torres Strait and immigrant Pacific Islanders. The first to become missionary teachers were trained at the Papuan Gulf Native College,

opened on Mer in January 1879 by McFarlane. The first batch of graduates began work in Torres Strait and coastal New Guinea in 1883 and by 1885 14 Torres Strait men had passed through the training college and been appointed to various stations (Haddon, 1935: 16; Lovett, 1899: 447). The first to be appointed to Mua was Buzi from Mabusyag, who was stationed there in early 1888, when he was expelled for immorality (Savage, 1888). Buzi was one of four men selected to go with Revd E.B. Savage to Papua in 1886 (Scott, 1886). How long he remained on Mua is unclear: in November 1889 he is reported as being at Mawatta in Papua, though perhaps only temporarily (Hunt, 1889).

From the end of 1889 to 1892 there was again no teacher on Mua, the people being visited occasionally by the Mabusyag teacher. Mabusyag's population was now twice that of Mua and growing, thanks to its prosperity and the influx of Pacific Islanders and Malays.²⁷ Chalmers (known throughout the region as Tamate, the local pronunciation of his name) did not visit Mua during his tour of the stations in November 1891; nor did Revd Charles Abel in 1892.²⁸ However, almost all of the Mualgal were at Mabusyag on 22 November 1891 for the May meeting the following day. On the night of 22 November, having decided to appoint a deacon for Mua, 'a tall fine looking man, named Dua, highly spoken of by teachers and people, being elected, we set him apart, for the work of looking after the Church there.'²⁹ Also received into Church fellowship were one woman and one man from Mua. Despite its 'very small' population of 92 in 1891, all had been baptised and 19 were church members.³⁰ They also contributed to the Society, the success of the May meetings being judged not just by attendance but also by the contributions made: in 1891 a total of £35.14.0 was received: £25.5.0 from Mabusyag; £8.7.0 from Badu; and, despite its small population, £2.2.0 from Mua (Chalmers, 1891).

As its commitment to New Guinea grew, the LMS found it more difficult to find teachers for Torres Strait. In August 1892 it was decided to appoint Samoans to the larger stations and local men to the smaller ones. That same year Jimmy Ware from Uvea in the Loyalty Islands, one of the seminary graduates from Mer, was appointed the teacher for both Mua and Badu; he continued in that position during 1893. He is said to have had family links to Mua through his wife, Gawada Mopas, whose grandfather came from Mua (Lawrie, n.d.a).³¹ He was replaced

at the end of 1893 by Dharam from Saibai, another graduate from the college, who brought his Murray Island wife, Kuk, and their two Mer-born children.³²

On Badu there is a South Sea Islander from Uea, Loyalty Group, and trained on Murray. Jimi makes a good teacher – his wife, a Mabusyag woman, a good teacher's wife. I believe that a thorough earnest man and woman, ever seeking the good of their people, will be careful in their homes, to have them clean and bright, and will be attentive to their personal attire. The force of example tells much in these matters. I dislike too much adorning, but I do like cleanliness and that we should insist upon in our teachers. Well – Jimi and his wife are now become cleanly folk, in their home, and themselves. He has made a beginning in schoolwork too, and if only I can get him books, they will go ahead I am sure. Daroma, a Saibai native, and trained on Murray, is on Moa and has begun school. The people are very Australian in appearance, and are in constant communication with Prince of Wales Island. They have been long long without a teacher, but have never missed a Sabbath service, nor a weekday one either. I like the people much, and feel sure when Daroma is some time with them, we shall have great improvement, and the children will begin to learn (Chalmers, 1893).

Chalmers characterised Dharam as 'a smart man'; unfortunately, he committed adultery with one of his congregation, a fairly common occurrence, and Chalmers had to dismiss him (Chalmers, 1893). Visiting Mua in June 1893, Chalmers found 'all people well and at home. We had a good hearty service, conducted by the senior deacon, who is in charge. I brought him off, and gave him a present, and encouraged him to carry all work on, until I can get them a teacher.'

Ware had died by 1894³³ and the Niue-born missionary, Morris, and his wife, both of whom were taught at the Murray Island school, were instructed to fill the place, 'as they both spoke the language well' (Bruce, 1894).³⁴ Morris, who remained in charge of both Mua and Badu until his death in 1902, led a delegation from the two islands to Revd James Chalmers' dedication of the Saibai church on 7 July 1897. This was conducted with great ceremony and hospitality and attended by people from 12 islands and some coastal New Guinea villages. Badu and Mua combined gave 33 shillings (£1.13.0) towards the collection and Morris, by now reasonably fluent in Kala Lagau Ya, gave a short address and translated the Samuan

pastor's account of the work (Chalmers, 1898; Nokise, 1983: 373-74).

The new Mabuyag church was the next to be dedicated on 16 October 1897. The leading men from Mabuyag, Badu and Mua attended, along with most of their people. Two days later Chalmers baptised many adults and children, among them the chief of Muralag, his family and 'two of his people.'³⁵ For a long time the Muralag leader had been asking for a teacher and that evening, he, his people

and the chiefs of Mabuiagi, Badu, and Moa, and many of the leading people of the churches on these islands came to the mission house 'to have yam 'bout Prince of Wales Island.' They begged hard for a teacher. I placed many difficulties before them, especially the money one. But again and again it was 'no good leave Prince of Wales all dark, no got lamp. He belong Torres Straits same we. All speak one language, and he no belong Australia. By and Bye all church build finish then get more money belong Society (Chalmers, 1898).

Chalmers did not commit himself and lack of resources meant that nothing came of the Kaurareg request. Some years later they were moved to Kirriri and then to Mua. Meanwhile the chief and deacons on Mua conducted all services with frequent visits from the Mabuyag and Badu teachers. One of the Muan deacons died during 1897 'and at the request of the church and people when on Mabuiagi we set apart another to act. He is a good man and has long been connected with the church.' Despite Chalmers' impression that 'the work in the Straits is consolidating, and the church members are becoming more intelligent' [i.e., knowledgeable about European ways], the LMS was shifting its interest and resources to New Guinea and soon even Chalmers was advocating a handover of the work to some other suitable body' (Chalmers, 1898).

WESTERN MUAN SETTLEMENTS: TOTALAI. Observable proofs of Islander 'civilisation' included resettlement from clan territories to a single village close to the teacher, construction of a local church and school, the wearing of clothes, baptism and regular church attendance, and refusal to work on Sundays.³⁶ The teacher's first task, therefore, was to gather the population around him in a permanent settlement and begin to preach and teach in a locally built church cum school. This is what Kerisiano accomplished at

Totalai, with its small sandy beach and its grove of tall, fruitful coconut trees.

Kerisiano and his wife were living on Mua by August 1874 and the location of their 'very good commodious house' fits the description of Totalai, being open to winds from the southeast and northwest. 'The situation is good, and will be, I should think, healthy, being exposed to both S.E. trades and N.W. monsoons. There is a stream of fresh water and plenty of good land close by' (McFarlane, 1874). Totalai is generally agreed to have been the first post-contact Muan village formed around a missionary, although it had earlier existed as a village before the arrival of the missionaries (see Ash and David chapter 10, this volume). Teske (1991: 7) was told that Anu Namai was its chief when the LMS arrived³⁷ and his son, Katua Namai, was born at Totalai around 1899, before its abandonment a few years later (Katua Namai, pers. comm., 1981).

The LMS teachers were intended to be a reference group for newly-'civilised' Torres Strait Islanders and their houses and gardens were held up as models to be emulated. As was the rule of the mission, Kerisiano and his wife immediately set about building a Pacific-style house and garden, although their house was unique in that it was 'covered in with bark':

He has got a very substantial and commodious house built after the style of those in his own country, but instead of covering, or rather enclosing it with grass, he has got for this purpose the bark of trees which makes a better roof and a stronger house. He and his good wife have certainly not allowed the grass to grow under their feet, for it is all cleared for a considerable distance round the house, and replaced by bananas, sugarcane, sweet potatoes [sic], yams etc. which are looking quite healthy and very tempting. Captain Runcie and I went round this new house and plantation almost as much astonished as delighted (McFarlane, 1875).

McFarlane wrote approvingly of the results of the work carried out by Kerisiano and his wife, noting the 'prosperous condition' of the station and the 'flourishing plantations around their house, with the half finished chapel.' Kerisiano had even begun a day school with an enrolment of seven boys, although the shellers were continually seeking young men and women from the village, as well as the boys at school, 'to go in their boats to dive for shell' (McFarlane, 1876a).



FIG. 2. The grave of Icar [Aga] at Dabu, taken by Neil Schomberg, 13 October 2001.

WESTERN MUAN SETTLEMENTS: DABU. Today, all that remains visible of Dabu's past are three headstones commemorating the lives and deaths of Jimmy, Aga (Aiaka) and Kausa Savage, which were erected years later by Peter Savage, Manas Savage and Ben Nona (Fig. 2). Dabu is located slightly north of Adam, beside Mua Pass, where the channel between Mua and Badu is at its narrowest and Badu easily accessible by rowing boat. It was almost certainly the site of John Moreman's station. Moreman, owner of the schooner *Olive*, set himself up as a turtle sheller in c.1893, erecting a station and garden on Mua.³⁸ In 1895 he gave evidence that he employed Islanders as swimming divers for shell and that he placed 'Jamie Newie' (Jimmy Savage) in charge during his absence.

This is supported by oral accounts that Dabu (then known as 'South Sea Camp') formed around a nucleus of related men from Niue (Savage Island) and their local wives. These were three brothers, Sam (Bozi) Savage and his first wife, Aga from Mua, sister of Waina; Jimmy Savage and his wife, Daku or Titalo (both names are remembered) from Muralag; Maivanga (Joe) Savage and his wife Annie Zarazar from Badu;³⁹ and a nephew,

Harry Newie. The men were apparently employed by James Mills (Jimmy Samoa) of Nagi, who provisioned them when food stocks ran low. Newie was aboard Mills' schooner when he met his wife, Alion Nancy from Erub, daughter of the Niuean Tom Savage and Pthalai from Gebar (Two Brothers Island). After their marriage he took her first to Totalai. There was not enough water and so they settled at Upai on Badu, then Adam and finally St Paul's Mission. Judging from the approximate birthdates of the children born at Dabu and various recollections, the settlement lasted for at least 20 years from the mid-1880s to the time of the move to Adam. According to descendants, the children of Bozi and Aga Savage (Flora, Lily, Alua, Kausa, Powanga), as well as the children of Jimmy and Daku Savage (Latta Elita Kara, Louisa, Naton, Mary) were all born and raised at Dabu. Bozi Sam Savage would canoe the children over every week to attend school at Badu and bring them back on Friday (Mary Galora Bowie, pers. comm., 2004; Alice Ware Namok, pers. comm., 2004; Lizzie Savage Nawia to Carol McGrath Thompson, pers. comm., 1989; Angela Newie Torenbeek, pers. comm., 2006).⁴⁰

Others also lived temporarily at Dabu, among them Jimmy Mairu from Maiwo, Vanuatu, whose son, Mye Mairu from Badu, married Wagub Merian Goba from Mua in 1910; Bosun from Efate, Vanuatu, and his second wife, Urui from Muralag and their family; Jimmy Gela from Nggela, Solomon Islands, who went to live at Alau near Injinoo with his wife, Balu from Muri (Mt Adolphus Island);⁴¹ and three men working pearlshell for James Mills: Olandi Pearson from Mabayag (son of the Scottish pearlsheller George Mortimer Pearson and Mapu from Poruma who had Muan connections); Solomon Pearson; and Jérémie Garnier from France (Revd Sagi Amber, pers. comm., 1982; Nagi Crowe, pers. comm., 1995; Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004; Fr John Manas to Ambrose Bin Juda, pers. comm., 2005; George Mye, pers. comm., 1995).

I have found no mention of Dabu in official documents but it was typical of similar Pacific Islander camps which sprang up during those early days.⁴² The men sought places where they could participate in the cash economy and live peacefully with countrymen on their own terms, free of European supervision and control and of the need to conform to local community norms. Once their economic base collapsed, so did the settlements. This appears to have happened during the pearling depression of

TABLE 3. Colonial population of Mua (incomplete)⁴³. Sources: Chalmers (1891), McFarlane (1875), Mullins (1992, 1994: 172, 234), Parry-Okeden (1897: 12).

Year	Western Mua	St Paul's	Total Mua	Total Islanders
1864	c.50	-	c.50	3500-3800 (pre-contact estimation)
1875	c.250	-	c.250	1700 (after measles epidemic)
1876	c.170	-	c.170	?
1880	c.80	-	c.80	?
1887	?	-	?	1400
1891	92	-	92	1473
1897	50	-	50	1230

1905 with the unemployment caused by the closure of four stations at Badu and Mabuyag. Angela Newie Torenbeek (pers. comm., 2006) tells me that the Mualgal moved from Totalai to Dabu first and then to Adam. Teske (1991: 8) was told that

some South Sea Islanders, who had married women from Moa, decided to move and set up a village at Dabu. Eventually all the people from Dabu and Totalai were moved to a new village site at Adam. This was considered to be a better place for a village as it was closer to Badu and the people could go there to buy things from the store. The children could also attend the school on Badu.

POPULATION. All contemporary accounts report the decline of Mua's population. In c.1880 Mrs Tait Scott, wife of the LMS missionary, estimated it to be about 80, although that figure is admittedly unreliable (Mullins, 1994: 172, 234). The people of Mua had again fled from the coast, some to the interior, others to live elsewhere among kinfolk. Some among the remnant Muan population are likely to have been counted among the 200 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders employed in the fisheries in April 1882 (Chester, 1882b). The authorities had learned the lessons of the 1875 measles epidemic and no deaths were recorded when the disease broke out again in Queensland in the early 1890s. Quarantine was immediately imposed and 'the yellow flag was flying on all the islands' (Chalmers, 1893). However, during the 1892 *kuki* (northwest monsoon) season the supply of garden food ran dangerously low and several people at Mabuyag died from starvation. In response to the crisis Douglas ordered every individual on Mabuyag, Badu and Mua 'to plant and tend two cocoanuts every year, subject to the

fine of 1s. each on failure' in order to build up the food supply. His instructions were carried out and by the mid-1890s he reported that 'a good many cocoanuts have been planted on an understanding that every inhabitant shall plant at least two cocoanuts every year, such trees to be regarded as the property of the planters' (Douglas, 1895).

By 1897 the population of Mua was no longer decreasing. It was reported to be 50 (although it may have been closer to 90) and 'much scattered' and three policemen maintained order (Parry-Okeden, 1897: 12). Table 3 shows approximate populations prior to 1900.

PRE-WAR MUA

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Australia was federated on 1 January 1901. Queensland was already a racially stratified society with white Anglo-British subjects at the top and 'coloured races' at the bottom, but Federation further entrenched and extended notions of British 'racial' and cultural superiority through Federal and State legislation and policies. A number of laws followed, which had as their object the 'purification' of the population. Of particular importance for Mua was the passage on 17 December 1901 of the *Commonwealth Pacific Island Labourers Act*, which ended the recruitment of Pacific Islanders after 31 March 1904 and provided for the deportation of the 9,327 Islanders in Queensland after 31 December 1906.⁴⁴ About 150 Pacific Islanders were permitted to remain in the strait on grounds of age, length of stay, marriage and ownership of property and in 1908 a Church of England mission was gazetted for them at Wag on the eastern coast of Mua.

This was the first operation conducted in the islands through the Diocese of Carpentaria, which included the Torres Strait region. The diocese was established on 3 August 1900 and on 11 November 1900 the first bishop, Gilbert White, arrived at Thursday Island, which he had chosen as his See town. At the time of his arrival the Christian spiritual life of the Islanders was officially overseen by the Protestant London Missionary Society (LMS), which had begun to place its missionaries on the islands from 1871 as the first step in evangelising New Guinea. Bishop White was followed by Henry Newton (1915-1922), Stephen Harris Davies (1922-1949), Wilfred John Hudson (1950-1960), Seering John Matthews (1960-1968), Ernest Eric Hawkey (1968-1974), Hamish Thomas Umphelby

Jamieson (1974-1983) and Anthony Francis Berners Hall-Matthews (1984-1996). In 1996 the dioceses of Carpentaria and North Queensland amalgamated and a new bishop, Clyde Wood, was enthroned in Townsville.

John Douglas died in 1904, a seminal year for Torres Strait Islanders, since it provided an opening for the State government, under the pretext of abuses in the pearling industry, to subject Islanders to the provisions of the Aboriginal protection legislation. The new arrangement was formalised on 21 March 1906, when the new Government Resident was informed that in future the local Protector of Aboriginals would 'take full control of all native matters, mainland and Torres Strait' to maintain uniformity.⁴⁵ Charles David O'Brien became the local Protector, followed temporarily by George Brett (1907), John Moody Costin (1907-1908), Hugh Miles Milman (1908-1911) and William Miller Lee-Bryce (1911-1916). The following decades were marked by growing government control of Islanders' lives and earnings, characterised by Beckett (1977) as 'internal colonialism.' The benign local paternalism of John Douglas (1885-1904) and his successor, Hugh Miles Milman (1904-1911), was replaced by more autocratic and more overtly discriminatory rule from Brisbane by John William Bleakley, Chief Protector of Aboriginals (1914-1942), who in his early occupation as Shipping Master and Inspector of Pearlshell and Bêche-demer Fisheries on Thursday Island had brought Islanders 'under the Act.' Early in his tenure, he explicitly stated his belief that only segregation could save Indigenous people from 'hopeless contamination and eventual extinction, as well as safeguard the purity of our own blood' (Bleakley, 1919: 7). His policies were carried out by a series of Thursday Island-based local Protectors: William Miller Lee-Bryce (1911-1916), Cecil John Handley (1917), Gilson Fox Lesley Foxton (1917-1920), Robert Yetman Holmes (1921-1922), Cornelius (Con) O'Leary (1923-1929, 1936-1939), Charles Beresford Buxton (1930-1933), John Donald McLean (1934-1935) and Thomas Ralph Pryor (1940-1942).⁴⁶

1904 was also the year in which the former LMS missionary, Frederick Walker, registered a private trading company, Papuan Industries Ltd (PIL), with headquarters at Dogai on Badu (Mulgrave Island), directly opposite what was to become Adam village on Mua. Walker had helped the men of Mabuyag purchase a lugger in the mid-1890s (Douglas, 1895: 6) and he set

up PIL to encourage Islanders to participate in the marine industries as boat owners, skippers and crews. The company lent the purchase price to enable each island to buy a 'company' (communally-owned) boat, charging 5% interest and arranging the sale of marine produce and cultural artefacts in exchange. It was taken over by the government in July 1930 and renamed Aboriginal Industries (Annual Report, 1934: 18). It became the Aboriginal Industries Board (AIB) in 1934⁴⁷ and established stores in the island communities, although not on pre-war Mua, where Poid people were expected to shop at the PIL store on Badu and St Paul's people on Thursday Island.

In January 1906 the local protector was authorised to purchase boats for the Islanders on condition that PIL and the government shared the cost equally, an interest charge of 5% to be paid until the debt was cleared (Bleakley, 1910). These 'company boats' were owned and manned collectively by communities, which benefited from any profits. The scheme, which began in 1903 with the Murray Islanders and continued in some form for about 60 years, was designed among other things to promote Islander self-sufficiency (Annual Report, 1905: 28); by the end of the 1920s nearly one-quarter of the pearling fleet in the Torres Strait was composed of company boats (Thursday Island State High School, 1986: 26).⁴⁸

The mamoose is nominally in charge as representative of the village, and is responsible to the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for the proper care of the vessel and the disposal of the produce earned, through the Protector at Thursday Island, and the equal distribution of the nett proceeds. The Protector at Thursday Island takes charge of all such produce, sells it by public auction or tender, devoting 50 per cent of the money to the payment of interest and ademption, another smaller percentage to repairs, renewals, purchases, etc. and the remainder is either handed to the mamoose or his agent, or expended by the Protector for the general benefit (Annual Report, 1907: 16).

Under regulations proclaimed on 15 November 1912 under the 1910 *Land Act*, Torres Strait Islanders became 'Aboriginals' and their islands 'Aboriginal reserves', the first of which was gazetted that year, the last in 1926. Legal classification based on residence and 'race' split the population into two groups: 'Aboriginals' on reserve islands and subject to the control of the Chief Protector; and non-'Aboriginals' on non-

reserve islands (missions and the Prince of Wales group of islands) and exempt from control.⁴⁹ This was the beginning of the resentment which was to lead to the 1936 company boat strike. Revd Harries of the LMS noted the Islanders' reaction as early as 1913: they were, he wrote, 'distrustful of the Government and cowed and afraid. I seldom visit an Island without a deputation waiting on me to air some grievance resulting from the Administration' (Harries, 1913a: 16).

On the other hand, with new powers to enforce compliance the European authorities joined forces with younger councillors to improve general conditions, imposing regular cleansing of the houses and villages, draining swamps adjacent to dwellings and replacing the old unsanitary huts. Sanitary conditions continued to improve throughout the islands but the local protector was beginning to question the practice of erecting the ubiquitous grass houses: picturesque they may be but building them was a 'very slow process' and the need to replace them at least every third year meant loss of time from more immediately profitable work. He suggested that they should gradually be replaced by galvanised iron buildings (Annual Reports, 1913: 15, 1914: 10).

The LMS had opened their first school on Erub in 1873. The Pacific Islander missionaries taught in the local languages but in 1892 the first European schoolteacher was appointed to Mer (Murray Island). Douglas was an advocate of good education in English for all the island children and convinced the government to open primary schools on the most populous islands from 1900, although it was not until the 1920s that every community had its own school. Education was rudimentary, as was the case in all remote areas of Queensland, but Islanders were not expected or encouraged to further it: boys went from primary school to the boats, women to domestic work. Early weaknesses in the island school system were recognised and various measures taken to correct them. Under new regulations in 1912 attendance became compulsory between the ages of five and 16 and European teachers were given the legal authority of island superintendents (Williamson, 1994: 73).

These teacher superintendents, besides their school duties, give first aid to sick, arbitrate in family quarrels or land disputes, supervise village development, sanitation, the working of the fishing vessels and garden culture and observance of Reserve regulations, acting as far as possible through the native council

and police to whom he affords advisory aid (Wilson, 1933).

The difficulty of reconciling these multiple roles was pointed out as early as 1924, as was the lack of administrative uniformity: eleven schools were controlled by the Home Department, three (St Paul's, Dauan and Boigu) by Church of England mission authorities, none by the Department of Public Instruction, which began to conduct official inspections from 1924 (Fox, 1924). Even after nine years of schooling, few pupils progressed beyond third class work in mainland Queensland schools. They were

admitted to school with little and sometimes no knowledge of English. They are taught on English lines but they cannot think in English; their environment, habits, and social conditions place them at a distinct disadvantage in matters of education compared with white children. Moreover the teachers themselves when first appointed have a deal to learn before they can present their instruction in a form that can be understood and assimilated (Fox, 1924).

The island schools followed a set curriculum, which mirrored that of mainstream schools but included additional subjects considered of value to the students.

In addition to the ordinary curriculum, the girls receive instruction in sewing and the boys in gardening. The school gardens are increasing in area, and have an economic value in providing for the needs of improvident islanders. Classes of mat-weaving and basket-making are also held, which are attended by the older girls of the village, thus ensuring the preservation of these native arts (Annual Report, 1933: 10).

Suitable European teachers were always hard to find and training for Islander teachers less than satisfactory until the establishment of a training college on Mabuyag in 1934. There was constant agitation for the Department of Education to take full control of all the island schools but this was not accomplished until 1985.

World War I was declared on 5 August 1914 but Islanders were not permitted to enlist and felt only indirectly the effects of war. For them, the most significant events were the collapse of the shelling industry and the handover of the LMS mission in Torres Strait to the Anglicans. The handover was first suggested almost a decade previously and the missionaries admitted that since then the Society had done little effective work (Butcher, 1906: 3; Harries, 1914: 7; Turner, 1913: 3). By the end of 1914 it could find only

four pastors for its 12 churches (Harries, 1915: 3). Suggestions by F.W. Walker to amalgamate the industrial work of the LMS and PIL came to nothing, while relations between the LMS and the State government had all but broken down (Harries, 1914: 4): local officials were unimpressed by the education provided by LMS teachers and wearied by 'dual authority' conflicts on the islands. The final straw was public criticism of their treatment and taxation of Islanders (Harries, 1913b). In addition, the costs and time involved in travelling between Queensland and New Guinea waters were greatly increased by the provisions of the 1914 *Navigation Act*, which made Papua 'practically a foreign country' (Harries, 1914: 2; Langbridge, 1977: 49). Revd Chalmers had some years before advocated handing the work over to an interested and congenial religious body. The Salvation Army did not respond, the Presbyterians were not yet established locally, the Catholics were out of the question. The obvious choice was the Protestant Church of England, which had already received a grant for £130 for the St Paul's school and was viewed favourably by the government. Revd B.T. Butcher, when newly arrived in Torres Strait, had held informal talks with the vicar of Thursday Island but it was not until early November 1914 that both parties agreed to a formal handover (Bayton, 1965: 116). This took place in the following year, with the foundation of the Church of England's Torres Straits Island Mission, 'the most important piece of Mission work the Australian Church has taken in hand in all her history' (Newton, 1915a). The Islanders accepted the change with enthusiasm and for many decades St Paul's Mission on Mua became the centre of mission activity in the strait.

The work of the Queensland administration and the mission during the period 1914-1939 was hampered by financial constraints but, by contrast with the economic and political volatility in Australia and overseas, it was a relatively stable period for remote Torres Strait. St Paul's became a showcase community and pioneered several social and educational experiments. One was the Mothers' Union, 'a world-wide organisation, stressing upon its members the sanctity of the marriage vows and the proper training of children along Christian lines' (The Parish Gazette, 1 December 1940: 2). The Thursday Island branch was formed in June 1908 by Lady Arbuthnot, sister of Hugh Miles Milman, and it was for many decades the most important women's organisation in Torres Strait, 'the back-

bone of everything.' All women of good character looked to join and membership provided a forum for talented women to gain experience in organising and fundraising, which they passed on to their own daughters (Debra Passi Nona and Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 2001; Year Book, 1947: 29). By 1934 there were 450 members of 13 branches, one on every island except Masig (Yorke Island). By the outbreak of World War II there were branches on every island.

The separatist ideology which provided the rationale for Queensland's inter-war Indigenous policy was underpinned by an economic imperative: to reduce the drain on the Queensland treasury by compelling its Indigenous people to become, as far as possible, self-supporting and responsible for their own welfare. Until its replacement by plastics in the 1960s, the marine industries were the mainstay of the local economy. But, being primary products, both pearlshell and trochus shell were subject to extreme fluctuations in world market prices set elsewhere, which could spell 'prosperity or dismay' to those employed in those industries. Recurrent major downturns caused by wars, depressions and/or overexploitation of stocks were generally followed by good times, which increased both individual and community prosperity, since infrastructure improvements were financed by the Islanders' contributions to the various island funds. The original island fund regulations, gazetted on 19 December 1912, were motivated by considerations both financial and ideological, aimed at encouraging 'thrift' and 'forward planning' among a population believed by government bureaucrats to be generally 'feckless' and 'improvident.' They came into operation in January 1913 and the following year the boats insurance fund was established (Donovan, 2002:151). The goal of these various imposts was 'to provide for "hungry time", repairs to boats, purchase of additional boats, implements for building and cleansing of villages, or in any way to promote the welfare of the individual or the community'⁵⁰ – all this without recourse to government loans and the need for government expenditure on Islander welfare: 'Each island has its own bank account, and details of all collections and expenditure are entered in a special ledger. All moneys are deposited in the Government Savings Bank and earn the customary interest. Every penny collected is for the sole use of the natives' (Lee-Bryce, 1913c).

Despite official denials, the impost on wages and boat earnings was effectively a 'monstrous

tax' – an income tax rate of 3/- in the pound for married men and 5/- in the pound for single men, far more than the rate paid by European workers, who, unlike Islanders, had at least some say in electing their government representatives (Harries, 1913c). The rates were significantly reduced in response to criticism and Islander discontent, a small early victory for the Islanders. On the other hand, the island funds were useful in providing a buffer against local misfortune and paying for much of the infrastructure of the communities during the inter-war period, when government coffers were reduced by the world depression of the 1920s and 1930s. Lack of income imposed constraints on the two funding bodies most responsible for Islander welfare, the government and the Church of England. Con O'Leary took charge as local protector during this period of low prices and reduced economic activity and his proposals to exercise stricter control of boat expenditure were approved by the Chief Protector in July 1923 (Bleakley, 1923b).

Community improvements continued but at a slower pace and against a background of growing resentment against the 'protection' system. The Department's policy aims, as articulated in the early 1930s by Acting Protector H.T. Green, were to create self-supporting communities and encourage the Islanders 'as far as possible to live to such native habits as are not injurious. We do not seek to bring them up as whites. If they earn money, they are free to spend it (except in the purchase of such things as liquor)' (Simpson, 1933). While the Councils continued to enjoy limited local powers, authority in practice was exercised by the government through their agents, the superintendent-teachers.⁵¹ Islanders, who had once ranged freely over their territories, were now required to obtain a travel 'pass' from the superintendent; their wages were deposited in accounts administered by Department of Native Affairs officials and they were required to contribute a percentage to their island welfare fund; they had to get permission to withdraw and spend their own money, some of which disappeared in unexplained charges and taxes; marriages with non-Aboriginals had to be officially approved (under Queensland law, Torres Strait Islanders were then designated as 'Aboriginals'); a nightly curfew was instituted. People could be moved at the pleasure of the government: dissident individuals and their families were sent to the open prison of Palm Island and in 1922 the whole population of Kirriri was forcibly removed at gunpoint to Mua.

Islanders' desire to control their own destiny took stronger hold in this period with matters coming to a head in a successful strike by the crews of 'company' boats in 1936 (Sharp, 1980). Local leaders became pan-Islander leaders, articulating common interests among the island groups and strengthening an emerging pan-Islander identity. Support for the strike was not universal but the strikers held firm and eventually the government capitulated. The strike deepened the rift between the Church of England and the department, which believed (correctly) that certain Church of England priests had helped foster the seamen's revolt.

The Queensland government was forced to grant many of the demands made by the island councillors at their first formal meeting on Masig (Yorke Island) on 23 August 1937: improved services, an end to unpopular regulations and the transfer of power from superintendent-teachers to local Councils, elected by all resident males aged 18 and over. These were legislated by the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939*, which came into operation on 12 October 1939. It recognised the Islanders for the first time in law as a separate people but control of the reserve inhabitants (including Poid but excluding St Paul's mission) still lay with the Department, renamed the Native Affairs Office, which administered the new legislation.⁵²

Despite financial stringencies, the inter-war years were a time of community consolidation and public infrastructure construction, with Islanders' earnings directly funding new stores, churches, schools, wells, tanks, roads and jetties. Islanders also began to build better-quality homes. These, together with more modern sanitary arrangements, medical treatment and supplies, and the draining of swamps, improved overall health, although frequent outbreaks of contagious diseases continued to occur, especially at swampy, mosquito-infested Poid. The decline in Islander population was halted and slowly returned to pre-contact figures just before World War II.

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: ADAM. I can find no official record of when or why the people from Totalai ('Old Camp') and Dabu ('South Sea Camp') moved under Anu Namai's leadership to Adam ('New Camp'), although one (admittedly fallible) record shows Namai still living at Totalai in 1905. The LMS missionary Ambar from Mabuyag was appointed to Totalai around 1903 and at the time of his dismissal in September 1905 some Mualgal were apparently

still living at Gerain, then known as Baua. The Kubin people told Edwards and Edwards (1997a: 8) that the missionaries decided to move the people from Totalai to Adam a few years after the children began attending school at Badu in 1901. Despite the characterisation of the new site by the local protector, who oversaw the removal of the Kaurareg to Adam, as 'one of the most fertile spots on the Western Islands' (Holmes, 1921c), it was situated on the leeward or unhealthy side of Mua close to mosquito-infested swamps.

My hypothesis is that Adam began as a semi-permanent camp around 1906 as an indirect result of the closure of the nearby shelling operations during the 1905 depression. The closure put most of the employees out of work and threatened famine. Anxious about the cost of purchasing food for the Islanders, the Department embarked on a program of assisting them to buy 'company' boats. Mua was provided with its own fishing boat in 1906 and I suspect that in return the people agreed to move to the new site to facilitate the provisioning of the village from the PIL store at Dogai on Badu, directly across from Adam, and the weekly travel of the children to school at Badu. This date coincides with the tenure of J.W. Bleakley as local Shipping Master – he was instrumental in bringing the Islanders under the *Protection Act* – and also with the generally accepted birth date of Newcamp Namai, daughter of Anu Namai, who is said to be the first child born at Adam: her name celebrates the formation of the new settlement.⁵³ It also accords with information given to Teske (1991: 8) that 'all the people from Dabu and Totalai were moved to a new village site at Adam. This was considered to be a better place for a village as it was closer to Badu and the people could go there to buy things from the store. The children could also attend the school on Badu.'

In early July 1908 the Home Secretary and Chief Protector of Aboriginals toured the islands but, as usual, bypassed Adam (Annual Report, 1908: 14). The itinerary was chosen by the Chief Protector to showcase successful developments, in this case the schools and James Mills' copra plantation at Nagi (Mt Ernest Island). Moreover, Adam as yet had no school and a very small population (Annual Report, 1910: 18). In May 1911 the 'native camp' at Adam was again bypassed but it had begun to resemble the other island reserve settlements administratively after the election of three Councillors and the appointment of two policemen. Mrs Ethel M. Zahel, the Badu

teacher, reported favourably on the character of one of the Councillors, Anu Namai, 'a particularly intelligent man', who 'tries very hard to maintain law and order' and had moved from Totalai to help form the new village. She also reported that houses for the villagers were being built off the ground (Annual Report, 1911: 16-17).

In 1912 an area of about 36,000 acres (15,200 hectares) on Mua, with an excision for St Paul's mission, was formally proclaimed island reserve R.37 in the Queensland Government Gazette II:1330 and the inhabitants officially became 'reserve inmates.' There were two Councillors in 1912, one of them Anu Namai, and two (unnamed) policemen, who may have been Kimasu Namai and Genai. Mrs Zahel again praised Namai as 'an intelligent and hard-working old man, who tries to do his best for the people' (Annual Report, 1912: 6, 22). A solid church was in process of construction and house-building continued. With proclamation of the 1912 regulations, oversight of the settlement passed officially to Mrs Zahel. According to her report, this was at the request of the Adam Councillors and she received permission from the Chief Protector 'to visit Adam, each month, if possible, and assist the councillors in any way that I could' but pressure was building for the appointment of a European teacher to superintend infrastructure development and the full incorporation of Adam into the island reserve system.

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: POID. The 'Mua Island native camp' doubled in size to 210 inhabitants when, on 2-3 March 1922, it received the entire population of 81 Kaurareg from Kirriiri. Plans for their relocation had been intermittently discussed since February 1913, when the local Protector, W.M. Lee-Bryce, recommended their removal for reasons of 'protection and control' and to remove a source of irritation from Thursday Island's European residents.⁵⁴ But, despite his 'strenuous efforts' to persuade them to move, they had always refused. In a prescient observation, Lee-Bryce counselled against removing them against their will, since the result would be 'constant friction [...] and consequent worry to anyone administering the island' (Annual Report, 1913: 13).

Conditions on Kirriiri deteriorated, however, and when Revd Done of the newly-established Church of England Torres Straits Mission first visited the community in April 1919, he 'described their situation as "the worst in the Torres Strait". In the following year thirteen died in the influenza

TABLE 4. Reconstructed list of Kaurareg removals to Adam, March 1922. Sources: Somerset registers of births, deaths, marriages; Diocese of Carpentaria registers of baptisms, confirmations.

Adult males (no.=21)
Kaur Agai, Ubai Bagie, Lou Bagie, Yaru Bagie, Wasaga Billy, William Apelu Booby, Noah Batu Bosun, Miskin Charlie, Seriat Charlie/Wigness, Corn,61 Ara Davies, Bobby Davies, Ben Hammond, Billy Hammond, Charlie Hammond, Wigness Kanamuri, Hezekiah Nawia, Nawia Jimmy, Madu Paul, Ellikem Tom, Rattler Tom
Adult females (no.=22)
Kupai Bagie, Surum Bagie, Kag Baut, Watipula Berdur, Aikasa Hammond Madu, Tam Bosun, Urepa Bosun, Dabangai Charlie, Adadi Cockatoo, Elimau Cockatoo, Alima Davies, Nawa Nawia Davies, Muimui Isaka, Alima Kaur, Kupa Miskin, Taki Papus Kaur, Mazie Patagam Sorogo/Namai, Garagu Kobaris Nawia, Luisa Nawia, Mami Nawia, Ibabu Nawia, Udiwad Davies Hammond
Children (no.=38)
Olga, Lima, Alice, Jephania and Athalia Aken; Jimmy Kaur Bagie; Eileen, Solomon and Maki Bobi; Puikap and Makeer Bosun; Kiu, Saila, Misia, Danangai, Kitty, Arama and Rasela Miskin; Wees, Niceone, Parisa and Kosam Nawia; Idea and Martha Paul; Eselina, Sitona and Maleta Rattler; Elipuna, Ellikem and Eliaso Tom; Eleanor, Phillip and Samson Wasaga; Joseph, Solomon and Anna Wigness

epidemic' (Sharp, 1992: 109).⁵⁵ They were now a depressed and remnant population, the prime victims of exploitation by Europeans who coveted their territories for pearling stations and grazing properties.

By June 1921 the decision to remove permanently all the Kaurareg from Kirriri to Adam had been made, with the full approval of the church authorities, and costed at £182.⁵⁶ On 21 July 1921 the local Protector inspected the site near Adam on the southern side of the creek – Adam was on the northern side – and gave instructions that grass houses with mangrove wood floors be built for the 'Hammond Island deportees' by the people of Adam and Badu (Holmes, 1921e; Sharp, 1992: 127). During the latter part of 1921 the master and crew of the *Melbidir* 'supervised the building and fitting of a native village' to receive the Kaurareg (Annual Report, 1921: 2). The Department paid the builders in foodstuffs to the value of £60 on 20 December 1921⁵⁷ and maintained the new settlers over the following year.⁵⁸ Newcamp Namai Wasaga, then a teenager, was one of the Adam people who 'had to go and cut the grass for the houses and help these people. Five boats go to pick up all them things, them mats they sleep on. They're weeping all the time. The Government wouldn't let them go back and visit [afterwards]' (Sharp, 1992: 111).

The decision to remove the Kaurareg was made ultimately by Chief Protector Bleakley, who cites as his reasons the 'drink and other attractions' of Thursday Island, which were too easily accessible to them (Bleakley, 1961: 294). Their removal was presented as being for their future benefit: they would be among friends and each family would be provided with a house

(Annual Report, 1921: 5, 7; The Carpentarian, 2 October 1922: 706).⁵⁹

No detailed official record of the events and people involved in the removal could be located in Departmental files and a search of Departmental and police registers and correspondence failed to find the official name list, sent out on 10 May 1921, of the 81 Kaurareg – 21 adult males, 22 adult females, 38 children – removed to Mua (Holmes, 1921a). I have attempted to reconstruct it from various sources but it can only be approximate (see Table 4).⁶⁰ Some of the people were elderly, some were infants and some of the women were pregnant: the youngest was a baby, Rasela Miskin, aged about two months, who died in her new home in June 1922.

Despite the fact that a number of them had already settled at Adam,⁶² the Kaurareg strongly opposed the move, although their views were ignored and not recorded until much later. A month beforehand, R. Y. Holmes, the local Protector, suggested the removal of the three main spokespeople (whom he calls 'ringleaders') to avoid trouble.⁶³ Kaur Agai, originally from Muralag, was the most vocal opponent but a few days after the move he twice assured Mrs Zahel (1922) 'everybody come happy now' and Zahel assured Holmes 'that the Hammond people are settling down very well indeed.'⁶⁴ We have no means of judging the context of these remarks or why Kaur retracted his opposition – a threat of deportation to Palm Island may have had something to do with it – but the move was extremely traumatic and the two communities never completely fused, despite their close relations and later marriages and adoptions within the single village of Poid. Subsequent tensions and the desire to live once again on their own land led the

community to split again after World War II when a group of disaffected Kaurareg men moved to Ngurupai (Horn Island).

The Thursday Island mayor and editor of the local newspaper, Alexander Corran, wrote two savage articles for *The Brisbane Courier* and *The Queenslander* and called for a prompt enquiry from his member of parliament.⁶⁵ Corran, who was present at the eviction, claimed that the police produced revolvers and handcuffs and three men were arrested without charge (Corran, 1922a, 1922b). Resistance was futile. Many decades later Wees Nawia confirmed this account, telling Nonie Sharp that the police put an Islander policeman and two Councillors in gaol and told all the adults to take everything with them. One policeman put a revolver to Nawia's chest. Sharp vividly describes the reaction as they were shifted at gunpoint by three White policemen. 'As the Papuan Industries' vessel *Goodwill* took them away they wept as they sang the song "Keriri". For Keriri had become home, supporting a way of life in which birthplace and daily life of fishing and gardening and burial place were woven together' (Sharp, 1992: 110-111).

The Home Department defended its actions in words which echoed the chief Protector's: the move was in the best interests of the Kaurareg, who would now live in the 'best native houses' in Torres Strait and 'be with relatives' (Gall, 1922). Certainly there had been many pre-contact marriages, through which the couples themselves and their descendants often owned land on Mua as well as Kaurareg territories (see Shnukal 'Traditional Mua' chapter 2, this volume).⁶⁶ Moreover, we know that in 1910 most of the people of Adam were living with relatives at Kirriri and some children of Muan families were born on Kirriri.

There was, however, tension from the day of arrival and 'Moa people treated them as outsiders for a long time' (Roney Wasaga to Sharp, 1992: 120). Nevertheless, both sides had no alternative but to accept the situation and try to make the best of it. Despite the tensions, the two communities soon began to be drawn together and within a few months, the combined settlements became known as Poid.⁶⁷ It is not clear exactly when the name was adopted but the Bishop of Carpentaria uses the new name in his diary entries of 23-24 July 1922, almost five months after the resettlement. Wees Nawia told Sharp (1992: 127) that the Kaurareg were responsible for changing the name – as always a new name both signals and symbolises a change of state – but it was almost certainly a

negotiated decision, despite the fact that the new community 'was not a homogenised one: families retained their own identities based on genealogical ties to place despite the administration's firm embargo on use of indigenous languages or travel to any of the Prince of Wales island' (Sharp, 1992: 112).

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: ECONOMY. By the beginning of the century the men of Mua were well integrated into the fisheries as crew and swimming divers and the island had become a prime source of water and firewood for the vessels pearing in Mua Pass. Contrary to general belief, Islanders were not banned from visiting Thursday Island, although their visits were discouraged. The Court of Petty Sessions records show a number of convictions of Muans, both male and female, for drunkenness and disorderly conduct on Thursday Island during the first few years of the century: Jack Moa in 1900;⁶⁸ Rosie Buia Moa in 1901;⁶⁹ Arusam Nakau and Rosie Buia in 1902;⁷⁰ Zambo, Manase Savage's father, in 1902.⁷¹

Decreasing pearlshell prices led to several fleets abandoning Torres Strait in 1905. Four shore stations at Mabuyag and Badu ceased operations, leaving 115 men without employment. To add to their misfortune the gardens failed during the last few months of the year after an abnormally short *kuki* season and inadequate early rains (Annual Report, 1905; Milman, 1905: 2; O'Brien, 1906b).

In early February 1906 the inhabitants of Mua, Ugar (Stephens Island) and Kirriri approached the local Protector, seeking help to purchase a boat for each island. With the downturn in the marine industries, there were many bargains to be had and on 7 March 1906 the Mua Islanders, with administrative help from the Department and a loan from PIL, bought a lugger, which they named the *Moa* (Costin, 1908c).⁷² The cash price of £80 was advanced by PIL (the asking price was £125) but gear, insurance, repairs and stores brought the total cost to £176.2.11 (O'Brien, 1906b). In May 1906 the Muans managed to pay £8.0.10 off the debt but the following month they incurred a further debt of £46.12.2, making the gross debt £224.10.0. The difficult economic conditions continued and in February 1907 PIL leased back the *Moa* at a monthly rental of £2 and put the Samoan Tipoti Nona from Badu in charge; in return PIL advanced the sum of £42.12.2 to pay the debts owed to various local tradespeople (Milman, 1907).

By April 1908 the *Moa* was the property of the Fijian John Wesley.⁷³ Muans had purchased a second boat, the 4-ton cutter *Dot*, although technically she was owned by PIL (Costin, 1908a; Walker, 1908a). At the end of 1910 the *Moa* was being 'rented by south-sea men of Darnley' and the *Dot* by 'natives of Badu but recently transferred to south-sea men of Darnley' (Walker, 1910). A dispute arose regarding the demand from the Thursday Island Shipping Master that PIL take out articles for all the crew engaged in boats legally owned by them but worked co-operatively by Islanders. F.W. Walker, managing director of PIL, offered to sell the boats to the Islanders but the offer was declined. Given the market slump, these new conditions would render the boats unprofitable and Walker threatened to lay them up, despite the dire consequences:

This will inflict a serious injury on the natives concerned as in many instances they are worked by men too old to go out in the shelling boats so they will be reduced to idleness and want and be discouraged in their efforts to maintain themselves and their families by an honest endeavour to earn a little money by fishing in the neighbourhood of their homes (Walker, 1908b).

Costin called Walker's bluff and Walker said he would lay up the boats.

By mid-1908 the price of shell was still depressed; worse, the pearling grounds close to the Prince of Wales Group, 'up to Badu and Moa, and Endeavour Strait' were almost depleted (Milman, 1908b). Not long afterwards the *Moa* was accounted 'an almost hopeless failure' and was to be handed back to the Department at the end of August. Then, in August 1908, she was stranded on Mathu (Jackson Island) and abandoned by the crew and had to be entirely recoppered (Costin, 1908d, 1908e).

The *Moa* had been 'an unfortunate purchase from the first', wrote Milman (1908c). Her earnings had failed to clear the advances or make a profit. Only £71 was realised over the time she was worked but this was a period of low prices and difficult conditions and the boat itself had the reputation of being 'as slow as a crab.' Nevertheless, the Islanders were left with a debt to the Department and PIL and the matter became a bureaucratic embarrassment. The Protector was of the opinion that 'there is very little hope that the natives of Moa will ever be able to work the boat successfully' but its value at auction would

be only about £60 in the depressed state of the market. Nevertheless, with marine prices still low, it was decided to sell the damaged, debt-ridden *Moa* by public auction and this was done on 13 November 1909 (Wilson, 1909). She had been out of commission from mid-August 1909 but still sold to PIL for the 'fairly good price' of £80. However, the government, obliged to divide the money with PIL, suffered 'a decided loss': the balance sheet showed the *Moa*'s owners owing £88.18.11 to the government and £103.11.4 to PIL, which also sought compensation for the repairs they had made to her. The end result was a government share of £34.6.0 with £40.1.9 to PIL (Bleakley, 1910). The Chief Protector grew increasingly anxious about the expense incurred in administering the islands (Annual Report, 1909: 5): he is quoted in Williamson (1994: 70) as telling parliament that 'Islander communities had received a great deal of material assistance in terms of boats, schools and teachers' but so far that investment had yielded no monetary return.

Prices for shell began to rise again in 1910 and demand for crew returned. However, while more young Mualgal signed on, others left newly-established Adam to live among their kinfolk at Kirriiri and only a very few old men were living there that year (Annual Report, 1910: 18). In his first report as local Protector, Lee-Bryce castigated able-bodied Islanders who did not seek employment now that demand for labour had picked up and wages improved. He cited both moral and economic objections: lack of thrift, the bad example set by the unemployed and, given the projected shortage of food, the likely demand on the Department for welfare (Annual Report, 1911: 15).

The men of Adam had by now taken possession of the vessel *Adam*, which was involved in an accident and had to be rebuilt during 1911, thus incurring a heavy debt. The *Dot* was rented to them at £2.10.0 per month to enable them to continue to work and more young men were now prepared to sign on. The Protector was particularly annoyed by the non-payment of the money advanced by the Aboriginal Protection Property Account to purchase the boat, noting that only the Adam and Muri (Mt Adolphus Island) crews had 'failed to justify the confidence reposed in them', all other boats being clear of debt. However, the Adam men worked well that year, the *Adam* earning £79.16.9 and the rented *Dot* £81.12.9 (Annual Report, 1911: 15, 17, 34).

During the early years of the new protection regulations, the Adam people continued to busy themselves in their gardens and other pursuits and were often away from the village. The young men signed on when it became necessary to earn some income but they generally preferred to follow their traditional activities. This attitude annoyed Lee-Bryce (1912b), who complained of how 'extremely difficult' it was during 1912 'to obtain labour for diving boats from Badu, Moa and Mabuiag Islands, as the men would rather loaf about while they can obtain tucker, and work spasmodically on the boats going to Badu.' Mrs Zahel, the teacher-superintendent at Badu, increased her supervision of Adam village and by the end of that year she reported that the weight of the catch of the *Adam* was 22cwt 22lb (1127.63 kg), which had reduced the vessel's debt by £79.1.3 (Annual Report, 1912: 22).

By the end of 1912 pearlshell was selling 'at £500 a ton and all available boats are made use of.' Bêche-de-mer prices were also high (Harries 1912a, 1913d). However, Costin had paid for the second Muan boat, the *Adam*, and debited PIL with half the purchase money, without Walker's knowledge or approval (Milman, 1908c). She was barely seaworthy and by the end of June 1913 was still in debt (Lee-Bryce, 1913b). The Adam men continued to work their boat, *Adam*, during 1913 and by the end of that first year of operation of the island funds, the village had a credit balance of £29.10.2;⁷⁴ by the end of 1914 it stood at £84.19.5 (Annual Reports, 1913: 13, 1914: 12).

TABLE 5. Adam men signed on articles 1921. Source: Wilby (1921; spellings updated).

Name	Place	Employer	Rate	Date of signing
Nawie	Adam (PIL)	C.E. Sinclair	35/-	25/1/1921
Nawarie	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Tamate	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Abea	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Katua	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Misick	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Opeta	Adam	Wanetta	£1	23/2/1921
Kimasu	Adam	C.E. Sinclair	£1	23/2/1921
Soria	Adam	Sinclair	£1	28/1/1921
Rupia	Adam	Sinclair	£1	28/1/1921
Ikabod	Adam	Sinclair	£1	28/1/1921
Elley	Adam	Sinclair	£1	28/1/1921

Despite the often uneasy relationship between the Adam people and the local Protectors, some of the men had reason to thank G.F.L. Foxton in 1919 for his role in obtaining wages due to 'Aboriginal seamen' living at Adam: Kimasu Namai, Nawia Gaburui, Tom Young, Miskin Charlie, Rupea Namai, Elia Tamate, Jimmy and Simeon.⁷⁵ Foxton proceeded against the firm of Morey and Coy, which pleaded guilty to all charges and was ordered to pay the wages due, together with costs of court.⁷⁶ A few months later, on 7 July 1919, Tom Young was licensed as skipper of *Revel*, the only Adam/Poid resident to hold such a license before the war.⁷⁷

Recognising the disadvantages of depending solely on the marine industries, the Department at various times cast about for alternatives. Attempts were made to establish auxiliary industries. One possibility mooted for Mua was mining – traces of gold were found in the 1890s (Parry-Okedon, 1897) and in the inter-war years a few prospectors visited in the hope of making significant discoveries. In 1913 Revd Harries applied to the government for a license to cut timber on Mua and Badu, intending to build a small saw mill plant on Mua to produce house flooring: he wrote that most of the Islanders 'at present sleep on the ground. I am convinced that I can solve this problem for them, if you grant this request' (Harries, 1913a). The license was refused. The authorities were in the process of developing a large-scale industrial policy for the Islanders, in which they saw no role for the LMS.⁷⁸

Despite low shell prices, the marine industries provided the only economic activity open to the men. A small notebook of slop chest advances kept by Departmental clerk, E.A. Wilby 'as a proper record of receipt of allotments' contains the names of 12 men from Adam who signed on articles in early 1921, their employers, rates of pay and date of signing. As the only available list of the able-bodied adult male population of Adam a year before the arrival of the Kaurareg, it is historically significant and included as Table 5.⁷⁹ There were now more men whose earnings could contribute to village improvements via the island fund, which was used, among other things, to provide pensions: Asau, widow of the Poid teacher, Atuelu Bowia, left with six young children under working age, was granted £1.0.0. per month in 1925 (O'Leary, 1925).⁸⁰

The bishop made his first visit to the new settlement of Poid in July 1922 and noted that the Kaurareg had begun pearling. They had

TABLE 6. Crew of the winning lugger *Wakaid*, 1928. Source: Tanu Nona to Margaret Lawrie (1973).

Captain	Tanu Nona
Poid crew	Wees Nawia, Kosam Nawia, Parisa Nawia, Daniel Solomon, Opeta Kanai, Joseph Wigness
Badu crew	Manu Nona, Tolowa Nona, Talapasa Nona, Ben Nona, Repoam Solomon, Akilipa Harry, Moses Akiba, Masi Sagigi, Mota Charlie, Oliphanu Panuel, William Blanket, David Blanket, Paiwan Blanket
Dauan crew	Anau Mau, Lemiko Gagai, Tabepa Mau
Others	Moses Aurukun from Cape York, Willie Gow and Zangaur Babia from Saibai ⁸⁶

chartered the lugger *David Pitt* and the ex-policeman from Kiririri had found a very good pearl. 'This early success is very encouraging to them', he wrote (The Carpentarian 2 October 1922: 706), and the men finally were able to prove their calibre in a decent boat. As a result of their success the local Protector was authorised in February 1923 to spend not more than £250 to purchase the sailing cutter *Karabai* for them, a far better boat than any of her predecessors (Bleakley, 1923a; O'Leary, 1923a, 1923b; Robertson, 1935).⁸¹

The shell price in 1923 continued low at £110 per ton and the Department was anxious about finding the money to continue its operations, let alone make inroads into its considerable debt. It was another bad year for fishing operations, made worse by a hurricane which destroyed gardens and badly affected the amount of the catch of the Poid, Badu, Mabuyag and Saibai boats. On 9 June 1923 the recently-appointed local Protector, O'Leary, visited Adam and appointed a new captain for the *Manu*, which was 'the most heavily debt burdened boat in the Straits. She will now work under the jurisdiction of the Councillor, who will report any loss of time.'⁸² Adam's second boat, the *Karabai*, was given similar treatment. In 1924 the crews of the *Manu*, captained by Ara, and *Karabai*, captained by Genai, joined other Western Island boats in signing declarations to protest the methods of the Japanese, who, they claimed, were deliberately attracting sharks to the shallow areas worked by swim divers by throwing meat tins and grease over the side. They signed a second petition on 25 August 1925 protesting against the Japanese diving in shallow water (Annual Report, 1923: 6; O'Leary, 1923a).⁸³

It was probably around this time that Tanu Nona, the Badu skipper and politician who was a favourite of the Department, was asked by the Poid people to captain the *Manu* (Beckett, 1987: 153; Lawrie, 1973) but that may have been less a choice than a direction from the local Protector. In 1925, O'Leary set up a

competition for the 'best', i.e., most profitable, trochus boat. The winner was *Manu*, captained by Tanu Nona with a crew of 16 from Badu and Poid. Nona's 'great friend', Wees Nawia, was among the crew, along with his brothers Parisa and Kosam Nawia, Daniel Solomon, Opeta Kanai and Joseph Wigness. Nona's reward was £20 and the patrol vessel, *Melbidir I*, the biggest lugger in the strait. Purchased by the Badu community, rebuilt, refitted and renamed *Wakaid*, she had a specially picked crew of 26, six of them from Poid, when, in 1928, she won the competition with a catch worth £3,175 (Table 6). Praising the victory and the excellent results of the fleet generally, Chief Protector Bleakley reported that the *Wakaid* 'achieved the creditable result of clearing off her original debt of £950, for purchase, rebuilding and refitting, within the first twelve months. The captain and crews, in addition, earned more than double the wages possible if employed in any private fishing fleet' (Annual Report, 1928: 12; Lawrie, 1973).⁸⁴

A new scheme of working trochus company boats came into operation on 1 January 1928 in response to the continued low price of shell. Nine vessels were chosen to participate in a trial of working the Great Barrier Reef as far south as Cairns, or even further if the situation warranted. The Department established agencies in Cairns and Cooktown through which they could reprovision and ship their shell to Thursday Island. Of the nine boats which made the first trial, two were from Poid, the *Manu* and *Karabai*.⁸⁵ It proved a success, with the total value of produce that year being £26,409, almost £3,000 more than the previous year and as a result the number of boats working under the new system was increased (Annual Reports, 1927: 6, 1928: 6, 15).

However, the Poid boats did almost no work during the early part of 1929 after their crews were laid low by a severe outbreak of malaria and in 1930 the *Manu* underwent a thorough overhaul. The following year it was the *Karabai*'s turn to undergo expensive repairs, while the *Manu* performed well. This may be the time 'in the early

1930s' referred to by Sharp when the crew of the *Manu*

refused to work the boat unless they were allowed to select their own skipper. When recruiting time came at the island of Badu for the 'company boats', owned by the Islanders and controlled by the Protector, the crew of *Manu* refused to work 'and paddled back to Poid', as one Badu Islander recalls. The Protector acceded to their demand and the skipper chosen by the men was Wees Nawia. Soon after he was also elected Chief Councillor at Poid, an event occurred that heralded a move for community autonomy and a self-sustained life (Sharp, 1992: 112).

Manu may have produced a good result 'but the *Karabai* was the outstanding bad boat of the western islands' in terms of produce taken and profits realised. By 1932 returns from trochus shelling were again reduced; again this was said to be due to inefficiency; again the *Karabai* was slipped for minor repairs (Annual Reports, 1930: 9, 1931: 9, 1932: 12, 1933: 11).

At a meeting with 'the entire male adult population of Poid' in January 1933, 52 men in all, Green announced that he was transferring the *Manu* to Mabuyag after her poor performance and allegations of sorcery against six of the crew (MacFarlane, 1932) and her value (along with other vessels) was written down to meet depreciation.⁸⁷ A new boat named *Poid* took her place. Two years previously the local Protector had advised transferring the *Manu* to Erub to free the young men to take employment on the master boats and so increase the allotments to their dependents (and their contributions to the Poid island fund): the *Karabai* crew earned only £20 p.a. for their ten months work, whereas men on articles were paid £30 p.a. At the same general meeting the people requested that the *Karabai* also be taken away from their village but soon changed their mind. They agreed to work her to the satisfaction of the Chief Protector or face her possible removal on 30 June (Green, 1933a; O'Leary, 1933b). In June, however, Green (1933e) reported that 'since the *Karabai* was handed back to the Poid people she has been used to every advantage', including being used to ferry bush timber to the village for house building, and he recommended she remain at Poid conditional on further good performance.

In October 1934 Wasaga, captain of the *Karabai*, joined Luffman from Mabuyag and Natanielu from Badu in lodging official complaints about

the deliberate practice by the Japanese of throwing offal into the sea in an attempt to attract sharks and drive local 'swim divers', who used only a helmet and corselet, from the pearling grounds.⁸⁸ The immediate cause of concern was the narrow escape by Uiduldam from Badu from a shark at Mangrove Reef near Boigu. The Japanese were threatened with the closure of certain areas, a letter to this effect was sent to the Japanese Association of Thursday Island, and the matter was settled (Armstrong, 1934a).

Two months previously the *Karabai* had again been repaired, this time at a cost of £174.4.7 (McLean, 1934c). The judgment of the Marine Department's ship's surveyor's was that 'this vessel's hull planking will not stand another large overhaul and only minor repairs if required should be carried out each year in future and then the vessel should be condemned as the hull planks at the seams appear to be very soft and will not stand re-caulking' (Smibert, 1934). The following year her general condition was assessed by an official of the Marine Department as being 'from poor to fair only' and she was valued at not more than £180 (Robertson, 1935). In typical fashion the Poid people were provided with substandard equipment and then blamed for their failure to compete with other, better-equipped company boats. This meant that, no matter how hard they worked or the level of their skill, they were condemned to obtain lower returns than other company boats, which meant that the community as a whole suffered by comparison with other islands: pensions paid from the Poid island fund, for example, were lower than on other islands.

By September 1935 McLean admitted that the loan position of the *Karabai* was unsatisfactory and she would have to be scrapped while still in debt. She had won produce worth £302.1.5 that year and McLean thought she might be worth 'more than the £180 assessed by the Harbour Master, seeing that repairs (£214.4.7) were effected in 1934.' The *Karabai* was now 20 years old and, although refitted in 1921, required constant repairs and her crew adopted 'every method they can think of to avoid working in [her].' Nevertheless, they again took her south at the beginning of 1936 along with other boats, including the *Wakaïd* and *Badu*. The *Karabai* had been captained since 1934 by Katua Namai, according to his tombstone, and it again sailed with an all-Poid crew: Kosam Nawia, Christmas Young, Parisa Nawia, Lou Bagie, Sem Aken, Ara, *Karabai* Kopi, Wasaga, Asera, Manase, Elley Genai, Ngurpai Luta, Dama Kopi, Elimatamu, Satrick Young, Ram Kopi, Joshua

TABLE 7. List of Poid seamen discharged 1929-1934 (incomplete). Source: Seamen's discharge registers 1926-1934, 1935-1939. *Surnames added.

Date	Name	Boat	Rating	Nationality
27/6/1929	Wissel Kopi	<i>Mildred</i> & others	Crew	Poid
9/8/1929	Katua Namai	<i>Manu</i> & others	In charge	Poid
9/8/1929	Daruga [Nakau]*	<i>Manu</i> & others	Crew	Poid
9/8/1929	Asera [Billy]	<i>Manu</i> & others	Crew	Poid
9/8/1929	Elimatamu [Genai]*	<i>Manu</i> & others	Crew	Poid
27/8/1929	Wigness [Kanamuri]	<i>Manu</i> & others	In charge	Poid
25/10/1929	Ben [Solomon]*	<i>Manu</i>	Crew	Poid
30/12/1929	Katua [Namai]*	<i>Willow</i> & others	Crew	Poid
28/9/1934	Abea [Namai]*	<i>Wakaid</i>	Crew	Poid

Nawie, Idea Paul, Paikai Kopi, Semu and Willie Namai.⁸⁹ There were also Poid crew aboard the *Wakaid* and *Badu*: on the *Wakaid*, captained by Tanu Nona, were Japania Hammond, Wees Nawia, Abea Namai, Elisara Nawie and Cockatoo; and on the *Badu* were Ubai Bagie, Sorea Kaitap, Ioane Manas and Elikiem Tom. However, the ageing and unprofitable *Karabai* continued to pose problems and in January 1936, on the eve of the company boat strike, the Protector agreed to take her away from the Poid men and free them to work the master boats (Annual Report, 1936: 16; McLean, 1935c).

The upheavals of the strike were followed by a severe downturn in the price of pearlshell and trochus in 1938, the result of the Sino-Japanese conflict. This was the worst year since the end of World War I with about 20% of the workforce discharged and wages reduced and gloomy predictions that the industry was finished (Annual Reports, 1937: 15, 1938: 13). Poid as usual bore more than its share of hardship. It was one of only three island communities which did not have an Aboriginal Industries branch store, the people being expected to use the store at Badu.⁹⁰ Even so, Poid and Badu were the only islands to collect the new island tax instituted from 1 January 1938 to replace the island fund deductions. This new scheme was recommended by the Councillors' conference in 1937 and provided for each worker to pay a tax 'on a sliding scale of 2s. to £2 per annum, conditional on the circumstances of the taxpayer' as a lump sum, the Councillors of each island being authorised to assess and collect the taxes. The scheme was a failure: on some islands no tax was collected,

in others only a small amount. It was scrapped and Islanders reverted to the previous system from the beginning of 1939 (Annual Reports, 1938: 13-15, 1939: 4).

Only a few seamen's discharge registers survived the rigours of the Torres Strait climate and some pages are too fragile to be viewed. Two that did survive, unfortunately damaged and incomplete, were the Seamen's Discharge Registers 1926-1934 and 1934-1939, which I viewed at the Thursday Island court house in August 1996. I include here an incomplete list of the seamen from Poid discharged from 1929 to 1939, their discharge date, boat, rating and 'nationality' as they were recorded. Surnames added are in square brackets (Table 7).

One consequence of sending the Islander fleet to work along the east mainland coast was the introduction of various diseases into the islands, such as the whooping cough brought back from southern ports at the end of 1937 (Annual Report, 1938:8). Deaths also occurred among the seamen away from home. Both Muan communities were plunged into mourning when, on 12 March 1934, a cyclone tore through part of the fishing fleet off Bailey's Creek north of Cairns. In the worst disaster since 1899, when over 300 lives were lost, about 35 people perished, including five Torres Strait Islanders (The Carpentarian, April 1934: 552). According to Thomas Lowah (n.d.), who was on board the lugger *Cuckoo* at the time, the *Mildred* had a few Poid crew members, one of whom, Elia Tamate Nawie, perished in the cyclone. He left a wife, Lima, and three children. Four people with kin connections to St Paul's also died, as well as friends and relatives from the mainland. Overwhelmed by a rush of water, they were washed overboard. 'Soon one of the boys Tamat of Poid said he was done, his legs were cramped and he could go no further. He would not allow his brother to help him telling him to go on and try to save himself' (Anon., n.d.).⁹¹ By this time all Torres Strait Islander workers were insured under the Workers' Compensation Act. Of the 37 claims made in 1935, eight were from dependents of the men who lost their lives in the cyclone. Even the compensation payment, however, was 'protected' by officials 'by depositing it to the recipient's credit in the Savings Bank and allowing withdrawals against it within reason' (Annual Report, 1935: 5).

A year after the cyclone disaster, on 16 June 1935, Paikai Kopi from Poid died of pneumonia

at Dunk Island.⁹² He, his brothers, Dama, Karabai and Ram, and four other crew members were working on the *Karabai* skippered by Parisa Nawia, collecting trochus shell between Thursday Island and Tully. In 1937 Iona Asai of Saibai was attacked by a shark (Annual Report, 1937: 10): unable to continue his previous occupation, he and other Saibai men moved to Gerain on Mua in 1943 to mine wolfram.⁹³ Then, on 11 November 1937 the lugger *Kozan* was wrecked on Flinders Reef northeast of Townsville with 16 crew, one of whom was Willie Namai, youngest son of Anu Namai and Aidabu.⁹⁴

Despite the dangers attendant on the marine industries, no alternative source of cash income offered itself until significant deposits of wolfram were found on Mua towards the end of the 1930s. The people of Poid hoped that mining would give them relative independence from the government and 'the Poid Council led by Wees Nawia made a move to mine and sell wolfram, an enterprise which was made open to all Islanders' (Sharp, 1992: 113).

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: ADMINISTRATION. Judging by the Department's annual reports, by around 1920 Adam was reasonably well integrated into the overall strategic administrative plan for Islander reserves, receiving weekly visits from the superintendent of St Paul's Mission and less frequent visits from the local Protector, the Bishop and the Chief Protector of Aboriginals. The removal of the Kaurareg doubled its population and by 1923 the old and new communities of Poid were fully integrated economically, if not socially. The Bishop was still of the opinion that the move had proved, 'as it was expected to, a great advantage to the [Kaurareg], who have now settled in comfortably in their new homes' (A.B.M. Review, 12 June 1923: 48). The Poid people were now fully incorporated into the government's system of segregation and control and received regular visits of inspection.

It was, however, always a difficult settlement to administer. Adam was malaria-prone and unhealthy and for years neglected by the government. Poid, its successor, was artificially created by forced relocation and half the population, exiled from their traditional lands, still mourned their loss. Since then the community had endured much illness and death. We cannot know how well Adam and Poid might have performed if given efficient boats which were not so costly to refit and repair. Typically, however, the local Protector blamed them for their failure to earn as much as other

islands: the young seamen for their 'lack of industry'; their older people for not working harder in their gardens. He suggested more coercion by the new government teacher and the provision to the old men of 'second-hand dinghies or a whaleboat from Badu' so that they might go out pearlshelling (Buxton, 1931b).

On 6 August 1931 the local Protector visited Poid to hear various complaints and took possession of two petitions addressed to the Chief Protector (original spelling and punctuation):

Dear Protector. We all people in this Village we want know about the island pound please we want you give we regest of island pound and boat death regest [register] and card money regest and the pearl money. We sold all pearl we never get full money in our hand and better School in this please [place] and give we children good edicate please we all people in this Island we wont let this teacher go anywhere because love this teacher better than any teacher been here in Poid. That all the news we want from this Village.

Dear protector please if you kind to we all old man and widow we want the three more shilling better than 2 shilling you know youself people in this world people cant leave [live] for one week only for two shilling please Protector 2 shilling only last we for one day after nothing to eat you Protector in hit we have one week only for two shilling. Some widow hard little boy and daughter they cant leave on two shilling if you please and kind to we and want 3 shilling more. We all faithfully old man and widow, Poid.

It was probably at the same meeting that the Poid people formally complained that the site of the village was unhealthy and asked for permission to move to Kubin, about 13km away, their usual wet season camp and where they had gone during the malaria epidemic of 1929.⁹⁵ Dr G.H. Vernon, the government medical officer (GMO), and teachers Armstrong and Zahel were approached for their opinion, which was that the site was healthy but that the Poid people could not be made to maintain good sanitary conditions. However, the Chief Protector was not unsympathetic and asked for a report on the anchorage at Kubin to supplement Armstrong's report and sketch dated 6 November 1931 (O'Leary, 1932). He visited the proposed new site with the local Protector and Armstrong, the latter undertaking to survey the site and provide a sketch showing 'elevation, water supply, building sites, anchorage,

gardens, swamp areas, etc.' so that a decision could be made.

O'Leary, recently appointed Deputy Chief Protector, remained unconvinced of the need for the move: 'There is no doubt but that in recent years the Poid people have not been healthy, but whether a removal from their present village to another site would be solution of this trouble is an open question.' Towards the end of February 1932 the local Protector, C.B. Buxton, reported that, since the sickness at Poid had cleared up considerably, he considered the matter not urgent. The government was reluctant to expend such a large amount for what, given the recent improvements in health, appeared to be negligible return and in mid-1932 the Poid people received an official refusal from the local Protector. No doubt directed by O'Leary, he cited 'the lowness of the surrounding land' at Kubin and the considerable cost of removal, too great to be borne by the island fund. The health of the people, he suggested, would be better served by spending as little as a quarter of the projected removal cost on better housing (Green, 1932a). During a visit in late 1932 O'Leary pointed out to Armstrong, who supported the people's desire to relocate to healthier Kubin, that 'the probable cause of the number of mosquitoes was the trees and undergrowth at the back of the village and teacher's quarters' and Armstrong promised to have a large area cleared over Christmas holidays, as well as erecting more and better housing (Annual Report, 1932: 12; Buxton, 1932; O'Leary, 1933c).

By now Poid had become virtually indistinguishable, at least superficially, from the other island reserves, with its newly laid-out and well-maintained streets, its church, school, general cleanliness and apparent order (Annual Report, 1931: 8, 9) (Fig. 3). Poid was also included in the visit on 4 October 1933 by the governor and his party, who slept that night at St Paul's.⁹⁶ However, beneath the appearance of progress and improvement, the Poid people were affected by the widespread discontent that was to lead to the 1936 maritime strike, a product of the humiliations, absence of freedoms and lack of control over events shaping their lives. They and the other Islanders did not fully understand the reasons for the various imposts on the men's earnings as contributions to the island, insurance and boat reserve funds; nor why they did not receive the full price of the pearls they had sold through the Protector's office. They were working hard, had voluntarily contributed



FIG. 3. View of Poid, 1920s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

their labour to the various village projects, the men worked the inefficient boats they had been given as best they could but they found their incomes, which were contingent upon the boat earnings, to be inadequate. In constant touch with their near neighbours, they compared their poverty with the relative prosperity of the latter and felt that the Department was cheating them in some obscure way, without being able to pinpoint the exact source of their unease.

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: INFRASTRUCTURE. Despite the financial stringencies of the war and the depression, Adam began to stabilise as a community. In 1917 it became necessary to pull down the old LMS mission house and build another, although on a smaller scale (A.B.M. Review, 12 June 1917: 55). The school at Adam with its 'antiquated old earthen floors' was inspected in 1918 and it was recommended that it should be pulled down for health reasons and replaced by a school with wooden floors off the ground. By 1919 all the houses were off the ground and there was a 'very noticeable' improvement in health (Annual Reports, 1918: 5, 1919: 4).

The Department's policy of infrastructure creation, which focused on the replacement of old buildings by new ones 'to improve the accommodation and health of the reserve inhabitants', was trumpeted as marking 'a new era of native life.' The island schools were built by local labour 'of grass and coconut branches, material similar to that used for their own houses.' Loose coarse sand formed the floor and, although the schools were 'invariably kept clean and tidy', the walls were bare and devoid of any decorations. Sanitation was crude: pupils generally went into the bush to relieve themselves but school inspector

Fox (1924) was 'not prepared to assert that there is decided menace to health through the absence of civilised system of sanitation.' Desks, blackboards, books and other necessary school articles were in good supply. Soon after the inspection of the Poid school in September 1924 the people volunteered their labour to build a new school, measuring 45 ft by 25ft, with a galvanised iron roof, grass walls and hardwood floor. A 'decided improvement on the old thatch buildings', it was still under construction in 1925 (Annual Reports, 1924: 7, 1925: 7).

The water supply at Poid was unsatisfactory and, on his visit in mid-1929, the local Protector consulted the people about ways of improving it (Annual Report, 1929: 8; O'Leary, 1929c). However, the Poid building and scrub-clearing program was set back by the malaria epidemic of 1929 and the people went into debt to purchase various supplies (Annual Report, 1930: 8, 10). By 1931 general health had improved and Poid, along with many other islands and mainland settlements, was visited in June by a party of important officials.⁹⁷

Having rejected the proposed move to Kubin, the Protector was even more determined to continue his program of house-building and scrub-clearing: more bush timber was prepared for house building, the streets were realigned and the area subdivided into allotments (Annual Report, 1933: 11, 12). All the old houses were ordered to be pulled down and new ones erected on the new allotments but the acting local Protector was critical of the rate of progress, noting that only a small area of scrub had been cleared to the southwest of the village and stumps put into position since his last visit. He immediately 'organised all labour at the village into groups to clean the village of weeds and rubbish', and also despatched the *Karabai* with men to convey housebuilding timber to the village. He then supervised the cleaning of the village, and issued 'instructions to the teacher, councillors and police for progressive village work and housebuilding' (Green, 1933c). This, of course, was an implicit criticism of the teacher, Armstrong, who got on well with the Islanders and was neither overbearing nor a bully, nor particularly charismatic or energetic, qualities deemed necessary for a superintendent. Bleakley referred to his 'apparent negligence' and the lack of progress made under his watch and began to collect material to support his removal for unsatisfactory performance. In his defence, Armstrong explained that the *Karabai* was temporarily unavailable

to carry house building material from Badu to Poid and that, during the wet season, any weeds removed would quickly grow again and the village would be in the same state within a few weeks (Bleakley, 1933; Green, 1933d).

Green died in September 1933 and was replaced by J.D. McLean, who inspected Poid on 7 December 1933 (Annual Report, 1933: 12; McLean, 1933). He too, found much to criticise in the alignment and construction of the buildings but Armstrong pointed out that he had only four old men in the village to work with, all the young men being away on the boats and the children in school. Besides, he had 'erected 13 new kitchens, 10 new ones and three replacements.' He was prepared to give up his annual holidays to supervise the crews, when they returned at the end of the year, and hoped to have ten new houses erected. A further acre of scrub had been cleared.

The correspondence between local Protector McLean and his superior Bleakley in Brisbane regarding the Poid building program provides extraordinary detail about the extent to which the program was micro-managed from afar and the physical remodelling of the village between 1933 and 1935.⁹⁸

Officials kept a close eye on expenses, balancing the costs of purchasing building materials against boat earnings, since the villagers were now required to meet contributions for 'Island Fund, Commission, Insurance and redemption of debt' as well as household expenses. The Chief Protector's opinion was that 'a native should provide for himself a house in keeping with his financial standing' and that, since grass and bark for roofing and walls was easily obtained at Poid and cost nothing, 'this type of house would appear more suitable for the Poid people until their earnings justify a more expensive type.'

You will appreciate that the Poid natives have always been regarded, and with considerable justification, as inferior in industry and progress to most other natives, consequently where Islanders such as at Cocoanut and Badu are capable of providing a decent type of cottage with iron roof from their earnings, the Poid native has not been able to do so (Bleakley, 1934).

By 1934 work had begun on the jetty and a concrete landing stage was completed. Armstrong proposed raising the existing structure to the same level as the completed section and extending the jetty head a further 15 metres to make a landing

place when tides were low. There were numerous delays but not of his making.⁹⁹ He wrote several memoranda estimating costs and requesting technical engineering information from the Department of Harbours and Rivers. He did similar calculations for the 30 new houses he had been instructed to oversee in addition to the jetty. The Poid island fund in 1934, which financed most of the building program, had a credit balance of £140 which 'would be sufficient to make a start on half the number of houses required.' Armstrong estimated that over the next few years an average of 35 men from Poid would sign on articles in addition to the 15 employed on the *Karabai* and proposed a tax of 10% on their wages to result in a sum of £135 p.a.: 'Buying at wholesale rates, three years should be sufficient to repay indebtedness.' He was careful to explain that he possessed 'insufficient data to render my figures accurate' and they should be checked by the Department. However, if his scheme were adopted, 'the Department will not be put to any expense whatever. The initial outlay will be repaid' (McLean, 1934a). By August a dozen new 'neat, though small' and correctly aligned houses had replaced 'practically all the old tumble-down shacks' (Armstrong, 1934b). At the end of that year 11 new kitchens had been 'laid out in correct alignment' and five completed.

A set of concrete steps was built at the head of the jetty and a concrete walk along the top of the jetty has been constructed for a length of 25 feet. This is an improvement on the old rough path over the rocks. It is intended to eventually carry the concrete out for the full length of the jetty. Many of the existing houses have been rewalled and reroofed, thus making them habitable for the wet season. New steps were fitted to the school, and the building kept in repair (Annual Report, 1934: 15).

A further matter of concern to the Department was the need to extend the existing jetty a further 38 or so metres to prevent its being washed away by the currents and rough seas. This would be done, McLean reported, 'as labour and funds permit.' It was impossible to work on the jetty during the monsoon season 'owing to the high tides during the day and its exposure to the weather.' Moreover, there was no unemployment among the able-bodied Poid men, who were expected to provide the labour gratis. However, by 25 July 1935, McLean reported that work had recommenced and 'one (1) ton of cement has

been purchased from The Aboriginal Industries Board for this purpose.'

By the end of 1935 the Department had realised its plans to bring Poid's infrastructure into line with other communities. The Chief Protector wrote glowingly of the improvements: ten new houses completed, another three almost ready for occupation and a further three laid out and work commenced. New police quarters had been constructed; four new kitchens had been completed; two new houses had been measured up; and gardens on new land, including adjacent islands, had been prepared and planted with bananas, yams and sweet potatoes.

The sea-front is now free of houses, and it is proposed to plant this area with decorative trees. The jetty was concreted a further distance of 40 feet. Dry landings can now be effected at low tide. Repairs have been effected to the court house (now occupied by the native constable) and the school. A new notice-board and a stand for the village bell were erected in central positions. A new kitchen at the teacher's quarters with tank was an acquisition appreciated in the hot weather (Annual Report, 1935: 18).

The following year the Protector proposed to the Department of Public Works the erection of new teacher's quarters at Poid, 'in timber with concrete piers and fibrolite roofing' and estimated to cost £1,530.0.0.¹⁰⁰ The proposal was not accepted, presumably on the grounds of cost. Poid also won praise for its improved gardens (Annual Report, 1937: 16). The swamp close to Poid was drained in 1938 and 1939 in an effort to reduce the yearly outbreaks of malarial fever. Poid also received a new school house in mid-1939 built on concrete piles with hardwood flooring, walls made of mangrove and plaited leaves of coconuts, and an iron roof. 'The extension of the school house is 40 × 25 feet, with 3 doors and 10 windows, and it is healthier and every fresh air received from off the windows, and door, and children are mostly delighted and happy in their new school' (Gabey, 1939).

During these testing years the Poid community had united behind Wees Nawia as leader. Nawia, who was removed to Adam in 1922 as an adolescent, was elected chairman in 1933 and continued in that role until his death in 1981 (Sharp, 1992: 111).¹⁰¹ He told Sharp (1992: 129) that his pay as chairman in the early days was 'one stick of tobacco and one blanket.' The Chief Protector noted a remarkable change in

the Poid community's preparedness to work and a change in their spirit following his election (Sharp, 1992: 112). Kylie Tennant met Nawia in the late 1950s and was greatly impressed by his leadership abilities. He was, she wrote,

charming, one of those simple, gentle, big men who never have to give an order loudly because they know their personality will make them obeyed; people will do what they say because they never fuss. He was perfectly black with good features, thoughtful, courteous, efficient and unpretending, with a shy sense of humour (Tennant, 1959: 186).

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: HEALTH. The early years of the century were marked by food shortages, as the monsoon rains failed and gardens dried up or were destroyed by bush fires. There were also disease outbreaks, some fatal, and methods of preventing and containing illnesses became a major preoccupation of the local authorities. However, until the gazetting of Mua as a reserve in 1912, when it began to receive regular inspections, we have little detailed information about illness in the western settlements. Nevertheless, given the frequency and nature of contact between Mua, Badu and Mabayag, we can assume that the population suffered during the outbreaks on those islands. In 1905, for example, the teacher listed the illnesses which had led to 16 deaths on Mabayag from the beginning of the year: first dengue fever, then malaria, and afterwards bronchitis and enteritis. 'For eight days the natives went away from the Island to try and get away from it, and my school was in consequence closed [...] Some of the children are still away at Badu, Moya, and Murray Island respectively' (Cairns, 1905).

Mua's new status as an 'Aboriginal reserve' required various health measures to be put in place. Among them was a house-building program which, over the next few years, slowly replaced the old grass houses – 'very low, dirty, and with an

[earthen] floor', which were believed to contribute to the prevalence of ill health and disease – with houses made of galvanised iron, 'which would be more easily cleansed after sickness and not call for so much attention' (Annual Report, 1913: 15).

Although there is no documentary evidence of the Adam people succumbing to the ravages of the major tropical dysentery outbreak of early 1911, this is likely to be the result of inadequate reporting. It was a terrible year. There were attacks of fever during *kuki*; fortunately they were not serious but several cases broke out again in December. There was also a drought, bush fires destroyed most of the season's crop and the young coconuts perished (Annual Report, 1911: 15, 17). The Adam gardens were greatly affected by the exceptionally dry weather of 1911-1912 and the people began to look for gardening land elsewhere. They and the Badulgal began to cultivate some of the neighbouring small islands close to their villages 'with fairly successful results.' The Chief Protector who visited in September 1915, cast a more critical eye over the gardens, noting that their lack of success was caused not just by the continuing dry weather but also the 'perfunctory' way they had been worked.

Fairly good plots were seen at Badu and Moya, but as a rule their gardens are scattered patches in almost inaccessible parts of the islands. For this reason it is doubtful if these gardens are very frequently visited by the teachers and it is quite possible their work often falls short in result from want of proper organisation and supervision (Bleakley, 1915).

After several years of illness, low employment, reduced wages and drought, Adam families were amongst the poorest in the strait, their children ill-fed and suffering from tropical ulcers, but they continued to tend their gardens and send produce over to Badu for their children at school. Mrs Zahel reported that they were 'not nearly such fine healthy children as on some of the other

TABLE 8. Recorded deaths from influenza at Adam 1920. Sources: Diocese of Carpentaria register of burials; Somerset register of deaths; tombstone inscriptions. *According to custom, this name was given to the next-born siblings of the same sex.

Date of death	Place of death	Name	Age	Place of birth	Spouse/parents
2/1920	Adam	Whap Charlie*	2	Adam	Charlie & Gagime Moya
20/2/1920	Adam	Kanai	55	Mua	Siai
26/2/1920	Adam	Jimmy Christo	49	Rotuma	Lata Kara Savage
23/2/1920	Adam	Tom Alua Savage	32	Adam	Matilda Shadforth

TABLE 9. Poid deaths from malaria in 1929 and 1930. Sources: Poid tombstone inscriptions; Somerset register of deaths.

Date of death	Name	Origin	Age	Spouse/parents
22/1/1929	Unara Napiaw Waina	Mua	24	Ubai Bagie
23/1/1929	Kaur David Bagie	Mua	6 wks	Ubai & Unara Napiaw Bagie
6/2/1929	Nawa Geni Ikabod	Mua	3 wks	Ikabod & Mami
6/5/1929	Talita Makie	Mua	13 mths	Makie & Taina
11/5/1929	Muimui ¹⁰⁷		45	
20/5/1929	Arama Miskin	Kirriri	10	Miskin & Dabangai
22/5/1929	unnamed child		2	
16/6/1929	Bobbie Seriat	Mua	2	Seriat & Maleta
20/6/1929	Watipula	Badu	79	Gadiwa Charlie
26/6/1929	Dekei Jack	Kirriri	31	Hezekiah Nawia
1/7/1929	Kara Alion Nakau	Mua	6 mths	Duruga & Salome Nakau
13/9/1929	Unnamed son	Mua	1 wk	Soria & Olga Kaitap
5/2/1930	Mutal Inagi	Mua	1	Isaiah & Rebecca Alion Inagi
12/2/1930	Angelina Maratta	Mua	3	Johnny & Madiri Maratta
11/3/1930	Nagibu Nadai	Mua	36	Bakari Kanai
18/3/1930	Wigness Kanamuri	Kirriri	35	Adadi Cockatoo
5/6/1930	Miskin	Muralag	46	Dabangai Charlie
3/7/1920	Robina Maratta	Mua	2	Johnny & Madiri Maratta
8/7/1930	Ikabod	Mua	40	Mami Nawia Bosun

islands' and put this down to the frequent visits of their parents to their kinfolk on Kirriri, where the Kaurereg had been resettled. Dysentery broke out again in 1912 and closed the Badu school for two months but the Adam people escaped its ravages after Dr Elkington, Commissioner of Public Health, vaccinated the whole population in May 1912. Mrs Zahel again noted that the children did 'not look so well cared for nor so healthy as those of Badu' and some suffered from minor ailments like sore eyes and fever (Annual Reports, 1911: 17, 1912: 22-23).

There were no outbreaks of disease in 1913 but the following year a virulent type of whooping cough appeared at Adam, Badu and Saibai. Although many adults suffered attacks and remained feeble for some weeks, it was the younger children who were most severely affected and 21 fatalities were reported, seven of them at Adam (Annual Report, 1914: 10). One was Daniel, the infant son of Johnny and Madiri Maratta.¹⁰² The Adam people enjoyed a few years' respite before being tormented by the next epidemics of measles and malaria in July 1917, which affected all but the Top Western Islands (Annual Report, 1919: 6). Baithie, daughter of Wari and Kemur, and wife of Nakau, was one who died at Adam. However, the practice of building the houses on high stumps

resulted in improved health and the population had even increased slightly when the worldwide 'Spanish flu' pandemic struck in early 1920, causing almost 50 deaths in Torres Strait and the Cape York Peninsula area (Annual Report, 1920: 3).¹⁰³ Adam lost four people in February 1920 (A.B.M. Review, 7 May 1920: 3), although the full number may never be known (see Table 8).¹⁰⁴

Strict quarantine measures were instituted but the situation was made worse by shipping strikes, which obstructed communications and food and medical supplies: the government vessel Melbidir was obliged to transport food, blankets, medical supplies and medical teams around the region. Then, just as the influenza abated a 'particularly severe outbreak of whooping cough at Darnley, Murray, Yorke, Adam, and Badu Islands caused several deaths amongst the children.' The school was closed and 'in quick succession epidemics of influenza broke out, particularly at Badu, Adam and Boigu Islands, and scabies at Mabuig and Darnley' (Annual Reports, 1920: 4, 1922: 6).

The authorities had become more effective in combating disease but Poid, having shaken off influenza, was again attacked by yaws in the middle of 1923. Despite regulations requiring the parents to report the cases to the teacher, they refused to

do so, and were punished.¹⁰⁵ As a result of the stringent measures used by the authorities, the illness had almost disappeared by the end of the year. Noting that 'in the matter of minor illnesses, Poid village does not compare favourably with other islands', the Chief Protector strongly advised appointing a European teacher (Annual Report, 1923: 6).

Despite better housing, hygiene and drainage, the inter-war years at Adam/Poid were marked by recurrent epidemics. After the catastrophe of the 1920 influenza epidemic, the people's health improved during 1921 but a particularly severe outbreak of whooping cough occurred the following year, during which several children died. Among them were Nema, daughter of Johnny and Madiri Maratta; Anna, daughter of Wigness and Adadi and twin of Solomon Wigness; and Rasela, daughter of Miskin and Dabangai, who was only a baby when removed with her family from Kirriiri. Whooping cough was followed by influenza and malaria. More effective health measures were now in place and by the end of 1922 Mua was again free from illness; it also escaped any major illness during the 1924 influenza outbreak, one of the yearly outbreaks of mild influenza that occurred during the 1920s (Annual Reports, 1921: 3, 1922: 5, 1924: 5, 1928: 5).

However, from early January 1929 Poid experienced not only influenza and a mild form of chickenpox but, alone among the island villages, a severe outbreak of epidemic malaria mid-year, which necessitated the supply of medicines, 'nursing and food relief for several weeks' (Annual Report, 1929: 6). O'Leary therefore ordered the teacher to close the school and allow all the healthy people to go immediately to Kubin if they wished. Almost all those able to walk set out immediately (O'Leary, 1929c, 1929d). According to Dr Cilento (1929), director of the Division of Tropical Hygiene of the Commonwealth Department of Health, an estimated 160 of the population of approximately 180 succumbed to the disease and from 10 to 15 people died. I have found records for four adults, two young children and five infants (see Table 9).

After all the preventative measures taken by residents and authorities over the past decade, this new outbreak of malaria came as a particularly heavy blow. It represented a double failure: not only had the authorities failed to prevent the deaths of so many people from the one community but

they had incurred a heavy financial loss. Illness brought all garden and fishing work to a standstill and for much of the year the government was obliged to provide medicines, medical care and food to the community at a cost of £187 from the island fund. The fund was insufficient to bear the full cost and the local Protector was forced to borrow £30 from the Aboriginal Protection Property Account, a condition of the loan being that the amount was to be repaid later (Annual Report, 1929: 8; O'Leary, 1929b; Western, 1929).¹⁰⁶

The sickness did not abate until the beginning of September. In May the governor, who was making a tour of Torres Strait, was prevented by quarantine from visiting Poid and in mid-year the local Protector found almost half the village ill and only 20 children attending school (Annual Report, 1929: 7). The teacher, A.V. Windsor, and his wife had tried but failed to halt its course; on 29 July their daughter contracted the disease and became desperately ill. She was taken to Thursday Island Hospital and the doctor recommended against her returning to Poid. The Windsors relocated to Badu and Mrs Zahel volunteered to take their place. The health of Poid, particularly the children, continued to be a source of concern to the officials and one of the reasons for the choice of Harold Hudson as Windsor's successor was the knowledge that his wife was 'a competent nurse.'

The epidemic, thankfully, was restricted to Poid and to mark its passing, Revd Schomberg preached a special sermon of thanksgiving, pointing out the seriousness of the sickness, which, he said, might well have in the past wiped out a Pacific island. In part he blamed the 'improvidence' of the people, 'bad houses, want of cleanliness, lack of food' and exhorted them to 'be cleaner, make gardens, build decent houses' (Schomberg and Schomberg, 1998: 175). Cilento (1929) also issued a warning to the Chief Protector:

I need scarcely point out the danger which arises from the occurrence of malaria so close to Thursday Island and more particularly from the regrettable implantation of the disease among a non-immune population where is it certain to do considerable damage and liable to remain as a source of danger and menace to other communities for a very long period unless handled promptly.

Despite the stringent means taken to mitigate the effects of the malaria epidemic at Poid in 1929, including quarantining the village for several

months and establishing a temporary settlement at Kubin, the people continued to suffer from recurrent annual attacks of malaria, generally between March and July. Endemic malaria resulted in a further seven deaths in 1930 and the local Protector placed the blame squarely on poor sanitation and housing (Annual Report 1930:6, 8). These deaths included some of the most senior men and women of Poid: Ikabod, son of Kulka and Dadu; Miskin, son of Yaragas and Babun and brother of Aidabu Namai; Nagibu Nadai, son of Nadai and Godi; and Wigness Kanamuri, as well as three children (Table 9). Believing that in the absence of a resident teacher the villagers had returned to older practices, he called for the appointment of the new superintendent-teacher: 'It is granted that the Poid Islanders are an inferior type to most of the other natives, but nevertheless there is scope for much improvement amongst them' (O'Leary, 1933a).

Nevertheless, the people were developing immunity, sanitation and housing conditions had improved and the outbreaks were not so virulent as before. In 1931 the Chief Protector reported a 'gratifying absence of the usual expected outbreaks of malaria', which he attributed to the 'careful attention paid by the Superintendent to village sanitation' and various other preventative measures. Nine people from Poid received hospital treatment at Thursday Island and there were two deaths but neither was the result of malaria (Annual Report, 1931: 6, 8).

In 1932, for the first time in a decade, there were no epidemics of any kind in Torres Strait, even at Poid (Annual Report, 1932: 11). Giving evidence into the death of Mami in 1931, Armstrong told the court that he visited 'each individual house once a week' and that '[a] good stock of medicines is kept at Poid for distribution to the natives.'¹⁰⁸ However, satisfaction at what appeared to be the end of endemic malaria at Poid was short-lived, for in 1933 the village again suffered some severe cases. The Protector concluded that malaria was endemic on Poid and that a large proportion of the people were 'still infected and liable to relapsed attacks' despite an apparent lowering of the incidence. He was determined to continue with a 'determined campaign against the anopheles mosquito' as the only way to prevent the disease (Annual Report, 1933: 6, 13).

Meanwhile, other health campaigns were being waged, generally paid for by the various island funds. The Department's attention was drawn to

the problem of the children's teeth by Mrs Zahel at the Thursday Island teacher's conference in August 1934 and in November J.J. Cahalane, a Bowen dental surgeon, visited the islands to examine the teeth of all of the school children and any adults who volunteered (McLean, 1934b, Cahalane, 1934).¹⁰⁹ In December T.E. Gibson, a Townsville dental surgeon, visited Poid and reported that 'the children's teeth were exceptionally good.' The following year Dr J.R. Nimmo, the new GMO, paid two visits to Poid to prosecute a hookworm campaign; during his second visit 'all school children, a number of children under school age, and many adults were dosed and instructions given for future treatment' (Annual Report, 1935: 16). Dengue fever made a reappearance in mid-1937 (The Carpentarian, 1 July 1937) and in early 1938 there were outbreaks of malaria, followed by whooping cough, tuberculosis and influenza.¹¹⁰ That year Poid was afflicted by many deaths, mostly of older people from malaria and children from whooping cough. Not all the deaths were officially recorded but the community lost Makie, husband of Taina Nakau; Nawie, husband of Caroline; and Tom Young, husband of Mazie; as well as Tuku Dorothy, teenage daughter of Manas and Daima. Extensive draining schemes were completed, with all swamp water drained to the sea, and preparations were made to cut down all undergrowth (Annual Report, 1938: 8, 12).

In 1939 an extensive medical survey of all the mainland settlements and missions and some of the islands in the Somerset district was carried out on behalf of the National Health and Medical Research Council. The main aim was to investigate the incidence of leprosy but the report also contained a reference to the unsatisfactory health conditions. Tuberculosis (TB) had emerged as the most threatening illness and became the target of an extensive health campaign. It had proved fatal to many Pacific Islanders around the turn of the century and gained some ground during the 1920s and 1930s but was still rare among Torres Strait Islanders. Nimmo began to point to the seriousness of the problem soon after his appointment as GMO in 1933, the year the 24-year old Wissel Kopi from Poid died of the disease, leaving a baby son. There were 16 cases in 1936 and in 1937 six of the 13 cases at the local hospital proved fatal (Annual Reports, 1936: 8, 1937: 10).

Regular issues of dugong oil to children and ailing adults have done much to keep the disease in check; but the number of deaths

TABLE 10. LMS resident missionaries on Mua 1872-1914 (incomplete). Sources: LMS reports and letters (1872-1914); Langbridge (1977); Nokise (1983); Teske (1991).

Date	Name	Island of origin	Wife's name
1872	Gutacene/Waenaea	Mare, Loyalty Islands	Unknown
1874-76	Kerisiano	Mare, Loyalty Islands	Unknown
1888	Buzi	Mabuyag	Kapin
1892-93	Jimmy Ware	Uvea, Loyalty Islands	Gawada from Mabuyag
1893	Dharam	Saibai	Kuk from Mer
c.1903-1905	Ambar	Mabuyag	Geni from Mer
1914	Koria	Samoa	Perelina from Gilbert Islands

towards which this disease is a contributing factor is still a matter for concern. However, it is hoped that the recent survey will do much to assist measures for increasing resistance to this complaint (Annual Report, 1939: 4).

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: RELIGION. Towards the end of the 19th century, the financially-strapped LMS was struggling to maintain its Torres Strait mission and for most of the 1880s and 1890s Mua was without a resident missionary teacher. Despite this, its Christian community continued to grow in numbers and enthusiasm (Riley, 1903). It was linked administratively with Badu and overseen by the Niuean missionary, Morris. Morris died in October 1902 and at some point Agi Ambar from Mabuyag was appointed to Mua – to Totalai, according to Lizzie Savage Nawia (pers. comm., 1982) or Gerain, according to his son, Revd Sagi Ambar (pers. comm., 1982). He baptised Rupea and Soria before his dismissal in September 1905 for adultery with a girl from his congregation and a deacon ministered to

the community (Butcher, 1905).¹¹¹ In 1906 a replacement for Ambar had still not been found, although at the beginning of 1907 ‘work was being carried on’, presumably by the deacon under the supervision of the Samoan teachers at Mabuyag and Badu (Butcher, 1908).

Despite its difficult financial situation, on 1 July 1906 the society registered seven special leases over 37 acres (Nos. 954-960) for 14 years, adding Iama and Masig to its previous leases on Mer, Mabuyag, Badu and Saibai.¹¹² New leases on the same islands (Nos. 1677-1683) were issued for 30 years from 1 August 1912 at 1/- per acre per annum (London Missionary Society, 1913).¹¹³

James Williams from Mer had been sent to Badu by the LMS. While assisting Mrs Zahel in the Badu school as teacher for the youngest children, he also supervised the church community at Adam in 1910. In 1911 the people of Adam began to build a new church of coral lime and cement (Annual Reports, 1910: 18, 1911: 17).



FIG. 4. The old church at Adam, opened 15 October 1913, taken at Poid, 1922. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 5. Ruins of the old Poid church, completed 1912. Photograph taken by Neil Schomberg, 13 October 2001. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

TABLE 11. Adam residents confirmed 15 August 1916. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1916.

Males	Anu (Namai), Pagai (Kanai), Mapa (Saba)
Females	Aidabu, Siai, Kias (Marian), Dani (Dabita), Dekei, Taum, Nancy, Patagam (Masi), Kadau, Pati, Gagi, Dadu, Caroline, Bakari

According to Teske's informants, the supervisor of the building was Daku from Dauan¹¹⁴ and the church, named Bethena, 'was made with rocks from the island cemented together and plastered over with lime. The men and women collected the coral and burnt it to make the lime [for the walls]' (Teske, 1991: 8). This method of processing coral was introduced by the first Pacific Islander missionaries:

A wide, deep hole was dug in the sand and in this were placed alternate layers of wood and coral until the pile rose high above the ground. This when fired reduced the coral to lime which when mixed with sand made a splendid mortar. Lumps of limestone and coral were bedded in it and the result was a fine white durable building with thick walls that made for coolness (Butcher, 1963: 57-58).

The (unnamed) teacher at Adam, possibly a Samoan, was removed in 1912 by Butcher's replacement, Revd T.O. Harries, after government complaints that he was 'influencing the people in his village to disregard rules'; he and his wife were also constantly ill (Harries, 1912b). Harries and his wife visited Mua almost every week at the end of 1912 to conduct services, taking about three quarters of an hour to row across from their temporary home on Badu (Harries, 1913d).

The new church at Adam was finished at the end of 1912 and partly paid off from the earnings of the boat crews since 1906. Mrs Zahel considered it 'a creditable piece of work' but Revd B. Butcher (1912), who visited the village on 11 May on his way to Badu, assessed it critically: 'They seem to be making a terrible hash of the Church building and every possible mistake seems to have been made.' It was supposed to be opened in mid-1913 but, with little food to feed the visitors and 'the likelihood of its interfering with their

TABLE 12. Church of England marriages at Adam 1915-1921 (incomplete). Source: Diocese of Carpentaria marriage registers 1915-1921.

Date	Husband	Wife
28/5/1918	Charlie Moa	Gagime Nakau
8/3/1919	Ibida Kanai	Taum Genai
10/1/1920	Asera Billy	Danie Dabita Samuki
28/2/1921	Nagibu Nadai	Bakari Kanai

pearlshelling during the busiest time of the year', the opening was postponed (Annual Report, 1912). Harries finally opened it on 15 October 1913 (Figs. 4-6). At the ceremony the collection from parishioners and visitors amounted to £79 and the Muan church joined the other substantial churches already constructed at Mer, Erub, Ugar and Masig. Others already commenced were at Mabuyag, Poruma and Boigu. These buildings, Harries admitted, were expensive but their



FIG. 6. Poid cemetery, September 2004, taken by Ada Ware Tillett, September 2004.

TABLE 13. Adam residents confirmed at St Paul's Mission 27 January 1920. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1920.

Males	Elia (Tamate), Opeti, Isaiah (Inagi), Spider (Ibida), Morey (Robin), Yabur (Katua), Ioane (Manas), Young (Yeblona), Kimasu, Aken (Sem), Rupea, Uda (Nawarie), Waiat (Amo), Sik (Nagibu), Misick, Soria, Abetenika, Elimatamu
Females	Unara (Napia), Rebecca (Alion), Rosie (Daima), Nasalia, Maleta, Newcamp

method of construction meant they would ‘last many decades with very little cost in upkeep’ (Harries, 1913d).

By 1913, then, Adam had its own church but no missionary and the LMS was close to relinquishing its work to the Church of England. In January 1914 Adam’s last LMS missionary, the Samoan Koria, arrived (London Missionary Society, 1914) and on 28 October 1914 his wife, Perelina (after whom Perelina Namai Bagie was named), is recorded as giving birth to their son, Alavaa. I suspect that Alavaa may be Koria Charlie, who was adopted to Charlie and Gagime Moa. Such adoptions were more common than is generally realised and were one of several strategies for establishing socially significant connections (Shnukal, 2000). Koria was officially transferred from Torres Strait to the Fly River district at the end of 1914 (London Missionary Society, 1915). An incomplete list of LMS missionaries resident on Mua is given in Table 10.

The official handover to the Church of England occurred in 1915, when the Bishop of Carpentaria, Gilbert White, accompanied by Revd Frank Walker of the LMS, the vicar of Thursday Island, Rev. E.J. Nash, and general secretary of the Australian Board of Missions (ABM), Revd J. Jones, made his first journey of inspection of the islands. On 24 April 1915 he reached Adam, ‘a picturesque little village, with a new concrete Church.’ Most of the men were away but he invited the people to come to Badu for the Sunday services (The Carpentarian, 1 July 1915: 469; White, 1925: 49).

In June 1915 Revd J.J.E. Done took charge of the Torres Straits Island Mission and on 21 July, accompanied by Mrs Zahel, he made his first visit to Adam and was met by the churchwarden, Councillors and school teacher. He held a meeting in the church to explain the change and what he proposed to do (The Carpentarian, 1 October 1915: 477). On 19 November 1915 the bishop again came to Adam and preached at Evensong, before moving on to Badu (Newton, 1915b). He arranged for Revd Geoffrey Archibald Luscombe, superintendent of St Paul’s Mission on the eastern side of Mua, to begin confirmation classes at Badu and Adam in preparation for confirmations early the following year. ‘He can ride across from St Paul’s to Adam, a distance of about 10 miles [16km], and then he can get across to Badu by dinghy from Adam’ (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1916: 490). Luscombe’s successor, Revd J.W. Schomberg, also conducted monthly

services at Badu and Adam. When seas were too rough to sail, he would walk across to Adam through very rugged country (Schomberg & Schomberg, 2004: 20). From Adam he would then sail across to Badu, a distance of some 3km. The Diocese of Carpentaria was always conducted ‘on the smell of an oily rag’, as a priest put it to me many years ago, and the war and subsequent depression depleted the meagre funds available.

The first Church of England confirmations at Adam took place on 15 August 1916, when Bishop Newton and his party visited en route for the dedication of St Mary’s Church at Mabuyag (A.B.M. Review, 1 October 1916: 143). Among the 43 confirmed were 17 candidates from Adam and 26 from Badu, including Gemetu (Salepapela), who would soon become the Adam teacher. I include this information in Table 11 with name spellings modernised to conform to contemporary norms, as I include other similar information throughout this chapter, because of its historical value and interest for descendants. Rarely do we find both original and Christian names recorded.

The Bishop’s diaries show him visiting Adam at regular intervals, preparing confirmations, taking services, celebrating the sacraments and imposing excommunications. He confirmed a further three Adam adults at Badu on 13 February 1918: Mara, husband of Tarai; Alua, husband of Matilda; and Mary, unmarried.¹¹⁵ Both Alua and Mary had been baptised by Revd Chalmers of the LMS. It was not until the end of the year that the bishop again visited Adam. He celebrated communion on 28 December 1918 and was afterwards handed the sum of £2.3.6, collected by the people for St Paul’s College. He was also obliged to forbid Zamiak, a Badu churchwarden, from taking services at Adam during Luscombe’s absence (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1919: 596; Newton, 1918).¹¹⁶

Newton’s next visit to Adam was to celebrate a marriage between Ibida and Taum on 8 March 1919. The wedding, possibly only the second Church of England marriage at Adam, had twice been postponed and was a quiet affair. The couple were required to gain government as well as church approval but, since ‘the house for the bride was nearly finished, quite habitable’, that approval was given (The Carpentarian, 1 July 1919: 605). Most Adam inhabitants married elsewhere during this period, generally at Thursday Island or Badu or St Paul’s. Table 12

TABLE 14. Poid residents baptised 15 April 1923 and confirmed 16 April 1923 by Bishop Stephen Davies. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria baptismal and confirmation registers 1923. *I cannot identify this individual.

Males				
Name	Family name	Date of birth	Baptised by	Place of baptism
Apelu	Bobby	1910	Bishop Davies	Poid
Ara	Davies	1897	Bishop Davies	Poid
Asera	Billy	1893	Samoan teacher	Mua
Banasa	Yellub	1861	Revd Slade	Thursday Island
Ben	Hammond	1898	Bishop Davies	Poid
Betu	Bosun	1902	Revd Woods	Thursday Island
Bobby	Davis	1901	Bishop Davies	Poid
Corn*		1899	Bishop Davies	Poid
Elikiem	Tom	1906	Bishop Davies	Poid
Ikabod	Kulka	1895	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Isaka	Sisa	1883	McFarlane, LMS	Mer
Jimmy	Nawarie	1895	Bishop Davies	Poid
Karabai	Kopi	1907	Bishop Davies	Poid
Kaur	Agai	1888	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Kiu	Miskin	1908	Bishop Davies	Poid
Lou	Bagie	1903	Bishop Davies	Poid
Madu	Paul	1895	Bishop Davies	Poid
Makeer	Bosun	1910	Bishop Davies	Poid
Maki	Johnny	1873	Bishop Davies	Poid
Paikai	Kopi	1898	Bishop Davies	Poid
Rattler	Tom	1894	Bishop Davies	Poid
Seriat	Charlie	1890	Bishop Davies	Poid
Ubai	Bagie	1898	Bishop Davies	Poid
Wasaga	Billy	1896	Bishop Davies	Poid
Wees	Nawia	1908	Bishop Davies	Poid
Wigness	Kanamuri	1895	Bishop Davies	Poid
Willie	Namai	1910	Bishop Davies	Poid
Wissel	Kopi	1909	Bishop Davies	Poid
Yaru	Bagie	1895	Bishop Davies	Poid
Females				
Adadi	Cockatoo	1898	Bishop Davies	Poid
Aikasa	Hammond	1899	Bishop Davies	Poid
Alima	Ikabod	1902	Bishop Davies	Poid
Baithie	Salepapela	1911	Bushell, LMS	Badu
Bau	Namai	1910	Samoan teacher	Poid
Betesa	Charlie	1909	Samoan teacher	Poid
Dabangai	Charlie	1885	Bishop Davies	Poid
Elisapeta	Luta	1909	Samoan teacher	Poid
Elipuna	Isaka	1910	Bishop Davies	Poid
Eluisa	Nawia	1899	Bishop Davies	Poid
Felicia	Spear	1896	Tomkins, LMS	Mabuyag

Females cont...				
Name	Family name	Date of birth	Baptised by	Place of baptism
Garagu	Makaku	1892	Bishop Davies	Poid
Gatalina	Ikabod	1909	Samoan teacher	Poid
Ibab(u)	Nawia	1904	Bishop Davies	Poid
Kag117		1863	Bishop Davies	Poid
Kupa	Miskin	1906	Bishop Davies	Poid
Kupai	Bagie	1900	Bishop Davies	Poid
Leah	Charlie	1906	Samoan teacher	Poid
Lima	Hammond	1911	Bishop Davies	Poid
Lotha	Jack	1907	Samoan teacher	Poid
Madiri118	Kanai	1909	Riley, LMS	Poid
Mamie	Nawia	1894	Bishop Davies	Poid
Meriama	Jack	1905	Samoan teacher	Poid
Muimui		1902	Bishop Davies	Poid
Niceone	Nawia	1910	Bishop Davies	Poid
Olga	Hammond	1907	Bishop Davies	Poid
Puikap	Bosun	1905	Bishop Davies	Poid
Salome	Bosun	1907	Samoan teacher	Poid
Sarah	Waina	1903	Samoan teacher	Poid
Taki	Papus	1883	Bishop Davies	Poid
Taum	Bosun	1906	Bishop Davies	Poid
Taina	Nakau	1903	Samoan teacher	Mabuyag
Udiwad	Davies	1891	Bishop Davies	Poid
Watipula	Berdur	1863	Bishop Davies	Poid

lists marriages recorded as taking place at Adam 1915-1921.

On 27 January 1920 24 Adam residents, all baptised by LMS missionaries, were confirmed into the Church of England at St Paul's Mission (Table 13). Again, some of the spellings have been changed to conform to modern usage. By 1920 the people of Adam had agreed to pay an annual sum of £7 to support a resident missionary, as well as 5/- at each marriage to provide a pension fund for Islander clergy (Bayton, 1965: 139).

It was customary in the Church of England for baptism of newborns to take place within a few weeks of birth and several baptisms at Adam are recorded between January and July 1922: Nema Maratta, son of Johnny and Madiri Maratta; Emily Jane, daughter of Felicia and granddaughter of Guru and Buia Rosie Spear; Tamati, son of Asera and Dabita; Anna, daughter of Wigness and Adadi; and Samson, son of Wasaga and Tam. On

TABLE 15. Confirmations at Poid, 31 August 1924 (prepared by Revd J.W. Schomberg). Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1924. *I cannot identify these individuals.

Name	Family name	Date of birth	Baptised by	Place of baptism
Males				
Banasa	Yellub	1864	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Billy ¹¹⁹		1874	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Miskin	Charlie	1884	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Jack	Moa	1874	Chalmers, LMS	Mabuyag
Arusa(m)	Nakau	1864	McFarlane, LMS	Mabuyag
Charlie	Hammond	1884	Riley, LMS	Mabuyag
Kapmauri	(Charlie) Moa	1874	Riley, LMS	Mua
Christmas	Young	1911	Samoan LMS teacher	Mua
Ngurpai	Luta	1911	Harries, LMS	Mua
Ram	Kopi	1911	Harries, LMS	Mua
Abie	Makie	1911	Samoan LMS teacher	Mua
Makie ¹²⁰		1899	Chalmers, LMS	Mua
Eddie ¹²¹		1912	Bishop Davies	Poid
Japania	Hammond	1912	Bishop Davies	Poid
Parisa	Nawia	1912	Bishop Davies	Poid
Eliasa	Tom	1911	Bishop Davies	Poid
Sailor	Miskin	1911	Bishop Davies	Poid
Dudu	Johnny	1889	Bishop Davies	Poid
Females				
Naina	Makie	1911	Butcher, LMS	Poid
Kalis	Maratta	1912	Revd Nash	St Paul's
Memeru ¹²²		1864	Butcher, LMS	Poid
Sapella	Charlie	1912	Samoan LMS teacher	Poid
Rosie	Moa	1874	Bishop Davies	Poid

23 July 1922 the bishop made his first visit to the newly-named village of Poid. In public and private he expressed only positive views about the 'wise' decision to remove the Kaurareg because of the malign influence of Thursday Island (The Carpentarian, 2 October 1922: 706).

The expanded congregation meant that the church was now too small, especially when the boats were in, and decisions had to be made about enlarging it, a difficult task since it was built of cement. When the bishop, accompanied by Revd Schomberg, sailed to Poid on 15 April 1923 to perform the first baptisms and confirmations in the expanded community, he was obliged to conduct the baptisms in the creek at the back of

TABLE 16. Confirmations at Poid, 6 August 1928 (prepared by Revd J.W. Schomberg). Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1928.

Name	Family name	Date of birth	Baptised by
Males			
Nawi		1878	Samoan missionary, LMS
Luta	Kaitap	1878	Revd Chalmers, LMS
Duruga	Nakau	1902	Samoan missionary, LMS
Dama	Kopi	1913	Bishop Davies
Tomkin	Luta	1915	Samoan missionary, LMS
Willie	Namai	1915	Samoan missionary, LMS
Koria	Charlie	1915	Samoan missionary, LMS
Elisara	Nawie	1915	Revd Luscombe
Genai		1883	Revd Chalmers, LMS
Females			
Mena		1882	Revd Schomberg
Eileen	Bobby	1915	Bishop White
Alice	Hammond	1915	Bishop Davies
Elimau	Kanamuri	1915	Bishop Davies
Erebu	Sem	1914	Samoan missionary, LMS
Naraima	Genai	1914	Samoan missionary, LMS
Talima	Makie	1915	Samoan missionary, LMS
Weiba	Sem	1915	Samoan missionary, LMS
Urui	Young	1914	Samoan missionary, LMS

the church. Most of the older candidates were Kaurareg, some of whom had been baptised by LMS missionaries. The following day he confirmed most of those he had baptised the day before as well as their children aged under ten. They had been prepared by Revd Schomberg, who that day blessed 11 civil marriages, either traditionally arranged or conducted by the LMS and therefore not recognised by the civil authorities (The Carpentarian, 2 October 1922: 706; Davies, 1923). This information is conflated as Table 14, where I have rearranged the names into alphabetical order, added approximate year of birth and, if possible, family names, and also regularised and modernised the spelling. These comments apply to all the following tables.

During Poid's early years the bishop made regular visits to celebrate the sacraments and take services. He issued two excommunications at Poid and one at St Paul's on 18 January 1924 and another two at Poid and one at St Paul's on 16 May 1924, in addition to disciplines, a lesser but still shameful punishment (Davies, 1924). On 31 August he conducted his second round of

TABLE 17. Confirmations at St Peter's Church, Poid, 11 April 1931. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1931. *I cannot identify this person.

Boys	*Eram, Kosam Nawia, Daniel Maratta, Manu Wigness, Idea Paul, *Jacob, Joseph Wigness
Girls	Gada Manas, Weipa Sem, Perelina Kimasu, *Epalia, Athalia Hammond, Baithie Salepapela, Manar Young

TABLE 18. Confirmations at St Peter's Church, Poid, 5 January 1933. Surnames added and spellings regularised. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1933.

Males	Semia Sem, Napota Savage, Mislam Savage, Semu Aken, Joshua Nawie, Wap Charlie, Sitona Rattler
Females	Kitty Miskin, Danangai Miskin, Thelma Seriat, Kias Kanai, Nazareth Savage

TABLE 19. Poid children confirmed at St Mark's Church, Badu, 5 September 1937. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1937.

Males	Billinever Wasaga, Sam David Manas, Tom Mimia Moa, James Betu Bosun, Sam Makie, Anu Wigness, Jonathan Rattler, Jack Gimada Madu, Moses Wigness, Poey Nawarie, Miseron Wasaga, Nadai Iga Nagibu, Eddie Paul Aken, Meeting Doken
Females	Nellie Inagie, Cecilia Ara, Bessie Dal Luta, Danie Seriat, Napiiau Tamat, Kaki Rupia, Joanna Madu

confirmations and also baptised five members of the Hammond family: parents Japania and Alice and children Jacob, Matthew and Athalia. Table 15 is a list of confirmations at Poid on 31 August.

Women contributed to church life at Poid chiefly through the Mothers' Union, discussed more fully below.¹²³ Fourteen years after the first Islander branch commenced at St Paul's, the Poid branch was opened in 1925 by Mrs Harman, wife of D.C. Harman the managing director of PIL. Mrs Windsor, wife of the government teacher, took over from Mrs Harman in 1928 and Mrs Armstrong in 1933. After the Armstrongs left, Mrs Mogi (Waba) Mopoali Gabey, wife of Revd Sailor Gabey, took charge of the branch on 15 October 1936. She had been a member of the Diocesan Council since 1931 and in 1937 became the first Poid member of the Mothers' Union to be elected to its the Council. There were now 48 members: Adadi Wigness was treasurer; Matilda Nawarie secretary; Alima Bobi, Newcamp Kanai and Puikap Genai helpers; Maleta Seriat, Caroline Nawie, Kaki Aken, Kupai Tom, Bakari Nagibu and Ibabu Ara messengers. Matilda Nawarie became president as did her daughter, Lizzie Savage Nawia, during the 1980s. Among their many activities, the Mothers' Union members were the chief fund-raisers in their communities, organising various events to raise money for a variety of church-approved causes. Despite their poverty, the people of Poid contributed generously to upkeep the Torres Strait and other Anglican missions, giving £5.16.3 to the former in 1925

and £1.0.6 to the Australian Board of Missions (The Carpentarian, 1 October 1925: 115). The following year the church authorities decided to enlarge the church to accommodate the larger numbers. The world depression bankrupted the diocese but the people of Poid found the money themselves, in addition to providing almost all the labour, so that there was no drain on other mission funds. In the early 1930s the 38 full members from Poid embroidered 30 pillowcases to be sold for island church funds. The new church was made of concrete blocks, the Mothers' Union members breaking the stones and carrying the sand as well as helping to raise money to buy the cement. A handsome ship's bell was added to summon the people to church and bore the inscription 'Bona Fides, Tredestrand, 1875' (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1927: 184).¹²⁴

Two years after his ordination Revd Joseph Lui from Erub took baptisms and gave Holy Communion at Poid on 5 December 1927 (MacFarlane, 1927). By now most of the older Poid residents had been confirmed but in 1928 there were a further 18 confirmations, four of the candidates being born around 1880 (Table 16).

Revd MacFarlane visited Poid on 12 November 1930, took three baptisms and delivered a lay preacher's licence to Harry Awassie Captain. On 11 April 1931 there were a further 14 confirmations (MacFarlane, 1930, 1931; see Table 17).

In September 1931 Kabay Pilot from Erub was appointed as deacon to Poid and Badu under Revd J.W. Schomberg. He was transferred to

Cowal Creek and replaced by Deacon Captain Oth after the crew of the *Karabai*, against strict instructions, obtained credit from a Thursday Island firm 'to purchase galvanised iron to roof the native missionary's house' (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1932; Year Books, 1931, 1933: 23-24; Green, 1932b). In early January 1933 the bishop confirmed 12 people at Poid and for the first time all surnames are recorded (Table 18).

Revd Sailor Gabey took up duties at Poid in mid-1934, visiting Badu each weekend and during the week to give religious instruction in the school.¹²⁵ In August 1935 he told Jomen Tamwoy, the Cowal Creek teacher who was then visiting Poid, that at a Synod meeting on Thursday Island there had been talk of trying to get the Commonwealth government to take control of the islands, when at last they would be free of Queensland's control. According to Tamwoy, Gabey, along with other Islander priests, had encouraged others to keep up the strike in 1936 (O'Leary, 1936; Tamwoy, 1936). In 1938 he was sent to Mitchell River Mission but it took some time for Poey Passi to replace him, since there was no house available for his family (A.B.M. Review, 1 September 1936: 170, 1 November 1938: 204; Year Book, 1935: 37, 78-79). Table 19 lists the Poid children confirmed at St Mark's Church, Badu on 5 September 1937.

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: EDUCATION. The LMS teachers provided a rudimentary education in the local languages beginning on Erub in 1873.¹²⁶ By early 1876 Kerisiano had established a day school at Totalai with an enrolment of seven boys (McFarlane, 1876a); by the time he left six months later he had 'a promising boarding school in which were ten or twelve lads' who 'were enticed away by one of the shellers' (McFarlane, 1876b). For most of the 1880s and 1890s Mua was without a school and it is not until 1893 that we learn of Dharam from Saibai teaching the children (Chalmers, 1893).

The original impetus for government schools teaching in English came from John Douglas, who by 1900 had overseen the appointment of European teachers to Mer, Erub, Saibai, Masig (Yorke Island), Mabuyag and Badu. On 5 March 1901 he visited the village on Mua, probably Totalai, and saw about 30 of the estimated 50 inhabitants, 'a few being at their gardens inland.' He found about 15 children of school age and thought it a pity that they should not be educated, although their small numbers could not justify the expense of a school. He reported that he intended to consult Mr Tomkins of the

LMS, presumably about placing a missionary teacher on the island, but if all else failed he would try 'to arrange to have them provided with food and so enable them to attend school' at Badu (Douglas, 1901a). The outcome was that the children travelled to Badu each week for schooling, bringing Badu's total enrolment to 60 (Douglas, 1900: 3).¹²⁷ The children lived with relatives during the week but the experiment was not a success and appears to have been suspended by 1903. Douglas made new arrangements for some of the children to attend the Badu school at the beginning of 1904 to join the 42 pupils taught by Mrs Minshull in the church building (Douglas, 1903: 5).¹²⁸

Soon after the 1908 appointment of Douglas's successor, Hugh Milman, as local Protector, he visited Badu and made arrangements with F.W. Walker, manager of PIL, to transport some 20 to 25 children every week from Adam to the school on Badu 'returning them to their homes at each week end, the elders at Badu village looking after the youngsters in the absence of their parents during the week.' In return the government provided three small bags of flour weekly, an arrangement which both parties found satisfactory, 'as it saves the establishment of another school at Moa' (Milman, 1909).¹²⁹ On 18 October 1909 Mrs Zahel opened her school with an attendance of 45 and in November

10 children came from Moa Island to attend school; and the total number of children on the roll at the end of the year was 63. James Williams, the L.M.S. teacher, who is a Murray islander and has attended school under Mr Bruce for a number of years, helps in the school, and is of great assistance to me (Milman, 1909: 19).

During 1910 fourteen Muan children attended school on Badu and they lived at one of the Councillors' houses

but I had so many complaints about their destroying the councillor's property that, after consulting Mr Milman, they have been returned to their home at Adam until next year, when we hope to get a separate house built for them by the Moa men. Since these children have attended the school, and have had the regular food supply, they show a marked improvement in manners and in health. In the south-east season, when the native food was plentiful, the parents sent some yams, bananas, etc., for the children. I have impressed on them the importance of the fresh food for their children. The weeks that there has been a plentiful supply I have been

able to get some print for clothes, for when the children came they had no clothes to wear (Milman, 1910: 18).

The dysentery epidemic of the following year led to the closure of the school for two months and prevented the Adam people from coming to Badu to build the house for their children. Mrs Zahel sent them all home and allowed only the boys to return, the girls proving too great a responsibility. 'The arrangement of having a policeman and wife in charge of the children has not been a success, and the councillors found that the policeman had been immoral with one of the big girls, for which offence he was fined and his office taken from him' (Lee-Bryce, 1911: 17).

When Lee-Bryce visited Adam in 1912, he found 25 children of school age but unschooled. Accordingly, he arranged for them again to attend the Badu school but apparently Mrs Zahel refused to accept them, branding the previous attempts as failures. Under the new regulations the authorities were threatening parents and guardians on reserves with punishment if they did not send their children to school regularly. Mrs Zahel recommended a school for Adam, which would provide education as well as 'more supervision, which cannot be effectively carried out from Badu' (Lee-Bryce, 1912a: 6, 21, 22).

By 1913 Lee-Bryce was losing patience with the general conduct of the inhabitants of the 'Adam aboriginal camp', who, along with their Kaurareg kinfolk then living on a reserve at Kirriri, were resisting his plans for the island reserves. They were now the only settlements without schools (Sharp, 1992: 109). The 40 or so school-aged children at Adam were still without a teacher, although the unnamed LMS missionary may have conducted a school from his residence until he was removed at the end of 1912. Lee-Bryce hoped to place a teacher there soon, 'as it is hopeless to expect any advancement under the existing conditions.' He was determined to develop Adam along the lines of the other island reserves: 'It is necessary to have control over the Adam (Moa Island) people, and I am satisfied it cannot be properly exercised by the teacher at Badu' (Lee-Bryce, 1913a).

The government faced its perpetual dilemma between finances and ethics: on the one hand, by not providing a teacher, it could avoid paying the salary (Annual Report, 1914: 14); on the other, it felt bound to ensure that the children received an education. It came down to a decision about

whether to appoint an Islander or a European superintendent-teacher to 'educate the children and train them in habits of industry and discipline' (Annual Report, 1914: 12). Lee-Bryce recommended the appointment of a European teacher (Lee-Bryce, 1913a) but, while the Chief Protector supported his recommendation, the Department found the estimated total expense of £280 unacceptable – salary of £100 p.a. plus the cost of prefabricated quarters – and made the extraordinary suggestion of sending the children each day to St Paul's Mission for schooling. This was rejected as impracticable, even impossible, in that Adam was 22km from the mission (Howard, 1913).

Despite an application by a Miss M. Howard for the position of teacher at Adam, it was judged inadvisable to appoint a European teacher.¹³⁰ As an alternative, Lee-Bryce suggested 'the temporary engagement of an aboriginal boy and his wife, both of whom are sufficiently well educated to take charge of children who are not beyond the Little Reader Part 1': few of the 49 Adam children were literate. Accordingly, on 1 May 1915 Yoram from Badu was appointed. He had assisted Mrs Zahel in the Badu school from around the middle of 1912 until his new appointment. While on probation he would receive a salary of £3.10.0 per month (to rise to £4.0.0 if he proved satisfactory) and Mrs Zahel would continue to superintend the village and inspect the school at least once a month. Yoram's wife, Sopa Pryce from Iama, who was considered a 'superior woman', was to assist him in the school and teach the girls sewing and the Bishop of Carpentaria promised the use of the church building as the school and the mission house for the couple's quarters.¹³¹ Mrs Zahel would 'still retain control of the village and inspect Yoram's work at least once a month.' Most importantly, the only expenses would be his salary and the school requisites. Yoram took up his teaching duties in mid-year and a few months later Lee-Bryce expressed his satisfaction, reporting that the children were making 'good progress and show a marked improvement in condition and manner.' By the end of the year Yoram was teaching 72 children, 25 boys and 47 girls. The children were making good progress: 'although the work is decidedly elementary, the youngsters are able to read, write, and do simple arithmetic. In addition to this groundwork, they are, to a certain extent, under discipline, which is preferable to lolling about in an aimless fashion on the sand beach' (Annual Report, 1915: 11).

Yoram was reappointed for a further 12 months at the same salary, one of two LMS teachers who 'were kept on as "temporary native teachers" on a small salary to lay "a foundation for European teachers who may follow in the future"' (extract from Queensland parliamentary debates cited in Williamson, 1994: 133).¹³² However, as Williamson points out, they were

not accorded the same status, salary or powers as white teachers. Even so, their appointment indicated that government officials were reluctant to appoint anyone to unsupervised positions of authority. Being mission teachers they were believed to possess the right motives to be good community influences which encouraged the authorities to selectively appoint Islanders as teachers throughout the ensuing period (Williamson, 1994: 133-34).

In September 1915 the Chief Protector of Aboriginals visited a number of island communities including Adam and St Paul's. In what was to become later a turning point for Islander education, he proposed that the State Inspector of Schools should, during his visit to Thursday Island, 'spend about a fortnight once a year examining schools, advising the teachers and submitting a report with recommendations' (Bleakley, 1915).

At the end of August 1917 Yoram was forced to resign on account of his and his wife's illness. Sophie could not receive the care she needed at Adam and Yoram needed her assistance in the school. She died in 1918 at Badu. Mrs Zahel recommended that Salepapela from Badu, who had been appointed 'native teacher' at Badu on 1 July 1916, be appointed in his stead from 1 September 1917 and this was approved.¹³³

Selupapela [sic] has been helping me for some time as assistant and also getting some training. He is a fairly good teacher as natives go, and should be able to manage the Adam school quite well. I would have sent him over at the beginning of this quarter but the Adam Councillor told me the children over there have not had measles so as two of Salupapela's children had them I thought it better to keep him here. He has also been able to go on with school while I have had to be in the village (Zahel, 1917).

In 1920 Mrs Zahel took furlough from Badu. Her place was taken by E.M. Davidson, whose duties included the supervision of Adam and its school of 30 pupils: although Salepapela was responsible for the Adam school, technically he ranked as Davidson's assistant. Salepapela continued as schoolteacher at Adam but found it

increasingly difficult to manage on his salary of £42 per year. In early 1921, when his wife, Maria, was pregnant with their fifth child, he requested an increase in salary, a request supported by Davidson, who assessed his work as 'very creditable.' Not only did he have 'sole control of the school as well as a lot of supervisory work in the village, [but] he also helps largely with the Church work. My visits are only occasional, and are then usually taken up with boat or Court work' (Davidson, 1921). The Protector also strongly recommended an increase to £60 p.a., since the 30 Adam school children 'reflect great credit on their teacher.'

Salupapela [sic] has a large family of young children to support and at the present time finds great difficulty in feeding and clothing them properly. I would further point out that Selupapela has not received any increase of pay since his appointment whereas there has been a big increase in the rate of wages paid to aboriginal workers as a whole in the past few years (Holmes, 1921b).

Salepapela continued to perform well as teacher at Adam and on 16 June 1921 his son, Saumi Ilapi (Samilap Charlie), was born there, followed by Laina and Rebecca in 1924 and 1925, respectively. School attendance dropped during the early part of 1922 because of outbreaks of malaria and whooping cough, during which several children died. However, the arrival of the Kaurareg families from Kirriri in March 1922 doubled the school-age population to 58 pupils, too many for Salepapela and the new monitor, Newcamp Namai, to handle. The government was obliged to employ an assistant teacher, Atuelu Bowia, at a salary of £3.10.0 per month.¹³⁴

In the government's view, the expanded and newly-named Poid community now required a European superintendent-teacher to supervise its infrastructure and labour development and bring it into conformity with the other reserves. Negotiations for a European teacher began and instructions were issued to erect a new grass building to serve as a school rather than, as previously, the teacher's home serving the functions of both residence and school (Annual Report, 1923: 6). The school was first professionally inspected on 2 September 1924 by Clement L. Fox from the Department of Public Instruction. Enrolment was 66 and Fox considered the school 'fairly satisfactory.' His assessment of both teachers was positive:

Selupapela native H[ead] T[eacher] is a man of very fair intelligence, of a nice disposition, and showing satisfactory adaptability for teaching. He is very industrious, likes his work, and is anxious to receive hints and instruction in the right methods of teaching and conducting his school. His quiet manner and address are reflected in the general attitude of his scholars. He is doing his best, and his work speaks well for him and gives much promise[...] Both teachers would benefit immensely if given a short course of training in teaching and school management (Fox, 1924).

Atuelu, who also received a positive assessment, died on 26 May 1925, leaving a wife and six young children. He appears not to have been replaced and Salepapela continued to teach with only the monitors to assist him. In late 1925 he applied for another salary increase from £60 to £72 p.a., which was supported by both Mrs Zahel and the local Protector and paid from 1 July 1926. His previous wage was no longer sufficient to support his family of six children; by comparison, marine workers received £48 p.a. with food and a blanket (O'Leary, 1926). Salepapela was now teaching 34 pupils in the recently completed new school, part of a building program which envisaged the provision of schools 'in first-class order' for every island (Annual Report, 1926: 4). Not only buildings but educational training for local teachers had become a priority since Fox's inspection. The first of these annual training classes was conducted by the government teacher at Mer and took place at Badu from 28 July to 11 August 1926. Salepapela attended, along with his two assistants, his daughter Baithie, later to marry Masi Sagigi, and Newcamp Namai (Furnivall, 1926).¹³⁵

Despite the training measures set in place by the Department and the generally positive assessments made by Fox, the inspection by under secretary of the Department of Public Instruction on 6 May 1927 was scathing, singling out the Poid and Cowal Creek (now Injinoo) schools for special criticism: 'the alleged teaching is so barren of results that pupils would have been little worse off had the schools been non-existent.' He pointed to deficiencies in staffing, methods and organisation, and the fact that most of the teachers' time was spent in administration: 'in settling local disputes, in directing and controlling the work of the luggers, in planning huts, streets, gardens, and in other matters connected with local government and civic welfare.' He recommended various measures, including the provision of a new syllabus and new readers incorporating

TABLE 20. Adam/Poid primary school teachers and enrolment figures 1915-1940 (incomplete). Enrolment almost doubled after the arrival of the Kaurareg. Source: Annual Reports of the Chief Protector of Aborigines 1915-1940; QSA A/15994: Mission schools 1927-1935 Reports of inspection; QSA A/69432: Island School-teachers 1926.

Year	Head Teacher	Enrolment
1915	Yoram	49
1916	Yoram	72
1917	Salepapela	
1918	Salepapela	
1919	Salepapela	
1920	Salepapela	
1921	Salepapela	30
1922	Salepapela	58
1923	Salepapela	
1924	Salepapela	66
1925	Salepapela	
1926	Salepapela	
1927	H. Hudson	
1928	A.V. Windsor	66
1929	A.V. Windsor	66
1930	H.N. Armstrong	78
1931	H.N. Armstrong	71
1932	H.N. Armstrong	69
1933	H.N. Armstrong	67
1934	H.N. Armstrong	62
1935	H.N. Armstrong	61
1936	H.N. Armstrong	61
1937	D. Passi	58
1938	A. Passi	56
1939	J. Gabey	61
1940	J. Gabey	61

local material, introduction of vocational work, prescribed outcomes, new reading books, regular inspections and the training for Islander teachers at St Paul's (McKenna, 1927).¹³⁶

Stung by the criticisms, the Department appointed a trained European teacher, Harold Hudson, to the Poid school from Iama in August 1927 (Annual Report, 1927: 5). Although the local Protector could not impugn his teaching abilities, he considered him not 'temperamentally



FIG. 7. Wedding of Harry Captain and Cissie Namok, St Paul's, 26 May 1922. Left to right: Harry Captain's sister, Cissie Namok, Harry Captain, Jacob Mye. Source: Revd J.W. Schomburg's photograph collection.

sued to the position', too flippant as regards his administrative work and 'lacking initiative, so essential on an island such as Poid that we are commencing to build up' (O'Leary, 1927). The Hudsons left Poid at the end of 1927 and were replaced by Albert Victor Windsor, a New Zealander employed by PIL at Badu, from 10 January 1928. Windsor was paid £225 p.a. 'together with free quarters, additional emoluments at the rate of £40 per annum for being in charge of a school, and sustenance allowance at the rate of £75 p.a.' (Gall, 1927). So anxious was the Department for Windsor's services that his wife, a trained nurse, was paid a special allowance at the rate of £10 p.a. 'for her work amongst the natives in teaching sewing, simple cooking, treatment of wounds and general health hygiene' (Gall, 1928). Windsor had inaugurated the Boy Scouts and Rovers in Torres Strait while he was living on Badu, a movement which became extremely popular and successful for about a decade. It was strongly encouraged by local officials for educational, disciplinary and moral reasons. One of his first actions on moving to Poid was to start a new troop of Scouts, which was soon joined by a company of Girl Guides. They and the other island Scouts displayed their skills during the first carnival arranged by the Department on Thursday Island on 1-2 January 1929 (Annual Report, 1928: 7).

The Windsors remained at Poid for two years, working tirelessly to stamp out a malaria epidemic in 1929, during which the community

was under isolation for over three months. After almost losing their daughter through illness and with Windsor himself seriously ill, the family returned to Badu and Mrs Zahel took over the Poid school in early September 1929. Windsor did not return to the school; he resigned officially as from 27 January 1930 on account of his children's ill health and was temporarily replaced in February 1930 by John Norman Woods. Sickness in the village hampered schooling during the early part of the year but on 23 September 1930 Harry Awassie Captain (Fig. 7) from Erub, a notable figure in early Torres Strait education, was temporarily reassigned to Poid from Poruma, where he had taught for seven years (MacFarlane, 1930).¹³⁷

Henry Norman Armstrong, previously at Saibai, was officially appointed to Poid on 30 July 1930. There were now 14 island schools, eight with European teachers.¹³⁸ Armstrong took up his position in early November, after his marriage to Edna Mabel Dunning on Thursday Island (Western pers. comm., 1929; Gall, 1930; Patricia Armstrong Andrews, 2004). He received a salary of £275 plus free quarters and various allowances worth an extra £115 and was aided by three monitors, Newcamp Namai, Eileen Bobie and Urui Young. In 1932 there were four monitors: Eileen Bobie, Newcamp Namai, Willie Namai and Korina Charlie. On 30 April 1933 Sam Passi, who trained as a monitor on Mer and was another seminal figure in early education, transferred to Poid as assistant teacher to Armstrong, aided by two Mualgal, Willie Namai, who continued as a monitor, and Maleta Nawie, who joined the staff in early 1933.¹³⁹ The next inspection on 11 October 1934 records Samuel Passi and Maleta Nawie continuing in their monitoring roles, along with newly-appointed Jiu Tiati from Saibai.

Armstrong left Poid at the end of 1936 and the following year Daniel Passi, Sam Passi's brother, replaced him. Daniel Passi, who had arrived in 1936 and was assisted by Maleta Nawie and Jiu Taiti, had charge of the school until 1938, when he transferred to be head teacher at Mabuyag.¹⁴⁰ Daniel Passi's uncle, Alick Passi, brother of Revd Poey Passi, took over in 1938, with Jack Hankin and Waiu Eseli as monitors.

William Charles Venning Turner taught briefly as a relief teacher at Poid until the transfer of Jacob Gabey, older brother of Revd Sailor Gabey, then priest at Poid. Jacob Gabey arrived in 1939 to take charge of the approximately 61 pupils enrolled in six classes and remained head teacher

until his retirement in 1950.¹⁴¹ School began as usual in February but outbreaks of malaria and scabies kept most of the children away. However, as these receded, attendance improved, aided by the police who 'always' brought them to school 'every morning and afternoon' (Gabey, 1939).

A new and healthier school was built in mid-1939: it opened on 27 October 1939 and closed on 15 December for the summer holidays. The children gave an outdoor concert to mark the breakup, performing recitations and singing for their proud parents, all of whom attended. The Chief Protector noted that there had been 'good progress in education' that year (Annual Report, 1939: 4). The school was inspected each year from 1931 to 1935 and again in 1938 and 1941 and received favourable reports (Annual Report, 1932: 11).¹⁴² Table 20 is an incomplete list of Adam/Poid school teachers and enrolment figures 1915-1940.

PRE-WAR WESTERN MUA: POPULATION¹⁴³. Recurrent attacks of infectious diseases ensured that the population of Poid barely increased over the first two decades of the 20th century but it did at least stabilise. The first Commonwealth census in 1911 enumerated Adam's population at 97 (32 males, 23 females, 42 children) out of a Torres Strait Islander population of 2024.¹⁴⁴ In 1913 the first official census was taken after the establishment of the reserves the year before and reasonably reliable statistics were at last available for 15 of the 17 inhabited islands (Annual Report, 1913:13). The population of 'Adam Aboriginal camp' had increased slightly to 103 and the birthrate on Mua was around double that of the white population of Queensland (Harries 1913d).

In 1915 a war census was taken of the 25 male inhabitants of Adam aged between 18 and 45, suggesting a total population of at least 100, which is consistent with the 103 recorded in 1914 and the 105 in 1919. The census is reproduced as Table 21.¹⁴⁵

In 1920 the Adam population was around 100 (of 2444 Islanders), which almost doubled to approximately 180 (of 2712 Islanders) with the arrival of the Kaurareg in 1922 (Table 22). This doubling of the population completely altered the character of the village. One of the resolutions of the 1925 conference of statisticians held in Sydney was that in June each year the governments of all States should obtain 'as correct data as possible concerning number

and distribution of full-blood aboriginals, also separately for half-caste aboriginals.' This was acted on in the 1927 census and for the first time Islanders' vital registration data began to be recorded systematically (Annual Report, 1927: 3), although individual community populations were not always included in the Department's annual reports.

Based on those figures, we see that during the pre-war period Adam conformed to the overall trend of modest increase in the Islander population generally: any decreases were the result of infectious disease, most significantly the influenza pandemic of 1920, or accidents. Any increases came about through natural increase and immigration from other islands.

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: WAG. There are many versions of how the settlement which would become St Paul's Church of England Mission for Pacific Islanders came into existence but they all cite as catalyst the quarrel over the proposed marriage of Charlotte Ware, the Mabayag-born, mixed-descent daughter of Ned and Demaga Ware, to Zachariah Waria, son of the most powerful Mabayag clan leader.

By the early 1890s Mabayag was home to a colony of Pacific Islanders and their Torres Strait wives. In November 1891, Revd Chalmers found a total population of 202, among whom were 'natives from Rarotonga, Samoa, Niue, Mare, Lifu, Uvea, and also Malays[...]' The children of these mixed marriages are many and look strong and hearty.' Nevertheless, there was constant friction: the Pacific men were employed by John Cowling at his Panai station as divers and tenders, the local men as crew and general labourers; the foreigners considered themselves superior to the Indigenous population and were disrespectful of their customs and leaders; the young women preferred the foreigners, who could 'give very large prices for the girls, and the girls can have everything they want afterwards' (Chalmers, 1891).

Two reasons are generally given for the refusal of Charlotte's parents to sanction the marriage. One is customary: because the names Ware (from Uvea) and Waria sound so similar, the Mabayag mamoose, Ned Waria, had taken Ware as his 'brother' and, Zachariah and Charlotte being now 'first cousins', they were too closely related to marry – although this is difficult to reconcile with Waria's support for the marriage. The other is grounded in ethnicity, caste and gender: the Pacific Islanders

TABLE 21. Males aged between 18 and 45 resident at Adam 1915. *I cannot identify this individual. He may be the man after whom Kiu Miskin was named. Source: Anon (1915b).

Name	Family name	Age	Date of birth	Occupation	Wages per annum
Aikuru		32	1883	Seaman	£24
Alua	Savage	26	1889	Seaman	£24
Amo	Kanai	28	1887	Seaman	£24
Asera	Billy	23	1892	Seaman	£24
Banas	Yellub	42	1873	Seaman	£18
Charlie	Moa ¹⁴⁶	35	1880	Seaman	£18
Duruga	Nakau	24	1891	Seaman	£24
Genai		30	1885	Native police	£1
Genamai	Geia	26	1889	Seaman	£30
Inagi	Kaitap	23	1892	Seaman	£24
Ibida	Kanai	35	1880	Seaman	£18
Ikabod	Kulka	34	1881	Seaman	£24
Jack	Moa	42	1873	Seaman	£18
Kimasu	Namai	31	1884	Native police	£1
Lota	Kaitap	41	1874	Seaman	£24
Makie		24	1891	Seaman	£24
Manas	Savage ¹⁴⁷	23	1892	Seaman	£24
Nagibu	Nadai	22	1893	Seaman	£24
Nawie		42	1873	Seaman	£24
Nawarie		20	1895	Seaman	£24
Peter	Savage	28	1887	Seaman	£24
Sam [Sem]	Kaitap	30	1885	Seaman	£24
Suma		25	1890	Seaman	£18
Tom	Young	43	1874	Seaman	£24
Kiu*		20	1895	Seaman	£20

considered their 'half-caste' children superior to 'full natives' and encouraged them to marry other Pacific Islanders or their descendants to 'keep the blood.' Kame Paipai from Mabuyag (pers. comm., 1982), Charlotte's cousin, was quite clear about the reason: 'They don't want her to marry island man, only South Sea man.' Whatever the real reason(s), Charlotte's mother and stepfather refused their permission and were supported in their decision by the other Pacific Islanders on Mabuyag.

According to Katua Namai, son of Anu Namai (pers. comm., 1981), the quarrel resulted in serious fighting for two or three days. It was a 'civil war', according to Kalingo Bani Joseph from Mabuyag (pers. comm., 1992). The Mabuyag men wanted to kill Jack Ware with a club but Kaio Kris shouted

TABLE 22. Population of Mua settlements 1905-1940 (incomplete). *This figure includes 13 children from other islands, who had come to St Paul's for schooling. Sources: A.B.M. Review; Annual Reports (1901-1920); Hall-Matthews (2004: 19); Ohshima (1983: 548).

Year	Adam/Poid	St Paul's	Total Mua	Total Islanders
1905		c.25		
1908		60		
1909		74		
1911	97	90	187	2024 ¹⁴⁸
1912	95	121	216	
1913	103	130	233	2368 ¹⁴⁹
1914	103	135	238	2314 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1915	c.100	140		2410 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1916				2422 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1917				2461 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1918				2446 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1919	105	c.200	c.350	2450 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1920				2444 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1922	c.180	162	c.342	2712
1923	210			2713
1924		185		2963
1925		173		3040 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1926		183		3386
1927		194		3455
1928		199		3293
1929	c.180	219	c.399	3183
1930	208	227	435	3192
1931	216			3199 (Qld reserve inhabitants)
1932	227	220	447	3208
1933	243	220	463*	3312
1934	251	223	474	
1935	257	228	485	3803
1936	259	230	489	3846
1937	251	240	491	4145
1938	248	222	470	4103
1939	c.250	231	c.481	3487
1940	no returns	232		3508149

a warning (Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004). George Hankin from Samoa, whose son Episaio would marry Charlotte in 1910, fired a shotgun over the Mabuyag Islanders' heads to frighten them. The ill-feeling lasted for years. The two groups could no longer live together and the Mabuyag people told them to leave, suggesting they go to distant Gebar (Two Brothers Island) near Iama, where some of the wives came from, or to Iama itself, where there were other Loyalty Islanders. This was rejected.¹⁵¹ When they did leave Mabuyag 'the natives chucked *zor* [pumice stone] at them' (Etta Passi, pers. comm., 1988).

Mua, with its small population, may already have been suggested as a possible site for a Pacific Islander settlement. Recruitment of Pacific Islanders ceased in 1904 and only a small minority were allowed to remain after 1906. John Cowling, who lent or leased his cutter *Yadi* to transport the families to Mua, told Revd W.H. MacFarlane that in about 1904, John Douglas

wished to get an island that would be suitable for a S. Sea settlement for all the single and aged South Seas that the government could not very well send back to their homes. Two Brothers (island) was thought of and I went to have a look at it and reported that it was unsuitable on account of having no great area suitable for gardens. I called the S. Seas together and as a result decided on looking at Moa, and after a visit of inspection reported to the Hon. John that I thought it would be very suitable, having a good anchorage at all seasons, and plenty of fair land suitable for their gardens. The result was a visit of inspection by him, after which he called the S. Seas together and decided to recommend it to the government, who I understand proclaimed it a Government Reserve for the purpose of a South Sea settlement (Cowling, 1927).

Only Cowling, writing over 20 years after the events he describes, refers to John Douglas's role. Douglas died in July 1904 and was ill for much of 1903, making only one visit to the islands that year. His most recent biographer found no evidence of his involvement, although Douglas certainly felt a particular duty of care for the Pacific Islanders (Jeremy Hodes, pers. comm., 2006). Cowling's account does not accord with the generally accepted version, in which Douglas's successor, Hugh Milman, largely directed events. Milman was certainly recognised as instrumental in getting the mission established: Superintendent Cole, for example, states that it 'was opened up [...] at the request of the Government Resident, Mr Milman' (A.B.M. Review, 1

April 1913: 4). In another variant, Ambar, then LMS teacher at Gerain, 'volunteered to take about 30 or 40 Pacific Islanders from Mabuiag to Wag on Mua which he knew quite well from hunting.'

He took them to Wag and then to Sigan to see if it would be suitable but they decided on Wag because Sigan had no anchorage (Revd Sagi Ambar, pers. comm., 1982). Sam Nako Kris (pers. comm., 2004) was told that Ambar took them first to Bulbul, where Sam's father, Bana Kris, later made his garden. Although they apparently wished to stay at Bulbul because of its good anchorage, there was no guaranteed water supply. Wag (wind), which became the eventual site of the mission, is well supplied with water and on the upwind side of the island (*paipa doegam*), which takes the full force of the southeasterlies for about seven months of the year. It is opposite Nagi, where James Mills (Jimmy Samoa) had his station. One tradition has it that the Wag people were massacred by the Italgai; another that in the early 1870s the last Mualai 'was killed by the men of Mabuiag under a great wongai tree near where St Paul's mission now stands, having been pursued across the breadth of Moa for a distance of some eleven miles' (Bayton, 1965: 106). Etta Passi (pers. comm., 1988), the daughter of Revd Poey and Alice Namok Passi, was told by her mother:

They wanted to stop at Bulbul, but kept going past Elia Point till they came to a good beach [at Wag]. They built houses there and sent a message to the Poid people, who at that time lived at Bau [Baua]. The Poid people at Bau came to help them, took *ketai* and *kumala* [yams and sweet potatoes] to that swampy place to plant gardens. Meanwhile at Mabuiag the gardens were spoiled but the Pacific Islanders were now rich *lo kaikai* (in food) and told the Mabuiag people: 'We'll give you some of this sweet potato, yam.' So they had a feast and on top they put a cabbage tree and a palm tree, because when the Mabuiag people sent the Pacific Islanders away, they said: 'You can eat the cabbage trees and palm trees if you are hungry.'

Whereas the details of the exodus may differ, we can date the quarrel over the marriage quite precisely, because the planned elopement and subsequent events were recorded by Revd B.T. Butcher, then living on Mabuyag, and by the local Protector, C.D. O'Brien, who played a mediating role. By September 1905 the shelling industry had collapsed and much of the fleet

had left. No doubt the economic uncertainty and imminent deportation exacerbated the long-simmering resentment, which came to a head on Monday, 30 October 1905.¹⁵¹ That morning Butcher was

awakened before daylight this morning by a father who told me his daughter was running away to Thursday Island with the young man of her choice. She is under age and her parents object to the union so I could not sanction it. I sent a message off to the boat that if they went on I would have another ship sent after them and the chief and his son would go to gaol. This fetched them and the girl came ashore and I went to sleep again.

There is a gap in the diary during which the trouble festered and Butcher was drawn further into the conflict. Resuming his entries on 11 November, he writes:

Last Sunday week they came to me and had a long talk being greatly displeased with me for telling them openly of their faults and after yarning on this returned to the everlasting marriage topic. I had had a visit from Jack her stepfather telling me of impending trouble re the girl's ring so told him to bring it to me. He did so and when the mamus at the meeting in the afternoon told me they had decided to fight the man who gave it to me I pulled it out of my pocket and threw it to him as he sat on the ground and said very well then you will have to fight me. They were very angry and said a good deal that they ought not to and after I left them got talking about killing me. Now they are still angry and I have had to suspend the chief from church membership (Butcher, 1905).

According to Katua Namai (pers. comm., 1981), Charlotte's stepfather, Jack Goba Ware, who was the strongest opponent of the marriage, with his sons, Elia, Aviu and Samuel Akan, requested permission from Katua's father, Anu Namai, to join the Mualgal at Totalai. Namai refused but suggested that they purchase the unoccupied Italgai land at Wag belonging to Kanai as a site for their camp and that he and his clan would live at Gerain. With Kanai's agreement, 'Namai and the three brothers then went to Thursday Island to see the Protector, Mr Howard, about this proposal. It was agreed to and all signed a piece of paper to this effect.' They then went to collect the rest of the people at Panai, hiring the *Yadi* from Cowling to transport everyone to Wag.¹⁵²

The meeting referred to by Katua Namai took place on 15 November 1905 on Thursday Island between the Ware family, O'Brien and Milman. At Milman's request, O'Brien left for Mabuyag the following day and on 17 November held a three-hour meeting in the courthouse with Butcher, the government teacher, the mamoose (Ned Waria) and the people. At that time Jack Ware was 'planning to take his family to Yam where some of his countrymen have already settled' (Butcher, 1905; O'Brien, 1905). O'Brien reported that

most if not all of the recent trouble has arisen in connection with the refusal of the mother of a half-caste girl named Salit [Charlotte Ware] to consent to the marriage of her daughter with the son of the Mamoose, and the consequent refusal of Revd Mr Butcher to marry the girl without the mother's consent. After hearing the natives very fully and interviewing the girl, her mother and her stepfather (a Ware Islander known as Jack Ware), I told these people that the mother's consent must be obtained before the girl could be married, and that as you had already told them all about this in your office in my presence some days before on Thursday Island, we were both very angry that they had continued to cause trouble over the matter. Also that you and I had decided that Waria, Maki and Joe should be brought into Thursday Island to be punished for creating a disturbance, and that Waria should be deposed by you if he did not keep the people in better order in future. Finally that they must let the girl Salit and her mother alone[...] There was also a much involved complaint about a ring which Mr Butcher had become possessed of. The ring had been taken off Salit's finger forcibly by another Jack Ware of Yam Island at the mother's request, and had been finally handed to Mr Butcher who had taken it to prevent trouble. I told Yam Island Jack Ware that he must clear out to Yam or he would be punished and that he must not come to Mabuyag causing trouble. Later I told Waria, in consequence of further information, that he must not attempt to prevent Salit and her mother and stepfather going away to Yam Island if they wished to do so, and that he had no right to attempt to exercise any such authority (O'Brien, 1905).¹⁵³

Milman proposed that, 'owing to trouble caused for many years on the Islands of Torres Straits through South Sea Islanders settling and intermarrying with the native women', all the Pacific Islanders and their families should be removed to Mua to 'allow them to form a settlement of their own.' This was still under

consideration at the end of 1905 but no decision had been reached, despite the existence of the camp (Roth, 1905: 7). Three months later O'Brien, in his capacity of inspector of Pacific Islanders on Thursday Island, wrote privately to the Chief Protector about 'the proposed South Sea camp at Moa':

This is not a new idea; and it occurred to me several months ago first. I forget whether I mentioned it to Mr Milman, or whether he thought of the idea himself. I thought more over the idea after my return from Mabuiaig last November. As you perhaps know, a good deal of the trouble etc. which occurs among the Islands is very often attributable to the South Sea influence. I don't suggest that all the S.S.I. on the Islands are bad, but naturally their interests do not always coincide with those of the natives, and when this is the case, there is generally trouble. Of course some of the S.S.I. on the Islands are lazy fellows who have not worked possibly for years. Others of them are hard-working men who are rarely at home, being more often out at work on their employers' boats. We have little or no trouble from this latter class. Of course we do all we can to prevent single S.S. men from living on the Islands; as we do not want them to run any risks of forming attachments with the girls and then coming in to be married. I must tell you that sometimes it seems possible that there may be a doubt as to whether some of these halfcaste girls require permits to be married.

However, there are a number of Pacific Islanders among the Islands, having Island women as wives, in some cases lawfully married, in other cases married according to the local customs and observances, these latter marriages being generally celebrated in the Island Church by the Samoan Missionary. These married men in many cases have numerous children, sometimes grandchildren, and some of them as stated above do honestly support their wives and families. Such men will generally be found living in galvanised iron houses and at times living in comparative comfort. It has often occurred to me that the summary deportation of such men would be attended with serious difficulties, certainly with great hardship, and, I might add, inhumanity. And I feel sure that no Dept. having the full facts before them would forcibly deport such men. I have wondered once or twice at the absence of any request to me for recommendations on this subject as Inspector of Pacific Islanders. I have advised our Dept. of the existence of these men on the Islands and given their number approximately [the rest of the letter is torn away] (O'Brien, 1906a).

Charlie Mukubi Namok, one of the original settlers, dictated an account of the early events of the settlement to his son, Andrew Namok, whose widow allowed me to make a copy in July 1982 (Fig. 8). After spending what was undoubtedly a tense and anxious Christmas on Mabusyag, a small group of people – Jack Ware and Charlie Mukubi Namok with their families – left the island for Wag to found the new settlement, arriving there on 27 December 1905. They were soon followed by Tom and Bigai Kianga Gela and children; Jimmy and Alit Futuna; Charlie Makalu Lifu and family; Sam (Perege) and Neri Tawaka Solomon; and Samuel Akan Kawane, son of Loyalty Islander Farlane Kawane and Patagam Dadu from Mabusyag.¹⁵⁵ In 1907 they were joined by Sonny Lifu and his wife. Aviu later told his uncle, Albert Ware, that he was the first to settle 'at the front in the middle' of Wag, generally thought to be the area called Babath (Angela Ware Morrison to Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 2003; Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004). After the others arrived, they moved to where a plaque now commemorates their landing.¹⁵⁶ Bana Kris, who came as a boy with Elia Ware and his wife, Bana's older sister, told his son that the first landing was at Babath and he planted the first coconut tree to mark the site. Aviu then moved to Ware Corner.

The events which led them to leave Mabusyag were narrated to Andrew Namok by his father (original spelling and punctuation):

Many many years ago there were a Pearlring Station at Mabuiaig a point Called Panai. There were men Employed from all part of Percific Island. Some of the Percific got married to these Mabuiaig girls. Then the Mabuiaig Population



FIG. 8. Looking northwest from the top of the unfinished church, St Paul's Mission. The house on the right belongs to Charlie Mukubi Namok; his old house is on the left of the newer house. Lady Hill can be seen in the distance. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection.

started to increase. One day after, Jack Ware's daughter Charlotte Ware fell in love with Jacchariah Warrior of Mabuia. So one day both of them let their Parents know about their love to each other. But Jack Ware, Charlotte's father, do not want her daughter to get marry to Warrior's Son. Then they started to argue. The Percific on Jack Ware's Side and Mabuia natives on Warrior side. They nearly fight when George Hankin fired a short Gun then thats settled everything the Gun frightened the Mabuia people. But still they weren't friendly to the Percific men. Few weeks after my Father sailed to Balbul Bay at Moa they anchored there he told the Crew to clean the boat's bottom. While he climbed up the hill to look at the other side of the Island. He stood on top of a hill which is now called Johnny's Nob. He could see a harbour which he thought it would be nice for anchorage. So he went back. Then got on board and told the crews to sail around to this place he came ashore and Old Namai came down to meet him. Old Namai took him along to their Camp, they had a long yarn. Then my father asked him if he could shift from Mabuia to this place. Then he started to tell Namai what had happened. Namais reply was yes. He said I and my tribes will shift over to the next point other side. Then he showed my father wild yams and other food which is good to eat. Villag called Wag. Next day they went back to work. Few days later they arrived at Mabuia for unloading shells. After he told Pecific men about what arrangement he and Namai had made, so they all agreed.

Year after more people keep come in Village started to grow and number of people increase. Every time my father looked up to Johnnys Nob he always think of the Psalms 121 it says. I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help.



FIG. 9. Aerial photograph of St Paul's, taken by Anna Shnukal, July 1982.

Writing in 1928, Revd J.W. Schomberg states that the original village came into existence '22 years ago', i.e., in 1906, with only four families 'of about 25 persons in all' (Year Book, 1928: 28). Not long afterwards they were joined by most of the Pacific Islander-headed families from Mabuyag and Sonny Lifu and his wife arrived from Erub in 1907. The original settlers endured great hardship until the families built their houses and wells. They slept on the daisies just behind the beach at Wag (Angela Newie Torenbeek, pers. comm., 2004) and carried water from the creeks. They hacked into the virgin bush to create gardens, travelling long distances; and on several occasions the inhabitants faced starvation until the gardens and fruit trees matured. The people supported themselves by gathering shell and bêche-de-mer and by gardening and Namai supplied them with yam and kumala (Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004). Life became easier as other families began to arrive.

Almost immediately the St Paul's settlers began to build houses and cut down trees to make the village (Fig. 9). They planted coconut trees on their land – there were none on the village site – and hacked into the scrub to create their gardens. 'When people came here, there was nothing to eat. Namai from Kubin gave the people a clamshell and a young shoot of a palm tree.' Many gifts of coconuts followed: from John Kennell at Ugar (Dora Namok Uiduldam, pers. comm., 1982); 1300 from John Cowling at Daru in 1910; 1400 from Mabuia in 1912 (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1911: 331; 1 April 1912: 367); 300 from the Erub Islanders in 1919; and shortly afterwards 400 from Mer (A.B.M. Review, 7 September 1919: 90).

As they built, so they also named their individual house blocks, village areas, gardens and other significant places using English, Kala Lagau Ya, Pacific, Pidgin English and Japanese names. Heading north along the main road are the different 'villages': Babath;¹⁵⁷ Medel or Melen Biliz (Middle Village) which included Mission Yard, with its church, college and school and linked to Ruby Beach by Welcome Road (Fig. 10). This is a narrow track made from the white granite boulders scattered on Bera Hill (named for its rib shape) and used as a ceremonial pathway for important visitors. Continuing along the main road are Kusunsug¹⁵⁸ and, following the road as it veers west, Ware Corner, Enodi,¹⁵⁹ Aula and Kapenbod; turning south again along the road, now called Back Road, are Ina,¹⁶¹ Wait Salet,¹⁶⁰ Hollywood, Bungalow and the ruins



FIG. 10. Welcome Road, St Paul's Mission, a narrow track made from the white granite boulders scattered on Bera Hill used as a ceremonial pathway for important visitors, early 1950s. Source: Neil Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

of Samuel Kawane's bakery. A little distance south of the bakery is Golikana, a Solomon Islands name, home to Sam Loonga (Perege) Solomon. Up on the hill (although there are no longer any houses) was Hill City, a name bestowed by Malachi Levi who built there. Some gardens were given new names by their owners – Malachi Levi named his garden places Steel Guitar and White City; the Babath people gardened at Caledonia; and Cornucopia was a community garden. Some retained the original names: the Kris family gardened at Bulbul and the Kusunsug people at Yarulbi .

St Paul's village is bounded by Elia Point to the north, Savika Point to the south and Ruby Beach to the east. Elia Point was named for Elia Ware, son of Ned and Uruba Ware, and the first person from the new settlement to die; Coconut Point was renamed Savika Point after Sam Savika from Rotuma built his house there in mid-1911 (*The Carpentarian* 1 July 1911: 346)

but over time it has been much eroded by the tides.

Tulu Sarka or Tursarkar Creek, just below Elia Point, is now called Bubū (tide) Creek by some. The villagers formerly did their washing and swimming here, boys at the top and girls at the bottom, so they could not see each other; but the girls remember how the dirty water from the boys came downstream to where they were (Fig.11). Baria Batam is a continuation, where fresh and salt water meet and where they put the kuma pans. North of Elia Point is Meth (pumice) and to its west Meth Hill or Eastern Fort, on top of which is the reservoir tank.¹⁶² Then come Good Bay, where excellent bila are caught,¹⁶³ Good Point, and Daisy Point, which takes its name from the everlasting daisies that have always grown there.¹⁶⁴ Baba Schomberg Rock, a large granite boulder submerged at high tide just west of Bulbul, commemorates Revd Schomberg's favourite fishing haunt.

Buzain or Long Beach, into which flows Alligator or Crocodile Creek, extends south of Savika Point, for about 3km (Rowland 1985: 124). This was once home to the Arkai people. Towards its south near the mangroves grows a single tree, named Mukamai, which marks their territory. Today it serves as a landmark for sea travellers arriving from Thursday Island. At the southern extremity of Buzain are Barraga Rock, where the boats used to anchor, and Barraga Passage, named for the policeman Bob Barraga, a Tanna man related to the Levi and Kris families (Fig.12). Below Tiam Point¹⁶⁶ is a large rocky outcrop, known as Anna Fall Down, where Anna



FIG. 11. Children swimming in a rock pool at Bubū Creek, St Paul's Mission. This creek runs during the wet season and dries up towards September-October. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 12. Bob Barraga, village policeman, in his uniform, St Paul's Mission, early 1920s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

Namok Lee accidentally slipped and fell; and then Tabungwanaz Point. Farewell Rock marks the last point south from which the village can be seen before boats turn west towards Thursday Island. It was a good place for *kabar* (trochus shell) but, being part of the home reef, only girls went there, whereas men fished on the outside reef. Angela Morrison and her friends, Baith, Suzie and Napiiau Solomon, used to go there before they married, taking a bag to fill and give to Joe Bann to sell.

Some of the hills are difficult to identify or reconcile with early maps, such as Wilkin's 1898 sketch in Haddon (1935: 22): his Womel Pad,¹⁶⁷ a spur rising east of Bulbul and running northwest, is no longer remembered, although some say it may be Meth Hill. Mt Augustus, the highest point of the island, was known by the Pacific Islanders as Mopik (Mua Peak).¹⁶⁶ Ith Hill was known as Wolfram Hill during the mining operations.¹⁶⁸ On its southwest

slope miners found the richest area of 'pure' wolfram. According to Shepherd (1942: 2, 6) it is located near Gerain, about 2.5km west of Mount Augustus, 8km NW of St Paul's village and 8km NE of Kubin, a razor-backed ridge approximately 300m above sea level. Blue Mountain, which was mined by the Saibai men, lies about 1.5km NNE of Ith Hill, between Ith Hill and Gerain and about 2km from the north coast. Lady Hill, which rises like a small cone not far from the village, lies to the west of Good Bay and Meth Hill and south of Mua Peak, which seems to rise high behind the village. Boomerang Hill (also named for its shape) is a range of hills visible from the road to Kubin.

Thus, the Pacific Islanders gradually named the features of the Muan landscape of significance to them. Existing Mualgal customs and beliefs were also passed on to the mission inhabitants. They were instructed where to find the best hunting, fishing and food-gathering places, what to do to ensure success in these activities and what to avoid. They learned to read the increasingly familiar landscape, its potentialities and dangers and to incorporate local lore in their daily lives: if there is mist on Mua Peak in the early morning, for example, all of Mua understands that it will be overcast and raining that day; if it is clear, then the whole day will be fine. They also learned the history of Wag, which is said to have been a place of safety, where the women and children were sent while the men waited on the western side for their enemies to attack. Associated with that earlier time were sacred places, such as Waur (from woera, the southeast wind) or Wind Rock, a 'huge cracked boulder' situated on a rocky outcrop below highwater mark on the northeast of Mua at East

TABLE 23. St Paul's men signed on articles for 1921. Source: Wilby (1921).

Name	Place	Employer	Rate	Date of signing
Jim Sineng	St Pauls	Wanetta	10/-	11/2/1921
Napau Namok	St Pauls	Shellers Ass.	£1	7/4/1921
Turu Kelma	St Pauls	Shellers Ass.	£1	7/4/1921
Kaio Levi	St Pauls	Shellers Ass.	£1	7/4/1921
William Bee	St Pauls	Shellers Ass.	£1	7/4/1921
Andai Ware	St Pauls	Shellers Ass.	£1	8/4/1921
Gayai Ware refused				
Bilo Gela (if wanted)			£1	8/4/1921
Malachi Kelma (if wanted)			£1	8/4/1921

Point (Teske, 1986: 48). Before the mission the men from Wag – and more recently girls who wanted to keep their boyfriends at home – used to strike or insult it when they wanted to summon up the southeast wind and cause rough seas (Stephen Mam, Pauline Savage Mills, Cessa Pryce Mohammed, Angela Ware Morrison, Angela Newie Torenbeek and Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 1982-2006).

The first official reference to the existence of the camp comes in a letter from the Mabuyag teacher, Andrew S. Cairns, dated 1 April 1906. He reported a drop in his school enrolment because 'about 20 of my pupils have gone over to the adjacent island of Moa, where it is proposed to start a South Sea community' (Cairns, 1906). In his yearly report, Cairns notes that Milman had given permission for the formation of the new village (Milman, 1907: 9).

The original camp was called 'small Mabuyag', Mabuyag itself being 'big Mabuyag' (Maletta Warrior, pers. comm., 1995). Its character was unique among the islands: the ethos was one of hard work, entrepreneurship and prayer under the general leadership of the Church of England; but the daily administration was carried out by devout Pacific Islanders from New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Niue, Rotuma and the Solomon Islands. It was they who set the general tone for the mission. From the first, however, it was a fractious community: for, while it suited Europeans to label the Pacific Islanders generically, the men were of diverse ethnic origins, came from many different islands, had vastly different experiences and spoke a multiplicity of languages. The 'sordid tales and bickerings' of the first few years were recorded in the local court books (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1927: 187).

Despite the existence of the camp and the dilemma about the exempted Pacific Islanders, there was still no official government decision about the camp's future. Milman wrote that by September 1907 the settlement was home to about 70 people 'and in a flourishing state.'¹⁶⁹ Then, in December 1907, Milman formally requested Bishop White to assume spiritual oversight of the community, since most of the men 'were already in touch with the Church of England', which for many years maintained and supported the South Sea Home on Thursday Island (White, 1925: 42). It was to be called St Paul's Church of England Mission for Pacific Islanders, 'in affectionate regard for Mr Hugh Milman, who was a nephew of Dean Milman

of St Paul's Cathedral, London', under ABM administration, with the bishop and the Protector as trustees (Jones, 1921: 2).¹⁷⁰

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: ST PAUL'S CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSION FOR PACIFIC ISLANDERS. The bishop ordained Deaconess Florence Griffiths Buchanan on 5 January 1908 in preparation for sending her to Mua to superintend the settlement and teach the children.¹⁷¹ On 19 May 1908 'the mission boat anchored in the bay, and a crowd of Moa people waded into the shallow water to meet a little procession from the dinghy; in front, the vicar of Thursday Island bearing in his arms a frail but precious burden, the pioneer missionary to Moa' (Jones, 1921: 43). Deaconess Buchanan, accompanied by the Fijian Joe Bann from the South Sea Home, his wife Fanny and daughter Mary, then settled into her house, which stood 'about fifty yards from the beach and [was] made entirely of bush materials.' The house also served as the school for the next few years until Buchanan's retirement in 1911. Permanent mission buildings would be erected before the northwest monsoon.

At 7 p.m. the Islanders were called together and a service held to inaugurate the work. The Administrator explained to the members of the community that in accordance with the Government's permission the Bishop of the Diocese had agreed to carry on religious and educational work on the Reserve for South Sea Islanders, and in connection with the Melanesian Boys' Home established for many years at Thursday Island. He urged the people to make every use of their opportunities and to help to make the work a success, by earnest prayer and loyal co-operation with the Missionary in charge of the work.

On 20 May 1908 an area of about 500 acres (200 hectares) was formally gazetted a crown reserve for Pacific Islanders.¹⁷² Soon the authorities were actively seeking new settlers, in some cases putting pressure on Pacific Islanders applying to marry local women, saying that permission would be conditional on the couple relocating to St Paul's. Four other families joined the mission that year: Kris, Levi, Marou and Morrison. According to Sam Nako Kris (pers. comm., 1982, 2004), Bana Kris came first and, finding good soil, returned to Mabuyag to bring his father, two brothers and two sisters.¹⁷³ Descendants of Jack Omeo Marou from the Solomon Islands say that he and his family went to St Paul's in 1908, possibly around the same

TABLE 24. Register of St Paul's men-in-charge licenses, 1915-1929. Source: QSA QS 721/1: Register of men-in-charge licenses, 1915-1957. The original wording has been retained from the historical texts.

Date	Name	Nationality	Height	Boat
16/1/1915	Walter Fred	½ SSI & New Guinea	5'6"	<i>Dulcia</i>
4/3/1915	Billy Rotumah	SS Islander	5'7½"	<i>Wasp</i>
5/3/1915	Sam Savage	SS Islander	5'9¾"	<i>Clifton to Phoenix</i>
1/4/1915	Sam Saveka	Rotuma	5'5"	<i>Marie</i>
13/8/1915	Jack Tanna	Malay [sic]	5'4"	<i>Bee</i>
27/10/1915	Sam Lunga	SS Islander	5'1"	<i>Spider</i>
11/2/1916	Walter Fred	Papuan	5'6»	<i>Dulcia</i>
10/3/1916	Sam Saveka	SS Islander	5'5»	<i>Drayton</i>
10/3/1916	Jack Tanna	SS Islander	5'6»	<i>Bee</i>
21/9/1916	Johnson Florida	SS Islander	5'2¾»	<i>Kishu</i>
21/9/1916	Sam Lunga	SS Islander	5'5"	<i>Sidney</i>
21/9/1916	Aviu	island native	5'7½"	<i>Manu</i>
3/5/1917	Billy Rotumah	SS Islander	5'6¾"	<i>Seafoam</i>
23/3/1918	Fred Walter	½ caste SS Islander	5'5"	<i>Peri</i>
29/5/1918	Johnson Gala	SS Islander	5'2"	<i>Maria Esebia</i>
5/10/1918	Charlie Gala	SS Islander	5'2¾"	? <i>Mildenia</i>
11/9/1919	Jimmy Morrison	New Caledonia	5'7½"	<i>Kestrel</i>
14/2/1920	John Kurnell	½ TS Islander	6'0½"	<i>Bittern</i>
18/5/1920	Abieu Ware	TS Islander	5'7½"	<i>Peri</i>
19/1/1921	Tom Savage	½ Abo.	5'10"	<i>Nitocris</i>
1/2/1922	James Morrison	New Caledonia	5'6»	<i>Seal</i>
23/3/1922	Fred Walters	SS Islander	5'6"	<i>Kishu</i>
16/4/1923	Fred Walters	SS Islander	5'2"	<i>Dulcia</i>
16/1/1924	Fred Walters	HC Islander	5'2"	<i>Dulcia</i>
7/3/1924	Tom Savage	HC SS Islander	5'10"	<i>Waupa</i>
29/10/1924	Tom Savage	half caste SS Islander	5'9 ½"	<i>Swift</i>
19/1/1925	Fred Walter Zitha	TS Islander	5'2"	<i>Dulcia</i>
12/1/1926	Fred Walter Zitha	half caste	5'6"	<i>Dulcia</i>
1/2/1926	Samuel Kawane	TS Islander	5'10 ½"	<i>Freya</i>
15/2/1926	Ned Morrison	half caste	5'5"	<i>Kuiam</i>
10/12/1926	Asera Savika	TS Islander	5'10½"	<i>Freya</i>
7/1/1927	F.W. Zitha	half caste	5'6 ½"	<i>Dulcia</i>
7/1/1927	Asera Savika	half caste	5'11"	<i>Freya</i>
21/1/1928	F. Walter	half caste	5'4"	<i>Dulcia</i>
8/1/1929	Fred Walters	half caste	5'4"	<i>Dulcia</i>
12/3/1930	Fred Walters	halfcaste SS	5'4"	<i>John Alce</i>
28/2/1931	Ned Morrison	St Paul's	5'6"	<i>Darton</i>

Table cont....

Date	Name	Nationality	Height	Boat
2/6/1932	Tom Savage	SS	5'9"	<i>Maria Esebia</i>
28/2/1933	Tom Savage	SS	5'9"	<i>Maria Esebia</i>
1/2/1934	Ned Morrison	TS Islander	5'5½"	<i>Saibai</i>
1/2/1934	Tom Savage	SS Islander	5'8	<i>Heron</i>
12/2/1935	Tom Savage	SS Islander	5'8¾"	<i>H.2</i>
12/9/1935	Billy Abednego	St Paul's	5'6¼"	<i>Wymble</i>

time as James Morrison from New Caledonia. Marou accompanied Morrison to Torres Strait as cabin boy and both married Mabayag women (Kailang Ware Dorante, pers. comm., 2004). Tabua Gela, Tom Gela's brother, also lived for a while at St Paul's but went to work at Tudu and then moved to Parem, where he married a local woman and eventually settled at Daru (Thaiday Ruben, pers. comm., 2000). The bishop visited the mission twice in July 1908 and from 17-19 September he held a service, attended Council meetings and walked to the proposed new boundaries (White, 1908). The permanent population now comprised 30 Pacific Islanders and their families (Milman, 1908a: 3).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: ECONOMY. Although administered as a mission, St Paul's closely resembled the other Torres Strait island communities economically, physically and socially and, indeed, served as a model for many decades. Like the others, its economy was based upon agriculture and participation in the local marine industries. Even before the formal opening of the mission the settlers had about five acres of land under cultivation.¹⁷⁴ One of the best garden places was at the foot of Mua Peak 'because the rainfall is heavier and the peak often catches the clouds which pass dry over the mission' (St George, 1967: 8). Apart from minor income-producing activities such as the lace, fans and necklaces made by the women and marketed by the mission, the economic base of the community was sustained by the wages brought in by commercial fishing and shelling and the sale of produce from the local gardens, taken in to Thursday Island on the mission cutter *Banzai*.¹⁷⁵ Most of the adult men hired out their labour and spent most of each year away on the boats. Table 23 lists the names of some of the men from St

Paul's who signed on articles in early 1921, their employers, rates of pay and date of signing.

In 1924 St Paul's men registered two 'self-contained and self-controlled' co-operative companies. The first was the Moa Fishing Coy. Eleven men had previously chartered a boat and began to collect bêche-de-mer and trochus shell down the Great Barrier Reef and on 12 January 1924 they purchased the lugger *Dulcia*, which Bishop Davies (1924) considered to be 'the best bêche-de-mer boat in the islands' (Fig. 13). Then, in mid-1924, eight men under the leadership of Billy Abednego 'formed themselves into a company known as the Banks Pearling Co., and are pearl-diving with the regulation dress' (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1925:85).¹⁷⁶ Although they started late in the year with no capital they 'obtained a pearling vessel, fitted her with diving apparatus, and in less than six months, besides maintaining their families ashore, paid off practically half of the cost of the venture. The other company, in one year, after paying off their boat and all expenses, divided £700 [among the members], banked £200, and placed £20 to a sinking fund' (Annual Report, 1924: 10).

The bishop encouraged such entrepreneurship, writing to the local police magistrate on 16 June 1925 on Abednego's behalf to request two leases to be used 'as a depot for the storing of material and produce in connection with pearling boats owned by The Banks Pearling Co..' The first was for 'one acre of ground on the South side of Kulbi (Portlock Island) and having a frontage to the sea of about three chains'; the second was for the north-west part of Sarbi (Bond Island). Neither island was inhabited and informal leases IL 827 and IL 828 were duly granted on 24 August 1925 at rentals of £1 per year each.¹⁷⁷ Both were written off a year later. The ageing men of the Banks Pearling Company feared entering the trochus market, although this would have lifted their profits at a time of low pearlshell prices. At the end of 1926 they accepted the Moa Fishing Coy's offer to take over their liabilities and assets (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1927:186). That company continued until February 1930 but wound up after disputes among the members.¹⁷⁸ Early the following year 13 of the younger men

formed themselves into a company and rented a lugger for the purposes of winning trochus and bêche-de-mer. They had every opportunity to make good and should have done so, but some of them who had made heavy purchases at the store ended up in debt. The real trouble is that



FIG. 13. Billy Rotumah or Abednego from Rotuma in diving suit on board *Dulcia*, St Paul's harbour, c.1925. Kaio Levi and Jack Marou on left. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

the boys have no leaders. They are not inclined to take orders from men of their own nationality, especially when the ages are much the same and all have interests in the venture. They have never been trained in the discipline of seamanship and as a rule are spoiled by the Japanese captains who pamper them too much. The boys are excellent material but do need thorough training in the discipline of seamanship. Obviously the Mission cannot do this as we are not an industrial Mission (Year Book, 1932-33: 32).

By the 1920s the majority of captains were Japanese and, according to Tom Lowah (pers. comm., 1981), they did indeed favour St Paul's crews: 'When Islanders worked for Japanese skippers, the St Paul boys always came first. They got better wages, £5.10.0 versus £3.' However, there were several notable skippers with St Paul's connections. One was Fred Walters, who became active in mainland Indigenous politics after his move to Cairns, and who skippered the *Dulcia* throughout the 1920s; another was Tom Savage, who married Elizabeth Morrison at St Paul's in 1921, had charge of the *Nitocris* in 1921 and the *Waupa* and *Swift* in 1924 (Fig. 14).¹⁷⁹ Licensed skippers between 1915 and 1929 are listed in Table 24 with date of registration, 'nationality',



FIG. 14. Group of men from St Paul's mission, mid-1920s. Standing (left to right): George Lee, Billy Abednego, Fred Tibau, Bana Kris; sitting (left to right): Malachi Levi, Kaio Levi, Willie Mam, Jack Tanna, Jack Marou. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection.

height and the boat they captained (original spellings and designations retained).

The depression was nearing its nadir in 1931 and that year mission funds were insufficient to retain the services of a paid captain for the *Banzai*. A voluntary crew kept the boat running for provisions and mails. In April 1931 ten of the married men formed themselves into a company to use the *Banzai* for pearlshelling. Despite making regular trips to Thursday Island and Badu for mails and provisions, which considerably hindered their operation, and the low price of shell, 'they were able to pay all expenses and make something out of it for themselves' (Year Book, 1932-33: 32). Shortly afterwards, 'the men of the village organised a meeting and a crew was selected to hire a lugger from the Burns Philp Company. The boat's name was *Darton* and the business was to fish for trochus and bêche-de-mer', working southward from Muri and diving each day on the reefs (Lowah, 1988: 70). The younger men began to work the ketch *Abaipil* as a company boat and were still doing so successfully in 1935 (A.B.M Review, 1 August 1936: 17).

The seafaring life was a dangerous one. Undoubtedly the worst marine disaster of the post-Federation period occurred on 12 March 1934, when five luggers were wrecked during a cyclone that crossed the coast near Port Douglas. Among those who drowned were May Yawamit Namok Tanna, the sister of Charlie Mukubi Namok from St Paul's, and ten of the people aboard the *Mildred*, owned by Morey and Coy of Thursday Island and captained by the Japanese, Kohachiro

TABLE 25. List of St Paul's seamen discharged 1929-1939 (incomplete). Source: Seamen's Discharge Registers 1926-1934, 1935-1939.

Date	Name	Boat	Rating	Nationality
7/6/1929	Cook Ware	<i>Dulcia</i>	Crew	St Paul's
12/6/1929	Andai Ware	<i>Dulcia</i>	Crew	Half Caste
9/8/1929	Kosia Ware	<i>Herald</i> & others	In charge	Half Caste
21/9/1929	Samuel Kawane	<i>Herald</i>	In charge	-
4/1/1934	Turu Levi	<i>Herald</i> & others	Crew	St Paul's
13/8/1934	Johnson Gela180	<i>Mildred</i>	Crew	S. Sea
3/9/1934	George Lee	<i>Mildred</i>	Crew	St Paul's
3/9/1934	Jimmy Sineng	<i>Mildred</i>	Crew	St Paul's
31/8/1938	Sam Zitha	<i>Taka</i> & others	Crew	St Paul's
8/11/1938	Kaio Levi	<i>Taka</i> & others	Crew	St Paul's
22/11/1938	Jacob Abednego	<i>Willow</i> & others	Crew	St Paul's
22/11/1938	John Abednego	<i>Willow</i> & others	Crew	St Paul's
22/11/1938	Keri Futuna181	<i>Willow</i> & others	Crew	Saibai

Kono. The ketch-rigged cutter was at anchor near Bailey's Creek when she turned over and foundered in the tsunami that followed the cyclone. As well as the crew of 18 and Kono's 22-year-old son, Hiaso, the *Mildred* was carrying the sisters Felicia and Adelaide Pitt and their cousin Annai Pitt and six members of the Jose family, all but one of whom (Felicia) perished. Six St Paul's men were among the crew, including Freddie, Ned Kathei, Elia and Jack Ware. They tried to help the Pitt girls but Adelaide and Annai slipped from their grasp and slid away beneath the water. The survivors had to swim half a mile to the shore but managed to stay together.

Table 25 is an incomplete list of the seamen from St Paul's discharged from 1929 to 1939, their discharge dates, boat, rating and 'nationality' as recorded in the two surviving seamen's discharge registers 1926-1934 and 1934-1939 (Fig.15).¹⁸⁰

A number of prospectors made regular visits to Mua during the inter-war years, searching for gold and other metals. Quartz runs all the way up the east side of Mt Augustus, and up the side of Meth Hill to Bulbul is a vein of quartz, two metres wide, which is a sign of gold (Neil Schomberg, pers. comm., 2005). Samuel Kawane took out rights to mine in late 1926¹⁸² but nothing much came of prospecting on Mua until the discovery of commercial quantities of wolfram in June 1938. The fishing industry continued to employ most Torres Strait labour, although mining became increasingly attractive

as a source of income in the immediate pre-war period. The men could earn wages similar to those offered on the boats (Year Book, 1938-1941: 18) and mining continued until world prices for tungsten collapsed and the mining venture became uneconomic.

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: ADMINISTRATION. On 12 November 1907 Tom Gela (Fig. 16) and Aviu Ware were appointed as the first St Paul's policemen. They were given uniforms and their annual pay rate was set at £1 each (Costin, 1907). In 1908 Sonny Lifu and Charlie Mukubi Namok became the community's first Councillors, but it was Joe Bann (Fig. 17) who became Deaconess Buchanan's 'right hand': he was 'a proved Christian character and has decided abilities for teaching' (Jones, 1921: 43). However, in spite of his support and that of two Councillors and two policemen, Buchanan was finding it difficult to impose her ideas of discipline. In mid-1908 she wrote to a friend:

I suppose the people are very poor and with no forethought, and the women very indolent, so much so that they would prefer sitting in dirt to cleaning their houses. To eat, to sleep, to yarn is their life, and the two Counsellors naturally find friendly dissensions occurring. I tell them the cause lies in idleness, so we have made a rule that every Friday the women must clean their houses, and on Saturday the Counsellor with the policeman goes round the settlement to see that it has been well done, and marks any defaulter. Then I keep reminding them of mat-making, so grass has been gathered and is drying, and by having a class of them two afternoons a week and one on Sunday, and making one who reads teach them a verse or a hymn between days, I hope to instil a little life into them [...] The children of the settlement had previously run wild, and could neither read nor write (Jones, 1921: 44-45).

There follows a list of mission rules and regulations, timetables for school work, Council meetings, choir practice and medicine dispensary, sewing and mat-making classes and times for services. By the end of that year,

the older boys and girls could read and spell in English and write a good round hand, while the Bishop testifies that in speaking of places and public people in Europe they showed a knowledge of geography and contemporary history that astounded him. The second year a 'School magazine' was published monthly. It took the form of a double sheet of foolscap, at the top of the front page of which was a water-

colour painting of flowers, a sea-scene, or such like, done by a different boy or girl each time. Several girls and boys in turn wrote paragraphs narrating any interesting events in the life of the community during the month. A copy of the magazine regularly travelled to England (Jones, 1921: 49).

Each school day began with the children swimming in the sea under Buchanan's oversight: she 'insisted, her Victorian upbringing to the fore, on absolute segregation of the sexes – boys at one end of the beach and girls at the other; the whole affair supervised by a native policeman who also kept a look-out for sharks and swordfish' (White, 1925: 43-44).



FIG. 15. Group of men from St Paul's mission, mid-1920s. Back row (left to right): Andai Ware, Sam Zitha, Unknown, Unknown, Jimmy Gela; centre row (left to right): George Abednego, Mica Newie, Charlie Namok, Ned Ware; front row (left to right): Mike Bourne, Zitha Walters, Keri Futuna. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 16. Tom Gela nursing his youngest child, Robert Gela, St Paul's Mission, mid-1920s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 17. Joe Bann carrying two bunches of bananas, mid-1920s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

On 13 July 1909, during one of several visits the bishop made to St Paul's, he slept on the verandah of the new, unoccupied church house and the following morning at 6 a.m. 'the first bell rang and all the children gathered for a swim under the care of one of the elder men, and at 7.15 the community met for morning prayer.' The bishop's time between church services and school visits was taken up with surveying land for new houses and gardens which were doing 'remarkably well', solving problems of ownership of coconut trees, answering questions about rights of adoption, 'and all the thousand and one difficulties that arise in a Mission responsible for every detail in the lives of its members.' He was gratified by the progress made: a new school-church had been built, a bell erected to regulate village life and a church hall had just been completed. The village street was now lined with coconut palms (The Carpentarian, October 1909: 289). On 25 January 1910 he attended the first anniversary festival on St Paul's Day:

Crowds of natives came from adjacent islands to join in the inauguration, and there was much dancing and speechifying, as well as an art and craft exhibition. The latter consisted mostly of models of the canoes distinctive of the various islands, but a European whaleboat, and even the Francis Pritt were also represented. But the object which showed the greatest artistic skill and won a special prize was a carving

in polished wood of the local sea mammal, the dugong (Wand, 1949: 56).

On 21 April 1910 the mission area was extended to 3800 acres (1538 hectares)¹⁸⁴ and Florence Buchanan was officially appointed superintendent-teacher.¹⁸⁵ The increased area meant that the residents could plant seasonal gardens: the wintertime gardens of June and July were on the eastern coast in the mangroves; when the wind blew from the northwest, people went inland to Lady Hill to garden. On 2 May 1911 the mission was visited by the governor, Sir William MacGregor, who praised the progress and industriousness of the men: they had, he wrote, 'built comparatively good houses for their families' and purchased two fishing vessels (MacGregor, 1911). However, the bishop ordered the ailing deaconess to give up her work on grounds of illness¹⁸⁶ and she was succeeded from 1 November 1911 by a layman, Bertie Stanley Cole, formerly of Yarrabah Mission, and his wife, Mary Ann Monaghan, a trained nurse. There followed a succession of temporary superintendents – Mary Quinan (April-July), Miss Marshall and Miss Davis (August-September) – until the arrival of the first resident priest, Revd Geoffrey Archibald Luscombe, his wife Dulcie Myra and their four children in September 1915.¹⁸⁷

In 1913 the government increased its annual grant from £120 to £150. The inhabitants were entirely self-supporting, the population had grown to 121 and 'many of the houses have been enlarged or rebuilt during the year.' There were plans to build a new church and a small hospital at an estimated cost of about £180. Every householder had 'two or three gardens' in which they grew yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, watermelons, pineapples, cassava, mangoes, pumpkins and taro. The mission, which was 'responsible for every detail in the lives of its members', had become the showcase and model community it was to remain for the next half century, but at a cost to individual freedom. Cole described the mission regime as follows:

We have a council of two and one policeman. The councillors with the Superintendent form the court and govern the village. Sometimes a boy or girl has to appear before the court for disobedience to parents. The policeman marches them right up the centre of the village. They may have to do increased labour or get a good birching. There are not many instances where the full penalty has to be enforced. The village people have lots of laws to obey.

If their houses and outside surroundings are neglected, or their gardens, should they remain in other people's houses after the ten o'clock bell sounds, then they are subject to a fine. The children are not allowed about the village after 9 o'clock. [Kaio Kris], the policeman, enforces the law without fear or favour, even his own children are promptly reported (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1913: 5).

Unlike their 'protected' kinfolk, St Paul's residents were not subject to the *Torres Strait Islanders Act* and held full citizen rights, including the rights to vote and to consume alcohol. St Paul's itself was 'dry' but the men could drink when they were on Thursday Island. However, in early 1914 the bishop and local Protector acted in concert to limit the freedom to drink by giving the superintendent 'power to prevent men coming in without due cause' (A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1914: 57).

The first resident priest of the mission, Revd Luscombe, was followed in 1921 by Revd Junius Wilfred Schomberg and his family (see Schomberg, chapter 5, this volume) and, two days after Schomberg's accidental death on 5 February 1936, by Revd Guy Henry Darke.¹⁸⁸ Darke resigned at the beginning of 1938 and, during the interim between his departure and the arrival of Revd Godfrey and Annie Mary Gilbert in February 1938, St Paul's was administered by the Councillors, Gayai Ware, Napau Namok and John Levi. Gilbert was the mission's last pre-war superintendent (Table 26).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: INFRA-STRUCTURE. The original houses were temporary constructions 'made of bamboo studding, with grass and leaf sheeting and roofing with the floors of split bamboo,' raised several feet above the ground for ventilation (Bayton, 1965: 109). The first mission house consisted of Florence Buchanan's living quarters and 'a large room, which was used as a church, a school, a hospital, and also the Council office' (Hall-Matthews 2004:18-19). There was also a cemetery: during one of the bishop's visits a child died during the dysentery epidemic and was 'buried in the cemetery on a little bay half a mile away' (The Carpentarian, 1 July 1911: 346).

By 1912 the modern shape of the village had begun to emerge, with houses built on each side of a long sandy street (White, 1925: 43-44). Limited finance meant that all the buildings were made from bush timber, except for the sawn hardwood floor, with plaited coconut-leaf walls,

a thatched grass roof and verandahs on all sides. There was no church and the congregation met in 'a grass house for week days and the school-house for Sundays' (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1913: 4). However, soon after the founding of the mission the residents began to plan a more substantial new church, subscribing over £100 in the first three years. 'Every month they make voluntary offerings of the fruits of their gardens and these are sold in Thursday island. This, added to their Sunday offerings and occasional collections in the village, has made up the amount' (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1913: 4). The new church was built in Brisbane of fibro-cement sheets on a wooden frame and sent up in pieces. It had room for 200 and was painted pink outside and grey-blue inside with dark beams. Apart from two small grants from English societies for £50, the cost was borne entirely by the people themselves, who contributed their labour and gave generously to the church fund. 'Two men were paid off from the boats on which they had been working for three years, one with £10 and the other with £8. Each brought me £2 for the church.' It was dedicated on 30 November 1913 and about 23 cutters and luggers arrived from the neighbouring islands for the celebrations, bringing 500 visitors. Three babies were baptised that day: Elsie Newie, Napiau Solomon and Gesa Ware (White, 1925: 45-46).

By the following year the village had doubled in length and 'there was a neat cluster of Mission buildings, and faintly visible from the sea there was the new church. There is no doubt that S. Paul's, Moa, has set, and is setting in many ways a standard for the Church in the Straits' (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1915: 102). An enthusiastic report by the Chief Protector similarly focuses on the economic and physical factors which so impressed visitors:

TABLE 26. Superintendents of St Paul's Mission 1908-1940¹⁸⁹. Source: A.B.M Review; The Carpentarian

Date	Superintendent
1908 - 11	F.G. Buchanan
1912 - 14	B.S. Cole
1915	Quinan/Marshall/Davis/Luscombe
1916 - 20	G.A. Luscombe
1921 - 35	J.W. Schomberg
1936 - 37	G.H. Darke
1938 - 40	G.Gilbert



FIG. 18. Original theological college with four of the students, St Paul's Mission, Easter 1923. The college was built of local bloodwood and mangrove and thatched with grass. It was replaced in 1930 and officially opened on 18 January 1933. Seated (left to right): Napau Namok and Captain Oth. One of the students is holding Lewis Schomberg. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

This station is in a very prosperous condition and with its Government subsidy is entirely self-supporting. Its whole wealth lies in its gardens, which were the best seen in the Straits. A large freshwater swamp had been channelled and drained into the sea thus providing the Mission with an area of rich moist soil capable of growing any crops in the driest weather, their ordinary gardens in the higher interior of the island proving a standby in the wet season. This abundance of vegetable food enabled them to trade with neighbouring islands for fish, dugong and turtle. The village is well laid out and clean and the people look well fed and contented (Bleakley, 1915).

Arguably the most significant of the new religious and educational institutions was the theological college, which trained the early Torres Strait Islander deacons and priests. It opened in early 1917 with Joseph Lui, Poey Passi, Aviu Ware and Atuelu Bowia as the first students (Fig. 18). They, together with the residents of St Paul's, constructed the building, gathering bush materials to save money. The mission provided nails and hinges, as well as food for the workers; the shutters and windows were either taken from the mission house or made from wooden cases. Attached to the lecture room were cubicles for Passi and two pupil teachers from Iama;¹⁹⁰ two more houses were built, one for Lui and one for Ware, who had his own house in the village but wanted to be with the other students.

St Paul's attracted many European visitors from mainland Australia and Britain, who praised



FIG. 19. Main street of St Paul's Mission, looking north, with Futuna and Levi houses on right, early 1920s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

its setting, cleanliness and the industriousness and comportment of its residents (Fig. 19). In January 1921 the celebrated photographer and film maker, Frank Hurley, made a visit as part of an extended trip to photograph the people of Torres Strait and New Guinea.¹⁹¹ On 19 January he and Revd Luscombe climbed Mt Augustus, with Poey Passi, then a theological student, acting as carrier.¹⁹²

Hurley (1921) notes how the luxuriant gardens were 'scratched and planted haphazardly[...] The garden sites cut from the heavy undergrowth remind one of a pioneer's clearing. The stumps are unremoved and form trestles over which the yams and other creeping tubers entwine themselves.' He further comments that

Moa Island unlike the other Islands of Torres Straits, which are controlled by a Government teacher, is entirely under the jurisdiction of The Australian Board of Missions. They control absolutely the Island. The inhabitants number only about 150 but the ABM control appears to be more desirable than the Queensland Government. There are wide tracts of fertile soil – though not so rich as Darnley or Murray – which could well be developed and the Island turned into a rich possession (Hurley, 1921).

The following year changes in the mission's laws were mooted to allow a family to hold more than five acres of land and to govern its inheritance (The Carpentarian, 2 October 1922: 706). In 1925 Revd Schomberg began to create his famous swamp garden of green vegetables, tomatoes, bananas and pineapples, clearing the tea-trees, digging rows of deep, wide trenches to form moats and piling up the rich soil and rotted leaves between them to form beds watered all

year by the residue from the monsoon rains. It supplied the village as well as Thursday Island, which became dependent on the swamp garden for its fruit and vegetables (Schomberg & Schomberg, 1996: 79).

Official visitors to Mua during this period included the governor, Sir John Goodwin, who with his wife stopped briefly at St Paul's in 1929, inspected the school and 'graciously accepted from us a memento of their visit in the form of an album of views of S. Paul's, bound in lamb's skin and tortoise-shell, with His Excellency's crest in mother-of-pearl' (A.B.M. Review, 15 July 1930: 69); the home secretary in 1931, who visited both communities;¹⁹³ Goodwin's successor, Sir Leslie Orme Wilson (Fig. 20), accompanied by his wife, daughter and the Chief Protector, who in 1933 toured all the island communities, staying overnight with Revd Schomberg;¹⁹⁴ and the attorney-general, his wife and son in 1935 (A.B.M. Review, 1 August 1936: 148).

Lack of funds during the depression forced economies on the diocese, including the closure of the college for 12 months from the end of September 1931. Nevertheless, the villagers decided at a public meeting in 1924 to build a new church in memory of Deaconess Buchanan, the existing church being now too small for the congregation. It was designed by Revd Schomberg in the shape of a cross. Rocks were brought in bags from further south of the island by boat, unloaded on the beach and then cracked down to gravel-sized stones, mainly by the women. Coral was burned to make lime for concrete and water to mix the concrete was channeled through bamboo pipes from the mission house tank to the church site over 70 metres away and gravity-fed into kerosene tins (Schomberg & Schomberg, 1996: 75).

A little over twelve tons of cement were used, and the men worked every alternate week[...] Everything, except the sand and water, had to be carried by boat, and then by hand from the beach to the site. The Church is to be of concrete blocks and concrete throughout [...] Apart from a memorial fund, the people will be finding all the money necessary and will do all the work (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1927: 185).

Tom Lowah was personally involved in the work under Schomberg's supervision:

a special by-law was laid out for everyone's week. This meant a full five days work for

the Church building. Children after school would cart sand from the beach, women with hammers would break up stones and some of the men would mix sand, cement and stones with shovels while others made bricks and still others layed [sic] the bricks. The only day off for one's own benefit was Saturday. This



FIG. 20. Queensland Governor, Sir Leslie Orme Wilson, talking with Fred Pedro, St Paul's Mission, 4 October 1933. Included in the photograph are (from left): Wittie Kawane, Lily Namok, Maia Levi, Hilda Namok, Kara Pedro, Lily Ware, Rebecca Levi, Maggie Levi, Rithia Namok, Elsie Newie, Moilang Ware (née Pedro). Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 21. Foundation stone of the new St Paul's church, laid by the Archbishop of Brisbane, in memory of the first missionary, Deaconess Florence Buchanan, 18 July 1926. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 22. Dedication of the new St Paul's church, 29 September 1940. At left is the old church being demolished. Left to right: Manu Nona, Bishop Stephen Davies, Poey Passi, Joseph Lui, Seriba Sagigi, Kabay Pilot. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

went week on week about till the building was done (Lowah, 1988: 72).

The foundation stone was laid on 18 July 1926 by the Archbishop of Brisbane, using a trowel made of pearl shell with a dugong ivory handle (Fig. 21) and the foundations were completed early in November but it was not dedicated until 29 September 1940 (Fig. 22) (St Michael and All Angels' Day) nor consecrated until 1995 (Davies, 1940; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 43, 47; Year Book, 1941: 19).

On 18 January 1933 the new theological college was opened (Fig. 23). The 'only one of its kind in Australasia if not the world', it replaced the former palm-leaf house with a fibrolite and corrugated-iron two-storey building (Year Books, 1933: 33, 1935: 32).

On the top floor is the lecture room, running the full length of the building, and ceiled with locally-made plaited bamboo. Beneath are two rooms each 14×13 , one to serve as a storeroom and the other the office of the Superintendent of the Mission. These are divided by a hall 14×14 , all three floored with concrete. At the back of these is a workroom, 40×14 , where carpentry classes will be held and other technical instruction given to the bigger school boys at St Paul's. There are two porches, 14×10 , setting off the building at front and side (The Carpentarian, April 1933: 73).

In 1938, just before the outbreak of World War II, St Paul's received one of the 12 Departmental wireless sets installed on every church mission and the larger islands of Torres Strait. Regular



FIG. 23. Dorothea, Neil and Lewis Schomberg in front of the newly-completed theological college, St Paul's Mission Christmas 1932. Note the two giant clam shells on each side of the entrance. The ceiling on the top floor was sheathed with plaited coconut leaves. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

daily sessions commenced on 15 March and the new radio service proved of immense benefit in medical emergencies, as well as in reducing the isolation of the mission (Annual Report, 1938: 9, 14). It allowed the villagers to hear the announcement of the outbreak of war on 3 September 1939: 'We heard Mr Chamberlain speak over the radio and the policeman was sent to blow the "boo" – to call the people together; the main facts were told to them, we sang "God save the King", the people said "Finish Hitler", and we went off to bed.' They began to prepare a communal garden of about a hectare to offset possible food shortages and short news bulletins received via the radio and posted up under the church bell allowed them to follow the main events of the war (The Carpentarian, October 1939; A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1940: 85).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: HEALTH. Shortly after the founding of the mission a virulent epidemic of tropical dysentery, probably originating in Papua, struck the Torres Strait communities, in particular the children with their undeveloped immune systems. In 1910 about 14% of the cases proved fatal and in 1911 a temporary isolation hospital was set up on Muralag (Prince of Wales Island) for the Islanders, who were sent in for medical help, to segregate them from the residents of Thursday Island. The death rate in 1911 was similar to that of 1910 and in 1912, the last year of the crisis, it reached about 19%, after which there was decrease in the number of cases reported each year (Lee-Bryce, 1912a: 2). St Paul's was not spared this epidemic (there are no records for Adam). In March the cutter *Yadi*

TABLE 27. List of dysentery patients from St Paul's at temporary hospital on Muralag 1911.¹⁹⁵ Source: Hennessey (1911). *I cannot uniquely identify these people, whose first names only were recorded. Ned is probably Ned Morrison; Ada may be Ada from Erub, whose mother was Rosie from Poid, and who married Tommy Ah Fat in 1913. She was a relative of the Ware family and known to have often visited St Paul's.

Name	Date of admission	Date of discharge	No. of days
Mary Bann	5/3/1911	21/3/1911	17
Ellen Morrison	21/3/1911	15/4/1911	26
Nalam Ebithia Kris	21/3/1911	15/4/1911	26
Nabuat Tanna	25/3/1911	3/4/1911	9
Jack Tanna	28/3/1911	30/4/1911	34
Alice Tanna	28/3/1911	15/4/1911	19
Jimmy Futuna	28/3/1911	15/4/1911	19
Kaio Kris	28/3/1911	22/4/1911	26
Arona Kris	28/3/1911	15/4/1911	19
Alit Futuna	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Tenepau Namok	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Kila Uiduldam	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Kalis Tanna	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Diat Ware	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Miseron Levi	28/3/1911	15/4/1911	19
Maiama Kris	28/3/1911	15/4/1911	19
Ned*	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Ada*	9/5/1911	12/5/1911	4
Kaio Levi	29/3/1911	15/4/1911	18
Kaitu Filemon	5/4/1911	15/4/1911	11
Gagie*	5/4/1911	30/4/1911	26
Nasona Nelem Kris	5/4/1911	22/4/1911	18
Maryper Kris	5/4/1911	17/4/1911	13
Nay Eliza Savika	10/4/1911	22/4/1911	13
Geni Marou	20/4/1911	12/5/1911	23
Magina Marou	20/4/1911	12/5/1911	23

brought in the first patients to Thursday Island with news that others were sick and two had already died. A week later the *Banzai* brought in a dozen patients to an already overcrowded hospital: between 5 March and 20 April 1911 26 St Paul's residents were admitted, the last one leaving on 12 May (Table 27). There were three deaths but none among the 'nearly half the community' then hospitalised (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1911: 338): nine-year-old Naomi Levi, daughter of Kelma and Maiama Levi, on 19 March; her older sister, Waidorie, on 25 March; and Paul Gela, infant son of Tom and Bigai Namok Gela, on 16 April.

St Paul's was less prone to disease than the western villages, largely because of its windy location, the strict surveillance and swift actions of church authorities and its excellent water supply, drawn from a series of concrete wells. None of this, however, could isolate them from the worldwide influenza pandemic, which reached Torres Strait in early 1920. 'Mr Luscombe had over 120 cases at St Paul's, and as soon as he saw that the epidemic was going to be serious he organised the settlement, commandeering all the food, setting apart houses for isolation of patients, and appointing a committee of cooks with Miss Luscombe in charge' (A.B.M. Review, 7 June 1920: 60). The final tally was 127 cases out of a population of 141 (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1920: 630) and the community lost two of its older residents: the longtime Councillor, Sonny Lifu,¹⁹⁶ and Sam Savika a few days later.¹⁹⁷ Table 28 lists the five St Paul's residents who died of influenza that year (ages approximate).¹⁹⁸

St Paul's people may have been better protected from illness than many other communities but individuals were not immune from the waves of infectious diseases that passed through the strait. Tuberculosis (TB) was considered rare among Torres Strait Islanders in the years leading up to World War II. Nonetheless, it attacked some St Paul's residents in the 1920s and 1930s: the theological student, William Bee, succumbed

TABLE 28. Deaths from influenza at St Paul's 1920. Source: Somerset register of deaths 1920.

Date of death	Place of death	Name	Age	Place of birth	Spouse/parents
11/2/1920	St Paul's	Sonny Lifu	60	Lifu	Mary Price
11/2/1920	St Paul's	Dick Namok	45	Mabuyag	Baithie Samaka
14/2/1920	St Paul's	Sam Savika	48	Rotuma	Nay Eliza Tibe
16/2/1920	St Paul's	Yamei	6m	St Paul's	Aken & Narusa Nawie
17/2/1920	St Paul's	Geni	48	Mabuyag	Jack Omeo Marou

TABLE 29. Adults confirmed at St Pauls, 14 July 1909. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1909.

Males	Sonny Lifu (Councillor), Mukubi Namok (Councillor), Samuel Kawane, Yawaki Namok
Females	Maima, Petherie, Nalam, Uruba, Lily, Alit

to it in 1926¹⁹⁹ and three years later young Te Wittie Ware died of the disease in Thursday Island hospital.²⁰⁰ According to Angela Newie Torenbeek (pers. comm., 2006), his brother, Andai Ware, was diagnosed and went to hospital at the same time but he survived by refusing his medicine. Then, in 1931 Dolly Daley, daughter of Charles and Mary Daley and foster daughter of Alit Futuna, also succumbed: her natural mother, Mary Blanket Daley from Badu, had died from the same illness in 1913.

An epidemic of measles closed the school for two weeks in early 1930 but fortunately most of the cases were mild. At the end of March 1938 an impetigo epidemic among the children was followed almost immediately by epidemics of whooping cough (which caused two deaths) and influenza, which closed the school during most of June: 71% of the children and three of the four teachers were ill (Gilbert, 1938; Annual Report, 1938: 8). The Protector and the Aboriginal Industries Board (AIB) arranged for a supply of dugong oil for all children and adults convalescing from whooping cough and Mrs Gilbert, wife of the superintendent, thought that St Paul's immunity was due to daily doses of the oil

given to anyone who showed the slightest sign of a snuffle. It was an amusing sight, during the worst of the epidemic, to watch the policeman [Gayai Ware] and his offsider dosing the victims. The two men divided the village between them, and went round three times daily, to administer cough mixture and dugong oil. The children were all lined, cross-legged, on the verandah, ready for him, just like a row of little birds [...] and the policeman walked down the line, putting a worm – or so it appeared, into each little beak (The Carpentarian, 1 October 1938: 11).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: RELIGION. St Paul's was for almost two decades the only mission in the strait (until the opening of Hammond Island Catholic Mission in 1929); it was 'really a Mission within a Mission' (Schomberg & Schomberg, 1996: 16). As such, it became the focus of the church's religious, educational and social work until World War II. The bishop made

several visits over the early years of the mission. On the evening of 14 July 1909 in the new church room he confirmed ten adult permanent residents 'who had been recognised as communicants' by the LMS (Table 29).

The next confirmations took place on 26 May 1912 but I cannot find the names of the 13 people confirmed that day (White, 1912). At that time the Church of England's presence was confined to Thursday Island and St Paul's until it replaced the LMS on the outer islands in 1915, and St Paul's was the first community visited by the bishop and his party to explain the handover.

In June 1915 Revd J.J.E. Done was appointed to take charge of the Torres Straits Island Mission and on 15 July he set sail in the Dogai on her initial cruise.²⁰¹ Three days later he performed the first Anglican baptism in the islands of an Islander child, David Newie of St Paul's Mission, Moa, son of Harry and Alion Newie. St Paul's residents were already being called upon to provide workers for the church in various capacities. That year Willie Lowah was asked to become the verger of the Thursday Island cathedral and caretaker at the South Sea Home. Many years later his son described his duties:

My father swept, kept the gardens and was in charge of the hostel. He also worked in and around the Church keeping everything tidy and well run. He had to care for the plants and trees within the church yard. No other Islanders then were allowed to live on the island as the other 'foreign' nationalities mostly lived there. So there was a so-called hostel, we named it the South Sea Home, behind the Church and people coming to the hospital or for church business from the Islands in the Torres Strait stayed there as there was no other accommodation for our kind. Besides the plants and trees, Dad also tolled the bell each Sunday, but the most tiresome job was to deliver the Parish Gazettes by walking. It was delivered in three trips to the three areas where the residences were. Dad could not read so I had to help. He called out the names of each resident that was to receive a Gazette and I laid it facing down in piles. He would know exactly where to begin because he had named them in the order he

would deliver them[...] I was sorry for Dad after his walk as he would get very tired out. His wage was 5 pounds per month (Lowah, 1988: 25-26).²⁰²

Of all the religious and educational institutions established after the formal establishment of the mission, arguably the most important was St Paul's theological college. The Torres Straits Island Mission had always envisaged 'the beginnings of a Native Ministry' (Newton, 1915a) and Revd G.W. Morrison, Archdeacon of Kumasi, formerly of Yarrabah, organised the collection of £165.4.3 in England for an 'Aboriginal Training College' to train an Indigenous ministry, the money, known as the Morrison Fund, to be invested and the interest used for the upkeep of the college (Morrison, 1917).

Cole's replacement, Revd Luscombe, became the first principal of the new college, which was opened on 11 February 1917 by Bishop Henry Newton with an intake of four men previously connected with the LMS: Joseph Lui from Erub, Poey Passi from Mer, Aviu Ware from St Paul's and Atuelu Bowia from Badu (Fig. 20). The course of study was four years and the students were of a lower educational standard than was hoped 'but on the other hand they are all older men, of tried character and definitely and knowingly giving up better prospects from a worldly point of view by answering the call of God to offer themselves for service in the Church' (Newton 1917c). Now responsible for an extra 17 people – four students, two postulants, three wives and eight children – Newton was very conscious of expense. He hoped the cost would not exceed £100 p.a., some of which would be provided by contributions from the islands like the gift of 200 coconuts from Masig (Yorke Island). Food would come from the gardens; and '[e]ach married man will take one of the single men to have his food with him, so we are relieved of the work and the worry of arranging for the board of the single men' (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1917: 3).

I told the students that we would either give them a fixed allowance in money and let



FIG. 24 Four students from the theological college, St Paul's Mission, 18 November 1925. Left to right: James Rice, Sailor Gabey, Napau Namok, Captain Oth. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

them provide their own things, or we would supply food, clothing and other necessities – either a fixed amount every month or so much per day. They decided we should give them their food, and I advised them to get it every day, as it is always possible that boats may be in from other Islands and they would find it difficult to refuse to give away what they had if they happened to have a large stock on hand say at the beginning of the month. And so it was arranged. Already they have a garden in hand and a good deal in the way of sweet potatoes planted. So in about three months they will be able to reduce the amount we provide in the way of flour and rice. We are to provide tea, sugar, flour, rice, baking powder, soap, tobacco, and clothing. When it came to a discussion about tobacco, the question of the supply for the wives came up. Three of the students are married and two of the women did not smoke. The third decided she also would not before I left St Pauls. And this was her own suggestion. We decided to give each man 5/- a month for pocket money (Newton, 1917c).

The theological training college offered 'the highest standard of learning in the Straits' (Schomberg, 1924: 75);²⁰³ it also became a crucial means for strengthening connections between St

TABLE 30. St Paul's residents confirmed at St Paul's Mission 27 January 1920 (surnames added). Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1920.

Males	Aken Nawie, Andai Ware, Sineng Tanna, Ezra Savika, Jimmy ²⁰⁴
Females	Harriet Waugh, Sinebah Levi, Magena Marou (Asera), Neri Tanna, Alion Newie

TABLE 31. Confirmations at St Pauls, 12 April 1931. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1931.

Males	Napau Pedro, George Savika, William Oth, Erasita Namok, Edward Ware, Jiu Tiati, Jack Tanna, Alfred Lowah, Timothy Tamwoy
Females	Sorbie Oth, Lucy Abednego, Seto Toto, Solome Gela, Gada Kris, Charlotte Kris, Angelina Ware

TABLE 32. Confirmations at St Paul's, 6 January 1933. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation register 1933.

Males	Elia Ware, Thomas Lowah, David Lowah, Richard Nota
Females	Kaidai Kawane, Hilda Namok, Maud Louisa Morrison, Kara Pedro, Dulcie Louisa Pedro, Maggie Levi, Sasau Gela

Paul's and the other islands. After graduation, Joseph Lui and Poey Passi were made deacons on 30 November 1919, Lui going to Dauan and Passi to Boigu (Done, 1987: 33). Two churchwardens



FIG. 25. Church group of wardens and Mothers' Union members, St Paul's Mission, 1922. Back row: Peter Savage, Harry Newie, Billy Abednego, Jack Marou, Fred Tibau, Jimmy Futuna, Charlie Mukubi Namok; front: Unknown, Rebecca Nota, Nagele Savage, Cissie Captain, Unknown. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.



FIG. 26. Official ordination group, 18 November 1925. Left to right. James Rice, Revd Joseph Lui, Sailor Gabey, Revd J.J.E. Done, Revd J.W. Schomberg, Captain Oth, Revd Poey Passi, Napau Namok. Seated is Bishop of Carpentaria, Stephen Davies. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

from each island attended the ordination, including Lui's father, Lui Geteno from Lifu, a former LMS missionary at Mawatta, Saibai and Iama but then living at Erub (A.B.M. Review, 7 January 1920: 152). On 28 January 1920 the bishop admitted its second intake of students: Sailor Gabey, born on Erub to Murray Island parents; and the Murray Islanders, Jimmy Rice and Captain Oth (Newton, 1920) (Fig. 24). The previous day he had confirmed ten young St Paul's residents (Table 30).

St Paul's was the centre of church work in the strait and continued to strengthen its links with other island and Cape York Aboriginal communities. From the early 1920s St Paul's educational and religious institutions were providing lay missionaries and teachers to island and Cape York communities, sourced from the theological college, which received promising students from throughout the region. On 31 October 1921 Revd Schomberg arrived to replace Revd Luscombe as principal of the college and the following year Stephen Harris Davies replaced Henry Newton as Bishop of Carpentaria. St Paul's was the venue of the first conference of Islander churchwardens in April 1923 and the second in September 1929 (Fig. 25). At the first conference Satraika Agi was licensed as a lay missionary and school teacher at Cowal Creek (now Injinoo). In 1925 the two recently-ordained priests were sent as chaplains to Cape York missions: Joseph Lui to Mitchell River Mission (now Kowanyama), established in 1904; Poey Passi to Lockhart River Mission, established in 1924. Tom Savage and Kosia Ware from St Paul's also served for several years at Lockhart, the first of scores of Islanders who have served as deacons and priests in mainland communities, where their descendants continue to play significant roles in local affairs.

A milestone in St Paul's mission history came on 18 November 1925 with the ordination of Joseph Lui and Poey Passi as the first Torres Strait Islander priests (Fig. 26). However, the dire financial conditions and commitment to a new college building meant that no students were in residence during the latter part of 1931 (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1934: 548), although the normal religious work of the mission continued: on 12 April 1931 there were 16 confirmations and a further 11 on 6 January 1933 (Tables 31, 32).

The worst of the depression had passed and after a two-year hiatus the new college was opened and blessed by the Bishop of Carpentaria on 18 January 1933 (Year Books, 1933: 33, 1935: 32) About 300 people from Poid and neighbouring islands attended the ceremony, among them the mayor of Thursday Island. Manu Nona and Seriba Sagigi from Badu were admitted for the four-year course of study and in March, Namabai

Atu of Saibai joined them. They were all judged satisfactory at the end of the year and permitted to continue their studies but Atu left after two years (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1934: 548). Nona and Sagigi were ordained deacons on 20 December 1936, the former being sent to Masig and the latter to Cowal Creek; this appointment allowed Kabay Pilot, who was at Cowal Creek, to return to college at the beginning of 1937 to train for the priesthood (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1937: 59). In 1939 Francis Bowie was ordained the fourth Islander priest and the first from Badu. During 1940 there were only two students in residence, Boggo Pilot from Erub, younger brother of Revd Kabay Pilot, and Henry Mosby from Masig (Year Book, 1941: 18). A list of pre-war students of St Paul's Theological College is given in Table 33.

The diocese was bankrupted by the depression and by the late 1930s was short of staff and in debt.

TABLE 33. Students at St Paul's Theological College 1917-1940. Sources: Bayton (1965: 216-18); A.B.M. Review; The Carpentarian; Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria.

Enrolment date	Name	Place of birth	Deaconed	Priested
11/2/1917	Joseph Lui	Mer	30/11/1919	18/11/1925
11/2/1917	Poey Passi	Mer	30/11/1919	18/11/1925
11/2/1917	Aviu Ware	Mabuyag		
11/2/1917	Atuelu Bowia	Badu		
28/1/1920	James Rice	Mer		
28/1/1920	Captain Oth	Mer	4/5/1924	
28/1/1920	Sailor Gabey	Erub	4/5/1924	20/9/1931
1925	William Bee	Mabuyag		
1/1926	Francis Bowie	Badu	22/12/1929	21/12/1939
1/1926	Kabay Pilot	Erub	22/12/1929	22/2/1942
1/1926	William Namok	Mabuyag	14/4/1963	
1931-1932	College closed during depression.			
18/1/1933	Manu Nona	Badu	20/12/1936	
18/1/1933	Seriba Sagigi	Badu	20/12/1936	28/3/1954
3/1933	Namabai Atu	Saibai		
6/1940	Boggo Pilot	Erub	13/3/1949	14/1/1951
6/1940	Henry Mosby	Masig		
1/1941	Thomas Soki	Saibai		
1/1941	Kiwami Dai	Saibai	13/3/1949	14/1/1951
1/1941	Samuel Lowah	St Paul's		
1942-1946	College closed during World War II			

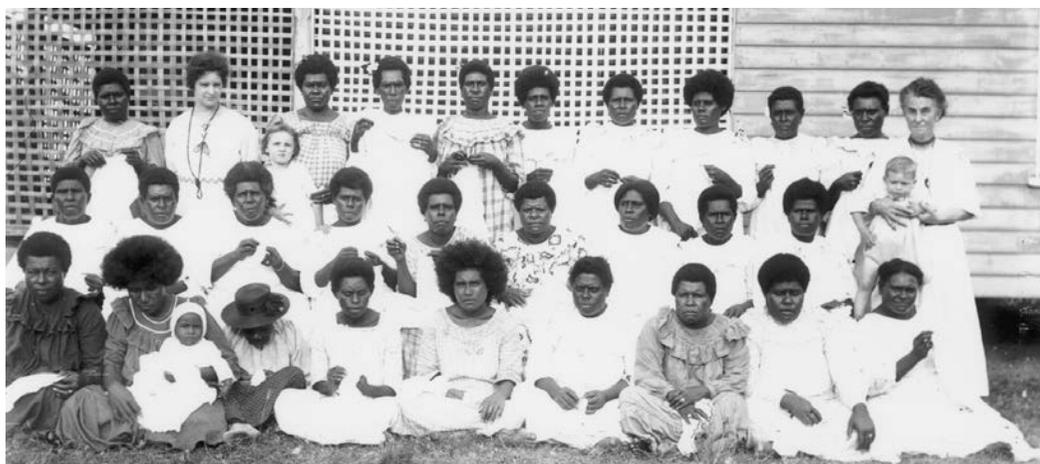


FIG. 27. Mothers' Union, St Paul's Mission, Easter 1924. Top row (left to right): Unknown, Mrs Schomberg, Nazareth Sagigi, Tina Toto, Esi Tibau, Baa Namok, Unknown, Kailang Kris, Gaiba Atu, Rachel Abednego, Deaconess Emma Hatton; middle row: Muradh Morrison, Nalam Kawane, Nagele Savage, Maria Ware, Neri Solomon, Lily Namok, Kalis Gela, Alion Newie, Anna Lee, Lewis Schomberg; bottom row (left to right): Alit Futuna, Dinah Kris, Granny Lilywater, Narusa Nawie, Piriiotha Ware, Diai Pedro, Nay Eroa, Maima Levi, Cissie Captain. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

Much-needed grants from the Australian Board of Missions (ABM) were reduced by 25% and not restored. These years were the most difficult period the bishop had experienced during his 19 years in Carpentaria and he was obliged to sell the Lockhart River Mission lugger to the men of St Paul's to pay for a school building (A.B.M. Review, 1 April 1937: 59, 1 June 1940: 81-82).

Women, who were excluded from the diaconate, priesthood, Council and police force, contributed to the religious and administrative life of St Paul's through membership of the Mothers' Union, a women's church organisation for married women with enormous though subtle influence on community affairs. Every respectable married woman was expected to join this international organisation 'so that they could encourage each other in caring properly for their families.' The first Australian branch of the Mothers' Union was established in Tasmania in 1892; the first Torres Strait regional branch was opened on Thursday Island in 1908 with an exclusively European membership; and on 11 July 1911 the first island branch was opened at St Paul's by Deaconess Buchanan (Matheson 1992:24). The original members were Alit Futunah and her sister, Lily Namok, Petherie Ware and Nalam Kawane (Fig. 27). They were, notes a branch report, 'very faithful members and an example to the village until their death. There's one rule which was made when this branch was formed

and that is that the members must be non-smokers. Some of the mothers found this very hard but persevered and conquered the habit' (Matheson 1992:25). The women supported the work of the church in the communities by visiting and helping the sick, looking after the church linen, sweeping the church grounds, organising feasts and raising funds. By 1928 St Paul's membership was 30 and their end-of-year bazaar realised £30 for the new church building fund.

At first the European wives of the mission superintendents or government teachers took charge but from the late 1920s they began to be replaced by the wives of Islander priests. In May 1931 a Mothers' Union Diocesan Council was formed and Mary Murray Lui, Alice Namok Passi and Mogi Mopoali Gabey, the three priests' wives, along with Sepoima Kanai Min from Mabuyag were invited to join.²⁰⁵ After Revd Schomberg's death in 1936 the St Paul's members attended to his grave, cleaned the church weekly, cut the grass and made repairs to the theological college houses. They also carried sand and broke stones for the new church and made fans, baskets and necklaces for the ABM to sell to support its national and international mission work. In 1937 Ethel Morrison Savika became the first member of the Council elected from St Paul's. However, Revd Gilbert's wife took charge of the St. Paul's, Poid and Badu branches in February 1938, when the membership stood at 40 members. The bishop

paid tribute to the organisation during his first post-war visit to the islands in 1946, noting that the organisation 'has long been a spiritual force in the islands. It carried on undiminished, without European supervision, in the war years.' With most of the able-bodied men absent from the islands in the marine industries and then the defence forces, 'it was the Mothers' Union and the older members of the Girls Friendly Society who did much of the actual hard work in the villages and churches.' Catherine (Kitty) Savage Ware was elected the leader of the Torres Strait Mothers' Union from 1966 to 1975 and was succeeded by Lena Pilot Passi from 1975-1977. Membership of the Mother's Union was of such significance that it is often inscribed on tombstones, especially if the deceased was an office-bearer: from headstones we learn, for example, that Eri Futuna and Sasau Oth served as presidents of the Mothers' Union on St Paul's and Harriet Waugh Kris as war-time secretary (Year Book, 1928: 25, 1947: 29; *The Carpentarian*, 1 January 1930: 227; *The Parish Gazette*, 1 December 1940: 2; *A.B.M. Review*, 1 September 1956: 135, 1 November 1946: 150; Matheson, 1992; Ada Tillett, pers. comm., 1998; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 41).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: EDUCATION. The teacher at Mabayag thought it unfortunate that the 20 or so pupils who had accompanied their parents to the new camp on Mua would be 'without schooling there as they are nearly all young and were getting on very well' (Cairns, 1906). They received no formal education until the arrival of Deaconess Buchanan in 1908 to take charge of the mission and open a school. The following year government resident Milman toured the islands after his appointment as local Protector and gave a positive assessment of the new settlement and its school (Milman 1909). Andai Ware and Nasona Kris were among those taught by Deaconess Buchanan, who also trained Kailang Ware, daughter of Jack and Demaga Ware, as a teacher (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 19; St George, 1967: 15). In 1910 school pupils Andai and Kosia Ware, Bana Kris, Mary Bann and Alice Namok contributed articles for the first issue of the *St Paul's, Moa Monthly Magazine* (*The Carpentarian* 1 July 1910: 309). By 1911 enrolment was 28 (MacGregor, 1911); by 1912 it was 43 and the parents were 'very anxious for them to learn and insist on regular attendance. The children are just as keen to learn. They grow weary of their holidays and request that school be re-opened at once.' Enrolment remained at

around 45 for a several years, increasing to about 50 by 1920, then to a high of 91 in 1930, after which it stabilised in the 60s until the outbreak of war (Table 34).

Although English grammar proved to be the most difficult subject – according to superintendent Cole, the children 'seem to do their thinking in native fashion and then answer in English' (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 April 1913: 4) – education in English was perceived as crucial for Islander advancement and for ensuring the longterm success of the community and the primary school was for many decades recognised as the best in the islands. Initially, there were difficulties in finding qualified staff. After Cole left on furlough in April 1915, Mary Quinan took charge for three months, after which Mrs Marshall and Miss Davis came for two months. The arrival of Luscombe as superintendent in September 1915 was hoped to bring more stability to the mission (*A.B.M. Review*, 12 June 1916: 48). Maud Sindel arrived in January 1917 and in February she was licensed as the new teacher. The bishop's diary hints at trouble between Sindel and the community and in June she left for Mitchell River Mission. She was replaced by Mary Quinan but both women resigned from the mission staff in October 1918. Revd Luscombe's sister, H.M. Luscombe, 'a trained and experienced teacher', took over the school from August 1918 until June 1920, acting as superintendent during her brother's furlough and initiating lace-making at St Paul's (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 August 1918: 67; *The Carpentarian*, 1 July 1918: 573, 1 October 1920: 642, 1 October 1921: 677).

St Paul's educational institutions also supplied teachers to island and Cape York mission schools. Atuelu Bowia from Badu left his studies at the theological college to go as teacher to Poruma in April 1921. In 1922 he was replaced by Harry Awassie Captain from Erub, who had trained as a teacher at St Pauls in 1920.²⁰⁶ On 1 February 1927 Napau Namok, son of Mukubi and Lily Namok, replaced Satraika Agi from Mabayag as the second mission teacher at Cowal Creek; Napau in turn handed over to Te Wittie Ware, son of Jack (Goba) and Uruba Ware, in December 1928 (MacFarlane, 1928); he later became the teacher at Boigu, before succumbing to TB.

St Paul's school, like the mission itself, became a showcase for official visitors (Fig. 28). It received its first inspection from the Department of Public Instruction on 3 September 1924. Deaconess Emma Hatton, who had taken charge of the



FIG. 28. St Paul's Mission school, c.1930s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

school in 1922, was head teacher, assisted by Mary Bann, Joe Bann's daughter. The general tone of the school was pronounced 'very good.' Organisation was satisfactory, the teaching was 'thoughtful and impressive' and the children had 'a better knowledge of English than is met with in most of the other Island schools' (Fig. 29) (The Carpentarian, 1 April 1925: 82). After Hatton left for Mitchell River Mission in August 1925, Gayai Ware, son of Jack and Demaga Ware and later mission store manager, took charge of the school until the appointment of Elfleda (Elf) Kathleen Prior late that year (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 35).²⁰⁷ Kabay Pilot, Francis Bowie and William Namok were sent from the theological college to attend the first



FIG. 29. School children from St Paul's Mission, late 1920s. Group includes Sasau Gela, Bertie Namok, William Lowah, Lawrence Levi, Daniel Abednego and Wildred Namok. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

teacher training class at Badu from 28 July-11 August 1926 (Furnivall, 1926).

In May 1927, after another favourable school inspection, Revd MacFarlane discussed with the under secretary of the Department of Public Instruction the reorganisation of the whole Torres Strait school system, including teacher training. MacFarlane proposed setting up a secondary school at St Paul's to provide 'the advanced education necessary to bridge the gap between the standard of the primary schools of the islands and those required for the Theological College and Island Native Teachers' Service' (Bleakley, 1961: 285; MacFarlane, 1927). The church's proposal to offer higher education in a modified high school was accepted and an increased government subsidy from £250 to £400 enabled the school to employ two European teachers and an Islander assistant for an enrolment of 71. This compared with the cost of teaching services to Poid, with an enrolment of 66, of £436 p.a. (Bleakley, 1929; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 36; O'Leary, 1929a). Parents from other islands were beginning to send their children to the school: boys came from Saibai, Badu, Masig, Iama and Cowal Creek to attend the modified high school or a course of special training and were accommodated in village homes (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 37).

The mission authorities were also keen to train young women as teachers and nurses. In 1927 Revd Done's house at Mabuyag was brought to St Paul's and altered to provide a teachers' residence and hostel for girls (The Carpentarian, January 1928: 37). It was re-erected on high piles to provide room for a dining hall and other accommodation beneath and formally opened and blessed by Bishop Davies on 22 September 1929, the first such institution where girls could board while receiving higher education (Fig. 30). In 1929 there were two NSW-trained teachers on staff, Elf Prior and Edna Gray, and the school followed a modified version of the NSW curriculum.²⁰⁸

The results we got were very good. They were very bright, very bright children. We taught from half past seven in the morning till twelve[...] We had guides or brownies or scouts some afternoons, or we went out to the various gardens. We had yam gardens and so on, the hostel girls [went] out (Blackshaw, 1990).

By 1931, however, 'the funds began to dry up, the Walter and Eliza Hall funds and the Federal Government funds weren't arriving, so many

of the missionaries were sent home. Only the managers were left' (Blackshaw, 1990). There were now two Islander teachers on staff and Davies hoped they would prove role models for the other girls in residence receiving higher education (The Carpentarian, 1 July 1931: 351). Already in residence were Maria Sani of Dauan, granddaughter of Dharam, the early LMS missionary at Mua, who became the hostel's first prefect, and Seriana Lui of Erub, daughter of Revd Joseph Lui, but it took another two to become fully established. One of them was Athalia Hammond from Poid. During 1930 Salope Bani from Mabuyag, Lizzie Nawakie from Dauan, Saruka Gibuma from Boigu and Gagie Kebisu from Iama also arrived. In addition to their schoolwork, they were given 'instruction in appropriate domestic and nursing acts' at the hostel (Wilson, 1933) and worked in the swamp and mission gardens to prepare the food supply for the following year. Their diet included fish caught from a dinghy and shellfish collected on the shore. Already the girls were using the 'almost unintelligible' creole *lingua franca* of the mission as their shared language (A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1933: 42). Elf Prior left the school after her marriage to Walter James Archibald Daniels on 26 September 1932 at St Paul's. The bishop officiated and the wedding and its preparations caused great excitement.

Constance Henrietta Ficklin arrived from Brisbane as relieving teacher in September 1932 and remained on staff as matron of the hostel and assistant teacher (The Carpentarian, October 1932: 26). In February 1933 Mary Osborne Fardon arrived to be head teacher but at the end of July she and Ficklin left Mua. The relevant entry in the bishop's diary states merely that he had decided to end the difficulties at St Paul's 'by closing school and dismissing staff from hostel' (Davies, 1933). Meanwhile, ex-pupil Ethel Morrison Savika and two monitors kept things afloat. It was depression time, enrolments had decreased, there were no girls in residence in the hostel and few outside children were still attending the school. Doris May Turner, a graduate of Sydney University from the church's New Guinea Mission, was licensed as temporary head teacher in January 1934 but left within a few months to marry the deputy superintendent from Lockhart River Mission, Charles Ralph Cook, on 14 June 1934 in the Thursday Island Cathedral (The Parish Gazette, 1 June 1934: 4). On 1 June 1934 Harry Captain was appointed head teacher, assisted by Moilang Pedro, with Charlotte Kris as monitor, both of whom had taken appointments



FIG. 30. Completed girls' hostel with woven bamboo lattice making an open verandah, St Paul's Mission, 1929. From left: Seriana Lui, Maria Sani, Elfleda Prior and Edna Gray. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

at the beginning of the year.²⁰⁹ He was succeeded at the beginning of the following year by Clarice Annie Hayton, a trained teacher from Tasmania, assisted by Charlotte Kris and Maudie Morrison. Charlotte, who had been teaching for over 12 months, took Grade II; Maudie, who had just left school, took kindergarten and both were given special teachers' instruction three afternoons a week. Hayton described the school four months after her arrival: the day opened with hymn, prayer and scripture lesson; then there were lessons on arithmetic, spelling, reading, composition and geography for the five grades. Drawing, nature study and singing were the favourite lessons.

They really do some very fine work in drawing, especially from Nature, and I often feel that they are teaching me more than I am teaching them. Another favourite lesson is shopping, or any demonstration lesson in which our school shop is used [...] Besides teaching them the value of money, it is a concrete way of teaching household accounts, tables of weight, liquid measure and even length table (The Carpentarian, July 1935: 649).

Hayton reopened the hostel, which had been closed for two years, at the beginning of 1936 (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 38); she resigned in February 1938 and was succeeded by Annie Mary Gilbert, wife of the new superintendent, assisted by Kitty Savage and Mary Bann, with Florence Savage as pupil teacher. Enrolment grew again to 63 (Gilbert, 1938). There were no girls in residence in the hostel when she arrived but by October there were three, Wagi, daughter of Revd Poey Passi, who was being trained as a teacher, and two Aboriginal orphans in the mission's care.²¹⁰ The following year Kitty Savage, who had run the Lockhart River Mission

school from 1930, took over the administration of the girls' hostel; she administered both hostel and school from October to the end of 1940 with four girls in residence and 59 students enrolled (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1939: 106; Year Book 1941: 19).²¹¹ Suitable boys over 14 were already doing a special course at the college until their leaving age of 16 – girls left at 18. Four girls aged 14 were ready for high school education but ambitious plans to begin a four-year high school course in 1940 were interrupted by the outbreak of war (The Carpentarian, 1 October 1939). The head teachers and enrolment figures (where available) for St Paul's primary school during the period under discussion are given in Table 34.

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: POPULATION.

The original population of the Pacific Islander camp at Wag was thought to be 'about 25 persons in all' (Year Book, 1928: 28). The first births occurred before the formal establishment of the mission: Tenepau Namok, daughter of Charlie Mukubi and Lily Namok, in c.1906;²¹² Harriet Waugh, daughter of Frank and Nagele Lifu Waugh, on 30 October 1906;²¹³ and Lena Gela, daughter of Tom and Kianga Namok Gela, on 27 November 1907.²¹⁴ The first mission birth was Charlie Namok, sixth child of Charlie Mukubi and Lily Namok, on 29 May 1908. Of this event Buchanan wrote: 'A new baby arrived today. I celebrated the first birthday since my arrival with a present of a tin of milk. It has



FIG. 31. Left to right: Ellen Kawane, Maryann Saveka, Waidorie Levi and Tassie Morrison, St Paul's Mission, early 1930s. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

TABLE 34. Head teachers and enrolments, St Paul's primary school 1908-1940 (incomplete). Sources: A.B.M. Review (1908-1940); The Carpentarian (1908-1940); MacGregor (1911:14); Furnivall (1926); Hall-Matthews (2004: 35); QSA A/15993: Mission schools (1904-1927); QSA A/15994: Mission schools (1927-1935); QSA QS505/1/13A/34: School returns-St Paul's-Moa Island; Year Books of the Diocese of Carpentaria (1921-1940).

Year	Teacher	Enrolment
1908	F.G. Buchanan	
1909	F.G. Buchanan	23
1910	F.G. Buchanan	
1911	F.G. Buchanan	28
1912	B.S. Cole	43
1913	B.S. Cole	45
1914	B.S. Cole	45
1915	Quinan/Luscombe	45
1916	G.A. Luscombe	44
1917	Sindel/Quinan	c.50
1918	H.M. Luscombe	
1919	H.M. Luscombe	
1920	H.A. Captain	c.60
1921	H.A. Captain	
1922	E.Hatton	52
1923	E. Hatton	57
1924	E. Hatton	63
1925	E.Hatton/G.Ware	66
1926	E.K. Prior	61
1927	E.K. Prior	68
1928	E.K. Prior	72
1929	E.K. Prior	79
1930	E.K. Prior	91
1931	E.K. Prior	74
1932	E.K. Prior	76
1933	E. Savika	67
1934	D.M Turner/H.A. Captain	66
1935	C.A. Hayton	64
1936	C.A. Hayton	58
1937	C.A. Hayton	65
1938	A.M. Gilbert	63
1939	A.M. Gilbert	60
1940	A.M. Gilbert	59

certainly come to find no clothes in the world, for it has not stitch of anything and I have given away every rag I have. The people are very poor[...]' (Jones, 1921: 44). The second mission birth was Ellen, daughter of Samuel and Nalam Kawane (Fig. 31), on 12 July 1908; then Saulili (Lily) Solomon, daughter of Sam and Neri Solomon, on 23 August 1908; Geripo May Lee, daughter of Frank and Anna Yao, in 1909;²¹⁵ and Norah Morrison, daughter of James and Muradh Morrison, on 28 January 1909.

On 17 April 1906 the first death occurred, when the asthmatic Elia Ware, aged only 19, accidentally slipped and cracked his head (Angela Ware Morrison, pers. comm., 1996). He was buried at a place named for him, Elia Point.²¹⁶ The church was not built until 1913 and most couples who wished to marry travelled either to their spouse's island or to 'town' (Thursday Island). The first wedding recorded at St Paul's took place on 27 January 1909 between Frank Yao from Tanna and Anna Namok, youngest daughter of Billy and Zaubi Namok and sister of Charlie Mukubi Namok; there were no further weddings on St Paul's until Dinah Filemon from Iama married Bana Kris on 14 April 1915.²¹⁷ The bishop conducted the wedding in the specially-decorated church. It was 'a real love match. Efforts had been made by the old people to get Dinah to marry a much older man, but she stuck out for Bana, and the opposition died down owing to the inflexibility of the girl in favour of a well-set man of her own age' (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1915: 103).

The population of St Paul's continued to grow: in 1908 there were eight families and about 60 residents; in 1909 the population had grown to 74; in 1911 to 90; in 1912 to 120. By 1913 the birthrate was 'about double that of the white population of Queensland' and 'over three-and-a-half times' the deathrate (A.B.M. Review 1 June 1913: 54, 1 January 1914: 174, 12 June 1916: 48).

Margaret Lawrie's collection of Torres Strait material contains a copy of a 1915 war census, recording the names of the 26 male inhabitants of St Paul's aged 18-45, together with approximate date of birth, occupation, wages and ethnicity (as hereunder). They derived a yearly income of either £20 or £24 in return for about ten months labour as crew or divers. The Pacific Islanders are listed separately but I have conflated both lists as Table 35.²¹⁸



FIG. 32. Wedding portrait of Gayai Ware and Pele Newie taken on the front porch of the mission house, St Paul's Mission, 16 February 1925. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

After the death toll caused by the influenza epidemic of 1920 and despite numerous outbreaks of infectious diseases, the Islander population as a whole began to increase. St Paul's growth exceeded the norm, attracting families disenchanted with life on reserves under government control: 'we shift so we can be free.' In the late 1920s, for example, William Williams was removed as chairman of Ugar for opposing the restrictive bye-laws and the curfew. He took his wife, Lottie, and six children to St Paul's for five years and then to Thursday Island, from where they were evacuated to Cairns (James Williams, pers. comm., 1981).²¹⁹

St Paul's population doubled and redoubled and by 1928, after 20 years as a mission, the population had grown to 38 families and 199 people, of whom 70 were school children (Fig. 32). Revd MacFarlane, Torres Strait Mission priest from 1917 to 1933, was also instrumental in the decision for some, especially after he and his family shifted permanently from Erub to Thursday Island in 1924. He was keen for eligible families to move from the government-controlled outer islands to St Paul's where he thought better education and less restrictive policies would

TABLE 35. Adult male residents of St Paul's Mission, 1915. Source: Anon. (1915a, 1915c).

Name	Age	Date of birth	Occupation	Wages per annum	Remarks
Henry Cowie	35	1880	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Bob Corrie	41	1874	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
George Eroa	35	1880	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Jimmy Futuna	40	1875	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Johnson Gela	30	1885	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Bana Kris	19	1896	Seaman	£20	Halfcaste
Josiah Lee	30	1885	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander
Johnny Kelma Levi	20	1895	Seaman	£24	Halfcaste
Turu Levi	18	1897	Seaman	£24	Halfcaste
Jack Lifu	32	1883	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Harry Newie	40	1875	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Willie Lowah	25	1890	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander
William Mam	24	1891	Seaman	£24	Halfcaste
Johnny Maratta	36	1879	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Jack Marou	46	1869	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Makabi Namok	40	1875	Seaman	£24	Halfcaste
Aken Open [Nawie]	27	1888	Seaman	£18	Halfcaste
Fred Pedro	32	1883	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Sam Savika	40	1875	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Jack Tanna	30	1885	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Jimmy Toto	30	1885	Seaman	£20	South Sea Islander
Aviu Ware	28	1887	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander
Kosia Ware	20	1895	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander
Samwell Kawane	31	1884	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander
Walter Zitha	26	1889	Seaman	£24	Halfcaste
Jim (Badu)	40	1875	Seaman	£24	Torres Strait Islander

improve their life chances. In March 1927 he spoke with the Niuean, Sam Savage, at Mawar (Rennel Island) about making an application to live at St. Paul's, either for himself or two of his sons, who wished to go there to work with their uncle, Fred Walters (Macfarlane 1927). Alphonse Bullio, born on Ngurupai, worked on a trochus boat as a teenager and was befriended by Elia Ware. He came to live with the Ware family at St Paul's and was on board the *Mildred* with the Ware brothers during the cyclone of 1934. In early 1938 he married Charlotte Kris and they lived at St Paul's before moving to Cairns

after the war (Lala Walters Nicol, pers. comm., 2003). Also living for a time on St Paul's in the late 1920s, before moving to Badu, was the elderly Lui Samoa, his second wife, Daisy Alice Hudson from Normanton, and their young family (Schomberg & Schomberg, 1996: 17).

A number of eastern families arrived during the inter-war period when the local Protector 'was under the impression that all Pacific Islanders married to Aboriginal women could be removed to Moa Mission if desired' (Holmes, 1921d). As well as those of the Ugar brothers



FIG. 33. Dorothea and Lewis Schomberg arriving home from school, St Paul's Mission, December 1932. Some of the group are identified as (left to right): Nelem Kris, George Eroa, Billy Namok, Harry Ware, Manu Nona, Seriba Sagigi, Hilda Namok, Alit Futuna, Rebecca Levi, Mrs Schomberg, Lily Namok, Nagele Savage, Myra Namok, Sibisab Mam, Revd Schomberg, Nalam Kawane, Dorothea Schomberg, Lewis Schomberg. In front is Neil Schomberg. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

Willie Williams and John Kennell, other eastern island families who came during the 1920s and 1930s were Captain and Mabege Oth and Fred and Esi Tibau from Mer; Jack and Bakoi Osier and Albert and Maria Ware from Erub.²²⁰ Albert's nephew, Aviu Ware, wrote to him after returning to St Paul's from Somerset, telling him that they now had room to house the family and to come and live there.²²⁰ But Albert's wife was against shifting: *i no gad ples po meke gadin* 'there's nowhere to make a garden.' Their daughter, Angela Ware Morrison (pers. comm., 2004), explained how difficult a decision it was to move and the travails of the newly-arrived:

Aviu Ware wrote to my father, [saying] I want you to shift from Erub to St Paul's. Freddie and Cook were older and working on the boat. They couldn't get money but they had a slopchest. You had to go to Badu to get supplies of flour, sugar, material, clothes. They said the whitemen steal all the money. My father told my mother that they were going to St Paul's but my mother didn't want to go: *bambai wi go anggre; no gad gadin* 'we won't have anything to eat, we don't have a garden.' Eventually we did shift about 1929. We

first stayed at Kailang's house, then shifted to Ware Corner, next to Enodi, where Aviu's house was. My brothers and I cut mangrove, brought it to the site and made a house. We had tools and relatives brought nails and iron for the roof from the mainland, when the boats were down south working. Aviu and Kathei came home from the boats to St Paul's and my brothers and I did everything, all the carpentry, nailed up everything. Aviu drilled holes, handed the roofing up to me, made rafters. Other people helped us: Eddie Ware and Timothy Tamwoy and some others. Bana Kris gave land on Mua Peak to my mother for her garden.

She told her daughter how Aviu cut down the bush to make their garden and they had to suck the nourishment from palm tree shoots until John Kennell from Ugar rescued them with a supply of tinned food. Albert Ware had obtained plants from Uvea for his garden on Erub and Maria brought many of them with her to plant in the swamp at St Paul's (Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 2004).

The Australian census of 30 June 1933 enumerated a population of 183 and 32 occupied dwellings at St Paul's but the Department counted

TABLE 36. St Paul's heads of households 1905-1939 (incomplete and arrival dates speculative). *These men were brothers; **These men were half-brothers. Sources: Somerset vital registration registers; Diocese of Carpentaria records; war census 1915; Namok (n.d.).

Arrival date	Name	Birthplace	Spouse
27/12/1905	Jack Ware	Uvea	Uruba Demaga Gayai
27/12/1905	Aviu Ware	Erub	Gaiba Petherie Gizu
27/12/1905	Samuel Kawane	Goods Is.	Nalam Ebithia Kris
27/12/1905	Charlie Namok	Tanna	Lily Sam
27/12/1905	Charlie Makalu Lifu	Lifu	Mopas Simo
27/12/1905	Sam Solomon	Solomon Isds	Neri Tawaka
27/12/1905	Yawaki Namok	Mabuyag	Warawunga
27/12/1905	Jimmy Futuna	Futuna	Alit Sam
27/12/1905	*Tom Gela	Nggela	Kianga Namok/Kalis Namok
1906	Frank Waugh	Thursday Is.	Nagele Lifu
1907	Sonny Lifu	Lifu	Gabe Kokowa/Bicey Nawa/Mary Price
1907	Frank Yao	Tanna	Anna Namok
19/5/1908	Joe Bann	Fiji	Fanny Mari
1908	Kaio Kris	Tanna	Kelam Waidorie/Akabu Anu
1908	Kelma Levi	Tanna	Maima Kris
1908	Jack Marou	Solomon Isds	Gene Waiat
1908	*Charlie Gela	Nggela	Genua Thaiday
1909	James Morrison	New Caledonia	Muradh Lai
1909	Fred Walters	New Guinea	Nancy Brisbane
1909	Jo Isiah George Lee	Mabuyag	Anna Namok
1911	Billy Tanna	Tanna	Baith ²²³
1911	John Bourne	Samoa	Seba Kaigey/Tina Taum Joe
1911	Jack Tanna	Tanna	Alice Namok
1911	Sam Savika	Rotuma	Nei Eliza Tibeï
1911	George Eroa	Rotuma	Kaitu Filemon/Nay Eliza Tibeï Savika
1912	Willie Lowah	Solomon Isds	Serai Mopoali
1912	John Wesley	Fiji ²²⁴	Lily Gabey
1913	Sam Savika	Rotuma	Nay Eliza Tibeï
1913	Fred Pedro	Rotuma	Diai Namok
1914	Yessie Samoa	Samoa	Sibisab Baton
1914	Aken Nawie	Mabuyag	Narusa Aikuru
1915	Harry Cowie	Futuna	Annie Hankin late Bee Kemp
1915	Bob Corrie	Gilbert Isds	Lily Savage
1915	Johnson Gela	Nggela	n.m.
1915	Jack Lifu	Lifu	n.m.
1915	Johnny Maratta	Solomon Isds	Mediri Kanai

TABLE 36. continued...

Arrival date	Name	Birthplace	Spouse
1915	Jimmy Toto	Solomon Isds	Tina Joe late Scanlan Bourne
1917	Sam Zitha	Ngurupai	Lily Solomon
1918	Poey Passi ²²⁵	Mer	Alice Namok
1918	Joe Tanna	Tanna	Linnewata (Lily Waters)
1918	Dick Kemp	Anatom	Annie Hankin late Bee
1923	Billy Abednego	Rotuma	Rachel Sarero Caledonia
1923	Tom Savage	Niue	Elizabeth Morrison
1924	Bob Tanna ²²⁶	Tanna	
1924	Fred Tibau	Rotuma	Esi Oth
1924	Alick Nota	Anatom	Flora Rebecca Ned
1928	**William Williams	Ugar	Charlotte (Lottie) Wilson
1928	Lui Samoa	Samoa	Daisy Alice Hudson
1929	Albert Ware	Uvea	Maria Cook
1930	Captain Oth	Mer	Mabege Babai Dawita
1932	Alphonse Bullio	Ngurupai	
1938	**John Kennell	Ugar	Ada Kailu

220 (Fig. 33).²²² Just before the outbreak of war there were 232 residents of St Paul's. Table 36 lists some of the families who settled during the inter-war years with approximate dates of arrival (unless otherwise specified). The list does not include unmarried arrivals such as Dinah Filemon or others, such as Harry Lacon Motlop from Lacon, Solomon Islands, who was buried at St Paul's in 1911 but not recorded as a resident.

Mrs Schomberg was sent a list of St Paul's adult residents compiled during the late 1930s,

before the post-war haemorrhage of its population began (Table 37).

With time St Paul's people made their own contribution to syncretic Torres Strait custom, changing the materials and aesthetics of weaving and adding to the Islander repertoire of ceremonies, songs and dances. James (Gypsy) Morrison was the first to compose the *tithui* (star) dance, song and accompanying gestures (*sing gad ginar*), which is now identified with St Paul's in the same way as the plane dance is with Mabyuag. Only at St Paul's was there the custom called *paithe tin* 'beat

TABLE 37. St Paul's adult residents in 1930s. Source: Schomberg and Schomberg (1995: 16).

Married couples	George and Nay Eroa; Ezra and Ethel Savika; Dick and Rithia Namok; Napau and Baa Namok; Fred and Elsie Ware; Cook and Magena Ware; Edward and Norah Ware; Aviu and Periotha Ware; Gayai and Pele Ware; Elia and Sorbie Ware; Ned and Moilang Ware; Billy and Rachel Abednego; Koko and Napiu Abednego; Willie and Serai Lowah; Thomas and Neri Lowah; Zawai and Kailang Kris; Bana and Dinah Kris; Nasona and Harriet Kris; Johnny and Akabu Hankin; Manu and Matilda Nona; Seriba and Sepoima Sagigi; Poey and Alice Passi; Jimmy and Alit Futuna; Malachi and Tenepau Levi; Turu and Mair Levi; John and Rebecca Levi; Kaio and Agnes Levi; Fred and Diai Pedro; Harry and Cissie Captain; Samuel and Nalam Kawane; George and Anna Lee; Willie and Sibisap Mam; James and Muradh Morrison; Ned and Tassie Morrison; Johnny and Angela Morrison; Sam and Tabau Solomon; Jimmy and Tina Toto; Aken and Narusa Aken; Jack and Alice Tanna; Alick and Rebecca Nota; Mike and Baith Scanlan; Fred and Esi Tibau; Sam and Lily Zitha; Mika and Lily Newie; Captain and Mabege Oth
Widows	Lily Namok; Maiama Levi; Kalis Gela; Neri Solomon; Alion Newie; Maria Ware
Widowers	Peter Savage; Tom Ober; Aengana (Rubi) Zenzi

TABLE 38. World War II enlisted men from Poid. Some of these men signed on at Thursday Island or Cairns. Sources: Cameron (1991, amended); Australian War Memorial World War II Honour Roll.

Name	Army No.	Unit	Date enlisted	Date discharged
Aken, Moslam	Q85383	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	23/5/1946
Aken, Semu	Q85370	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	28/3/1946
Ara, Anu	Q304706	TSLIB	5/11/1942	17/6/1946
Bagie Lou	Q85396	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	2/3/1946
Batu, Noah	Q85392	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	28/3/1946
Billy, Tamate	Q304694	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	23/5/1946
Bosun, Makeer	Q85453	TSLIB	1/11/1942	13/2/1946
Charlie, Ioane	Q304699	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	11/6/1946
Charlie, Korea	Q85386	TSLIB	3/10/1942	23/5/1946
Charlie, Tom	Q85389	TS Pioneer Coy	6/10/1942	11/6/1946
Charlie, Whap	Q85393	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	28/3/1946
Dudu, Akut	Q304695	TSLIB	5/11/1942	23/6/1946
Ebida, Elimisick	Q85384	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	11/6/1946
Genai, Elimatamo	Q267456	TS Pioneer Coy	26/11/1942	28/3/1946
Genai, Elley	Q85387	TSLIB	3/10/1942	17/7/1943
Hammond, Japania	Q85091	TSLIB	26/6/1941	30/1/1946
Isaka, Edward	Q85368	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	13/2/1946
Kaitap, Sorea	Q85442	TSLIB	1/11/1942	13/2/1946
Kaur [Bagie], Jimmy	Q85446	TSLIB	1/11/1942	13/2/1946
Luta, Clarkie	Q85388	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	13/2/1946
Luta, Ngurpai	Q85085	TSLIB	26/6/1941	23/5/1946
Madu, Jack	Q85315	TS Pioneer Coy	11/9/1942	13/2/1946
Maki, Maipap	Q85385	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	28/3/1946
Manas, Jeremiah	Q267499	TSLIB	28/12/1942	2/3/1946
Miskin, Kiu	Q304546	TSLIB	13/8/1942	18/6/1943
Miskin, Misia	Q304517	TSLIB	13/8/1942	17/6/1946
Miskin, Saila	Q304554	TSLIB	13/8/1942	28/9/1944
Namai, Abea	Q85094	TSLIB	26/6/1941	13/2/1946
Namai, Katua	Q304550	TSLIB	13/8/1942	13/2/1946
Nawie, Joseph	Q85090	TSLIB	26/6/1941	23/5/1946
Paul, Idea	Q304569	TSLIB	13/8/1942	13/2/1946
Paul, Madu	Q304555	TSLIB	13/8/1942	13/2/1946
Rattler, Sitona	Q85377	TS Pioneer Coy	3/10/1942	17/6/1946
Savage, Mislam	Q304563	TSLIB	13/8/1942	1/7/1946
Savage, Naidai	Q304515	TS Pioneer Coy	13/8/1942	23/5/1946
Seriat, Charlie	Q304516	TS Pioneer Coy	13/8/1942	13/2/1946
Solomon, Ben	Q304696	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	17/6/1946
Solomon, Daniel	Q85351	14 Small Ships Coy	2/10/1942	2/3/1946
Tom, Eliasu	Q304552	2 Water Transport	13/8/1942	4/11/1944
Ubai, Suma	Q304700	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	11/6/1946

Name	Army No.	Unit	Date enlisted	Date discharged
Wasaga, Phillip	Q304632	TS Pioneer Coy	6/9/1942	2/3/1946
Wasaga, Ram	Q304703	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	13/2/1946
Wasaga, Samuel	Q304698	TS Pioneer Coy	5/11/1942	11/6/1946
Wasaga, Billy	Q304705	TSLIB	5/11/1942	1/7/1946
Wees, Elisaia	Q304616	TS Pioneer Coy	6/9/1942	17/6/1946
Wigness, Isaiah	Q304589	TS Pioneer Coy	17/8/1942	23/5/1946
Wigness, Joseph	Q85084	TSLIB	26/6/1941	23/5/1946
Wigness, Manu	Q85171	TSLIB	21/4/1942	23/5/1946
Wigness, Moses	Q267695	TS Pioneer Coy	10/7/1943	11/6/1946
Wigness, Solomon	Q304588	TS Pioneer Coy	17/8/1942	23/5/1946
William, Apelu	Q304518	14 Small Ships Coy	13/8/1942	13/2/1946
Young, Christmas	Q85087	TSLIB	26/6/1941	2/3/1946

the drum' held on New Year's Eve to celebrate the new year. A group of about six to ten dancers from one of the villages, as previously arranged, would congregate at night after church and go to each house, sing and beat the drum. The head of the house would come out, counsel the dancers to make resolutions and give them *kaikai*, usually tinned food. Then that family would also join the group and go to the next house, where the activity was repeated. After all the houses had been visited, people began preparing a feast for New Year's Day and lay down to rest (Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 1986).

PRE-WAR EASTERN MUA: PORT LIHOU, AN OUTLIER COMMUNITY OF ST PAUL'S²²⁷. The tiny Pacific Islander camp at Port Lihou on the southeastern coast of Muralag can be viewed as an extension of St Paul's, 'a station for boys to cut sandalwood' (Ada Ware Tillett pers. comm., 1997), situated on a long strip of land above the beach divided into six equal and adjoining garden plots of 1.215 hectares each. It probably came into being just before World War I and lasted until the 1942 evacuation. As an unofficial camp of Pacific Islander woodgetters and gardeners, its inhabitants were exempt from the protection legislation and so not mentioned in any government reports. Presumably, when the existence of the small community came to light, the Thursday Island officials, in consultation with the Church of England, which was chiefly responsible for the pastoral care of Pacific Islanders, agreed that the men could remain: Port

Lihou was no longer inhabited by the Kaurareg nor required for any other purpose, the men were middle-aged and nearing the end of their working life in the fisheries and they would be self-supporting.

While maintaining their homes and families on nearby Thursday Island and St Paul's, which they could reach by rowboat, some of the men began to clear scrub at Port Lihou for gardens and construct simple huts, an outlier arrangement regularised by the granting of informal leases at the end of 1921.²²⁸ They earned their living by selling their garden produce to Thursday Island and timber to the power station, hospital and hotels. They lived simply in huts on their plots on the sloping hills in the scrub above the beach, tended their gardens of yam, taro, sweet potato and cassava, pumpkin, banana, sugarcane, pawpaw, mango and pineapple and fished on the nearby reefs. They also kept pigs and fowls.

The original Port Lihou lease-holders were Charlie Malacula, Willie Ober, Willie Messa, Charlie Daley, Willie Ambrym and Johnson Lessin. Of these Ober from Aoba, Daley from Epi and Lessin from Nggela had close family connections with St Paul's and some of their St Paul's kinfolk lived for various periods at Port Lihou before World War II, among them Koko and Napiau Solomon Abednego, Michael and Baith Solomon Bourne, Charlie Gela, Jimmy Gela, Tom Luva, Tom Ober and Jimmy Toto.²²⁹ Bosun from Efate, grandfather of Oza Bosun of Kubin, also lived there for a time (Oza Bosun, pers. comm., 1982; Wabu Bosun Phineasa, pers. comm., 1981).

With the exception of Johnson Lessin, who almost certainly came from Nggela, Solomon Islands, all the lease-holders were ni-Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides). Lessin was a countryman, possibly a relative, of the brothers Tom and Charlie Gela, who settled respectively at St Paul's and Erub. According to the Somerset registers, all six were born between the mid 1860s and mid 1870s and arrived in Queensland in their teens or early twenties. Ettie Pau (pers. comm., 1997) says 'the men all came to Port Lihou as a team. First they cut cane and then went working *pislama* and *kabar* (bêche-de-mer and trochus) and were involved in the Cape Melville disaster of 1899. Then they went to Port Lihou.'

Thomas Lowah, who was born at St Paul's Mission in 1914, often visited Port Lihou as a boy. In his reminiscences he refers to it as 'a

TABLE 39. World War II enlisted men from St Paul's Mission. Some of these men (e.g., Johnny Hankin, George Kennell, Francis Ober, Paul and William Oth) came from other islands but were living at St Paul's Mission at enlistment. I have also included Gesa Ware from St Paul's, who was living at Mabuyag when he enlisted. Sources: Cameron (1991, amended); Australasian War Memorial World War II Honour Roll.

Name	Army No.	Unit	Date enlisted	Date discharged
Abednego, Daniel	Q267693	TS Pioneer Coy	10/7/1943	23/5/1946
Bullio, Alphonse	Q85455	TSLIB	2/11/1942	11/6/1946
Hankin, Johnny	Q85450	TSLIB	5/11/1942	17/6/1946
Kennell, George	Q85440	TSLIB	21/10/1942	23/6/1946
Kris, Epesaio	Q85445	TSLIB	2/11/1942	23/5/1946
Kris, Jackson	Q85070	TSLIB	14/6/1941	17/6/1946
Kris, Nelem	Q85441	TSLIB	2/11/1942	1/7/1946
Levi, Johnny Ishmail	Q54951	14 Small Ships Coy	6/2/1941	19/5/1946
Lowah, Samuel	Q85232	TSLIB	7/7/1942	20/6/1946
Lowah, Thomas	Q267678	TSLIB	12/5/1943	14/2/1946
Morrison, John	Q85067	TSLIB	14/6/1941	27/8/1945
Morrison, Ned	Q85482	TSLIB	2/11/1942	31/5/1946
Namok, Bertie	Q85071	TSLIB	14/6/1941	11/6/1946
Namok, Billy	Q85473	TSLIB	2/11/1942	31/5/1946
Namok, Napau	Q85066	TSLIB	14/6/1941	14/2/1946
Namok, Simeon	Q85472	TSLIB	2/11/1942	29/5/1946
Namok, Wilfred	Q85437	TSLIB	2/11/1942	11/6/1946
Nawie, James	Q85078	TSLIB	25/6/1941	17/6/1946
Nota, Dick	Q85465	TSLIB	2/11/1942	7/12/1946
Ober, Francis	Q85068	TSLIB	14/6/1941	5/6/1946
Oth, Paul	Q85069	TSLIB	14/6/1941	23/5/1946
Oth, William	Q85075	TSLIB	25/6/1941	28/2/1946
Savika, Asera	Q267472	TSLIB	1/12/1942	23/6/1946
Sineng, Jimmy	Q304566	TS Pioneer Coy	13/8/1942	23/5/1946
Solomon, Sam	Q85498	TSLIB	5/11/1942	14/2/1946
Toto, Sammy Walter	Q267475	TSLIB	1/12/1942	28/8/1946
Walters, Sam Savika	Q85113	TSLIB	22/7/1941	23/5/1946
Ware, Cook	Q85076	TSLIB	25/6/1941	2/4/1946
Ware, Elia	Q85109	TSLIB	14/7/1941	7/9/1945
Ware, Gesa	Q267698	TS Pioneer Coy	10/7/1943	23/5/1946
Ware, Jack	Q85077	TSLIB	25/6/1941	23/6/1946
Ware, Kalep	Q267696	TSLIB	10/7/1943	30/1/1946

village', giving it the same status as the other island settlements, also called 'villages' (Lowah, 1988: 32). During the 1920s and 1930s it was regularly visited by the priests of the Torres Straits Mission, who would run in by dinghy for a few hours to conduct a service or evensong and give Holy Communion, usually at Johnson Lessin's house, attend to grievances or simply chat to the men. Mothers and children remained either on Thursday Island or St Paul's, where the children could attend school and life was easier. They visited Port Lihou during holidays and were visited by the men throughout the year, especially at times of celebration. This was not unusual at the time, when most men were away from their families for long periods on the luggers.

When the men died or could no longer garden, their leases were taken over by others: Koko Abednego, Mike Bourne, Roy Messa, Tom Loban, Bora Bin Juda and Willie Dewis. After the war the families of George Ambrym, Koko Abednego, Michael Bourne and Ned Wacando, descendants of the pre-war Pacific settlers, briefly made homes there, having in some cases continued to pay fees each year to the Lands Department. They kept weekenders there, but the pre-war Pacific Islander community had disappeared.

One of the questions raised by Port Lihou is why the men settled there rather than on Thursday Island or St Paul's, where there were already established Pacific Islander communities. Thursday Island had little available fertile soil, an unreliable water supply and an oppressive European official presence. St Paul's had acres of productive gardening land, good water and a thriving community but was closely overseen by church authorities. Initially, the Port Lihou settlement may have been prompted by its proximity to the timber supply which provided the bulk of the men's incomes but its location, out of sight of Thursday Island and St Paul's, was surely also a factor.

Port Lihou has a small cemetery lying in the tangle of bush growth just beyond the line of coconut palms which circle the beach. When I visited it in 1996, all of the graves except Jimmy Toto's were unmarked or the stone inscriptions illegible. According to Gerard Nakata (pers. comm., 1996), who knows the area well, there are two marked graves on Port Lihou and a couple of unmarked ones. Of the six recorded burials, two were babies: Charlie Bill Koko

Abednego, son of Koko and Napiau Solomon Abednego, who died on 24 January 1949 aged seven months; and Asau Mary Capua Solomon, daughter of Sam and Tubau Anson Solomon,²³⁰ born in December 1946 at St Paul's Mission, who died at Port Lihou on 14 March 1947 aged only two and a half months.

WAR-TIME MUA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Passage of the Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939 gave Islanders legal recognition as a separate people but they had little time to celebrate. World War II was declared in faraway Europe in September 1939. The war marks a psychological, social, economic and political watershed, a turning point in Indigenous-European relations across northern Australia.

Despite the arrival of Australian defence personnel on Thursday Island in late October 1939, the war initially made little real impact on Torres Strait until the declaration of war with Japan on 8 December 1941. The Japanese population of Thursday Island was immediately interned;²³¹ two months later the people of Thursday Island and its surrounding islands were evacuated, including the local Protector and his staff;²³² Ngurupai was bombed several times;²³³ local administration was relocated to Badu in charge of the manager of Island Industries, W.C. Curtis; almost every seaworthy vessel in the strait was commandeered for defence purposes and the remnant fleet transferred to Palm Island;²³⁴ and men from every island began to join the defence forces. They responded to the call to arms, some willingly, some unwillingly, and contributed to the war effort, despite personal hardships for their families. A total of 765 adult men enlisted in various military and paramilitary formations, 'the highest per capita enlistment in a military service in Australian history' (Spence, 1999). The Army capitulated to pressure from the Queensland government and paid most Islander soldiers only one third the European rate and no family allowance. Encouraged by their successful strike of 1936 and their sympathetic European mates, they staged 'sit-down' strikes (technically mutinies) in 1943 and 1944, demanding an end to all discrimination. Their pay was raised to two-thirds the rate for other soldiers but their repatriation benefits were lowered from the previous full rate to two-thirds. The matter of redressing these inequalities was taken up by Islander ex-soldiers after the war

TABLE 40. Muam war-time marriages recorded 1940-1945. *Mitchell River Mission, formerly Trubanaman Mission, now Kowanyama, on Cape York. Sources: Diocese of Carpentaria records; Somerset register of marriages; fieldnotes.

Date of marriage	Place of marriage	Husband	Wife
2/1/1940	Poid	Satrick Young	Kamules Seriat
10/1/1940	Thursday Is.	Mika Newie	Lily Ware
18/1/1940	Poid	Abie Makie	Eleanor Wasaga
18/1/1940	Poid	Jeremiah Manas	Kitty Miskin
20/1/1940	Palm Is.	Charlie Hammond	Elen Docherty
25/1/1940	Mabuyag	Karakasoma Isakara Kris	Uruba Ware
11/5/1940	St Paul's	George Kennell	Lucy Vera Eileen Abednego
1941	St Paul's	Kanai Ronsen	Ruby Maryper Pedro
9/1/1941	Thursday Is.	William Namok	Margaret Levi
21/1/1941	Thursday Is.	Andai Conwell Ware	Catherine (Kitty) Savage
8/2/1941	Thursday Is.	Joseph Stephen	Lency Pedro
15/2/1941	Poid	Tomkin Luta	Maletta Yamazi
17/2/1941	Poid	Christmas Young	Lima Hammond
23/4/1941	Poid	Misia Miskin	May Makie
7/7/1941	Poid	Kosam Nawia	Kias Kanai
21/7/1941	Poid	Katua Namai	Danangai Miskin
20/10/1941	Poid	Jimmy Kaur Bagie	Manar Young
1/11/1941	St Paul's	Karabai Kopi	Naina Makie
20/12/1941	Thursday Is.	Jack Waio Ware	Daisy Evans
28/4/1942	St Paul's	Erasito Namok	Moupas Solomon
30/8/1942	St Paul's	Charlie Bell Luta	Asau Solomon
16/9/1942	St Paul's	Edward (Ned) Morrison	Eliza (Rizah) Bourne Levi
14/10/1942	St Paul's	Nasona Nelem Kris	Harriet Waugh
15/10/1942	St Paul's	Lui Mills	Salome Gela
25/11/1942	Poid	Napota Savage	Mobey Gabey
28/12/1942	St Paul's	Zawai Nalem Kris	Mary Irene (Gracie) Kennell
8/2/1943	St Paul's	Joseph Wigness	Myra Kiangai Namok
8/2/1943	St Paul's	Phillip Wasaga	
14/5/1943	Poid	Whap Charlie	Sheila Bosun
21/5/1943	Poid	Lou Bagie	Pelerina Namai
21/5/1943	Poid	Ngurpai Luta	Eileen Bobie
9/7/1943	Poid	Kaleop Aken	Foresail Young
14/8/1943	Poid	Elley Genai	Elimau Kanamuri
4/9/1943	St Paul's	Jeremiah (Jerry) Stephen	Belphina Pedro
29/1/1944	Cairns	Kamuel Abednego245	Margaret Boa
6/5/1944	M.R.M.*	Alfred Hudson	Sisan Kawane
16/5/1944	Badu	Samuel Lowah	Dabangai Eklon
15/6/1944	Cowal Ck	Ned Martin Ropeyarn	Bethena Siai Maratta
21/8/1944	St Paul's	Samuel Savika Walters	Maiama (Maia) Levi
30/9/1944	St Paul's	Abiu Aragu	Nazareth Elsa (Nazie) Lowah
5/10/1944	Mabuyag	Gesa Ware	Kiriz Joseph
21/11/1944	St Paul's	Manu Wigness	Annie Alice Toto
13/4/1945	St Paul's	Jacob Abednego	Annie Eroa (Savika)
11/7/1945	St Paul's	David Lowah	Cecilia Ah Wong
21/12/1945	St Paul's	Francis Ober	Waidorie Levi

but it was not until 1983 that the Australian government agreed to right the injustices and in 1984 to begin repayments.

With the abrupt withdrawal of Europeans came bewilderment and fear, for despite the rhetoric of Islander self-government and the concessions made to the Islanders under the *Torres Strait Islanders Act* 1939, the Department had deliberately fostered a culture of dependence. On the other hand, the withdrawal had the effect of boosting the Islanders' self-confidence, since it allowed them for the first time to provide the skilled personnel necessary to maintain their island communities. Hardship helped forge a new pan-Islander solidarity, anchored in Christian universalist teaching, strengthened by successful strike action and nurtured by shared experiences of war, friendship, intermarriage and adoption.

MUA AT WAR. Marine production had ceased almost entirely with the evacuation and commandeering of most of the Torres Strait fleet and did not recommence until 1946, although in 1942 the Department managed to transfer some luggers and about 100 crew from their previous base at Badu to Palm Island (Annual Report, 1942: 2).²³⁵ Only six Muan seamen are recorded as working from Palm Island: Phillip Wasaga aboard *Petta* in May 1942; and in June 1942 Jimmy Sineng from St Paul's on *Naianga* under Clarence Tamwoy from Badu, Jeremiah Manas from Poid on *Thelma* under Baniam of Badu and Mislam and Nadai Savage and Idea Paul from Poid on *Masig* under Joseph Mosby from Masig (Foote, 1942). On 20 June 1942 the mission boat *Banzai* was ordered to Thursday Island and demobilised.²³⁶ With few opportunities for employment in the fisheries, almost all the men from Mua joined the Australian defence forces.

As far as I can ascertain, 84 men from Mua served in the defence forces and at least four others with the American army, a total of 88 servicemen (see Tables 38 and 39). Sixteen Muans were among the first men to volunteer when recruiting began in June 1941 on Thursday Island: six from St Paul's on 14 June (Jackson Kris, John Morrison, Bertie Namok, Napau Namok, Francis Ober and Paul Oth) and a further four on 25 June (James Nawie, William Oth, Cook Ware and Jack Ware); and six from Poid on 26 June (Japania Hammond, Ngunpai Luta, Abea Namai, Joseph Nawie, Joseph Wigness and Christmas Young). These

were among the 66 initial volunteers, a smaller number than expected because 'most had signed up for work in the pearling fleets where the pay was better' (Bradley, 1995: 18).²³⁷ Another disincentive was the low pay rate of £3 per month, 'whereas the Army garrison, which was manned by men of mixed races, received £8 per month' (Bradley, 1995: 18).

The Army also recruited in Cairns. On 3 August 1942 eleven Poid men joined up from their luggers: Paul Madu; Kiu, Misia and Saila Miskin; Katua Namai; Idea Paul; Nadai and Mislam Savage; Charlie Seriat; Eliasu Tom; Apelu William. When the recruiters came to Mua, 12 Poid men joined at Poid on 3 October 1942 and on 2 November 1942 eight men joined at St Paul's. According to the agreement between the Commonwealth and Queensland governments, the Islanders were not demobbed until 1946 and made only brief visits home during the war years.²³⁸

Muan men served in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion (TSLIB),²³⁹ the Torres Strait Pioneer Company, Small Ships Company and Water Transport Unit, the latter helping pilot American PT boats, supply boats and luggers through the mine-laden waters of the strait. Poid and St Paul's men apparently served in separate companies: the former in B Company, comprised of men from Mua, Badu and Mabuyag (Stewart, 1996: 123), whereas Tom Lowah (n.d.: 11/76) from St Paul's tells us that men from St Paul's served in A Company along with their relatives from Erub and Mer. Not all were necessarily volunteers: Betty Osborne, who recorded women's memories of the war, was told by a woman from Poid how the recruiting sergeant took 'all the men and boys to go over to Badu to recruit, but when they did go over they didn't come back. The wives cried when their husbands went and didn't come back. The women didn't understand what was going to happen to them' (Osborne, 1997: 111).

At least four St Paul's men also served in the United States Small Ships Section of the U.S. Army, sailing between Cairns, Port Moresby, Lae, Wewak and Salamaua with supplies and cargoes: Fred and David Lowah (Lowah n.d.: 1);²⁴⁰ and Billy Rotumah's sons, Kamuel and Jacob Abednego, who were born on Erub but raised on St Paul's and generally identified with it. Kamuel Abednego, who enlisted in Cairns in 1941, achieved the rank of lieutenant (Hall, 1997: 7; Thursday Island State High School, 1987: 47).²⁴¹ Edgar Koikie Williams, whose

TABLE 41. War-time births recorded at Poid/Kubin and St Paul's 1940-1945. *Birthplace not recorded but probably Poid. **Birthplace was Thursday Island. Sources: Diocese of Carpentaria baptismal registers; family records; Somerset register of births; tombstone inscriptions.

Date of birth	Name	Date of birth	Name
Poid/Kubin			
6/2/1940	Windsor Solomon	25/7/1940	James Harry Kanai
25/8/1940	Sam Nawia Ara*	13/9/1940	Smith Miskin
17/9/1940	Dorothy Miskin	26/3/1941	Hosea (Oza) Bosun
19/4/1941	Idabu Alice Paul	4/7/1941	Ron Kerry Waina*
27/8/1941	Horace Miskin	7/9/1941	Satrick Young
15/10/1941	Melora Wasaga	16/10/1941	Nagibu Nagibu*
21/11/1941	Lavinia Parisa Nawia	13/3/1942	Nasa Paulina Luta
18/3/1942	Naraima Elizabeth Genai	15/6/1942	Napota Savage
30/7/1942	Loila (Rosella) Sem Aken	28/8/1942	Tom William Young
8/9/1942	Ezra Nawia	c.1943	Cissyria Ara*
3/2/1943	Agai Passi Namai	14/4/1943	Abiu Saul Charlie
15/8/1943	Alima Savage		12/11/1943
6/2/1944	Joseph Wasaga	15/3/1944	Neri Nasalia Luta*
16/7/1944	Leah Alion Bosun	25/8/1944	Loila Kanai
19/5/1945	Gada Genai	30/5/1945	Lizzie Loretta Makie
15/6/1945	John Dick Kopi	20/6/1945	Mazie Naomi Maratta
17/8/1945	Bakoi Sarah Genai		
St Paul's			
1940	Rachel Namok	22/2/1940	Jawai Ned Hankin
5/4/1940	Harry Mukubi Mam	2/6/1940	Ezra Robert Mackintosh Morrison
25/6/1940	Mopas Agnes Abednego	13/8/1940	Walter Gabriel Oth
14/8/1940	Joseph Alfred Boggo Lowah	23/10/1940	Kailang Ruth Ware
17/12/1940	Enita Margaret Pedro	29/12/1940	Sanna Minnie Bourne
15/1/1941	Jimmy Farlane Namok	3/2/1941	Caroline Morrison
27/2/1941	Elsie Pierotta Newie	9/6/1941	Ned Samuel Morrison
5/8/1941	Charles Oswald Ware	8/8/1941	Joseph Monwell Solomon
19/8/1941	Joseph Gaulai Kris	3/9/1941	Henry Gordon Nawie
29/11/1941	Mary Abednego**	c.12/1941	Tina Mellis Toto
c.1942	Tubau Stella Ware	c.1943	Stella Namok
Date of birth	Name	Date of birth	Name
2/3/1942	Serai Maima (Sarah) Lowah	13/5/1942	George Wilson Kennell
15/5/1942	Mary Peterie Ware	c3/8/1942	Kabay Robert Levi
19/8/1942	Gerald Savika	7/9/1942	Angela Moilang Newie

10/9/1942	Dick Amos Bertie Namok	25/10/1942	Harry Pedro Michael Abednego
13/1/1943	Kailang Annie Hankin	5/7/1943	Francis Harry Solomon
5/7/1943	Kalis (Molly) Solomon	29/7/1943	Tina Napiou Bourne
9/12/1943	Doso Dorothy Ware	10/2/1944	Charlie Bana Billy Namok
25/3/1944	Annie Elsie Pedro	18/6/1944	Pele Norah Ware**
14/10/1944	Lillian Ann Morrison	4/11/1944	Jacob Kabay Joe Bann Abednego
23/11/1944	Simeon Fred Ebue Levi	20/1/1945	Jimmy Morrison
16/2/1945	Maryann Ada Savika	28/6/1945	Maria Ruth Morrison
24/9/1945	Kaio Philemon Namok	17/12/1945	Tenepau Mam
17/12/1945	Biet Mam		

parents, William and Lottie Williams, moved to St Paul's at the end of the 1920s for some years, also joined and became an interpreter for the American marines stationed in New Guinea. He was later commissioned a second lieutenant (Thursday Island State High School, 1987: 46).

The men and women left on the outer islands fulfilled their professional functions as teachers, priests, policemen and store managers without routine European oversight. Their communities did not disintegrate but gained in experience and self-confidence.²⁴² Jacob Gabey continued as head teacher at Poid and Mary Bann at St Paul's, while Revds Poey Passi, Francis Bowie and Kabay Pilot directed the work of the Torres Strait Mission.²⁴³ On Thursday Island the enlisted men were provided with specialised training in a wide range of skills: 'signals, wireless, driving and maintenance of vehicles, general transport workers and in dock operating functions' (Bradley, 1995: 18-19), in addition to building 'roads, culverts, dams, trenches and wharves' (Spence, 1999). They

became air compressor operators, blacksmiths, bootmakers, barge coxswains, crane drivers, carpenters, dock operators, marine engineer's assistants, medical orderly assistants, motor transport drivers and cyclists, pioneers, plumbers, shipwrights, signallers and winchmen as well as riflemen (Stewart, 1996: 121, 123).

The women and children, left behind on Mua after the recruitment of their menfolk,

suffered great hardships. As well as being solely responsible for the care of their families, they were required to provide the manual labour needed to maintain the villages and gardens. They often had to sleep in the bush and were regularly overflown by enemy aircraft. Mua was one of the six 'front line' islands on which coast-watching stations were built under naval control during April and May 1941, and European signallers were stationed there (Ball, 1996: 202; Osborne, 1997: 144).²⁴⁴ Men, women and children were recruited to help with surveillance:

Wees Nawia and his sergeant of police on Moa kept the channel between Badu and Moa under constant surveillance. If they saw anything suspicious at night, they shone a torch in the direction of Badu, and [Acting Protector and manager of the IIB store] Curtis radioed Thursday Island. During daylight hours, the signal was made by using a reflective mirror (Osborne, 1997: 147).

Osborne observes that 'no one should underestimate how hard it was for the old people.' Mua was 'close enough to hear or see the Horn bombing' which began in March 1942 and enemy planes regularly flew overhead. The women of St Paul's went fishing to supplement their precarious food supply and, when they heard the noise of the planes, they dug a hole in the sand, lay down, covered themselves with their dress and put sand over themselves. Before that first aerial attack only the St Paul's people had received any civil defence instructions: in January 1942 superintendent Gilbert instituted air-raid drills before being ordered away by the Bishop in March and the drills were abandoned (Shepherd, 1942: 4; Osborne, 1997: 133, 136).

On the first day of the bombing on Horn Island, the policeman rang the village bell and told the people in St Paul's to leave the village because 'war had broken out on TI.' Families bundled up some belongings in a sheet and went into the bush, where they slept on their mats. They collected grass and pulled the iron off their houses to build makeshift shelters: 'Some broke their kitchens up and took them into the bush.' This was repeated at Poid. Lizzie Savage Nawia told Osborne how the people of Poid were twice ordered to move away from the village: 'We all moved into the bush. We built these bush houses some of them grass and bark skins, some of them irons[...] Terrible, we had to carry everything. Terrible time, and all the planes flew on top' (Osborne, 1997: 133, 138).

Annie Alice Wigness operated the radio at St Paul's and remembered how

all the people shifted into the bush. It was hard living then. Each day I had to come back to the village and work the radio. The children came to school during the day too. Whenever I heard over the radio that Japanese planes were coming I told the children and everyone else to be still (Teske, 1991: 16).

During this time of heightened emotion the Islanders sought portents of their future. In early May 1942, shortly before the battle of the Coral Sea, several people claimed to have witnessed a vision of Christ in the sky above Kubin. 'News of their "vision" soon spread and the islanders took it as a special sign to them that their islands would be safeguarded.' Executed by Colin Tress, the Vision at Kubin, a mural of Christ crowned and with arms outstretched protectively over the islands, hangs above the altar in All Souls' Cathedral on Thursday Island (Bayton, 1965: 166, 177).

Accounts of war-time life in Torres Strait stress its abnormal aspects. For most of the war, however, the two Muan communities continued to function fairly normally despite the difficult circumstances: the children attended school; the priests took services, performed the various rituals which marked the church year and changes of state and counselled the people; the local policeman kept order; the women and older children kept house and gardened, fished and hunted, told nighttime stories to the younger ones 'to make them quiet' (Lizzie Savage Nawia to Osborne, 1997: 244); and the young men and women married and produced children, born in the bush and attended by local midwives.²⁴⁵ War-time marriages and births are a powerful indication of the continued vitality of the communities. Their number astonished me when I began to compile them. Thirty-three war-time marriages were celebrated on Mua alone and another 12 elsewhere with one Muan spouse, an average of 7.5 marriages per year and far more than I had expected (Table 40). Given the investment of time and money demanded from the couple's extended families in organising the event, the extensive preparations for feasting and entertainment, transport of family and guests and so on, the number of marriages demonstrates the extraordinary resilience and adaptability of the residents.

Marriages were conducted in the bush on Moa at the height of the danger. Relatives did

their best to attend: 'Some came by dinghy or you walked [...] Another family cannot come [...] because they were frightened of the enemy.' At the height of the war, couples on St Paul's who wanted a 'proper wedding' risked the danger of leaving the bush to go to the church in the village (Osborne, 1997: 240).

The increasing interconnectedness between both communities is manifested by three war-time marriages between women from St Paul's and men from Poid. According to general custom, the marriages took place at the wife's village: the first on 30 August 1942 between Asau Solomon and Charlie Bell Luta; the second on 8 February 1943 between Myra Kianga Namok and Joseph Wigness, who was removed from Kiriri in 1922 as a young boy; the third on 21 November 1944 between Annie Alice Toto and Manu Wigness, Joseph's younger brother. 'Manu was with the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion and was at Merauke at the time. He flew down to St Paul's with some of his army mates and we got married. That was in 1944. The next day he had to fly back to Merauke' (Annie Alice Wigness to Teske, 1991: 16).

Further evidence of the vitality of the two communities in war-time is demonstrated by the number of births: 33 at Poid/Kubin and 47 at St Paul's (Table 41). This figure, which is based on incomplete records and does not count the stillborn, nevertheless represents an average birth rate of 13.3 per year or over one per month from a total population of between 450 and 500. The true figure would be higher.

A brief glimpse into local politics is further proof of the relative normality of war-time St Paul's. The men may have been away for most of the war but they immediately became enmeshed in local politics again during their brief visits home. On 30 October 1943 Napau Namok and Cook Ware, St Paul's men from A Company, made an official complaint to the army's civil liaison officer about perceived preferential treatment given to miners by Island Industries. Their wives had complained that any fresh stocks of clothing and foodstuffs were put aside for miners and their wives, leaving the army wives with very little. The army investigated these and other complaints by the St Paul's soldiers in early December and reported that a recent election had been held earlier than usual and the men not been given a chance to vote. Their chief concern was that the newly-elected Council would attempt to put the village under the *Torres Strait Islanders*

Act so as to keep the store open. There were two factions: those who wanted Revd Kabay Pilot to assume control and run the village like a white missionary; and those who wanted the Council to have full control in village matters. The enlisted men were adamant that St Paul's should remain under the control of the Church of England (Anon., 1943).

HEALTH. There is almost no documentation of island health during the war. An outbreak of chickenpox was reported in 1941 at St Paul's and there were recurrent outbreaks of malaria, mainly at Gerain, during the second half of 1943, but the main illness was tuberculosis (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1942: 81; Curtis, 1943). The Rotuman diver, George Eroa, died of it on St Paul's in 1943 and Adikuam Adidi from Saibai told Margaret Lawrie (1973) that during the epidemic he was recruited by Curtis to deliver medicines to the wolfram miners. He did this for three months, journeying over from Badu each Sunday to stay the week before returning to his family for the weekend. Formerly rare among Torres Strait Islanders, TB emerged in the late 1920s, possibly through Pacific Islander or European carriers who did not suffer from the disease themselves. The incidence increased during the war: contributory factors were thought to be the scarcity of fresh fruit and vegetables and the reliance on 'tinned foodstuffs, polished rice and flour, and the somewhat congested housing conditions brought about by the war' (Mollison, 1949: 200). According to Beattie (1944), Poid had suffered the most from the disease: 'Many deaths have occurred but no accurate statistics are available.' According to Hashimoto (1983: 549), the main causes of death during war-time were the war and wolfram mining accidents.

There were 72 recorded war-time deaths on Mua, an average of 12 per year or one per month (see Table 42). Some of the elderly Poid residents who died during war-time include Aidabu Namai, Dabangai Miskin and Ara Davies, originally from Kiriri, Garagu Tam Kobaris from Muralag and Caroline Nawie from Dauan. At St Paul's, seven of the old Pacific Islanders, long associated with the mission, passed away during this period: George Eroa, Johnson Lessin, Jimmy Futuna, Jack Marou, James Morrison, Alick Nota and Fred Pedro, as well as Deacon Captain Oth from Mer, who died on Christmas Day 1945.

Two comments should be made about the mortality figures in Table 42. The first concerns their completeness and reliability. Poid/Kubin

TABLE 42. War-time deaths at Mua 1940-1945.²⁴⁷ Sources: Somerset death registers; burial registers; tombstone inscriptions.

Date of death	Place of death	Name	Age (approx.)	Island of Origin
Poid/Kubin (no.=42)				
1/5/1940	Thursday Is.	John Bosen	2	Mua
5/5/1940	Thursday Is.	Solomon Faid ²⁴⁷	27	Poruma
30/9/1940	Thursday Is.	Maryann Kias	73	Mua
10/10/1940	Thursday Is.	Gada Manas	22	Mua
14/10/1940	Poid	Sem Kaitap	52	Mua
16/11/1940	Poid	Banasa Yellub	54	Mua
27/1/1941	Poid	Luta Kaitap	63	Mua
29/3/1941	Poid	Aidabu Yaragas Namai	75	Kirriiri
30/3/1941	Poid	Mazie Patagam Sorogo	60	Kirriiri
16/5/1941	Poid	Smith Miskin	8m	Mua
11/9/1941	Poid	Horace Miskin	14d	Mua
c.3/11/1941	Thursday Is.	Kupa Miskin	39	Kirriiri
9/1/1942	Poid	Easter Dudu	21	Kirriiri
4/2/1942	Badu	Tami Kanai	52	Mua
13/10/1942	Poid	Semia Sem	31	Mua
28/10/1942	Cairns	Lilian (Lily) Savage Corrie	56	Mua
21/11/1942	Thursday Is.	Bau Namai	33	Mua
c.25/3/1943	Poid	Kosam Ara	4	Mua
4/5/1943	Poid	Loretta Wasaga	4	Mua
4/5/1943	Thursday Is.	Easter Tom	1y2m	Mua
28/5/1943	Unknown	Ibida Kanai	51	Mua
17/6/1943	Poid	Asera Billy	48	Mua
17/6/1943	Poid	Ioane Manase	49	Mua
30/6/1943	Poid	Caroline Nawie	60	Dauan
11/7/1943	Poid	Satriek Young	2	Mua
27/8/1943	Thursday Is.	Elipana Tom Namai	38	Kirriiri
28/10/1943	Badu	Jacob Semia Aken	4	Mua
26/12/1943	Kubin	Sarah Waina	36	Mua
6/1/1944	Poid	Dudu Johnny	51	Ngurupai
1/6/1944	Poid	Isaka (Sisa) Thaiday	60	Erub
6/6/1944	Kubin	Adadi Ara	13	Mua
28/6/1944	Badu	Ara Davies	46	Kirriiri
7/8/1944	Kubin	Garagu Tam Kobaris	58	Muralag
16/8/1944	Kubin	Adadi Ara	13	Mua
22/11/1944	Kubin	Norah Kanai	13	Mua
21/5/1945	Kubin	Mam Barsa Gabey	59	Mer
26/5/1945	Kubin	Ubai Bagie	47	Muralag
17/8/1945	Thursday Is.	Merian Goba Mairu	56	Mua
3/10/1945	Mua to Badu	Tam Bosun	47	Kirriiri
6/11/1945	Unknown	Edward Isaka Miskin	22	Mua

6/11/1945	Kubin	Dabangai Charlie Miskin	60	Kirriiri
14/11/1945	Kubin	Opeta Kanai	38	Mua
St Paul's (no.=30)				
30/1/1940	St Paul's	Jack Omeo Marou	72	Solomon Isds
28/5/1940	Thursday Is.	Mary Annie Lee ²⁴⁸	3d	Thursday Is.
21/7/1940	Thursday Is.	Tassie Cowley Morrison ²⁴⁹	32	Mer
22/10/1940	Mabuyag	Mary Ware Paipai ²⁵⁰	22	Mabuyag
23/11/1940	St Paul's	Jimmy Futuna	65	Futuna, Vanuatu
27/12/1940	Thursday Is.	Gaulai Kawane ²⁵¹	21	Mabuyag
6/1/1941	St Paul's	Serai Mopoali Lowah	48	Mer
20/6/1941	St Paul's	Tina Taum Joe Toto	53	Mabuyag
3/8/1941	St Paul's	Ruth Naied Gela	18	St Paul's
27/9/1941	Thursday Is.	Kailang Ware Kris	46	Mabuyag
29/11/1941	Thursday Is.	Mary Abednego	2h	Thursday Is.
26/1/1942	Thursday Is.	Lily Babai Passi	20	St Paul's
15/2/1942	Thursday Is.	Charles Daley	72	Apia, Vanuatu
23/3/1942	St Paul's	Tina Mellis Toto	3m	Mua
29/3/1942	St Paul's	Fred Pedro ²⁵²	60	Rotuma
23/6/1942	St Paul's	Johnson Florida	65	Nggela, Solomons
13/9/1942	St Paul's	Margaret Levi Namok	23	Mua
1/10/1942	St Paul's	Maiama Kris Levi	67	Mabuyag
2/10/1942	St Paul's	Jean Serai Cloudy ²⁵³	16	Erub
4/3/1943	St Paul's	Open Nawie	55	Mabuyag
26/4/1943	St Paul's	Henry Gordon Nawie	2	Mua
20/7/1943	St Paul's	Fanny Doso Oth ²⁵⁴	17	Dauan
c.21/7/1943	St Paul's	Kabay Robert Levi	1	Mua
26/7/1943	St Paul's	Narusa Aikuru Nawie	51	Mua
20/4/1943	St Paul's	Kalis Namok Gela	48	Mabuyag
18/7/1943	St Paul's	George Eroa	62	Rotuma
9/8/1943	Thursday Is.	Tenepau Namok Levi	38	Mabuyag
13/11/1944	St Paul's	James Morrison	83	New Caledonia
5/6/1945	St Paul's	Alick Nota	68	Anatom, Vanuatu
25/12/1945	St Paul's	Captain Oth	60	Mer

records are less complete than those of St Paul's: not all death dates were recorded (and so cannot be included), such as the five young children of Elley and Kupa Genai, who were born at Poid in the 1930s and died within two years of their mother's death in November 1941: Maryann, Genai, Ken Misia, Lizzie and Dabangai (the last two were twins). These would increase the total of Poid/Kubin deaths and increase the death rate. Moreover, some of the inscriptions in the Poid and Kubin cemeteries are now illegible: in the 1970s Hashimoto (1983: 549) recorded a 1944 gravestone at Kubin but I could not find it in 2004.²⁵⁶

What is striking is that the western villages suffered proportionally more war-time deaths than St Paul's: 42 versus 30, respectively. The Poid/Kubin average is seven per year, compared with St Paul's average of five per year at a time when the populations were roughly equal. A generation later Hashimoto (1983: 549) calculated ages of death from burial records 1900-1979 and found the death rate of Poid/Kubin residents to be about twice that of St Paul's.

RELIGION. The forced evacuation of all European personnel from Torres Strait brought about a fundamental reorganisation of religious life, which was to have repercussions for both western and eastern Mua. As a church mission, St Paul's was particularly affected.

By the time the diocesan council met on 17 February 1942 almost all the civilian population of the Strait had left. A decision was taken to move the diocesan office and records to Townsville. Shortly afterwards all banks and business houses were closed and the only Europeans remaining were service personnel and a few civilians. On 27 February Bishop Davies closed the office and on 12 March he left Thursday Island, after arranging for the temporary transfer of Revd Gilbert, the last pre-war superintendent of St Paul's Mission, to Lockhart River Mission and the closure of the theological college.²⁵⁷ One of the bishop's last acts was to ordain Kabay Pilot to the priesthood in the cathedral before a full congregation, all male and nearly all in uniform (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1942: 102-103; Davies, 1942; Year Book, 1944: 10). Revds Poey Passi, Sailor Gabey, Francis Bowie and Kabay Pilot were given spiritual charge of the communities of Torres Strait and Cape York.²⁵⁸ They also preached to people in New Guinea.

TABLE 43. Confirmations at St Paul's, 6 October 1943. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria register of confirmations.

Males	Sam Nakau Kris, Ismael Cook, Jack Josiah, Tom Namok, Lonwell Levi, Bobbie Levi, Bobby Wigness
Females	Muriel Kris, Kathleen Kris, Sapeta Levi, Nalam Levi, Meso Ware, Merian Bann, Elma Kris, Addie Oui259

The Islander priests ministered as best they could to the spiritual and physical needs of their remnant communities, aided by the women who nurtured prayer life and general morale. 'Prayer rosters were introduced on St Paul's and women "prayed around the clock" every Thursday. They prayed "two at a time"' (Osborne, 1997: 179). Revd Pilot was placed in charge of St Paul's but his sole secular role was 'to act if called upon in an advisory capacity to the council' (Anon., 1943). However, in 1943 he had to go to Curtis to ask for help for the St Paul's people who were starving. Curtis immediately loaded the lugger *Mulgrave* with supplies from Badu, sailed to St Paul's and opened a store beneath the college, which was managed by Gayai Ware (Lawrie, 1973). When the war ended, the bishop ordered it to be closed.²⁵⁹

Bishop Davies was able to pay only two war-time visits to the islands (in 1943 and 1944), the military authorities abruptly withdrawing permission for his planned 1945 visit (Year Book, 1947: 13). He took confirmations at St Paul's on 6 October 1943 (Table 43).

He did not visit the newly-established camp at Kubin but on his second war-time visit on 1 October 1944 he confirmed 27 Kubin people, the first time this name is used in official church records (Table 44).

Meanwhile, in the absence of European clergy, Revd Pilot continued to conduct baptisms, confirmations and burials at St Paul's, Poid and Badu.

TABLE 44. Confirmations held at Kubin, 1 October 1944. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria register of confirmations.

Boys	Maki Tom Rattler, Abea Asera, Wigness Seriat, Nagibu Seriat, John Manas, Inagie Manas, Apia Sem, James Eseli, 260 Sam David Duruga, Elley Wees, Samuel Tamat, Noname Seriat, Matty Madu, Wasaga Semia Miskin, Paikai Rupea
Girls	Lency Sem, Kausa Wasaga, Luisa Misick, Ella Sem (Kaitap), Norah Kanai, Lena Hammond, Elma Tamate, Edna Nawarie, Joyce Kanai, Talima Makie, Tessie Waina, Baibai Eseli

In April 1946 he was still stationed at St Paul's 'going around various Islands of the Strait, from Darnley to Boigu' (Pilot, 1946).²⁶² After the war it was planned to send missionaries to the Tugeri people of New Guinea, headed by Pilot with Deacon Seriba Sagigi as his assistant, but this did not eventuate until 1965 (Davies, n.d.).

EDUCATION. All the island schools remained open during the war and were kept functioning by dedicated Islander teachers. Although Jacob Gabey at Poid and Mary Bann at St Paul's did their best to teach under trying conditions, their classes were often disrupted. Kitty Savage had left St Paul's school in 1941 to marry Andai Ware, then teaching at Lockhart River Mission, but the school was kept functioning by her replacement, Mary Bann, and the hostel by matron Harriet Kris. Many years later Alice Hann paid tribute to Mary Bann, who 'had kept the school running all through the war, so that the education of St Paul's had not slipped back' (Tennant, 1959: 50). The same three girls were in residence: Laurette, Daisy and Wagi (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1941: 111).

MUAN WAR-TIME SETTLEMENTS: GERAIN²⁶³. According to Revd Sagi Ambar (pers. comm., 1982), his father, Ambar, was the LMS teacher at Gerain, wanted the Mualgal to move to Wag, which had a good beach, reef and fresh water, but they moved instead to Dabu and then to Adam. Gerain was abandoned until the time of wolfram mining.

Most able-bodied Muans had enlisted in the defence forces by late April 1943, when the Department invited men from elsewhere to come to Mua to mine wolfram. They came from Badu, Mabuyag, Saibai Saibai, Boigur, Nagi, Mer and Cowal Creek and, if they could not find a billet, they camped on the beach in tents or makeshift humpies. Among the newcomers mentioned to me were Keri (Waituka) Futuna,²⁶⁴ Iona Asai,²⁶⁵ Kusu, Dai Bewan and Carolus Isua from Saibai, Wabay Akee from Mer and Martin Ropeyarn from Cowal Creek. According to Cessa Pryce Mohammed (pers. comm., 1996), Keri Futuna, who was related to the Nona family through their matriarch, Ugarie, moved to Gerain first and the others followed. Angela Ware Morrison (pers. comm., 1996) remembers Jimmy and Alit Futuna living at Gerain for some time, before moving to St Paul's. According to Patrick Whap (pers. comm., 1984), the name 'Gerain' once referred to a long stretch of northern Mua

running parallel with the coast, which St Paul's people knew as Bau(a). When Keri Futuna came to Mua from Saibai to mine wolfram, Baua was uninhabited and he claimed a part of it for his territory. That small part alone is now called Gerain, but Fr Manas (pers. comm., to Bruno David, 2007) is adamant that Gerain relates to Gerain Point only, not to the beach to the west (east of Totalai Point), which is traditionally known as Baua.

Futuna had married the widow Eri Asa Waireg and raised her children: one daughter, Georgina (Gena), married Malachi Levi from St Paul's; her twin, Serai, married Danalgub Isua from Saibai; and a younger daughter, Giwa, lived at Gerain before moving away to Badu and then Bamaga. Keri Futuna, his wife Eri and their three grandchildren were living at Gerain in 1953, along with Dai Bewan and his extended family, including a brother, Eli Atu. Tennant (1959: 224), who met Keri Futuna in the late 1950s, describes him as 'chief, churchwarden and big boss' of Gerain; he was 'bouncing, dynamic impetuous', whereas Wees Nawia was 'tall, diplomatic, gentle, handsome' (Tennant, 1959: 189). She visited his 'little house of woven palm' with its gardens of pawpaws and bananas, which he sold to St Paul's, Kubin and Badu. Cessa Pryce Mohammed (pers. comm., 1996) remembers going there in about 1960 and eating pawpaws from his flourishing gardens; she also remembers the Gerain church having a shell floor. Revd Adea Wapau from Saibai, whose mother was Eri's sister and who was related to the other Gerain families, helped Keri Futuna build the small St Mathias' church on the shore at Gerain in the early 1950s. Behind it 'was a cement cross on a base neatly painted green and yellow and red, a shell-paved enclosure railed in with an inscription: 'I will lift up my eyes unto the hill from whence cometh my help.' As churchwarden Futuna dreamt some day of building

a splendid fibro-cement church with a real corrugated iron roof instead of the church of woven palm leaf. His help must come from the wolfram mountain, [Ith] Hill, looking down over the jungle northward. If he could have a settlement of wolfram men mining that mountain, there would be a congregation worthy of such a lay-reader, where now there was no one but his beautiful half-blind wife, and Giwa, a remaining stout daughter (Tennant, 1959: 220).

Two tragedies struck the tiny community in 1953: on 22 April the infant son of Serai Waireg

Isua, Malakie Francis Isua, died suddenly; and on 9 August the 16-year old Waikai Isobel Bewan, who suffered from epilepsy, accidentally fell into the village well and was drowned. She had gone alone to wash rice in the well, 'a shallow hole about 5 feet in diameter with about 3 feet of water in it at the time.' Her father, Dai Bewan, and Eri Futuna tried to resuscitate her but in vain.²⁶⁶

By 1963 only Keri and Giwa Futuna, Dai Bewan and Peseta and Littia Dai were still living at Gerain.²⁶⁷ Keri Futuna died at Gerain in 1966 and is buried at Badu, where most of the former residents had settled. But they left behind children who had formed bonds of marriage and adoption with the people of Kubin and St Paul's: Jimmy Futuna had adopted both Keri Futuna and Andrew Namok; Wees Nawia adopted Loretta Asai, who married from that family to John Manas; her eldest sister, Eileen, married Alfred Uiduldam, brother of Peo, who married Dora Namok of St Paul's; Adata Kusu married Andrew Namok; Gena Waireg married Malachi Levi.

MUAN WAR-TIME SETTLEMENTS: KUBIN. The Poid people, some of whom had made temporary homes close to the Kubin wolfram field, shifted permanently to Kubin in August 1943 (Beattie, 1944). The site was a relatively contained area of 400 by 200 metres on the southwest coast of Mua, beyond which there was 'steep rocky country around the headland and swamps on the lower areas' (Edwards, 1997a: 10). Many stories are told about why the move to Kubin took place a dozen years after it was first mooted, the consensus being that it was initiated by the army. According to R.V.J. Windsor (c.1991), son of the Poid teacher, it was set in train by an army health directive, although the authorities were doubtless influenced by the site's proximity to the wolfram field, seen as a future source of income and employment. Ohshima (1983: 109) also states that Poid was abandoned from 1945 after doctors' warnings. Edwards and Edwards (1997a: 9) give three reasons for the move: an outbreak 'of some type of illness' that claimed several lives; a shortage of water; and the concern of the armed forces that Poid 'provided a target for the Japanese.' The main impetus seems to have been the unspecified epidemic, possibly malaria, which broke out almost every *kuki* season. Kubin was far healthier than Poid and was the people's usual retreat during times of illness. Plans for the move were first drawn up

during the 1930s depression but it was deemed an unnecessary expense. Under the changed circumstances – illness, the war and potential profits from the wolfram industry – the government teacher, Charles Turner, who was relieving Jacob Gabey, was sent to arrange the move (Lawrie, 1973).

The second reason, shortage of clean water, was another long-recognised problem. Kubin, by contrast with Poid, appeared to have

sufficient water for domestic needs obtainable from a spring $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile [1.2km] from the workings. It is stated that a river one mile north of the field is permanent and would yield sufficient fresh water for mining requirements. On the main flat which adjoins the workings, water has been obtained in a well 4 ft deep. It seems probable that a good water supply could be obtained by sinking shallow wells on this flat (Shepherd, 1942: 3).

The army was certainly concerned about Poid's vulnerability to attack. Twice the people of Poid were ordered to move away from the village and set up homes in the bush. Shortly afterwards, a European sergeant, sent by the army to ensure the survival of the villagers, moved them even further away from the village. They had hidden at first near the river just north of Poid but the sergeant, worried that river barges could reach the villagers, ordered them to move further into the bush. 'Wherever the people were forced to live in the bush, they were instructed to disperse: "The army told us not to make one camp, make different camps so that if anything happened they might only destroy one village and another camp would be saved"' (Osborne, 1997: 138).

Although there appears to have been army and Departmental oversight of the move, the targeting of Poid was probably of secondary importance, given that Torres Strait was a military zone at the time and other island villages would have presented an equally vulnerable target. The move was made more difficult by the war-time conditions: most of the men were in the army, placing the burden of the move on the women and old people. And, as Sharp (1992: 113) points out, this was the Kaurareg's third enforced move. Edwards and Edwards (1997a: 10), who also date the move as immediately after the war, were told that many people had already 'set up camps near the beach at Arkai. This was found to be a good place and after a time everyone gathered there and the village of Poid was abandoned.' The first dwellings were grass

huts made by the women down on the beach. When the men came home on furlough, they helped them build proper houses: Curtis (1943) remarks that during the second half of the year the 26 Kubin miners could mine only part-time because of their commitment to establishing the new community.

A year after the move, army physician Major G.R. Beattie briefly visited the new settlement on 30 August 1944 to assess the general health of the people. His report provides a brief but historically valuable snapshot of the community. He found a population of 220 living in 'temporary huts of very low standard' and strongly recommended they be improved. There were plans to lay out the new village in streets according to a housing standard set by the Department. The gardens were poor but being developed. There were a few fowls but as yet no goats, the usual source of milk on the islands. Three wells had been dug but the two main wells were on very low ground and required the women to carry the water up a steep hill to the houses. Beattie again recommended some system of pumping water up to the village. He found only rudimentary hygiene and sanitation and some cases of sores and scabies. However, Kubin, unlike Poid, was free of mosquitoes and there had been no outbreaks of malaria. There was no medical aid post and sick people were taken by boat to Thursday Island hospital. The three Councillors, one of whom was Wees Nawia, were 'the best three men available.' Generally speaking, Beattie found standards unsatisfactory and noted that immediate requirements were a water scheme, housing scheme and town planning, cultivation of gardens, organisation of sanitary service, dugong oil for all children and vitamin rich foods from the store (Beattie, 1944).²⁶⁷

There was not yet a church at Kubin and this became one of the first tasks completed by the residents on 12 February 1945. 'The people of Kubin camped in the village and erected their Church [St Peter's] before they built their homes' (Year Book 1949:30).²⁶⁹ It was about this time that an air force plane crash landed in the ocean at Tepai, just to the east of Kubin village. The propeller was lifted from the sea in the late 1980s and is now mounted on a cement base opposite the store (Edwards and Edwards, 1997a: 14).

Several months after the return of most of the soldiers in mid-1946, the Kubin community split along the lines of its original two divisions,

when about ten Kaurareg men shifted to Ngurupai, part of their traditional territories. They preferred Kirriri but were told that they must first convert to Catholicism, a Catholic mission having been established there in 1929. Sharp was told that the 'trigger' for their exodus from Kubin was a difference of opinion between Wees Nawia and Ellikem Tom (Sharp, 1992: 113). By February 1950 17 families had resettled from Kubin; by the end of July there were 21 families at Ngurupai and 33 by March 1969 (Sharp, 1992: 116, 118).²⁷⁰

Dissatisfaction with Kubin was not merely (or perhaps even primarily) ideological. General service provision to the western villages of Mua was always inferior to St Paul's and most other islands. Kubin people still obtained their fresh water supply from small wells and springs, a practice which became more and more unsatisfactory as its post-war population increased. By 1949 its 230 residents required 10,000 gallons per day. Most domestic water was taken 'from small wells around the perimeter of Kubin Headland' but in extremely dry years the women had to walk a little over 3km to two springs. 'During November and December, laundry is usually done at the two springs', according to a 1949 report by the Queensland Irrigation and Water Supply Commission.²⁷¹ The initial proposal was 'to pump by windmill from the two springs to a central tank, situated on a hill within the village area' but almost a decade later all fresh water for Kubin in drought times still had to be carried up a 'precipitous cliff' from two pools on the shore (Tennant, 1959: 185). And, while the St Paul's post-war building program continued apace in the 1950s, Kubin, apart from its 'pretentious' church, consisted 'of a few unpretentious, antiquated galvanised iron houses. They perched on the side of a hill in rather forlorn manner' (Lock, 1955: 191).

Kylie Tennant was a perceptive observer of conditions in the two communities in the late 1950s, noting how most of the the Kubin houses were 'built of the ugly grey fibro and corrugated iron supplied by the Department of Native Affairs, when it removed the Moa Islanders to this healthy bleak cape from their old village of Adam, cosily bowered in greenery and handy to some malaria swamps' (Tennant 1959:182). She wrote dryly: 'Here was the Department of Native Affairs painstakingly moving the Moa people from Adam, their old village, to healthy Kubin where that vile wind blew away the mosquitoes and gave them coughs instead'

TABLE 45. Muans granted operating licences 1958-1960. *Ezra Nona was born on Badu, the son of Manu and Matilda Nona. I do not know why he gave his 'nationality' as St Paul's but he may have been living there at the time. Source: Thursday Island court house bench record and summons book. QSA SRS 731/1/1.

Year	Kubin	St Paul's
1958	Whap Charlie, Kosam Nawia, Ram Wasaga, Phillip Wasaga, Mislam Savage, Miseron Wasaga, Wasaga Miskin, Elemisick Ibida, Bobby Wigness, Fred Nawia, John Manas, John Rattler, Makie Rattler, William Booby, James Misick, Paikai Namai, Samuel Nawie, Ioane Charlie, Tamat Billy	Jack W. Ware, Alphonse Bullio, Albert Ware, Bobby Bullio, Robert Gela, Gesa Ware, Peter Namok, Lawrence Levi
1959	Poey Passi Nawarie, Wigness Seriat, Jeremiah Manas, Elia Nawie, Makie Rattler, Fred Nawia, Tamat Billy, Mislam Savage, Tom Jakonia, Phillip Wasaga, Peter Bagai, Ioane Charlie, Paikai Namai, Billy Niba Wasaga, Ram Wasaga, Edward Isaka, Nagibu Nagibu	*Ezra Nona, Wilson Kris, Jack Ware
1960	William Booby, John Rattler, Tom Jakonia, Fred Nawia, Elemisick Kanai, Miseron Wasaga, Poey Passi Nawarie	*Ezra Nona, Gesa Ware, Roy Nawie, Andrew Namok, Dick Namok, Episaio Kris, Sam Kris, Jack W. Ware, Ray Ware, Kelly Levi

(Tennant, 1959: 217). She contrasts the relative wealth and status of the two Muan villages by comparing their churches, the largest building in both communities, schools and health facilities. At Kubin the church was made of fibro-cement. 'Its wooden furniture was home-made and it had a homelike atmosphere. People sat on a bench outside the door, looking over towards the island of Badu and the sunset' (Tennant, 1959: 185). The Kubin school too is trenchantly described:

The big corrugated iron barn in which [Ngailu Bani] taught was also town hall, meeting house and dancing place. The concrete floor was broken and muddy, and he lived in a room at the back with his wife and son, a room a little larger than the cupboard in which a white school teacher would store his text-books. The school was pitifully enough supplied (Tennant, 1959: 198).

By contrast, St Paul's boasted 'a splendid new school [...] attended by about sixty well-trained children' (Rees and Rees, 1960: 140). The health of the Kubin people was also neglected and Tennant compares its medical facilities with those provided at St Paul's and Badu. While Badu had a hospital, with a matron (though no doctor), there were no drugs on Kubin to save the churchwarden 'a tall, big-built man with gold earrings' who became ill with pneumonia and died while Tennant was at Kubin (Tennant, 1959: 201). She tells of how, when the men from Kubin were away on the boats and their dependents went hungry, the churchwarden would go out for turtle and dugong and sail alone in the cutter to Thursday Island, some 50km distant, to buy flour and rice (Tennant, 1959: 203). Returning to Thursday Island, Tennant castigated Departmental officials for

their neglect of Kubin. They replied that it was 'a bit off the beaten track', not 'a show place.'

There was an efficient hospital at Badu across the strait, and Kubin – well, perhaps the school was sometimes forgotten when text-books were supplied; perhaps it should have a water supply, or maybe medical supplies. But, they indicated rather irritably, if I would go poking about in places that were not show places, I must expect things to go awry (Tennant, 1959: 204).

Yet, setting aside the differential treatment and access to goods and education, the legal and administrative differences, infrastructure, aspirations and status of both communities, the texture of daily social life was little different. The men were away for much of the year on boats; the women tended their homes and families, fetched water from the village wells and washed their clothes in the creeks; both sexes fished and gardened and gossiped; the children attended school, learned bush lore, gathered fruits and berries, plucked wild cotton to make fresh pillows, collected *buzi* vine in the bush to make basket handles and rope for threading fish and played with their friends; their first fish catch (for boys) or bundle of *buzi* (for girls) was hung up on a line, their first pay given to a close family member. Increasingly, the Kubin people were adopting the regional *lingua franca*, Torres Strait Creole, which was always the dominant language at St Paul's. For many years most of the houses on Mua were built with coconut leaf walls which had to be renewed every few years and, with most men away in the army, they could not be replaced. Annie Alice Toto Wigness remembered Poid as 'a nice place. Some people lived in grass

houses and some in iron houses. The houses at St Paul's were much the same' (Teske, 1991: 16). To the east of Kubin, separated by a waste of swampy grass and stunted bush, there was a women's beach below a sheer cliff, where 'the young girls of the village larked and bathed together' (Tennant, 1959: 185). Pauline Savage Mills and Ada Ware Tillett remember similar experiences at St Paul's.

POST-WAR MUA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The immediate post-war period brought great optimism and change. Civil administration returned to Torres Strait on 1 April 1946, although many of the men were not demobilised until November. The pearling fleet had resumed operations on 1 January 1946 with five boats and, with pearlshell selling at around £600 per ton (compared with £200 pre-war) and trochus shell for £93 per ton (compared with £80 pre-war), the men were fully employed on their own and company boats and could earn excellent returns for their labour. By mid-year the fleet stood at 32, paid for by £15,000 of accumulated war-time savings 'as cash payments for luggers and cutters and smaller craft.' By the end of 1947 there were 40 island-owned and operated boats, although almost half of these were sailing dinghies and unsuitable for pearling (Raven-Hart, 1949: 117).

Discharged, members of family groups pooled their deferred pay to buy boats through army disposals. Most of these craft had sails only, no engines, and the islanders skin-dived for shell in easy waters. Gradually they saved money to buy engines and pumps: some borrowed money for improvements from the Island Industries Board, a semi-governmental body which took on itself the dual jobs of negotiating the sale of the islanders' shell for them and supplying them with the goods of civilised life at reasonable prices. So that at last the 'island fleet' was as well equipped as the 'master boats.' Borrowed money had been paid back [by the late 1950s] (Rees and Rees, 1960: 63).

Various Commonwealth payments – military allotments, aged and widows' pensions and child endowment – added to the general prosperity (Annual Report, 1946: 2, 13, 14).²⁷² Growing exposure to a European lifestyle also changed Islanders' ideas about consumer goods and the Island Industries Board (IIB) – the renamed AIB – was forced to accommodate them by making available 'good clothes, more manufactured food

as against their own native products and, above all, building material in order to erect dwellings on the European style' (Annual Report, 1947: 22).

In return for loyal war-time service, the government had promised greater 'freedom' – citizenship, access to alcohol, unrestricted movement, better wages, houses, education, jobs and services. Although many evacuated families did not return, finding greater economic and educational opportunities on the mainland, the early, prosperous post-war years appeared to promise Islanders fulfilment of their aspirations. However, their cynicism about Queensland government policy returned when it became clear that the Department of Native Affairs had no intention of loosening its grip on Indigenous administration. During the absence of European priests and teachers the Islanders had to rely on their own to perform the sacraments, arbitrate disputes and teach the children. This boosted their confidence in their ability to administer their islands without outside assistance and calls for regional autonomy began to be articulated more widely. In October 1955 Kamuel Abednego from St Paul's went to Brisbane as a delegate to the Queensland Trade Union Congress, which 'unanimously carried a resolution urging full citizenship rights for all inhabitants on Thursday Island, and islands in the Torres Straits' (Courier Mail, 22 October 1955).

During this period of international decolonisation, the 'protection' policies came under sustained attack in Australia and overseas and the Queensland government found itself unable fully to maintain its pre-war system of segregated control. Federal and Queensland Indigenous policy became assimilationist at a time of rapidly increasing Islander population.²⁷³ The pre-contact level was regained just prior to the outbreak of war and, with the return of the soldiers to their islands, numbers began to grow rapidly, with each subsequent census showing further increase. The high marriage and birth rates put pressure on local services. There was now little point in the State government's confining the Islanders to 'reserves', even to provide cheap labour, since the costs of providing services outweighed the financial benefits to the State. In response to this pressure and the demand for labour on the mainland, the first Islander labourers were permitted to travel 'south' in 1947, beginning the post-war diaspora to the mainland.

Despite vaunted infrastructure and health programmes, on-the-ground improvements were slow to eventuate. Moreover, while immediate post-war prices for shell were excellent and the industry, which had for decades been the region's economic mainstay, continued to provide good employment for a few years, there followed so drastic a fall in prices that the authorities held grave concerns about the future of the industry (Annual Report, 1951: 23). There was a general realisation that neither the marine industries nor pensions nor remittances would suffice to sustain the region's economy and society and that greater diversification was needed.

Attempts to revive formerly lucrative industries, such as *bêche-de-mer* in the mid-1960s, had some success but not enough to stem, let alone reverse, employment-driven emigration from the strait to the mainland, where Islanders for the first time earned award rates of pay. By the end of the 1950s, during each year of which the Islander population as a whole slightly increased, an estimated 827 Islanders were living in other areas of Queensland (Annual Reports, 1956: 2, 1959: 1); by 1962 the estimate was over 1000; and by 1965 more than 1500 were

employed in numerous callings but particularly on railway construction and maintenance work. Many are receiving permanent appointments in the Railway Department. At present nearly 40 Islanders who were previously employed on the reconstruction of the Townsville to Mt Isa Rail Link have gone to similar employment in Western Australia with the contracting company, which has won rail reconstruction contracts there (Annual Report, 1965: 17).

By the end of the 1960s half the population had left their home islands, threatening their viability. The Department, putting the best possible face on the situation, claimed credit for the success of its policy of integration, noting that Islanders were now settled in the Northern Territory and Victoria and praising their 'initiative and enterprise' (Annual Reports, 1962: 12, 1964: 15).

New auxiliary industries were established: some, like cultured pearl farms and crayfishing, were extensions of the marine industry; others, like wolfram mining, required new skills. Mua was a centre for each of these: a Japanese pearl farm operated from the abandoned Poid settlement in the 1960s; commercial crayfishing became feasible after the Commonwealth provided a freezer at Kubin; and for a time wolfram, found in significant deposits in the western part of Mua just before

the war, appeared to offer an alternative means of employment. These new industries, Islanders hoped, would allow them to determine their futures and halt population decline. Encouraged by a spirit of self-help, Islanders formed co-operative societies to build better housing in island and Cape York communities, improve the local water supply and create employment opportunities in the fishing and minerals industries.

The new enterprises had varying degrees of success. Chief among the successes were commercial fishing and processing and prawning, facilitated by the installation of freezer units in the islands in the 1970s (Annual Report, 1976: 7, 8).²⁷⁴ Islander women were employed on prawning mother ships in the Gulf of Carpentaria in the mid to late 1960s (John Scott, pers. comm., 2006) and a prawn processing factory was established on Thursday Island fed by floating processing plants and mother ships. The Department commenced a training program in prawn fishing techniques and in March 1971 took delivery of a new prawn trawler, *Kuzi*, at a cost of around \$79,000 for use as a training vessel (Annual Report, 1971: 16). Among the failures were cultured pearl and turtle farming. The former was already under threat from cheaper overseas locations, when in March 1970 the tanker *Oceanic Grandeur* struck an uncharted reef in the Prince of Wales Channel, spilling an estimated million litres of oil, which required chemical dispersants to clean the area. The industry, worth over \$1,000,000 according to Moon and Moon (1994: 145), was irreparably damaged. Turtle farming also failed to generate the hoped-for profits. The project began as a pilot program in 1970 to build up green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) and hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*) stocks and cull a specified number each year for international sale. It was Federally funded through a private company, Applied Ecology Pty Ltd. The Department hoped ultimately to profit not only from the meat but also from the production of oil, leather and soup (Annual Reports, 1971: 8, 1973: 12-13). In 1978 the Commonwealth ceased its financial contribution after finding the project, according to the company's chairman, Senator Georges, 'biologically unsound and economically doubtful. It was built on patronage, nepotism and the payment of money for little or no return.'²⁷⁵ Limited tourism also seemed to offer earning and employment potential, again requiring trade-offs between environmental and economic concerns: tourists began to come in

greater numbers to Cape York from the 1970s, mostly by road but also by air, with Bush Pilots instituting twice-weekly services, which soon doubled to four commercial flights per week.

By the beginning of the 1970s Islanders were working in the canefields of north Queensland and the Kuri Bay pearl culture farms but most had jobs in the industries allied to the northern Australian minerals boom. Gangs of Islanders made a significant contribution to building the Queensland inland railways to Mt Isa and from Weipa to Andoon, as well as the Pilbara and Port Hedland regions of WA. The Department's annual report for 1971 makes mention of other major projects employing Islanders: 'the open cut coal mine at Blackwater, the Gladstone Alumina production, Bauxite mining at Weipa, coastal merchant shipping and railway construction or maintenance. Numbers are also employed in the Brisbane City Council's sewerage installation programme' (Annual Report, 1971: 16). Recognising the greater possibilities for their children, they began to send for their families. Initially living in poor conditions in the railway camps, many of them eventually settled permanently in Queensland coastal towns, where they could boat and fish in surroundings that recalled their island homes. The majority of diaspora Islanders still live in Queensland but the young people are leaving the smaller towns for Brisbane, Cairns, Mackay, Rockhampton and Townsville, which have large Islander populations. The flow has not been entirely one-way: families move backwards and forwards between the islands and the mainland depending on the demand for low-skilled labour. Various downturns in the 1970s and 1980s saw families returning, at least temporarily. During the period of native title negotiations there was a minor boost to the resident Torres Strait population as older people returned to their home islands to oversee their claims. Fewer would have done so without the greatly improved services and infrastructure provided since the 1980s.

Extraordinary though it seems today, the Department still controlled the most intimate aspects of Islanders' lives until the mid-1960s. Social relations between Islanders and Europeans, especially sexual relations, were discouraged and an Islander required the permission of the director to marry a non-Islander: this included residents of St Paul's, who were defined as non-Islanders under Section 19 of *The Torres Strait Islanders Acts* 1939-1946. In the early 1960s the hospital, government schooling and local cinema on

Thursday Island were still segregated, a state of affairs that was accepted, apparently without question, by most Europeans.

Amendments to the *State Elections Act*, which extended voting rights to all Indigenous Queenslanders, came into force on 1 February 1966²⁷⁶ and the *Queensland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders' Affairs Act* 1965 on 28 April 1966. The latter enshrined the policy of assimilation for Indigenous Australians agreed on by Commonwealth and States in July 1963 and removed almost all previous restrictions, extended local Council voting rights to women and raised the voting age to 21. Nonetheless, official Queensland thinking was still that 'there may always be a certain proportion of people of Aboriginal, part-Aboriginal and Islander descent, who, by virtue of ability and circumstance, may need assistance and in this respect some protective measures and avenues for assistance must remain in any legislation provided' (Annual Report, 1965: 4). In other words, once freed from the Protector's control, individuals could, if they wished, apply for 'assisted' status.²⁷⁷ The missions of Cape York began to be handed over to the Queensland government by churches unable to finance them and placed under Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs (DAIA) control (the renamed Department of Native Affairs): St Paul's was the only exception, the Anglican Church retaining the right to run it as a mission (A.B.M. Review, August/October 1973:25). At the Federal level, a referendum to give power to that government to legislate for Indigenous Australians and count them in the census was overwhelmingly passed on 27 May 1967,²⁷⁸ after which the Federal Council for Aboriginal Affairs was set up to recommend policies and work for coordination with the States.

Despite these developments, relatively little changed on the ground in Torres Strait until the early 1970s, when the new Commonwealth Labor government was prodded into taking seriously its economic responsibilities to the Islanders. Sheehan (1987: 52) refers to 'a marked change in Commonwealth strategy whereby the Federal Government dealt directly with Torres Strait Islanders rather than working through the States. Torres Strait gained representation on the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee' and an office of the Federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs opened on Thursday Island in November 1973 (John Scott, pers. comm., 2006), setting in train a protracted 'battle for hearts

and minds' between the two governments.²⁷⁹ Commonwealth funding for infrastructure development projects began to make available services taken for granted on the mainland and assist the emergence of new social, political and cultural organisations. Of particular importance for Mua was Commonwealth assistance for wolfram mining and crayfishing.

The post-war period is also marked by the extension of Islander political activity from the home island to the island group to the State to the Federal to the international sphere, mirroring trends elsewhere in the world. Islanders were permitted to vote in Federal elections in 1962 and State elections in 1966.²⁸⁰ They were active in several post-war organisations promoting Indigenous land and cultural rights and self-determination, the most important being arguably the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) and its State affiliates. The first Torres Strait Islander representative to the FCAATSI executive was Ettie Pau from Erub in 1964, the year its constitution was amended to include formal Islander representation. He was followed by Jacob Abednego from St Paul's, who served from 1965 to 1973. Mainland-based Islanders active in major Indigenous political organisations from the 1960s include Dulcie Flower (from the Pitt family), Robert Maza and Eddie Koiki Mabo from Mer, Saulo Waia and Besai Waigana from Saibai, and Steve Mam, Fred Walters and Elia Ware from St Paul's (Taffe, 2005: 139, 145, 213-214, 219, 254, 292, 318). Official Commonwealth bodies included the elected National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (NACC), which became the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC), a forerunner of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), and the National Aboriginal Education Committee (NAEC). The Queensland government was not unresponsive to these developments: its Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs became the Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement in 1975, a name deemed more suited to its new policies.

These were politically and ideologically charged times, during which Islanders began to articulate more publicly their demands for self-determination and rights to land. The Papua New Guinea border dispute (1973-1978) brought to prominence charismatic political leaders who opposed Federal government plans for altering the Papua New Guinea-Australia border to alienate the northern islands from Australia. Among the

most vocal were island group representatives Getano Lui Snr and George Mye. With the support of the Bjelke-Petersen government, they argued against the division of the Torres Strait Islanders into two groups, claiming with justification that they were now 'one people.' Prompted by the dispute, Carlemo Wacando of Erub and James Akee of Mer formed the Torres United Party in 1976. Based in Townsville, its platform advocated for the first time publicly a separate and independent 'Free Nation of Torres Strait', where the Islanders would control the Strait's resources and future development and facilitate the return of the Islander diaspora.²⁸¹ Wacando mounted a legal challenge to the State government's annexation of his home island but this was rejected by the High Court of Australia in 1981. The legal claim, although unsuccessful, was a precursor to the successful Mabo case, which began the following year.²⁸³ That year (1982) also saw passage of the *State Land Act (Aboriginal and Islander Land Grants) Amendment Act*, allowing certain reserves to be the subject of Deeds of Grant in Trust (DOGIT); the renaming of the Department to the Department of Community Services; the upholding by the High Court of Australia of the validity of the *Racial Discrimination Act* against a challenge from Queensland; and attendance by Torres Strait Islanders at the first UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (later Peoples) in Geneva.

Another piece of legislation affecting Islanders during this period was the *Community Services (Torres Strait Islands) Act* 1984, designed to strengthen the island Councils. It provided for the establishment of the Island Co-ordinating Council (ICC) on 31 May 1984 to facilitate co-operation between State and Federal agencies (Sheehan, 1987: 53-54). Under the act St Paul's was at last officially classified as a Torres Strait community (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 48). According to Sheehan, the Islanders saw the new act as increasing their autonomy but by 1986 the Commonwealth had changed its policy towards a national land rights policy and all the ex-island reserves, except Mer, had accepted the Queensland government's alternative proposal, a DOGIT, under the *Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Land Holding) Act*.

After a decade of litigation, the High Court of Australia in the Mabo decision of 1992 recognised that native title formed part of the common law of Australia. The Federal government then passed the *Commonwealth Native Title Act* 1993,

under which island native title claims to land were advanced and granted. Sea claims are still pending. Various tensions have accompanied these claims, notably the degree to which the Islander diaspora should be involved: over 85% of Islanders now reside outside their home islands but remain vitally concerned about future developments. On 1 July 1994 the Torres Strait Regional Authority (TSRA) was established under the amended *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act* 1989, to allow greater local control over local matters. Formal independence was ruled out, although new impetus for autonomy was provided by the 1997 Commonwealth report, *Torres Strait Islanders: a new deal*. Emblematic of the new, more assertive mood of post-war Islanders was the fragmentation of the Anglican Church in February 1998, when a group of disaffected priests and deacons left to form the Church of the Torres Strait Incorporated, an action which would have been unthinkable even a decade before.

In postcolonial Torres Strait the Islanders, including those from Mua, provided the majority of local teachers, priests, police, nurses, midwives, storekeepers, Council clerks and carpenters. With oversight from public officials they built and maintained most of the island public infrastructure – houses, churches, schools, stores, public halls, roads, bridges, jetties, wells, drainage systems, cottage hospitals and medical aid posts. Their labour helped construct the modern dams and airstrips. Yet, despite the Islanders' contribution to the fisheries, to the physical construction and management of their communities and to the provision of essential services, few of them received much financial benefit. The impoverishment of individuals and families had implications for their communities: not only did most Islanders personally have comparatively little to show for years of work but their communities also had been starved of needed infrastructure funds. They had little control over their economic development and were forced to depend almost entirely on government funding.

By 1981, according to the Department, there was no legal distinction whatsoever between Islanders and other citizens (Annual Report, 1981:3) but even the Islanders (and Aboriginal people) who were employed by the Queensland government to provide medical, educational, administrative and construction services received a 'community rate' of pay, considerably lower than the award. The fight for economic justice in this instance was brought before the Human

Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission by seven Palm Islanders and a decision against the State government handed down in 1996. Refusing to accept it, the government took the case to the Federal Court. Eventually, the two sides reached an agreement but it was clear that other cases would follow, including hundreds of Torres Strait Islander marine industry workers. In 1999 the new Queensland government agreed to make restitution to all Indigenous people who were paid under-award wages between 1975 (when the practice was outlawed under the *Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act*) and 1986 (when the Queensland government complied with the legislation). It is estimated that during this period it made a saving of between seven and ten million dollars each year by not complying. This case was a legal landmark: not only did the government offer monetary compensation for illegal underpayment but also, for the first time, it admitted responsibility for discrimination under the protection legislation. The full legal and financial ramifications are still to be determined.

Largely unrecognised until recently was the damage done to the fragile environment of the Strait by overharvesting of marine produce. Today, crayfish, prawns, and deep sea fish provide local fishermen and their extended families with a good income but most of the profits are taken out of the strait by European-owned companies: some of these trawl \$500,000 worth of prawns in one year. The Islanders see little lasting benefit for themselves from the exploitation by outsiders of their local resources. Even worse, the operating methods of the prawning trawlers damage the seabed, reduce fish stocks and destroy turtles and dugong, traditional food sources and totemic kin for the Islanders, which are caught in the giant nets and perish. Some Islanders have taken unilateral action to expel trawlers from their territories; others have collaborated with conservationists and the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority in appealing to State and Federal governments. In 2000 a structural adjustment scheme was implemented to reduce boat numbers and help ensure future sustainable resource management. For many Islanders, this was not enough and in March 2001 a maritime summit was organised to demand ownership, use and management of traditional waters. An equally immediate potential threat, however, is rising sea levels and tidal surges, believed to be the result of global climate change.

The extraordinary economic and political gains made by Islanders during the past two decades,

their incorporation into State and Federal medical programs and the substantial State and Commonwealth investment in community infrastructure – housing, piped clean water, sanitation services, electricity, airstrips, tarred roads, wharves and barge unloading facilities – have not resulted in the expected rise in health outcomes. For several decades the infectious diseases of the past were kept in check by greater immunity, mass vaccinations, regular medical surveys and the provision of clinics and trained personnel on every island, (Annual Report, 1982: 28). But past illnesses have been replaced by previously unknown ‘lifestyle’ diseases, the result of changes in diet and less physical exercise. Diabetes, heart and kidney disease, stroke, cancer, sexually transmitted diseases, glaucoma and a particular kind of anaemia have replaced malaria, dysentery, influenza and tuberculosis as the major causes of death and health is a widely discussed issue.²⁸³ The local newspaper reported in 1998 that Islanders were ‘dying at a rate almost three times that of the rest of the Queensland population’ and that they lived on average about 20 years less (Torres News 30 January-5 February 1998: 16). A recent study has found about 24% of Islander adults and a further 3% of Islander children suffer from diabetes (Torres News 22-28 November 2006: 1). Moreover, increased mobility between New Guinea and the strait has introduced (and reintroduced) virulent tropical diseases. Japanese encephalitis arrived in the late 1990s and dengue fever, which was prevalent prior to World War II but receded, was again endemic by 1998;²⁸⁴ the first deaths in Torres Strait occurred in 2004 (Taor, 2005).

The colonisation of Torres Strait began a process of unification of the disparate peoples and newly-arrived immigrants from all parts of the globe. Previous barriers, including the east-west ethnolinguistic boundary and traditional clan system divisions, were weakened by the universalist message of Christianity, internal resettlement of people from clan territories to new villages clustered around church, school and store, removal (both involuntary and voluntary) of families, shared experiences of work and war, and the creation of alliances through marriage, adoption and fictive brotherhood. Certain post-war developments, however, have tended to work against the longterm trend to unification, as competing political and ideological interests seek influence and control of resources. This final section examines the responses of the two

communities of Mua to the tide of post-war events.

ECONOMY. By mid-1947 the Torres Strait fleet was operated entirely by Islanders and the names of all 40 boats and captains are listed in the Department’s annual reports for 1947 and 1948. In 1947 there were three Muan captains: Wasaga Billy (*Danie*), Tom Jack Namok (*Lankara*)²⁸⁵ and Japania Hammond (*Darlin*); in 1948 Japania Hammond was still captain of *Darlin* but Tom Jack Namok was now captain of *Sunrise* (Annual Reports, 1947: 20, 1948: 25). The St Paul’s men no longer owned a community lugger and shipped as divers as required: Raven-Hart (1949: 145) observed the Mills’ family lugger *Cessa* sign on six divers at St Paul’s and three more at Mabuyag.

Immediate post-war government policy saw more men from Mua take charge of master boats and Muan crews were now regularly journeying south to Cairns: Joseph Nawie was registered as diver-in-charge of the lugger *Scamp* in 1948 and Wees Nawia of the *Phyllis* in 1950. The following year Wees Nawia captained the *Candia*, Abea Asera the *Sedney*, Mislam Savage the *Tymapi*, Jack Ware the *Phyllis* and *Kosam* Nawia the *Candia*. Phillip Wasaga skippered the *Whyalla* in 1952 and 1953; and in 1953 Samson (Samuel) Wasaga took charge of the *Phaleron*. Billy Wasaga took over from him in 1954-1955 (QSA SRS721/1: Shipping Master, Thursday Island: Register of men in charge licences 1915-1957).

By the late 1950s Poid men were working almost exclusively aboard master boats: Peter Bagie served as tender and Makie Rattler as cook aboard the Duffield brothers’ lugger *Hespia* in 1958;²⁸⁶ and that same year, when Wasaga Miskin, son of Sailor Miskin, died of decompression sickness at Erub, his crew mates included Tamat Billy (then living at Ngurupai) as tender, Nagibu Nagibu as crew and Wasaga Miskin as diver on the lugger *Antonia*, owned by the Antonia Pearling Coy.²⁸⁷ A similar death occurred that same year: Paul Bowia from Badu, son of the early Poid teacher, Atuelu Bowia, was drowned while diving from the See Kee cutter *Ballerina*. Also on board that day were Stephen Mam from St Paul’s and Gaulai (Buzi) Namok, adopted son of William (Bail) Namok.²⁸⁸

The *Fisheries Act* 1957 required all skippers, divers and tenders to be licensed and the Thursday Island bench and summons book contains a list

of the men, their ages and 'nationality', i.e. island of origin. Table 45 lists Muans granted operating licenses 1958-1960 and includes five former Muans residents who had moved away by then: Phillip Wasaga and Edward Isaka to Ngurupai; Alphonse Bullio and Albert Ware to Thursday Island; William Booby to Badu.

The cash economy of Torres Strait still depended almost entirely on the marine and associated industries and men from Mua also signed on articles, generally with private companies, as crew, tenders, divers and engineers. Fewer accidents occurred than before but on the last day of November 1957 near Bobo Reef south of Papua two divers died, one of them Karakasoma (Kara) Kris from Mabuayag, a grandson of Kaio Kris from St Paul's.²⁸⁹ During Tennant's visit to St Paul's, he was among the crew of the lugger Sylvia who 'had come ashore for the feast of Michaelmas and danced for us, chanting harmoniously, all in ceremonial palm fronds, with white dancing bands round wrist and ankle' (Tennant, 1959: 155). Then, in August 1967 the Poid-born Wigness Seriat gave evidence into the accidental death of the diver Gordon Mandi from Mabuayag. Seriat, son of Seriat and Maletta Dugui Charlie, was living at Kubin and employed as an engineer on the lugger *Sorrel* owned by Cape York Pearling Coy Pty Ltd, a Thursday Island firm.²⁹⁰ Four years later the young diver Eddie Bowie met his death in June 1971 in Kubin Passage, about a kilometre from Mua, after his lifeline became entangled in coral. His rapid ascent from a depth of about 7 fathoms caused his lungs to rupture and he was dead before he was brought back to his boat, the H.B., another of the Cape York Pearling Coy fleet.²⁹¹

Mother-of-pearl was still gathered for the manufacture of buttons, knife handles and other ornaments and live shells were fished for the pearl culture farms, which for a time promised to become a flourishing offshoot of the marine industries. The first pearl farm was built in 1960 at Giralag (Friday Island) and in 1961 the Melbourne-based company, Pearls Pty Ltd, which already employed Torres Strait Islanders in Kuri Bay, Western Australia, opened a pearl culture farm at the deserted settlement of Poid (Edwards, 1983: 175): the buildings, where some of the Japanese lived, though now in disrepair and seldom used, still stand. Not everyone was happy with the decision of the government to lease the site to the company: Jacob Abednego addressed the FCAATSI conference of 1965 on

the loss of Muans traditional fishing rights in the two lagoons (Taffe, 2005: 318). However, the company was permitted to operate in the strait on condition that it hire local labour in a ratio of four Islanders to one Japanese and pay them the full State basic wage for the area which was then £15.18.6 per week (Annual Report, 1963: 18). Japanese technicians at Poid worked alongside men from Mua (Suma Kaitap), Badu (Isaac Charlie, grandson of Salepapela, and Frank and Walter Nona) and Mabuayag (Ibegan Mene, later priested). These men gave evidence at the inquest into the accidental electrocution of the Japanese foreman, Tadao Nishihagi, in 1968.²⁹²

The end of the local cultured pearl industry was a great blow to local hopes for a more diversified marine industry and a reminder of the vulnerability of Torres Strait waters. However, increased economic activity and the growth of the cash economy had whetted Islanders' demands for consumer goods. Despite the declining population, 'the standard of living of those who remain at St Paul's has risen, if one may judge from the cash spent at the Store which, for the first 6 months of 1960 was £3,500 and, for the first 6 months of 1965, was £4,200.' The reasons included the 'steady and reliable income' provided by the social security system; the higher wages of the locally employed; and the cash remittances sent home by the men and unmarried women who were working elsewhere (Year Book, 1966: 94).²⁹³

The desire to escape the Department's control and spend longer periods in their communities gave impetus to the Muans mining project. Shortly before the war commercial quantities of wolfram were mined on Mua; with the outbreak of hostilities, the mineral, used for strengthening steel, was in great demand and its price rose accordingly. The sudden importance of mining as an alternative source of income and employment for the people of Kubin and St Paul's meant that most of the men stayed home during 1952 and 1953 and could apply themselves to their homes and gardens. Bishop Hudson encouraged them to begin to farm co-operatively, helping them to acquire a motored rotary hoe to work the small plots of sweet potatoes, pineapples, bananas, pawpaws and rock melons. Having mined over £7000 worth of wolfram that year, the people bought a jeep from a community fund to facilitate the work. However, the sudden fall in wolfram prices towards the end of 1953 led to the cessation of mining in December

and in 1954 most of the able-bodied men re-engaged in the marine industries. Nevertheless, despite the downturn in the wolfram industry, everybody on Mua was anxious to begin mining again and every family on Mua had a wolfram claim (Annual Reports, 1952: 42, 43, 1954: 52; Tennant, 1959: 157; see Shnukal 'Wolfram mining' chapter 6, this volume).

A further attempt to provide relatively stable cash incomes and employment began in January 1956, when Revd A. W. Clint visited Mua and received unanimous endorsement from both communities to set up a co-operative society. On 16 October 1956 the Moa Island Christian Co-operative Society Ltd was formed at Kubin to 'improve the economical and cultural well-being of its members through mutual association in undertakings carried on in accordance with co-operative practices and principles' (Annual Report, 1956: 62; A.B.M. Review, November 1956: 173).²⁹⁴ Any person aged 16 or over living in the islands could be a member.²⁹⁵ But first it was necessary to provide training and in 1958 Flora Namokwas selected to attend the Ipswich Commercial High School in Queensland to be trained as the co-operative's secretary. Revd Clint had arranged for a 'committee of friends, clerical and university people [to] take Flora into their homes, arrange for her schooling and clothing' (A.B.M. Review, December 1958: 177; Tennant, 1959: 107).

In March 1959 the society applied for a loan from the Commonwealth Fisheries Development Trust Account. A more detailed application for a loan of £45,000 followed, dated 4 May 1959. This was to purchase

- (a) land plant 100 ft × 40 ft. refrigeration capacity per day of 5 tons plus; capacity of refrigeration store 100 tons plus, estimated cost £25,000; and (b) floating factory and receiving ship. Size of boat 70 ft × 14 ft × 4½ ft. Equipment required: refrigeration plant, processing tables, eviscerating machinery, packaging material, etc., estimate cost £20,000.

Also included was a letter from Australian Food Exporters Pty Ltd (AFEX), Tweed Heads, NSW, stating that the company would purchase unlimited supplies provided that the crayfish tails were properly processed and packed. The following month a deputation of five – ABM chairman Revd F. Coaldrake, Revd Clint, ABM accountant Mottershead and two representatives of AFEX – called on the minister and subsequently discussed the matter with Departmental officials. One of

these, C.G. Setter, wrote to O'Leary asking for his reaction (Setter, 1959). O'Leary was cautious, suggesting a scientific investigation be conducted by the CSIRO to confirm reported crayfish catches as well as the possibility of establishing a sardine industry. Nevertheless, he stressed that 'the Queensland Government is particularly anxious to exploit every possibility for the establishment of industries in north Queensland and any help to such end which can be forthcoming from this Department will be made available.'²⁹⁶

Early in 1960 three members of the co-operative, Jacob Abednego, Harry Abednego and John Bon, were selected to go to Tranby College in Sydney.²⁹⁷ Jacob was trained in the processing, packing and marketing of fish, Harry in accountancy and John was apprenticed to fitting and turning. In mid-1960 the co-operative made an attempt 'to catch crayfish for sale to two private companies for the Southern market [but] the first company left the Strait in October' (Annual Reports, 1960: 53, 1961: 21). This was the precursor of what is now a lucrative industry but one which could not reach its potential until freezers and a reliable electricity supply were provided to Mua by the Commonwealth in the early 1970s.²⁹⁸

The scheme which seemed to have the best chance of succeeding at the time, in that it would satisfy a growing demand, was a bakery. Wees Nawia told Sharp (1992: 131) how the idea had arisen:

We been talking things over and Father Clint said, 'What about starting off with something we eat everyday?' Well we said, 'What about we start a bakery?' 'Good idea, so you'll have bread in the morning', he said. With things that grow you have to grow them first. So everybody agreed that the bakery start off in a small way and they make some small huts first to make the bread in. The village people just built them. We baked the bread in wood stoves at the beginning. So we said, 'We want a man go down to Tranby College and learn how to make bread and learn how to make a stove for bread.' And P, one St Paul's man agreed to go down and he learnt about this bakery business down there. He bought some of these things where you can bake bread and he get some material and cement for making blocks, and when he came back all this stuff was coming too. So P and one or two other men from St Paul's made this house, this bakery, and they built up this big brickwork oven at St Paul's.²⁹⁹

TABLE 46. Numbers of burials at Kubin and St Paul's 1900-1979. Source: Hashimoto's Table 67 in Ohshima (1983: 549).

Years	Burials (Kubin)	Burials (St Paul's)	Population
1900-1909		2	
1910-1919		16	Adam 103 (1913); St Paul's 130 (1913); St Paul's c.350 (1919)
1920-1929		13	
1930-1939		12	
1940-1949	14	25	Poid 375 (1945); St Paul's 102 (1945); Kubin 100 (1946)
1950-1959	13	13	
1960-1969	5	15	Kubin 75 (1965); St Paul's 161 (1964)
1970-1979	2	5	Kubin 64 (1979); St Paul's 76 (1979)

In 1963 Jacob Abednego, Keith Sim and Gehemat Pedro from St Paul's journeyed to Tranby. Abednego attended a course on bread baking, while Sim and Pedro took technical courses (Annual Report, 1965: 27). Abednego returned 'with the training and the enthusiasm' to set up a co-operative bakery. Within two years construction had begun, financed by a 5/- levy on each member of the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF).³⁰⁰ The goal was to raise £5000 for the bakery, which would supply bread to 'about 1500' Islanders, since supplies from Thursday Island were so unsatisfactory (Year Book, 1966: 95; Monthly Bulletin of the Queensland Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Islanders, June 1965). In March 1966 the WWF indicated their firm commitment to the bakery and a correspondence ensued between the union and the Department about the provision of an electric generator, an alternator and a vehicle, and Departmental assistance in the case of breakdown.

The progress of the construction of the bakery, the difficulties in arranging barge transport for equipment, a Toyota truck for deliveries and supplies of ingredients from Thursday Island and connecting the electricity can be traced through Departmental correspondence between Pat Killoran, then Departmental director, and his subordinate on Thursday Island.³⁰¹

The Toyota left for St Paul's on the *Gelam* on 7 September 1966 on the same day as the *Melbidir* departed with 'the alternator, dough mixing bowls, stands, certain fire bricks and other heavy items of equipment.' By October 1967 the co-operative was baking bread and selling it at St Paul's. However, the generator had not

yet been connected and the diocese could not pay for the connection. There were difficulties in obtaining an electrician from Thursday Island and on the last day of the month Abednego wrote to the diocesan registrar on Thursday Island proposing the following: the WWF would purchase an electrical generating plant for the co-operative and mission building and forward it to Thursday Island; the co-operative would be responsible for getting it to Mua with the assistance of the church; the church would provide wiring to the mission buildings; and the co-operative would be responsible for wiring the bakery.

Obtaining the flour proved to be another obstacle but the WWF rose to the challenge and IIB agreed to assist in transporting flour to Mua at rates comparable with freight and harbour dues charged by shipping companies. A further obstacle was the Department's control over Kubin. Formal permission had to be sought for the European driver to enter the reserve to deliver bread. This was granted, provided that he was accompanied by one of the co-operative's directors and left immediately after delivery.

The bakery was officially opened on 22 November 1968 and acceptances were received from Koiki Mabo as the representative of Townsville Aboriginal Advancement and several union officials. Senator Doug McLelland was unable to attend but wished the enterprise well. The Department signalled its deep disapproval by refusing to send a representative or make transport available to take passengers to St Paul's for the opening ceremony, 'as all Departmental units are heavily committed with cargo work.' Wees Nawia explained its subsequent history:

When it's finished we call for a priest to bless that house. It took over a month to make this bakery. They did good work. It was a village project; everyone helped to do that work. It was paid for from Commonwealth I think. This was in the sixties. So the bakery began and P do very good. He make the bread with one or two girls I think, to give him a hand. We try this first with two villages, then after we said, 'Let's try and make more so we can join up Badu. We can run the dinghy round right down to Badu and sell the bread there, Mabuig too.' So we been try that and it runs very good. But after that when the dinghy was wrecked, when the Toyota broke down (we used to run overland, but no road), we can't do anything. We just sell the bread at St Paul's. You can't make much money that way (Sharp, 1992: 131).

Turtle farming was another auxiliary industry with the potential to employ Islanders, and Kubin became one of 13 island communities with turtle farms.³⁰² It was not a success and by 1975 only six men were still engaged in turtle farming. By 1977, when Kubin farmed a total of 137 turtles, only three women, wives of the initial farmers, were involved and three of the original huts had closed. Islanders showed considerable diversity in the types of sheds and containers used. At Kubin they were made of galvanised iron and contained a plastic water tank for the hatchlings. The work was time-consuming but provided a regular monthly income of \$148, then a very attractive salary, out of which the farmers paid for food for the turtles, usually small sardines (Hashimoto, 1983: 574).

While the marine industries constituted the basis of the regional economy, we should not ignore the contribution made by agriculture to the island economies. Until recently families depended on produce from their gardens to provide an extra buffer against want. In the late 1970s Hashimoto (1983: 568) recorded the gardening practice of a typical (unnamed) Kubin family: they had planted bananas, yams, sweet potatoes and pumpkins around their house on a hillside; yams on the sandbeach, Green Lagoon; bananas, yams and cassava at Arkai; and bananas, yams, cassava at Isumulai, an area between the sandbeach and the swamp. This shortened the non-planting period, lengthened the harvest period and meant that they were self-sufficient in these vegetables for half the year.

By this time, however, there was an urgent need to diversify industrially: pearling had collapsed, wolfram mining had failed, the cultured pearl beds were irreparably damaged and turtle farming had imploded. Government funding from the early 1970s permitted the installation of a reliable electricity supply and the provision of freezers at Kubin to give the necessary boost to cray fishing. Since then, rapid air communications allow marine produce to reach wider Australian and international markets. On St Paul's there was an early (though unsuccessful) attempt to start a cement block and paver manufacturing business, which was recently revived as a family-based cottage industry. None of these enterprises, however, was sufficient to halt the outflow of population from Mua.

ADMINISTRATION. Torres Strait post-war administration seemed at least superficially to return to its immediate pre-war pattern of annual

local elections for village Councillors and biennial Councillors' conferences (Sheehan, 1987: 51).³⁰³ The Department began to work increasingly through the elected group representatives from the western, central and eastern island groups but refused to yield ultimate authority. When in 1969, for example, the Kubin Council attempted to defy the Protector over whether the former or the latter controlled entry to Mua, the Council was forced to yield to the Protector. The church, too, was reluctant to cede its authority over St Paul's. When in 1947 the people elected Harry Captain from Erub as one of their representatives, their wishes were blocked by the bishop. On 24 July 1947 he held a meeting with the St Paul's Councillors to explain that all Councillors and police must be of Pacific Islander descent (Davies, 1947). Clearly unwilling to confront the Protector and blur the legislated line of demarcation between the mission inhabitants and other Islanders, he refused to allow the election of Captain despite his marriage to Cissie Namok, daughter of one of the founders of St Paul's. Recently demobilised, Captain was teaching at St Paul's school again and he had also taught at Poid. He was greatly respected – the anthropologist Wolfgang Laade considered him the best-read Islander he had met – and fully alive to the contradictions in the Islanders' position, too radical, apparently, to be allowed to become politically active for either the St Paul's or any other community. Towards the end of his life, Captain recalled his election, after which

Mr Marou [Eastern island representative] called me back to the eastern islands and made me his secretary but when Mr O'Leary and Mr Killoran heard about it, they said to Mr Marou to put me off, because I was a free man – because I lived in Moa Island – and then I was wondering why they didn't want me in that position. So in that case I couldn't care less. Anyhow, they put in somebody else. I worked for one week but I didn't get paid for it, so I went back with my wife and daughter to Moa Island (Captain, 1973).

Thus, despite the post-war gains, the inhabitants of the two Muan communities were still legislatively divided between those in the west, who were under Departmental control, and those in the east who were under church control. St Paul's people were favoured by their mission status and as individuals they were influenced by their immigrant fathers, who had developed the strike as a fine art during the early years of pearling and established marine enterprises throughout the strait. As early as 1917 the bishop

wrote to Revd Luscombe after some trouble in the village: 'They are a difficult lot to manage I know. You have to be firm and strict, but they won't be "driven", and they think themselves different from ordinary Islanders and have strange and to us perverse ideas' (Newton, 1917d). Half a century later Michelle St George (1967: 14) made a similar observation about the psychological difference between the St Paul's people and other Torres Strait Islanders, which a 'casual visitor would probably [not] see':

Not content to be ruled by one man, they are more independent, and are frank and open in their ways; their children are less shy and more talkative. They regard the white man as their equal, except in the matter of knowledge. This latter may be due to the fact that they have always been closely associated with white people on the staff.

On 13 May 1949, shortly before his retirement, Bishop Davies recommended to O'Leary a number of alterations to the Act to give all Islanders the franchise, delete the liquor clause and hand over all schools to the Department of Public Instruction (Davies, 1949). None of these suggestions was ideologically acceptable to the Department, which failed to recognise the national and international forces for change in Indigenous administration. It was determined to restore pre-war conditions, insofar as this was possible, although prepared to make concessions at the margin. However, certain St Paul's people, precisely because of their exceptional status as residents of a mission, were among the most vocal opponents of the administration. Two men who became particular irritants to the Department were the brothers Jacob (Duke) and Kamuel Abednego, sons of Billy Rotumah. Jacob was strongly suspected by the Department of giving information to Gerald Peel, 'a well-known Communist author', for his booklet attacking the administration (Peel, 1947).³⁰⁴ Kamuel was a labour leader and a delegate to the 1955 Queensland Trade Union Congress which had unanimously called for full citizenship rights for the Islanders. Tennant (1959: 149) met him in a Thursday Island public bar in the late 1950s, 'able to drink beer in the bar, while the crew of his boat would be free only to buy bootleg raw wine or drink methylated spirits.' The prohibition on consuming alcohol was one of the most galling provisions of the controlling legislation and anyone who supplied liquor of any kind to Islanders 'within the meaning of the Act, other than for bona fide medicinal purposes' was rigorously pursued. During the

1950s the local court heard several prosecutions of 'free' St Paul's men supplying liquor to their friends and kinfolk: Kosia Ware to Peter Larry; Nelem Kris to Isaiah Wigness; Kalep Ware to Moses Wigness; Mica Monwell Levi to Aviu Lui.³⁰⁵ Drinking alcohol took on iconic status, symbolising freedom and manliness.

The adult population of St Paul's, 85 in all, voted in a new set of Councillors for 1961: Napau Pedro, Nasona Kris, Andai Ware, Jacob Abednego and Jack Ware. Jacob Abednego was appointed chairman by the bishop, who 'declared that in future he will ask the people of St Paul's to elect their own Chairman' (Annual Report 1961:20). Life at St Paul's, though freer than Kubin, was still governed by what seem today to be punitive regulations imposed by the Council in consultation with the bishop. In the 1930s Tom Lowah found 'fornication or adultery' to be a particular concern: 'You could be imprisoned for some period of time if there was enough evidence or you were caught in the act.' A by-law prohibited any male, 'with the exception of close relatives', from visiting or staying at a home 'where a married woman lived with or without children, when the husband was absent for any period of time. This law also applied to widows.' Absentees from the village had to report their whereabouts and required a permit to travel to other islands. Each Friday was called 'Mission Day', 'a special day which the administrator, the Bishop, had designated as a day to help others. We gave up our time to help the aged, widows and those who were trying to help themselves' (Lowah, 1988: 68).³⁰⁶ It was not until 1973 that some of the more puritanical rules were abolished: for example, that courting couples be accompanied by a 'responsible elder'; and that parents pay a fine for *singeltaim* (illegitimate) children – \$4 for the first, \$8 for the second with a severe lecture from the Council and, for the third, the demand that the parents marry (A.B.M. Review, May 1974:10).

However, both Muan communities were becoming more similar in psychological, physical, social and economic ways and began to envisage a shared future. This was largely the result of their recent history: the men's experiences as marine workers and 'Black diggers' (Hall 1989); the war-time hardships of the women and children; the formal and informal partnerships of the wolfram mining venture; and their common commitment to the co-operative movement. St Paul's was becoming 'normalised', its exceptional

status eroded by the absence of European mission staff during the war and the post-war translocation to Thursday Island of the theological college, which for almost 30 years had been at the centre of the Church of England's mission work in the Strait. The Department was finding it increasingly difficult to justify, other than legally, its differential treatment of the two Muan communities. Its director admitted the de facto (rather than de jure) situation in an internal memorandum:

Inter-marriage between St Paul's people, Kubin people and other Torres Strait Islanders has virtually brought the St Paul's people to the status of Torres Strait Islanders but as they do not reside on a Torres Strait Reserve they are not subject to The Torres Strait Islanders' Act (O'Leary, 1956).

The Commonwealth electoral roll for 15 February 1963 demonstrates how far St Paul's had been 'normalised' as a Torres Strait Islander community, whose residents were no longer necessarily defined by Pacific descent. Muan traditional custom continued, men often coming to live permanently or temporarily among their wives' people. The majority of its residents still belonged to the Ware, Kawane and Namok families, the original settlers, but a substantial minority were families headed by men from elsewhere, not necessarily of Pacific origin, who had married St Paul's women: Abiu Aragu from Poruma and Nazareth Elsa Lowah; Metusela Mau from Saibai and Seto Toto; Lui Mills from Nagi and Salome Stella Gela; Francis Ober from Saibai and Waidorie Levi; William Oth from Mer and Sasau Gela; Saulo Waia from Saibai and Kaidai Kawane; Joseph Wigness from Kirri and Myra Kianga Namok. Also living on St Paul's were Kokowa and Geni Muikun Paiwan from Mabuyag and Geni's younger sister, Janet Magala, whom they had taken after her parents' death; Elap and Penina Pryce from Iama and their daughter Sopa, married to Selemia Tabuai from Saibai;³⁰⁷ and Moses Wigness from Poid and his wife, Kailang Neliman from Badu. Kubin shows a similar pattern of out-marriage from the 1940s: in 1952, for example, Napiiau Tamate married Bawari Bana from Saibai; in 1962 Talita Nawia married Moses Neliman from Badu.³⁰⁸

On 27 June 1980 a letter from the people of Mua (both Kubin and St Paul's) advocating recognition of their claims to their islands was published in the *Courier Mail* (Mam and

Foley 1980:232). The St Paul's mission lease, Special Lease 5999, issued on 1 September 1929 over 2 acres (0.8 hectares), had expired in 1959 and was superseded by Special Lease 24154, issued from 1 September 1959 for a term of 30 years. However, passage of the *Community Services (Torres Strait Islanders) Act* 1984 signalled a significant change in the legal status of St Paul's. On 22 June 1985 the St Paul's reserve R.3 was rescinded by gazettal so that it could be processed as a DOGIT, which was issued in the name of the St Pauls Island Council on 17 October 1985.³⁰⁸ The last bishop of Carpentaria, Anthony Hall-Matthews and the director of DAIA, in consultation with the people, relinquished their trusteeship of the mission and handed over administrative responsibility for what was now simply another Torres Strait community to the elected Council (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 48).

INFRASTRUCTURE AT KUBIN. The returning soldiers, new marriages and a boom in births meant houses were in short supply. A post-war Departmental building program was created with the aim of constructing at least 200 new homes on the reserve islands by the end of 1948, but demand far outstripped supply. Islanders wanted 'an improved type of home', and when the men returned they began to use galvanised iron, often taken from army huts on Thursday Island, to construct their houses. In response, 'plans approved by the Queensland Housing Commission were obtained and made available to all who required them' (Annual Report 1947: 19).

The new village of Kubin was initially built using existing materials removed from Poid. According to Edwards and Edwards (1997a: 17), school was held in a temporary building during the war and afterwards the Poid school was transferred to the new village. Then, in 1948, that building was completely destroyed by a cyclone and not rebuilt until the following year using leftover materials from the war.³¹⁰ The gardens were also greatly damaged (Annual Report, 1948: 22). However, Kubin had at last obtained its own store, which in 1949 was managed by Inagie Manas under the supervision of Ben Nona; and in October 1959 expenditure of £1000 was granted for the construction of a new school building and suitable married teachers' quarters at Kubin.³¹¹

At present School is conducted at Kubin in an old Sydney Williams style hut which was obtained second-hand after the war and has

now outlived its useful life. At the present time no Teachers Quarters are provided at Kubin and difficulty is being experienced in obtaining suitable accommodation for a married teacher (O'Leary, 1959).

By the 1960s Kubin had lost much of its population to Ngurupai and the mainland.³¹² Nevertheless, attempts were made to improve conditions, although Kubin appears to have received less than its share of housing with only one or two cottages being erected each year. By 1960 it had its new school, teacher's residence and a medical aid post (Annual Reports, 1948: 22, 1949: 27, 1958: 50, 1960: 38). In October 1964 the governor of Queensland, Sir Henry Abel Smith, visited St Paul's as part of a tour of the island and Cape York communities but did not visit Kubin, which was relegated to a backwater. The Department continued to carry out general maintenance work during the 1960s and a stationary engine and water pump were installed 'together with necessary piping to reticulate water to all homes at Kubin' (Annual Report, 1965: 18). Arkai was blasted in an effort to obtain a good water supply but the plan had to be abandoned when the blast revealed the rock which was once Zangagudan (now Zangudan) – who hid himself in the ground while trying to escape the giant, Karakar Kula – and they had to obtain the water supply elsewhere on the island (Wees Nawia to Lawrie, 1970: 24).

The government's house-building and maintenance program at Kubin continued throughout the 1970s, sometimes importing modular style homes from Bamaga, but, even with a declining population, it could not fulfil demand. By 1974 a guest house for visitors had been completed and the water supply improved with the laying of mains (Annual Report, 1974: 22) (Fig. 34). The 1980s saw Commonwealth and State government funding arrive in earnest, as the strategic importance of the Strait began to be more widely recognised and the contribution of Indigenous Australians to be more widely acknowledged. The DAIA began seriously to upgrade housing standards on all communities, delivering several new modular homes each year to Kubin and St Paul's (Annual Report, 1982: 18). However, its director was determined to control the provision of all services, whatever the funding source. Wees Nawia had been instrumental in forming a local housing co-operative, MAW, to provide homes to the communities of Mua, Adai (Northern Peninsula Area) and Waiben and by 1980 MAW had built ten houses but Killoran ruled that under

the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1971-1979* only island Councils 'incorporated under the Act had the right to collect rents and hence MAW must discontinue building houses on reserve lands.' DAIA insisted that all rents be paid into the local island fund under its control but, in an early indication of the Department's waning power, the dispute 'was eventually resolved in favour of MAW's initiators' (Sharp, 1992: 113-114, 125).³¹³

During the following years the general infrastructure of the two Muan communities was improved: the Wees Nawia Memorial Airport near Kubin, serving both Kubin and St Paul's, was officially opened on 22 September 1983 (Annual Report, 1983: 12);³¹⁴ also opened that day was the Anu Namai Memorial Park, honouring the leader who had led his people to Adam (Torres Strait Islander 6/1983: 1). In 1987 came new additions to the Kubin school (Teske, 1991: 15) and by the late 1990s Kubin could boast most of the infrastructure of the other island communities: health clinic, Council rooms, public hall, primary school, general store, guest house and three churches – but as yet no pre-school, hotel or liquor outlet, the people having voted to keep their island 'dry' (Edwards and Edwards, 1997a: 10).

INFRASTRUCTURE AT ST PAUL'S. The slow pace of building at Kubin contrasts with the rapid program of communications and infrastructure development at St Paul's. In 1950 St Paul's, though not Kubin, was linked to the regional Departmental radio network (Annual Report, 1950:30). A new village well was blessed in June 1951 and in 1952 nine new houses were constructed, some extended, others repaired (Annual Report, 1952: 42). During 1953 a further seven houses were completed and five others were in the course of erection, despite the difficulties of obtaining building material. 'Some of the younger men have entered into a scheme in which they make an allotment of a considerable proportion of their earnings to a fund to buy materials for home building. The older men have undertaken to help in the work of building.' The houses were 'well built of wood and iron, each with several rooms, also verandahs and some have glass louvres. Money earned from wolfram mining helped to make possible the building of these homes.' People began to plant flowers and ornamental trees, as well as the usual medicinal plants, around their houses and in 1953 a garden competition was held (Annual Report, 1953:48).

St Paul's IIB store, which had been opened during the war to alleviate hardship, was closed by Bishop Davies on his return to Torres Strait and replaced in December 1952 by a non-profit mission store to provide the residents with 'essential foods and other commodities at the cheapest price possible.' It was so successful that in 1954 a new store had to be built to make provision for increased stock and turnover (Annual Report, 1954: 53; Year Book, 1953: 24, 49).

In 1953 a start was made on a community hall and new gaol but the sudden fall in the wolfram price towards the end of 1953 put all construction on hold. Frank Henry (Flag) Ayre, the diocesan carpenter, arrived at St Paul's in March 1954 to supervise the building of a new school and college. The old school building was an army galvanised iron hut and the mission obtained a government grant of £4000 for a new building, which was completed in 1957. It was constructed of fibrolite with a concrete floor covering 2500 square feet. Two new classrooms were built and, with the addition of a third, 'the eight classes will be well housed in four convenient units with library and craft space as well' (A.B.M. Review, 1 November 1953: 168; Annual Reports, 1953: 48-49, 1954: 53, 1956: 62, 1957: 41; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 34, 38).

The old college building was in disrepair. Ayre dismantled its top floor and, renamed 'The Ark', it became the teacher's home and later a guest house for visitors. In 1956 a large crucifix made out of the wood from the old boat, the *Torres Herald*, wrecked at St Paul's during the war, was hung on the front of the new theological college as a symbol of the continuation of the work of the mission in a new context.³¹⁵ It was a fine building with a library, lecture room, dormitory, principal's quarters, guest room, refectory, kitchen and bath rooms (A.B.M. Review, August/October 1973: 25; Year Book, 1959). Tennant (1959: 158, 160) describes the 'lath and plaster college' where the students lived in neat cubicles. 'The ground floor was all a dining-room save for a tiny cubicle on which the front door opened, where Father Brown had his stretcher and a shelf of books. At the back of the dining-room was the kitchen.' The new college was blessed by the bishop on 10 December 1958. Seven months earlier Deaconess Buchanan's pioneering work as the first missionary was commemorated on the occasion of the mission's jubilee with the unveiling of a memorial.³¹⁶

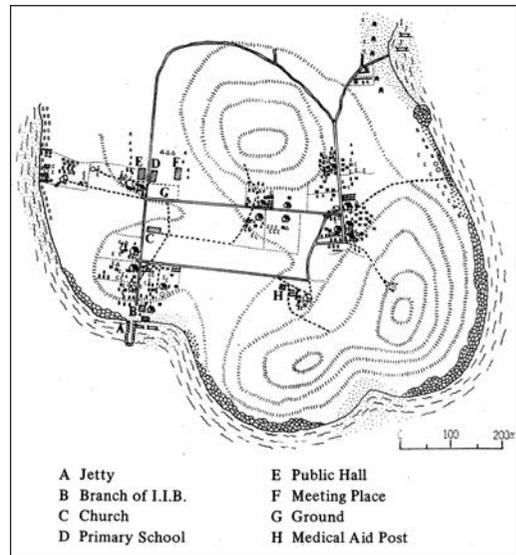


FIG. 34. Map of Kubin Village, 1979 (after Hashimoto, 1981)

On 28 October 1964 Lady May Abel Smith, wife of the Queensland governor, opened the Mothers' Union Meeting Hall, one of the group of buildings near the church in the centre of the village. It was built 'of sawn timber, fibro and aluminium' and 'designed and erected entirely by local labour' (Annual Report, 1965: 27). St Paul's was eligible for State government funding for materials, which cost about \$4500 per house, but skilled carpenters were more difficult to find. In late 1973 John Kaines, Derek Cumner and Harry Allen, members of the volunteer Carpentaria Building Brotherhood, built several houses 'of mixed wood and aluminium crimp sheeting, with such luxuries as wood stoves, stainless steel sinks, outside laundry rooms, baked enamel baths, 2,000 gallon water tanks and plastic shower curtains' (A.B.M. Review, August/October 1973:20).

After the handover of all the island schools to the Queensland Department of Education in 1985, St Paul's State School was awarded a school project grant for \$877,400 in 1986 to allow the construction of an administration block, a general learning block and an amenities block. The upgraded buildings were officially opened in 1987 (Sunday Mail 26 January 1986: 12). The tower of the Church of St Paul was finally completed and the church consecrated on St Paul's Day, 25 January 1995, by the last Bishop of Carpentaria (Hall-Matthews, 2004:47). Two other modern

buildings were opened subsequently: the new Council chambers and conference centre in August 1996; and a new IBIS store in December 2002.

HEALTH. When official reporting recommenced after the war, the general health of the Islanders was stated to be good. However, the rapid spread of TB was recognised as ‘an ever-present hazard’ and it became the chief concern of Dr J.H. Barnes, the new superintendent of the hospital (A.B.M. Review, 1 September 1949: 135). Better housing was called for to help prevent the spread of the disease, ‘but no real progress will be made until all are subjected to an X-ray examination and all active cases isolated’ (Annual Report, 1947: 21). By 1950 the Waiben Isolation Hospital on Thursday Island was in operation, primarily for TB patients, who convalesced at the Aplin Hostel. One who died from the disease around that time was the seven-year old Cicilia Ara from Kubin.³¹⁷ Later a mobile TB unit made regular routine visits to all the islands (Annual Report, 1950: 28).

The early post-war years saw the beginnings of concerted health programs in Torres Strait, regular medical surveys and mass vaccination campaigns: all children were inoculated against diphtheria, typhoid fever, whooping cough and poliomyelitis and extensive dental and optical work was carried out (Annual Reports 1952: 43, 1955: 3, 1957: 42). Each month the government teacher at Kubin filled in a health report form,³¹⁸ showing that the residents’ health remained good and there were no deaths from fever or malaria. The small outbreaks of malaria and influenza which did occur were immediately contained and at the end of the monsoon of 1953 a complete survey of all the islands was followed by the institution of preventative measures and briefings for the reserve superintendents on procedures to be adopted in the event of an outbreak (Annual Report, 1953: 29). Despite an attack of measles among the children in 1953, St Paul’s general health was also recorded as good. In early June 1954 the GMO and two nursing sisters made three visits to carry out a health survey and give immunisations for TB and diphtheria. A dentist made a five-week visit and ‘found much work to do.’ There was an outbreak of measles from the beginning of March to mid-April 1960 but the only loss of life from epidemics reported during this period was the death in October 1957 of two Kubin and two Badu babies from gastroenteritis (Annual Reports, 1953: 49, 1954: 31, 53, 1958: 43).

As part of its post-war preventative program, the Department ruled that women should be encouraged to come to the hospital on Thursday Island for safer delivery of their babies, although this did not become general practice for several years. Local midwives were greatly skilled, passing their knowledge to younger female relatives.³¹⁹ Many mothers placed more trust in them to deliver safely than the doctors and some of the older mothers refused to go to the hospital; moreover, at that time (unlike today) there was no provision for the afterbirth to be taken back to the home island for burial on clan land. Infant mortality declined as baby health clinics were conducted on the islands and nutrition and general care improved. A source of pride for St Paul’s was the entry of Andrew Namok in the Queensland Centenary Baby Quest of 1959. He was the only Indigenous entrant, flying with his mother to Brisbane, where he was judged the winner of the northern section.

Andrew weighed 22 pounds at six months, he wore a two-piece primrose coloured silk suit, ‘behaved beautifully and won all hearts from the pilot of the aircraft to the astute judges in Brisbane.’ At six and a half months he stood unassisted – for the first time – on the table before Lady Cilento, Queensland doctor and child specialist. She summed up the panel’s findings, announcing: ‘Andrew Namok is a perfect baby. He has everything. It is appropriate therefore, in this centenary year, to see an original Queenslander in the quest and I judge him to be the winner of the northern section’ (Burchill, 1981: 217).

A program of regular bi-monthly visits to all the islands by doctors from the Thursday Island hospital was introduced in 1961, complementing the local clinic, known locally as the MAP (medical aid post), and radio medical service, which daily linked the island MAPs by two-way radio with the GMO on Thursday Island. There were also regular inspections for hookworm, tuberculosis and anaemia. Influenza was reported at St Paul’s in July 1964 and measles in 1967 but there were no fatalities (Annual Reports 1961: 12, 1965: 27, 1975: 26). Increased immunity meant Islanders no longer succumbed to the diseases which had so devastated them in earlier years, but other diseases began to replace them. Venereal disease, which, according to Singe (1989: 53) had been the chief sickness amongst the pearl shellers, continued to spread throughout the islands. In 1977 Torres Strait was reported to supply at least 10% of Queensland’s cases of syphilis (The Sentinel, 29 July 1977: 12).

Hashimoto (1983: 549) examined the burial records of both Muan communities from 1900-1979 and the relevant figures of his Table 67 are reproduced here as Table 46. He counted 34 burials at Kubin and 101 at St Paul's and, calculating the ages at death, he found that Kubin people in general had a shorter life span than St Paul's. The latter death rate was about twice the Australian mainland national average, whereas the former was about four times greater. He considered that living standards in terms of the natural environment were not different enough to explain the different outcomes and suggested the cause was the better medical care provided at St Paul's, which included European nursing sisters.³²⁰ Writing in 1979, he noted that a new MAP had recently been established at Kubin with an assistant nurse employed to look after simple medical care and able to communicate via radio with Thursday Island, implying that the life spans might become more equal as a result (Ohshima, 1983: 550).

RELIGION. When the bishop returned to Thursday Island on 7 July 1946, he immediately set about reestablishing the parish. Four days later he left for an extended visit of all but three of the islands, accompanied by Revd Pilot (A.B.M. Review, 1 November 1946: 150). The first institution to be reopened was St Paul's theological college on 1 October 1946 with 18 students enrolled. For mainly economic reasons it was relocated from St Paul's to Thursday Island: 'it saves manpower and Thursday Island has become the centre of Torres Strait Island life in a way that it never could have been in prewar years' (Year Book 1945-1947: 13-17, 28). Ten of the students returned to secular life, among them Willie Namai from Poid who later became a qualified primary teacher. The remaining students were joined in 1947 by a further two students in residence under the principalship of Alexander Peter Bruce Bennie.

On 22 April 1947 the bishop, now 'wracked by cardiac asthma, bent with pain' returned to Kubin to bless the silver chalice, paten, cruets and box to be placed in the church and give confirmation (Bennie, 1966); and by mid-1947 church matters in the Strait had settled down to such an extent that Archbishop Halse of Brisbane could make a short visit to the islands. He arrived on 5 June 1947 and for the next fortnight proceeded to conduct a retreat for the local clergy, preach in the cathedral and tour



FIG. 35. St Paul's Theological College students, early 1952. Left to right: Adea Wapau, Boggo Pilot, Kiwami Dai, Sagi Ambar, Waiaka Zawai. Revd Kabay Pilot seated in front. Photo: Neil Schomberg Source: QM collection EH7339.

Cowal Creek and various islands, including Mua (Davies, 1947).³²¹

Boggo Pilot from Erub, younger brother of Revd Kabay Pilot; Sagi Ambar from Mabuyag; and Kiwami Dai from Saibai were ordained as deacons on 13 March 1949. Following ordination, they were presented with Th.A. diplomas, an educational milestone, and Dai joined Revd Kabay Pilot at St Paul's (Fig. 35). There were now six Islander clergy stationed throughout the Strait and Cape York – three had died during or soon after the war: Joseph Lui in 1941, Sailor Gabey and Captain Oth in 1945 (A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1949: 86; Year Book, 1949: 27).³²²

Bishop Davies retired in August 1949 after over 27 years in the position, having managed more or less successfully to navigate the difficult path between deference to the Department and dissent. Shortly beforehand he gave his last confirmations to 24 Muan children in the Thursday Island cathedral. Nineteen came from St Paul's

TABLE 47. Confirmations of St Paul's children on Thursday Island, 31 July 1949. *I cannot identify this individual. Source: Diocese of Carpentaria register of confirmations 1949.

Males	Harold Ware, Fred Kris, Ronnie Hughson*, Zawai Solomon, Alfred Hankin, Michael Asai, John Baud, Henry Savage, Tauki Pedro, Stephen Mam, Dalton Bon, 323 Kapua Anson 324
Females	Dorothea Savika, Lena Elsie Levi, Dora Namok, Deliza Levi, Ellen Levi, Rosina Morrison, Loretta Asai

(Table 47) and five were born at Poid but were now living on Ngurupai: Darlington David Bobby, Vivien Ara, Maggie Luta, Ellis Tom and Tam Genai.

Davies' successor, Wilfred John Hudson, was consecrated bishop of Carpentaria in Brisbane on 21 September 1950. After the difficult pre-war years, when relations between church and State were strained by what the Department saw as undue interference in its sphere of influence, the new bishop was anxious to preserve the demarcation between church and State and 'the most happy relations' were reestablished (A.B.M. Review, September 1956: 134). On 9 October 1950 he made his first (brief) visit away from Thursday Island, journeying to St Paul's to bless the priest's house. On 14 January 1951 he ordained Adea Wapau and Waiaka Jawai to the diaconate and priested Boggo Pilot, Sagi Ambar and Kiwami Dai, who would later become the first Islander (assistant) bishop of Carpentaria (A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1951: 79).

As the symbol of the religious work and character of the mission, the church was St Paul's most impressive building.

It was roughly 40 ft high, 40 ft wide and 80 ft long. Fourteen large concrete pillars with rounded Norman arches support the walls, above which are blue or green tinted clerestory windows donated by the Mothers' Union. Aisles run the length of the church with large doors on the side instead of windows to provide plenty of breeze in hot weather (St George, 1967: 20).

It was the recipient of a number of beautiful objects, including a round stained glass window high above the altar, given by Samuel Kawane. Towards the end of June 1951 the bishop dedicated 'a magnificent brass lectern', a memorial to the four members of the Namok family who were drowned in 1946. In 1952 the church received a thanks-offering from the skipper and crew of the *Mercia*, a carpet reaching the full length of the church; and in 1953 the Stations of the Cross, painted by the celebrated artist Ray Crooke, one of a number of paintings he made while employed by the church in Torres Strait 'supervising the loading and unloading of mission boats' (Annual Report 1952:42; Smith 1997:14, 25).³²⁵ Coralie Rees (1960:140) called them 'a striking set of paintings' and noted their similarity to the work of the French painter Rouault: 'these pictures had a great deal of that master's stark neo-primitive boldness of form

and colour. Very suitable to the environment we thought, though some of the mission people disliked them.' Later acquisitions include the mural of the conversion of St Paul, painted by Sigar Passi from Mer, which hangs above the high altar, and the altar rail in memory of Fred, Napau, Kara Enita and Susanah Pedro.

During the war Revd Kabay Pilot had acted as de facto priest-superintendent at St Paul's. After the war the mission was administered by a series of priest-superintendents, who generally stayed for no more than three years: Revds J.M. Fisher, Albert Naunton Haley, Henry M. Wynter, David Scott-Halliday, Ray Stanley Campbell and Cyril Graham Brown (Table 48).

In 1953 the diocese was confident enough of the products of its theological training to send Revd Boggo Pilot to Brisbane 'for further study and to gain experience of Church life in other parts.' He took up residence at St Francis' College and worked in neighbouring St Alban's Parish at Auchenflower. In 1963 he was appointed priest director of the Torres Strait Island Ministry, the first Torres Strait Islander officially to hold the position, although his elder brother, Fr Kabay Pilot, unofficially directed the war-time mission.

The theological college returned to St Paul's from Thursday Island at the beginning of March 1954 with seven students and three deacons in training. Its principal, Archdeacon C.G. (Cyril) Brown became mission chaplain (A.B.M. Review, 1 November 1953:168; Annual Reports, 1953: 48, 1954: 53; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 34). Revd Peter Jowett Hand, appointed principal of

TABLE 48. Superintendents of St Paul's Mission 1941-1960. Sources: A.B.M. Review; Annual Reports; Bishop of Carpentaria diary; The Carpentarian; Hall-Matthews, 2004; Year Books of the Diocese of Carpentaria.

Date	Name
1941	G. Gilbert
1942-1946	K. Pilot
1947-1949	J.M. Fisher
1950-1952	A.N. Haley
1953-1954	H.M. Wynter
1955	D. Scott-Halliday
1956	R.S. Campbell
1957-1960	C.G. Brown

the college in 1960, was its last principal. When he resigned in 1969 it closed for the last time and was used as a parish hall until demolished in 2001 (A.B.M. Review, September 1956: 134; Hall-Matthews, 2004: 34; St George, 1967: 11, 20; Year Book, 1966).³²⁶ After the closure all the students were sent south or to PNG for training. Ted Mosby and Dalton Bon, the first clergy of the diocese trained 'down south', were ordained as deacons on Thursday Island on 11 January 1981. Two years later three Melanesian Brothers, including Brothers David and Clement, arrived at St Paul's Mission on Mua and began to build a house. They helped in ministry work, conducted prayer meetings and bible studies, visited families and took religious instruction in the school (The Carpentarian, 3/1983: 3). A new theological college was established in existing church buildings on Thursday Island in 1989, Revd Gayai Hankin becoming its principal at the beginning of the year after resigning as dean of the Cathedral (*Torres News*, 14 April 1989: 8).

Revd Adea Wapau from Saibai was deacon at St Paul's from 1950 until his ordination on 11 December 1955, together with George Mara from Badu and Waiaka Jawai from Saibai. Wapau married Yawamit Hilda Namok from St Paul's in 1951 and in January 1965 he and Fr Sagigi accompanied the priest director of the Torres Strait Mission in investigating further missionary work in the villages of the southwest coast of Papua (Year Book, 1966: 90).

The first Kubin man to become a deacon (on 20 December 1963) was Inagie Manas, who was priested on 13 December the following year, along with Stanley Waigana and Anthony Hall-Matthews. In 1965 he took over from Revd Michael Bani from Mabuyag, who had served at Kubin from 1963 to 1964, and he was then appointed to Thursday Island in 1966. Fr Inagie Manas' twin brother, the teacher John Manas, also entered the priesthood. By 1965 there were 17 Islander priests, all trained at St Paul's Theological College and serving in island and mainland missions (Edwards and Edwards, 1997a: 15; Year Book 1966: 23).

An indirect consequence of emigration was the introduction of charismatic Protestant churches into the Eastern Islands in the early 1950s and, despite hostility from the Church of England, by the early 1980s there were Pentecostal churches on several islands. St Paul's remained resistant until it lost its official designation as a mission in 1984 and in 1988 a Full Gospel

church was opened, after the return of Elia Ware from the mainland (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 48). By 1997 St Peter's Anglican church at Kubin had been rebuilt three times, the present church being consecrated in June 1991; a Seventh-Day Adventist Church was opened in mid-1989; and there was also a Pentecostal church (*Torres News*, 7 July 1989: 30; Edwards and Edwards, 1997a: 15). However, both communities remained within the wider Anglican communion after the 1998 split in the local congregation.

EDUCATION AT KUBIN. Jacob Gabey continued to teach at Poid throughout the war and then at Kubin until his retirement, when he was succeeded by Ngailu Bani from Mabuyag. Bani was born in 1925, the son of the Mabuyag churchwarden, Bani Mabua, and his second wife, Raba Nabua, and began his teaching career at the age of 14, teaching at Badu and Ugar as well as Kubin and serving for a time as Mabuyag chairman. Tennant (1959: 183) met him in the late 1950s when he acted as interpreter for Revd Clint during his lecture on co-operatives. He was 'a huge enthusiastic young man', who 'translated and wrote up such words on the blackboard as might be difficult.' While he was not proficient in English,

in his own language he was a poet, and was responsible for making up all the new dances the villagers learnt. His wild ambition was to take a team of dancers to the mainland to Cairns, or even Toowoomba, where the [Saibai] people had won a silver cup. He had made up a new dance. The song with it told how Badu, the island across the channel, and Moa Peak, the mountain, were sisters, and when the mists cleared in the early daylight and the sun touched Moa Peak, they said 'Good morning' to each other (Tennant, 1959: 198).

After Gabey's retirement, education on Kubin throughout most of the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by Ngailu Bani and John Manas, although other teachers were on staff for various periods. Among them were Salatielu Joe from Badu and Laura Paipai from Mabuyag, who taught for several years; Tim Daniel from Boigu, Joe Stanley Mairu from Badu and Jacob Kebisu from Daru in 1977 (see Table 49). In late 1973 the school was inspected by George Passi, grandson of Revd Poey Passi and the recently appointed DAIA Inspector of Schools.³²⁷ His report, dated 25 October 1973, pointed out particular difficulties faced by the students, who in his opinion had not received a good foundation. Their mathematics skills were poor but their oral

and written skills in English were satisfactory. He noted that the school was becoming overcrowded as new equipment arrived and a water tank was needed. Pre-school centres, staffed by trained Kinderkraft teachers, were established on ten of the 13 communities by the following year but Kubin (along with Ugar and Dauan) was not among them (Annual Report, 1974: 21). However, when the Queensland Department of Education assumed full control of all the island schools in 1985, it proceeded regularly to upgrade personnel and facilities at Kubin.

EDUCATION AT ST PAUL'S. St Paul's school was restored to pre-war conditions shortly after the return of Bishop Davies and his staff to Thursday Island in July 1946. On 13 September he licensed Alice Hann as school teacher (Davies, 1946) and she spent the next ten months superintending the medical work, teaching at the school, registering births and deaths, filling in

child endowment forms and distributing social security cheques, which were cashed at the store (Tennant, 1959: 51).

On 28 April 1947 Patricia Gregory was licensed as the first high school teacher at St Paul's and on 13 May 1947 Andai Ware was transferred there from Lockhart River Mission (A.B.M. Review, 1 February 1947: 29). The educational contrast with Kubin was striking. Whereas the children of Kubin were without a school in 1948, St Paul's children benefited from the teaching of four gifted teachers: the headmaster, Dr Wilhelm Rechnitz,³³⁰ and teachers Philip H. MacFarlane, the son of Revd W.H. MacFarlane,³³¹ Andai Ware and Harry Captain. They made the decision to follow the general Queensland syllabus, with certain simplifications in history and geography to suit local conditions (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1949: 103; Year Book, 1949: 38-39). For many years only St Paul's school continued to offer

TABLE 49. Teachers and enrolment at Kubin primary school, 1941-1980 (incomplete). Sources: QSA QS505/1/13A/31: School returns-Poid or Kubin Village-Moa Island; QSA HOM/J658/1928/1019: Correspondence regarding teachers at the schools for Aborigines in the Torres Straits.

Year	Head Teacher	Enrolment	Year	Head Teacher	Enrolment
1941	J. Gabey	58	1942	no school returns (evacuation)	
1943	J. Gabey	65	1944	J. Gabey	65
1945	J. Gabey	69	1946	J. Gabey	57
1947	J. Gabey	57	1948	no school returns (cyclone)	
1949	J. Gabey	39	1950	J. Gabey	39
1951	N. Bani	42	1952	N. Bani	38
1953	N. Bani	24	1954	N. Bani	28
1955	N. Bani	30	1956	N. Bani	35
1957	N. Bani	31	1958	N. Bani	36
1959	N. Bani	28	1960	N. Bani	29
1961	W. Nona ³²⁸	28	1962	J. Manas/N. Bani	33
1963	J. Manas/N. Bani	30	1964	J. Manas/N. Bani	28
1965	J. Manas/N. Bani	26	1966	J. Manas/N. Bani	20
1967	J. Manas/N. Bani	24	1968	J. Manas/N. Bani	21
1969	J. Manas	16	1970	S. Joe	13
1971	J. Manas/T. Daniel	16	1972	J. Manas	13
1973	J.S. Mairu/J. Manas	14	1974	J. Manas	16
1975	S. Joe/J. Manas	21	1976	S. Joe/J. Manas	21
1977	L. Paipai/J. Kebisu ³²⁹	15	1978	L. Paipai/J. Manas	18
1979	L. Paipai/J. Manas	18	1980	J. Manas	20

education 'on a higher level than those on the [other] islands' (Raven-Hart, 1949: 137).

Bishop Davies, now very ill, recognised that circumstances had irrevocably changed: the pre-war political and social order could not be resuscitated and he felt keenly that lack of education was the greatest drawback to full citizenship. Determined to improve the standard of local education, to the authorities' discomfiture he spoke out publicly in support of the schools being directly under the control of the Department of Public Instruction and their qualified teachers (Davies, 1949). This, however, was ideologically unacceptable to the Department. Davies' particular interest was in the training of priests: 'The lack of satisfactory education affects us as students who wish to train for the priesthood cannot commence their training owing to their low standard of education. We have started a High School class at St Paul's Moa for prospective students' (Year Book, 1947: 13-17, 28).

Plagued by failing sight, Harry Captain retired from St Paul's school at the end of 1949 and his place was taken at the beginning of 1950 by Kitty Savage Ware. Then, at the end of that year, Dr Rechnitz also left after two and a half years. He was a fine musician and, as well as his duties as headmaster, he created two school choirs, the juniors who sang unaccompanied in two parts and the seniors who sang in four-parts. The latter attained a high standard and gave well-received concerts in the Thursday Island town hall at the end of 1949 and 1950 (Year Book, 1952: 37).

Philip MacFarlane succeeded Rechnitz as headmaster and Richard Patrick Tumbler Graves and his wife, Elizabeth Edith Lloyd Graves, arrived in March 1951, joining Andai and Kitty Ware as teachers for two years. St Paul's enrolment was almost double that of Kubin and seven grades were taught, two more than at Kubin (Annual Reports, 1951: 30, 1953: 49). Tuan Ware joined the staff as a student teacher in January 1952 and in 1953 became the class teacher for Grade II. The curriculum now included English, arithmetic, social studies, religious education, singing, art and craft and gardening. Two boys in grade VII attempted the scholarship examination, with Nasona Levi performing very creditably. As always 'English comprehension is still the greatest difficulty especially in the answering of formal examination questions' (Annual Report, 1952: 42-43; Year Book, 1953: 25).

By March 1953 there were over 80 children enrolled at St Paul's school but the plan to attract the best students from throughout the islands did not eventuate. Sixteen new pupils had arrived in 1950, most of them from other islands, as wolfram mining entered its most successful phase, but three years later only half were left and only because their parents were working wolfram or visiting relatives (Annual Reports, 1950: 53, 1953: 9; Year Book 1953: 25). When the mining petered out, enrolments declined.

Several significant events occurred in the life of the school in 1954: Elizabeth Lavinia (Beth) Mussett, formerly at Mitchell River Mission, joined the staff at the beginning of the year; Philip MacFarlane resigned as head teacher at the end of the year; the fully-trained Aboriginal teacher Pearl Duncan was appointed from Yarrabah as kindergarten teacher; Dorothea Savika, who had spent a year at St Gabriel's Church of England Girls' School in Charters Towers, became the first Torres Strait Islander to sit for a scholarship examination and the first to go through Brisbane Teachers' College (Tennant, 1959: 50); and the church, with promised government support, made plans to develop the existing school into a full high school in response to parental requests. It advertised for a new principal, on the understanding that the government would help with the buildings when appropriate staff was appointed (A.B.M. Review, 1 May 1954: 77, 1 November 1954: 174, Annual Reports, 1954: 52-53, 1955: 7). The principal of the theological college, Archdeacon Cyril Brown, appears to have administered the school until the appointment of Elizabeth Ivy from South Africa.

Michelle St George came as a teacher at the beginning of September 1957 and later wrote a book about her experiences (St George, 1967). On the beach to welcome her were 'an elderly priest', Revd Ray Campbell, the mission superintendent and the head teacher, Elizabeth Ivy. Behind them were the chairman, Jacob Abednego, the police sergeant, Nasona Kris, and the assistant teachers, Andai and Kitty Ware and Deliza Myra Levi, daughter of Turu and Mair Levi (St George, 1967: 11). St George became head teacher in 1959. Under her tuition Simeon Namok became only the second Islander to pass the scholarship examination and continued his secondary school studies at the Southport school (Hall-Matthews, 2004: 38). In 1960 there was a staff of five teachers and an enrolment of 70. Ena

TABLE 50. St Paul's mission primary school 1941-1980. Source: Annual Reports, 1961-1981; QSA A/15993: Mission schools 1904-1927; QSA QS505/1/13A/34: School returns-St Paul's-Moa Island.

Year	Head Teacher	Enrolment	Year	Head Teacher	Enrolment
1941	A.M. Gilbert	69	1942	no school returns	
1943	M. Bann	58	1944	M. Bann	55
1945	M. Bann	56	1946	A. Hann	58
1947	P. Gregory	64	1948	W. Rechnitz	73
1949	W. Rechnitz	75	1950	W. Rechnitz	86
1951	P.H. MacFarlane	77	1952	P.H. MacFarlane	89
1953	P.H. MacFarlane	81	1954	P.H. MacFarlane	82
1955	C.G. Brown	69	1956	C.G. Brown	53
1957	E.M. Ivy	66	1958	E.M. Ivy	71
1959	M. St George	71	1960	M. St George	70
1961	M. St George	61	1962	M. St George	56
1963	L.H. Saunders	61	1963	L. H. Saunders	56
1964	L.H. Saunders	44	1964	L. H. Saunders	47
1965	B. Butler	52	1966	B. Butler	48
1967	B. Butler	50	1967	R. Herbert	49
1968	D. Levi	47	1969	D. Levi	44
1970	D. Levi	44	1971	D. Levi	47
1972	D. Levi	50	1973	D. Levi	47
1974	D. Levi	42	1975	D. Levi	30
1976	D. Levi	35	1977	D. Levi	33
1978	D. Levi	30	1979	D. Levi	28
1980	D. Levi	27	1981	D. Levi	24

Somerville arrived from New Guinea in March to teach Grades IV and V until her transfer to Borneo in November.³³² In December 1962 St George resigned and was succeeded by Lucy Hilda Saunders (Annual Reports, 1960: 53, 1961: 20, 1963: 30). The following year, for the first time, the names of all the teachers appear on the school return forms: in addition to Saunders there were four local teachers – Kailang Ware, Kitty Ware, Alice Ware and Deliza Levi – one more than the previous year. Saunders was followed by Brian Butler in 1965 and in 1968 Deliza Levi took over and continued as head teacher until forced by ill health to resign in 1982 (Teske, 1986: 16). Table 50 is a list of St Paul's primary school head teachers and enrolments 1941-1980.

Despite many educational gains, it was not until the 1960s that Islanders were permitted to access mainstream secondary education. The

first group of Torres Strait Islanders was admitted to the newly-opened Thursday Island High School in January 1964. Among them were five girls who had completed Grade 7 at St Paul's (Annual Reports, 1964: 25, 1965: 27; Year Book, 1966: 95).³³³

The Department still resisted handing over its control of the island schools but it co-operated with the Department of Education in the provision of European teachers, inspections and in-servicing of local teachers. A milestone in Torres Strait education came when the first Torres Strait Islander Teachers Training Seminar was opened on Thursday Island on 7 January 1965 by the Minister for Education. It was attended by almost 40 Islander teachers from every school in the region, among them John Manas and Ngailu Bani from Kubin and Kailang and Alice Ware from St Paul's. The teachers attended lectures

TABLE 51. Population of Mua settlements 1944-1997 (incomplete). *Men on boats not counted; **This figure does not include the 14 students at the theological college in 1963, the 12 students in 1964, nor the 9 students in 1965. Sources: A.B.M. Review, August/October (1973: 25); Annual Reports, (1946-1980); Beattie (1944); Caldwell et al., (1975: 3); The Carpentarian; Commonwealth census figures; DAA community profiles March 1981; Duncan, (1974: 3); Edwards and Edwards, (1997a: 10); Edwards and Edwards, (1997b: 7); Horton, (1994: 1291); Johannes and MacFarlane, (1991: 179); Lawrie, (1970: xix); Ohshima, (1983: 547-49); Passi, (1986: 23, 25); Queensland Year Book (1945: 65); Year Books of the Diocese of Carpentaria (1947-1966).

Year	Kubin	St Paul's	Total Mua	Total Islanders in Qld
1944	220			3675
1945	375			3660 (estimate)
1947	320			3698
1949	230			5000 (estimate)
1953	222	224	446	5150
1954				4362 (Commonwealth census)
1955				5551 (estimate)
1956				5663
1957		182*		6084
1958				6084 (estimate)
1959				7100
1960				7250
1961		207		5217333
1963		149**		
1964		161**		
1965	c.175	159**		5403 (in 1966)
1969	170	230	400	
1972	83			7508 (in 1971)
1973	c.140	c.100	c.240	
1979	64	76	140	9356 (in 1976)
1981	86	99	185	10,732
1984	c.90	225	c.315	
1987	113	182	295	13,170
1994	140	190	330	6245 (residing in Torres Strait)
1997	205	c.350	c.555	

on English expression, mathematics, social studies, music, games, first-aid, health, art and care of animals (Annual Report, 1965: 17; Torres News, 12 January 1965: 7). A further milestone was reached when the Department began to see the value of early childhood education and train Islander kindergarten teachers in southern cities. Kathy Wapau from St Paul's was one of the first seven students to complete the expanded 18-month Kindercraft Training Course conducted by the Kindercraft Association in Brisbane (Annual Report, 1979: 15).

However, two generations of population outflow had drained Mua of most of its young families. By 1981 St Paul's primary school enrolment had dropped to 24 pupils, taught by four Islander teachers (Annual Report, 1982: 21); Kubin's was only slightly less. A new era began in 1985 when the Queensland Department of Education assumed full control of all the island schools, including Kubin and St Paul's.

POPULATION. In 1940 Mua's population was estimated at around 480, with about 250 at Poid and 232 at St Paul's. The Torres Strait Islander population as a whole was reported to be about 3500. No Indigenous census was taken during the war. The island's immediate post-war population increased after the return of its menfolk and the births that followed, but it soon began its emigratory decline (Table 51).

Kubin was the first to lose population when a few Kaurareg men left for Ngurupai in 1946 (Sharp, 1992: 113). St Paul's numbers, however, were boosted temporarily by arrivals from other islands, seeking 'freedom', employment and better education. Among them were Elap and Penina Luffman Pryce from Iama; Kokowa Paiwan from Mabuyag and his wife, Geni Muikun Wasada Magala, a relative of the Wares (Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 2006);³³⁵ and the widower Aingana Rubi, known to the children as Athe Zenzi (Angela Newie Torenbeek).³³⁶ If the new immigrants were not of Pacific descent, they could not hold Council office but they could become churchwardens, as happened in 1962 with the appointments of William Oth, Kokowa Paiwan and Elap Pryce (Annual Report, 1962: 20).

These arrivals, however, made little impact and both the Kubin and St Paul's populations declined to around 220 in 1951 and continued to decrease throughout the 1950s.³³⁷ Tom Lowah (1988: 82) was one who took his family to Cairns in 1954 after working for 18 months on

Thursday Island for the Main Roads Department and did not return.

Few accurate population figures are available for 1960s Kubin, but the emigratory trend is clear. While the Islander population as a whole continued to grow, all the outer islands lost residents. Fr Michael Martin (pers. comm., 1982) recalled that in about 1960 men from St Paul's went south to work on the railways, beginning an exodus and prompting discussion about priests ministering to railway areas. There was, he said, a 'staggering' difference between 1961 and 1965, St Paul's population declining from 249 to 157, i.e., by about a third, while the Islander population residing in Torres Strait and the Northern Peninsula Area fell during the 1960s from 7368 to 5466 (Year Book, 1966: 94-95; Annual Reports, 1961: 1, 1971: 16). In August 1977 32 people from Kubin (34% of the population) had emigrated, leaving only 17 households (five of which were unoccupied) and in July 1979 there were only 14 households, making Kubin the second smallest village in Torres Strait. Hashimoto calculates that by then 42 people (39.6% of the population) had departed, a figure comparable to the 45 people (37% of the population) who had left St Paul's (Ohshima, 1983: 109; Hashimoto, 1983: 551, 554).³³⁸

Given an average birth rate of 4.5 births per couple at Kubin and 6.5 per couple at St Paul's (Hashimoto, 1983: 548) and fewer deaths,³³⁹ Mua's population decline is seen to be entirely the result of emigration.³⁴⁰ The largest concentration of emigrant Islanders at the time lived in the Cairns area, where there was an established community of St Paul's people and their kinfolk (Annual Report, 1963: 30). According to Hodes (1998), Fred Walters was the first St Paul's man to move his family to Malay Town in Cairns in 1935, seeking better educational opportunities for his children, and in 1939 Aviu Ware, his wife Periotha and children Harry and Bobby joined them from St Paul's.³⁴¹ Aviu's brothers, Jack and Fred Ware, were frequent visitors to Malay Town and 'Jack even had a shack' there. According to Dorothy Morrison Reuben, her parents, Jimmy and Maryann Savika Morrison, were the first to leave St Paul's in the late 1930s to go to Darwin. However, the pioneer emigrant from St Paul's was May Yawamit Tanna, who left her husband behind and came down to Cairns in the 1920s with her children, Kathleen, Edward and May (Hodes, pers. comm., 1998).³⁴²

St Paul's again gained residents during the 1960s and 1970s, generally as a result of marriage. Among newcomers were Grace Andrews Kawane from Mapoon Mission and Saulo and William Waia from Saibai, the latter becoming the mission carpenter until his death in 1963.³⁴³ Abel Hosea from Badu came in the 1960s after marrying Elma Kaitu Kris and they lived there until their deaths in the 1980s. By 1973 the Dutchman, Jerry Van Rysinge, 'who had landed at TI and became stranded when someone swindled him on a minor business deal' was also living on St Paul's – he married Lily Pedro, daughter of Napau and Susannah Morrison Pedro. Several years later the carpenter Ron Bolton married Harriet Kris, daughter of Sam and Addie Oui Kris, and the couple also made their home at St Paul's. Apart from World War II, St Paul's has always had European mission workers: in March 1961 Molly Hill from Bristol in the UK joined the staff as 'resident nurse, radio operator, policewoman' – an updated Florence Buchanan – and was still living there in the early 1980s (Annual Report, 1961: 21; Molly Hill, pers. comm., 1982).

Death came to the communities through sudden and unexpected tragedies. The St Paul's community was plunged into mourning when four members of the Namok family, Charlie, Napau, Tom and Richard Gayai, along with Fred Tibau, were lost at sea on 7 June 1946 in a sailing accident between Thursday Island and St Paul's. According to Harry Captain (Lawrie, n.d.a), they were returning from Thursday Island in the *Sara*, a dinghy bought from the army. Charlie and Napau were brothers; Tom and Richard were Napau's sons, young teenagers at the time. None of the bodies was ever recovered. Then, on 25 January 1959, Billy Meredith (John) Namok, accidentally drowned in a well at the age of almost three years and another toddler, Anne Gail Ah Wang, daughter of John William (Archie) and Diat (Yati) Ware Ahwang, died suddenly on 20 May 1959 at the age of 14 months.³⁴³ A doctor was visiting St Paul's at the time of the drowning:

Nasonah had been sitting in his house having his dinner, and from his window looked across the swamp and saw Billy playing near the well. A few minutes later he heard Dora, Billy's mother, calling for him, but could no longer see Billy. As young Kawane, about 20, was just coming across the swamp, Nasonah called out. 'Kawane, jump in well and look Billy inside.' Kawane did, and emerged with Billy. Someone spotted the doctor walking



FIG. 36. Women of St Paul's Mission being taught a 'sit-down' dance by Tom Ober (front right), late 1920s. Old grass-house college at right, windbreak fence on left. Source: Revd J.W. Schomberg's photograph collection in author's possession.

along the street, so he was actually the first on the scene (St George, 1967: 52).

Other deaths came in the fullness of time. Charlotte Ware Hankin, whose love for Zachariah Waria provoked the Pacific Islanders' departure from Mabuyag, died there on 12 September 1957 at the age of 69. There is oral evidence that she accompanied her family to St Paul's but, according to Maletta Warrior (pers. comm., 1995) she did not want to leave Mabuyag. In 1910 she married Episaio Hankin, son of George Hankin from Samoa and his Mabuyag wife, Kiriz Bamia.³⁴⁵

Five months after Charlotte's death Tom Ober (Fig. 36), the last surviving Pacific Islander in Torres Strait, passed away at St Paul's on 17 February 1958. His father was Waia from Mare, Loyalty Islands, and his mother Sisa from Aoba, Vanuatu, and at first he called himself Tom Murray. His working life and the network of relationships he established is typical of many other Pacific Islanders in Torres Strait. Tom was born in Mare in c.1885 and came via Sydney at the age of about 12 with a brother, Willie Ober, and possibly another brother or cousin, Andrew Obah, to cut cane on the Queensland sugar plantations. Like many of his compatriots, he found his way to Torres Strait, where he worked as a diver and married the widow Kauk Bamaga Asai from Saibai. Two of Kauk's brothers were

Bamaga and Wapau, father of Revd Adea Wapau; a sister, Akabu, became the second wife of Kaio Kris. Kauk and her first husband, Asai, were the parents of Iona Asai, who came to Mua in the 1940s to mine wolfram. After Kauk's death, Ober left his children on Saibai with Bamaga and went diving near Port Moresby. He married his second wife, Dora Waguda Cedar from Erub, in 1912 and lived for a time at Port Lihou, an outlier of St Paul's, with his brother Willie, moving permanently to St Paul's in the mid-1920s. Tom and Dora Ober had no children but adopted Tenepau Namok from Charlie Mukubi and Lily Namok. Kathy Pryce Martin knew him as an old man, when he was blind 'and performed songs and Kanaka dances, but with shuffled feet, not like the Torres Strait stamp' (Francis Ober, pers. comm., 1981; Ettie Pau, pers. comm., 1997; Kathy Pryce Martin, pers. comm., 1991; Coralie Obah, pers. comm., 1996).

Then on 2 April 1958 Revd Poey Passi died in Waiben Hospital. He was one of the original two Islander priests and, while a student at St Paul's, had married Alice Namok, the daughter of two of the founders of Wag.

Next to pass away was Rattler Tom, the son of Tom Muri from Muri (Mt Adolphus Island), who died on 28 November 1958 while on a visit to Thursday Island.³⁴⁶ Then resident on Ngurupai, he was recognised as the last of the Murilgal. He told

Revd Clint that he had known the Somerset police magistrate, Frank Jardine, and been present at the massacre of the Kaurareg. He had in his youth cut sandalwood 'down the Gulf side' of Cape York and was 'apparently involved in massacring Aborigines who attempted to spear sleeping men around the campfire' (Tennant, 1959: 186-188). He is recorded as living on Kirriri and an employee of E.J. Hennessey (later Revd Darke's father-in-law) in 1921 (Wilby, 1921). Rattler Tom was among the Kaurareg transported to Adam in 1922 and became a renowned maker of *thoelu wap*, the hefty bloodwood harpoon (Tennant, 1959: 187). Kaur Agai, said to be the last Muralag-born (Prince of Wales) Islander, passed away on 15 December 1962.

Between these two deaths came that of Samuel Kawane, the oldest surviving pioneer of Wag, who died at St Paul's on 11 October 1960. Born on Goods Island in c.1883, the son of Farlane Kawane from Mare, Loyalty Islands, and Patagam Dadu from Mabuyag, he was taken as a brother to Elia and Aviu Ware and went with them and Jack Goba Ware to negotiate the site of the original camp. He and his family lived at Mitchell River Mission in the early 1920s but returned to St Paul's. Kawane served as skipper of the early mission boat *Francis Pritt* and in his later years opened the first bakery at St Paul's. He was survived by his second wife, Grace Andrews from Mapoon Mission, whom he had married in 1957 after the death of his first wife, Nalam Ebithia Kris, daughter of Kaio and Akabu Kris and widow of Elia Ware.

Not long afterwards Poid's long-serving head teacher, Jacob Gabey, born on Erub of a Murray Island family, died on 8 May 1961 at Kubin aged 76. Jacob Gabey was closely connected with two of the early priests: he was Revd Sailor Gabey's older brother and through his mother was first cousin to Revd Joseph Lui. Like most men of his generation he began as a seaman: in 1919 he was licensed as skipper of the *Gnat* and in 1921 of the *Kuiam*.³⁴⁷ He also composed *babaneb* (songs for male voices) in his mother tongue, Meriam Mir, which were recorded by Wolfgang Laade in 1964 (Laade, n.d.). After teaching at lama, he came to Poid school in 1939 and retired there in 1950. He established firm family bonds with his new community: after the death of his first wife, Mam Barsa Gabey, in 1945, he married Joanna Madu from Poid; his daughter, Mobe, married Napota Savage from Poid; another son, Maka, became policeman, Chairman and church councillor.

In 1981, after 30 years of post-war emigration, both Kubin and St Paul's were remnant communities, reaching their lowest populations since the early 1920s: Kubin counted 86 people and St Paul's 99 out of 10,732 Torres Strait Islanders. Two key individuals in the history of western Mua died in the early 1980s. Ngailu Bani from Mabuyag, who taught at Kubin for almost 20 years, died on 17 July 1981 and is buried on Thursday Island. The following month Wees Nawia died, the last of the Kaurareg deportees to pass away (Bora Bin Juda, pers. comm., 2005). Nawia served as chairman of Poid/Kubin from 1933 to his death and was a director of the Torres Strait Wolfram Company and Moa Island Investment Co-operative. Other Muans died away from home, like Poey Daniel Savage from Kubin, son of Mislam and Danie Savage, who at age 38 was accidentally killed at sea off Townsville on 12 January 1986 and is buried in the Kubin cemetery. Savage's work history is typical of his generation and gender: he began labouring with N.K. Bay Pearl Culture at Cape York, then worked as a skin diver on one of the Nona brothers' pearling luggers before joining Queensland railways.

By the end of the 1980s the Muan population had slightly increased, while the number of Islanders had grown to over 13,000. In 1994 the number of Kubin and St Paul's inhabitants was 140 and 190, respectively, out of a total Islander population of over 15,000, only 6245 of whom still resided in Torres Strait. More recently, however, couples who spent their working lives on the mainland have returned to Mua after their retirement; others are planning to build holiday houses, using local materials, where they and their families can come to regenerate and nurture connections between their mainland-born children and the island. There is anxiety, too, that without some tangible sign of ownership emigrant families might lose their land to the Council.

CONCLUSION. Increased government funding since the 1980s has also inspired a cultural and linguistic renaissance. Realising how close they were to losing traditional crafts, activities and language, Islanders consciously set about reviving them. On Kubin the men formed a crafts sub-committee to set up a carving school in support of Noah Batu, the last traditional drum maker in the Torres Strait. They already had a woodwork centre on Kubin, now they were seeking funds to buy tools and begin classes where Batu could pass on his

skills (Torres News, 10 June 1986). Islanders also began to make their cultural production available to a wider audience: in 1988 Tom Lowah from St Paul's became the first Torres Strait Islander to publish his autobiography, *Eded mer* (my life); dance troupes began to perform throughout Australia and overseas; brilliant new artists, sculptors and printmakers were exhibited and their works purchased for public galleries and private collections.

New funding also provided the catalyst for a revolution in Torres Strait public life, as women began to organise themselves as a self-conscious cultural and political force. Branches of the Torres Strait Women's Association (TSWA), the forerunner of Mura Kosker Sorority, were established on six western island communities, including Kubin and St Paul's, in June 1986. This new organisation was reminiscent of the Mothers' Union, which had become largely inactive as a result of declining population, but it was secular and more encompassing than its predecessor. The intention was to double membership to 1000 by the end of the year after visits to the central and eastern islands. Activities included traditional weaving and gardening but, in their first workshop 22-27 September 1986 at St Paul's, they discussed a wide range of topics of interest to women: the provisions of the PNG treaty, land and sea rights, women's health, education and housing services, legal rights and welfare services, women's shelters, resources for cultural projects and transmission of traditional crafts (Torres News, 10 June 1986).

Recently, the Queensland government has provided seed money for a variety of Torres Strait enterprises through its Indigenous Business Development Scheme, as a means of creating jobs and business opportunities and increasing the local skill base. Between 2001 and mid-2004 Torres Strait received more than \$600,000 in such funding (Beattie, 2004). One promising area is art production and export, with Torres Strait art becoming more nationally and internationally recognised; it was showcased in two successful overseas exhibitions organised in 2004 by the Queensland government. In July 2004 the Mualgau Minaral Artist Collective received a grant to transform the IBIS supermarket at Kubin into an artists' co-operative. The grant recognised the work of Dennis Nona, Billy Missi, David Bosun and Victor Motlop in setting up the co-operative at the end of 2000. Their linocuts featuring stories and legends from Mua were exhibited the following year (Newstead, 2001:

5). Plans included a work space with screen printing facilities, which could also be used for art workshops, a shop and a gallery to house local artistic production as well as 'artefacts significant to the community.'

Local artists will be able to develop retail and printing skills while exercising their creative flair. For example screen printing work that must now be sent to Cairns will be done locally for the first time, creating jobs for local people, developing new skills and getting work more quickly (Beattie, 2004).

Modern housing and infrastructure in the two Muan communities mean that material conditions are now little different from other rural Australian communities. When I first lived at St Paul's in the early 1980s, visits between the communities for weddings, tombstone openings, church fund raising and so forth were limited to the six months' dry season: the connecting road was impassable in the wet because the creeks overflowed. Now the communities are joined by a good bitumened road and with Thursday Island and the rest of Australia by a regular feeder air service. The future economic viability of both Muan communities will probably continue to depend on social security payments and a multiplicity of small (generally family) businesses, seed-funded by Federal and State governments: local tourism, transport, art production, pilotage, commercial fishing and crayfishing.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Annual and other reports of the local government resident are cited under author's name and date of year reported on. Annual reports of the department responsible for Queensland Indigenous affairs are cited throughout as Annual Report with the date of year reported on.
- 2 These include A.B.M. Review, The Carpentarian, The Parish Gazette, Missionary Notes and Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria (hereafter Year Book).
- 3 In particular, see Edwards & Edwards, 1997a, 1997b; Hall-Matthews, 2004; Lowah, 1988; Peel, 1947; Ohshima, 1983; St George, 1967; Tennant, 1959; Teske, 1986, 1991; Wand, 1949; White, 1925; and articles in Cummins & Campbell Monthly Magazine, Walkabout and Pacific Islands Monthly.
- 4 'Leur race tend à disparaître de jour en jour. C'est à nous de les sauver, ou, si c'est déjà trop tard, d'envoyer au moins en paradis les quelques mille survivants que nous pourrions trouver. Ce n'est pas ici comme en Nouvelle-Guinée: là-bas le Blanc a besoin du Noir; [...] ici, le Blanc n'a pas besoin que de ses îles et il le chasse ou le détruit' (Verjus, 1888:268). [Their race is daily disappearing. It is up to us to save them, or, if it is already too late, at least send to Heaven the few thousand survivors we are able to find. It is different here from New Guinea, where the Whites needs the Blacks; [...] here Whites only need their islands and they force them off the land or destroy them.]
- 5 'The duties of the police consist in keeping order in the villages on the various Islands, in superintending prisoners engaged at roadwork etc. (this only on certain Islands) under sentence of the Mamoose's Court, and generally in obeying the orders of the Mamoose or Council of the Island to which they belong, in the maintenance of order and discipline. The police constitute an integral part of the very excellent system of governing the Straits Islanders by allowing them to govern themselves (under supervision, instituted, or I should say continued and approved with modifications and amendments by the late Hon. John Douglas, Government Resident)' (O'Brien, 1906c).
- 6 The woman and her brothers, who came from It on Mua, here support Haddon's contention that it was the Italgal (coastal or rock oyster people from the western side) who were constantly feuding with the Badulgal.
- 7 Goemu is a district on Mabuyag but 'Goemulgal' (Goemu people) is often used more broadly to refer to the Mabuyag and Badu Islanders.
- 8 'The Schooner *Kate Kearney* (Capt. Wells) has just discovered another rich patch of Pearl Shell, and was getting two tons in three days. Capt Hovell of the barque *Australian Packet* hearing the news, ran down for his share, and between them they gathered 21 tons in less than a fortnight' (Jardine, 1872).
- 9 Shipping articles were legal agreements to engage as crew members on a fishing vessel, signed by seamen in the presence of the captain in the Thursday Island shipping office or, if signed elsewhere, required to be lodged with government shipping authorities.
- 10 One fathom equals 6 feet or 1.8 metres, i.e., 3 to 8 fathoms equals a depth of 5.5 metres to 14.6 metres.
- 11 The *British Imperial Kidnapping Act (An Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Criminal Outrages upon*

- Natives of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean*) took effect in Queensland on 31 August 1872.
- 12 The case is mentioned in many histories of the period. For the original documents see QSA PRV/7352/1: Briefs and associated papers in cases involving Pacific Islanders.
 - 13 Known on Thursday Island as Lily Waters, she became a celebrated midwife and married the boarding house keeper, Charles Tyson from the Solomon Islands, in 1888. After his death she married Bob Palmer from Vanuatu in 1900 and they retired to St Paul's, where she died in 1928. Bleakley (1961: 261) wrote about her as a 'colourful characters' of Thursday Island, where she was called 'Granny Lilywater.' Linnewatta was 'a full-blood Pacific Island woman, who for many years was the only maternity nurse. She was a sweet old soul and was affectionately called "the mother of Israel". Several prominent island people proudly claim that old Granny brought them into the world, and they had done her credit. She spent her eventide happily with her old husband in their own little home at St Paul's Pacific Island Mission on Moa Island.'
 - 14 See depositions of witnesses in QSA SCT CC29 DEPOS February, March, May 1875.
 - 15 The original letter, no. 2-78, dated 11 January 1878, is no longer in the relevant file but Chester refers to it in another letter dated 3 February 1881. QSA COL/A312/777, filed with 1932 of 1881.
 - 16 Letter from Samuel White to his wife from Somerset, dated 25 September 1878 (White, 1920:30).
 - 17 Tucker vs John Mundy for inciting hired servant to desert, 7 April 1879. QSA CPS13D/P1.
 - 18 Charlie vs Joe Reis and Francis for assault, 17 February 1885. QSA CPS13D/P1.
 - 19 Reported in Torres Straits Pilot, 27 February 1897.
 - 20 'Mr Milman, Acting Government Resident at Thursday Island, reports that a recent discovery of tin on Banks Island, about 20 miles north of Thursday Island, is an important one' (Brisbane Courier, 24 November 1887). However, in his annual report, Milman (1887) notes that 'the ore on assay proved worthless, being nearly all iron.'
 - 21 See report in Torres Straits Pilot and New Guinea Gazette, 8 September 1888:3.
 - 22 Keresiano 'had been a pioneer evangelist in New Caledonia, whence he was driven by the French. He then became the pastor of a church at Uvea, and suffered considerable persecution from the Roman Catholic priests and French authorities. Afterwards he settled at Mare in charge of a native church, whence he was selected as one of the New Guinea pioneers. He was a faithful, energetic, judicious and godly man, who died from fever during those first few dark years at the commencement of the mission' (Lovett, 1899: 434-435).
 - 23 There were now seven LMS missions in Torres Strait, on Mua, Dauan, Saibai, Mabuyag, Masig, Erub and Mer. An eighth station was operating at Yule Island off the coast of New Guinea.
 - 24 This is not Kalau Lagau Ya. According to Rod Mitchell, *aretho* comes from the Greek and means 'holy communion', i.e., the body and blood of Christ. He cannot identify *wub* but suggests it may be a mispronunciation of *woenab* (glory). I think it more likely that *wub* is the remembered Muan pronunciation of *woerab* 'coconut.'
 - 25 The five remaining stations were all manned by Loyalty Islanders from Lifu: Josiah at Mer; Gucheng at Erub; Haxeni (Haxan) at Mabuyag; Gutachene at Dauan; Elia at Saibai.
 - 26 See Queensland Department of Public Lands Special Lease register, 20 March 1868-1 January 1883, nos 1-185. QSA LAN/U1. These leases were made possible by the provisions of Section 70 of the 1876 *Crown Lands Act* 1876.
 - 27 'The population [of Mabuyag] is 202, there are 68 Church members and the ordinance is administered every month' (Chalmers, 1891).
 - 28 Chalmers did, however, baptise some Mualgal and Kaurareg during his visits and Tamate Asera and Elia Tamate Nawie bear his name. No LMS baptismal records have been recovered but a note was sometimes made at their confirmation into the Church of England. Those baptised by Chalmers include Alua Savage, Mary Savage, Makie, Ikabod, Kaur, Banas Yellub, Billy, Miskin, Jack Moa, Luta Kaitap and Genai. Some of the baptisms took place on Mabuyag but only rarely was the place recorded and the date never.
 - 29 The LMS deacons (*dikona*) were laymen of great authority in the community who 'were accustomed to take the services which were in the native language and generally look after the local work.' After the Church of England took over the work of the LMS they were called 'church wardens' and each one was given a special licence from the Bishop 'authorising him to conduct services in the absence of the white missionary, and to have control of the Church buildings and Mission grounds on the respective islands' (Done, 1987: vii).
 - 30 The official 1891 census counted 1473 Torres Strait Islanders (half the pre-contact estimate), Mabuyag with 195, Badu 124 and Mua 92 (Chalmers, 1891: 21).
 - 31 The couple had two daughters: Nobi Irad married Baira; Taum married Eccles Tamwoy. After Ware's death, Gawada married Algida (Alligator) from Badu.
 - 32 Dharam was the son of Garmai and Baikou and first cousin to Akabu Kris. He and Kuk were married on Mer by Revd A. Hunt in 1890. Their first two children were born on Mer, a son, Sani, in 1891, and a daughter, Akabu or Tipani, in 1892. Dharam and Kuk moved to Dauan where he was given land, which he cultivated with his two sons, Sani and Asela. Dharam died c.1920.
 - 33 I cannot find any record of his death but his widow remarried c.1894. Gawada and Algida's children were Kila Tarai, who married Mara; Marita Dibag who married Repoam Gagai; Uiduldam who married Kitty from Mapoon. Two of their children forged Muan connections: Peo Uiduldam married Dora Namok and they settled at St Paul's; Joy Uiduldam married Jimmy Keristo Jakonia, who, though from Badu, was born at Poid.
 - 34 Although Morris is generally referred to as a Samoan, he was in fact born on Niue, possibly to Samoan parents. He was a witness to the marriage of Joe and Zarazar Savage in 1886 and is probably the assistant teacher referred to by Douglas (1891) who was living on Mer in July 1891 and occupying 'one of the buildings of the old training institution.' It was Morris who led the group of Niuean men who went to Erub to take away Eccles Tamwoy, son of a Niuean father and Torres Strait Islander mother, after his father's death to be raised on Badu among his father's countrymen (Titom Tamwoy, pers. comm., 1995).

- 35 Typically, Chalmers does not give names. A man named 'Tiger' was identified as 'Mamoose of Prince of Wales' in a court case held on Thursday Island on August 1890 (QSA CPS 13D/P3). He may be Gidya or Gida or Misgidda, known locally as 'King Tarbucket', who died in December 1899 (Douglas 1893; Torres Straits Pilot and New Guinea Gazette 30 December 1899).
- 36 'About half the people attend services, many are clothed and observe the sabbath. These are generally the first indications of their coming under the influence of the Gospel' (McFarlane, 1884).
- 37 This may refer to Anu Namai's father. Anu Namai was the son of Gema and Athub and died an elderly man in 1934. He was probably born in the mid-1860s. He is said to have been a small child at the time of the massacre of the Muans in 1870. Namai was a stalwart of the church and became churchwarden after the move to Adam under his leadership. He married three times: to Poid, by whom he had a son who did not survive; to Gitara, who had no children; and to the widow Aidabu from Muralag, by whom he had Katua, Abea, Newcamp, Bau and Willie. He also raised Daima, the daughter of his cousin, Waina, who married Zambo Manas. Namai has been officially acknowledged as the traditional owner of Wag, which became the site of St Paul's Church of England Mission.
- 38 Inspector of Fisheries vs J. Moreman for possessing small sized shell, 25 January 1895. QSA CPS13D/P6.
- 39 According to her tombstone at Badu, Daku was born on Mua in c.1854 and died on 25 July 1904. Jimmy and Daku Savage adopted Zambo Manas, whose descendants sign 'Manas', and perhaps also his sister, Danie Dabita, who married Asera. Lawrie was told that 'Mua blood' at Kubin was represented by the Manas, Namai, Asera, Charlie and Kanai families; and according to Teske 'Father Inagie Manas, John Manas, Whap Charlie, Willie Namai and Daisy Rattler can claim to be true Moans as their parents on both sides were from Moa' (Lawrie, 1972; Teske, 1991: 16). Annie Zarazar was the second child and only daughter of Sagul from Mabayag and Panipan from Muralag and sister of Ausa and Sani. She and Joe Savage moved from Dabu to Badu and adopted Eccles Tamwoy from Harry Peo and Kakai Niue, Powanga Savage from Sam and Aga Savage, Wagub Merian Goba and Alion Nancy Savage, who married Harry Newie. According to Titom Tamwoy (pers. comm., 2001), Joe Savage and Harry Peo Niue, father of Eccles Tamwoy, were brothers.
- 40 After Aga's death, Bozi went to live at Upai on Badu with Dadu, by whom he had a daughter, Josephine Yakobida.
- 41 Their daughter, Ellen, married Nelson Wymarra in 1931; shortly afterwards, Jimmy Gela went to live at Port Lihou on Muralag.
- 42 Two others with relevance to Mua are Wag, at one time an outstation of Mabayag and the precursor to St Paul's Mission, and St Paul's own outstation, Port Lihou.
- 43 Only after Federation were attempts made to conduct an accurate census of the Queensland Indigenous population. Government Resident Douglas distributed census papers among the Torres Strait islands in March 1901 (Douglas, 1901) but only those who 'had abandoned migratory habits' were enumerated.
- 44 It is estimated that from the arrival of the first 67 Pacific Islander labourers at Brisbane in August 1863 about 47,000 entered Queensland before 1904. Some made their way to Torres Strait to work in the marine industries, joining those who came directly from the Pacific or via Sydney.
- 45 Letter from the Home Secretary's Office to Government Resident, Thursday Island, and C.D. O'Brien, Protector of Aborigines, Thursday Island, 21 March 1906. QSA HOM/J16/1906/3515.
- 46 There were only three departmental heads between 1914 and 1986: Bleakley (1914-1942), Cornelius (Con) O'Leary (1942-1963) and Patrick J. (Pat) Killoran (1964-1986).
- 47 AIB became a corporation established by *The Torres Strait Islanders Act* 1939 and then a semi-government corporation, the Islander Board of Industry and Service (IBIS).
- 48 Longstanding practice had been for crews to draw goods from their employer's slop-chest (*slapsis*) against their credit balance of wages. This system benefited the employers, who made a large profit on every sale, but not the Islanders, who were discharged with little money in hand. The government looked the other way, despite their misgivings that the practice reduced Islanders' incentive to save for purchases and encouraged their lack of thrift (as they saw it): on the other hand, the Islanders received lower wages (a percentage of their wages being returned to the employers) and were less inclined to visit Thursday Island, be tempted by its 'vices' and run up debts to local traders (Milman, 1906:3; O'Brien, 1906b).
- 49 This was despite an often identical ethnic heritage.
- 50 In 1913 approximately £2000 per annum was being spent each year on Islander administration and education, exclusive of the salaries of officials in Thursday Island (Lee-Bryce, 1913c).
- 51 The Islanders referred to them as *ai blo gabman* (the government's eyes).
- 52 St Paul's also elected a local Council with similar powers but its chairman was appointed from among the Councillors by the Bishop of Carpentaria rather than by majority vote.
- 53 Newcamp's tombstone and other records date her birth at c.1906, although she told Sharp (1992: 111) that she was born in 1904. Ohshima (1983: 108) estimated the move at occurring around 1910, when 'Islanders who were scattered on the island were gathered there.' According to Oza Bosun (pers. comm., 2004), Newcamp Namai and Salome Waina were the first babies born at Adam; Salome is thought to have been born around 1910.
- 54 Lee-Bryce apparently wrote to his superior on 21 February 1913 recommending the removal of the Hammond Islanders to Moa Island. A record of receipt can be found in the register of inward correspondence to the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913 (QSA HOM/B42). I have not been able to find the actual letter.
- 55 Among them was Tom Muri or Dugong, father of Rattler Tom. Tom Muri became a trooper stationed on Thursday Island around 1890 and, after the move to Kirriri, its No. 1 policeman.
- 56 See Bleakley (1921). Singe (1989: 169) claims that the Kaurareg were removed in 1921 and that Mua 'was conveniently uninhabited' except for St Paul's Mission. However, the move did not take place until March 1922 and the Kaurareg occupied dwellings built especially for them next to the village of Adam, which by then had over 100 inhabitants.
- 57 Through QSA HOM/J538/1925/00228: Authority 21.5204 Abo. Res. N.

- 58 The department, for example paid PIL £3.8.3 for stores for the Kaurareg on 20 April 1922 (Cash Credit Account Book 1920-1934) and on 18 May 1922 issued an authority to pay £18.14.1. QSA HOM/J538/1925/00228: Authority 22/3419 Is. Torres St.
- 59 Sharp also lays bear the underlying racist imperatives for what was a traumatic, morally dubious and possibly illegal removal from land. Apparently the first plan was that they go to Badu, headquarters of the PIL, where there was already a thriving village and a European superintendent-teacher to supervise them, but this was abandoned.
- 60 Whether the yardstick for adulthood was 18 or 21 – and both ages were used at the time – is impossible to discover for this particular group. My guess is that the categorisation here was based on the appearance of maturity, since Kaurareg birthdates were rarely recorded. Adulthood could even have been 14 or 15 for males, the age at which they could be gainfully employed on the boats: ‘The rule up here, though not always carried out when it suits some of the shellers, is that no boy is allowed to work on a boat under 16 years of age’ (Connolly, 1916).
- 61 I cannot identify Corn, although he is mentioned in a number of records and the name Cornwell (or Conwell) occurs in the Wasaga family. Corn may have taken his name from Cape Cornwall on Muralag. According to Fr Manas (pers. comm., to Bruno David, 2007), Corn belonged to the Nawia family and was related to Kopi.
- 62 Among them may have been Baithie Wari from Kirri, married to Nakau from Adam; Doken, Karabai, Wissel, Ram and Dama Kopi; and Nasalia, Elisapeta, Ngurpai and Tomkin Luta. According to relatives, Yebblona or Tom Young is from a Kaurareg family from Kirri. However, according to (admittedly fallible) records, he was born at Adam and he and his wife were living there by 1911. Only their eldest child, Satrick, was born on Kirri; their second and third children were born at Adam. Tom Young is also recorded as living at Adam in 1914 and 1915, where he is listed in the war census as a seaman, born c.1874, earning £24 per annum.
- 63 The text of his telegram, dated 9 February 1922, reads: ‘Suggest removal three Hammond Island ringleaders to separate islands, as they will only cause trouble. Please instruct’ (QSA A/59005/839/1922).
- 64 Kaur Agai or Kaitap Kaur was, I suspect, the son of Misgida or King Tarbucket, recognised as the leader of the Kaurareg from Muralag.
- 65 There was no enquiry, as the Queensland Legislative Council was abolished on 23 March 1922 and parliament did not meet again until July 1922. It is worth quoting some of the Queenslander article in full:
The remaining members of the once numerous Prince of Wales Island tribe now numbering fewer than 90 persons have within the last two days been evicted from their village on Hammond Island, close to Thursday Island, and sent to Badu, some 30 miles northward to live among their traditional enemies. Their appeals against this move were unavailing and other representations also had no effect. The Government over the last year has passed over the matter of native trading affairs to a trading company who now hold a monopoly over native business. It is thought the Government action in removing the natives will cause them to pine away and become extinct.
Two native police who had been issued with uniforms that same morning, handed them back and stated they would not leave Hammond Island. They were arrested after a scuffle and charged with assault.
A copy of the Islanders letter stating they want to stay on their own island is printed and also a statement by the Minister who states the transfer was made because of the undesirable state of affairs existing on Hammond Island. Immorality and drunkenness were rife for the people found it easier to trade in prostitution with the alien and native fishermen of Thursday Island than to earn a living in their gardens and fishing boats. They made no attempt to cultivate any food but rather hand around Thursday Island selling fish, ferns, taking casual jobs, soliciting prostitution, and getting grog. Very few of the able-bodied men are engaged in employment, thus 9 only of 21 are in the fishery. Total population is 81 being 43 adults and 38 children.
The children are neglected and are repeatedly away from school
The island to which they are to be removed is in a more protected and wholesome situation and as the Adam tribe are connected by marriage with the Hammond people, no tribal difficulty was likely (Corran, 1922a).
- 66 Such marriages occurred before and after 1922: Aidabu from Kirri, daughter of Yaragas and Babun, with Anu Namai; Mazie Patagam from Kirri, Aidabu’s daughter by Sorogo of Nagi, with second husband Yebblona (Tom Young); Baithie from Kirri, daughter of Wari and Kemur, with second husband, Arusam Nakau. Kaurareg women recorded as already living at Adam in 1916 were Aidabu, Dekei and Gagime.
- 67 According to Angela Newie Torenbeek (pers. comm., 2006), Poid (more accurately Poeidh) was named for the wife of a famous warrior who owned a canoe, a Mualig who once lived there. Poid was also the name of the first wife of Anu Namai.
- 68 QSA CPS13D/P8 for 30 January 1900.
- 69 QSA CPS13D/P9 for 25 May and 7 December 1901.
- 70 QSA CPS13D/P8 for 30 January 1900; QSA CPS13D/P10 for 17 January 1902. Arusam and Rosie Buia were cousins, both grandchildren of Apus (see Shnukal ‘The last battle’ chapter 3, this volume). Arusam was the son of Maiti and Aturi and the ancestor of the Nakau family. Buia was the daughter of Muyam and Kodau. By her first husband, Guru Spear, she had Gertie Phineasa, Dadiku Metusela and Felicia Agale; her second marriage to Tommy Aboo was childless. She died in 1930. In 1904 Buia twice gave evidence in the Thursday Island courthouse. From her evidence we learn that she worked for the Chinese shopkeeper, Ming Lee, was a friend of Rassip’s de facto wife, Mariza, and lived with the couple in a house on Victoria Parade (see QSA CPS13D/P11, CPS13D/P12). Jack Tanna and his wife, Alice Namok, who were living on Thursday Island in 1904, moved to St Paul’s and were living there in 1915.
- 71 QSA CPS13D/P10 for 17 January 1902.
- 72 The full correspondence is found in QSA A/58755: Islands-Torres Strait, 1914. The contract, dated 26 February 1907, was made between the lessor, the Chief Protector, and the lessee, F.W. Walker, managing director of PIL. The *Moa* was described as having ‘masts spars sails windlass anchor chain gear boiler smokehouse and two dinghies’ and it was leased for £2 per month from 1 March 1907 for one year. PIL agreed to liquidate the debts of £46.12.2 owing on the *Moa*. The *Moa* later became the LMS mission boat Pearl, skippered by Tipoti Nona, father of Tanu Nona (Lawrie, 1982)

- 73 Wesley was the brother-in-law of Jacob and Sailor Gabey, for nearly three years the skipper of the mission boat *Francis Pritt* and a man 'of extraordinary strength and endurance, and a fine seaman' (White, 1918: 179).
- 74 Returns of the 'Island' Boats working from The Papuan Industries Ltd at Badu for the 6 months ended 30th June 1913 (QSA A/58756: Islands-Torres Strait, 1921). By comparison, the Kirriiri Islanders, who were later to merge with Adam, had a credit balance of £17.19.3.
- 75 My supposition is that the last two are Jimmy Christo from Rotuma, who had married Latta Enita Kara Savage from Dabu in 1906 and was living at Adam in 1919, and Simeon Harry from Tudu, then aged 20. Christo, who certified Simeon's birth, was a friend and countryman of Simeon's father, George Hoy, and it was *gud pasin* for the childless couple to take Simeon into their care after his father's death and mother's remarriage.
- 76 I have regularised spellings and added surnames. The only reference I could find to the case was in the Bench Record and Summons Book of the Magistrates Court, Thursday Island, January 1911-June 1921. See Gilson Fox Lesley Foxton vs Frederick Edward Morey trading as Morey & Coy, 8 March 1919. QSA QS787/1/2.
- 77 QSA QS 721/1: Register of men-in-charge licenses, 1915-1957.
- 78 The local Protector advised against the development on the grounds that Harries' was exceeding his 'sole duty', i.e., 'to attend to the spiritual wants of the people.' Annoyed by the missionary's overt championing of Islander rights, he warned that Harries would 'interfere with administrative functions and the result will be the complete destruction of many years' work' (Lee-Bryce, 1913c).
- 79 Spellings regularised.
- 80 She was one of 51 people receiving relief or small pensions from the various island funds that year (Annual Report 1925: 7).
- 81 The *Karabai* belonged to John Cowling, who had by then moved from his Mabuyag station to New Guinea, and was said to be in good order. She was built at Thursday Island in 1915 of ½ inch Queensland Kauri planking and extensively refitted in 1921.
- 82 The vessel *Manu* was probably named for the Muralag leader, Manu, whose wife came from Mua and who owned a superb 16-metre canoe, *Kie Marina*. According to Sharp (1992: 25), Brierly 'marvell[ed] at both its "beautiful workmanship" and "the taste shown in the different modes of ornamenting it".' I do not know the history of the *Manu*, although a boat of that name is listed as being under the command of Frank Mills in January 1916 and Abiu in September 1916 (see Connolly, 1916; QSA QS 721/1: Register of men-in-charge licenses, 1915-1957).
- 83 The two Councillors, Kaur and Jakonia, headed the first petition, followed by Genai, Ara, Wigness, Bobbie, Wasaga, Seriat, Betu, Jimmy, Karabai, Doken, Manase, Elikiem, Nagibu, Tamate, Katua, Kimasu, Misick, Inagi, Soria, Abea, Rupia, Kiu, Elley, Yaru, Elimatamu, Ben, Ubai, Apelu, Lou, Madu, Nawie, Rattler, Duruga, Tom Young and Asera. The signers of the second petition were Kaur, Genai, Ara, Bobbie, Wasaga, Betu, Jimmy, Karabai, Doken, Manase, Elikiem, Nagibu, Tamate, Katua, Kimasu, Misick, Inagi, Sorea, Abea, Rupia, Kiu, Elley, Yaru, Elimatamu, Ben, Ubai, Apelu, Satrick, Lou, Madu, Nawie, Rattler, Duruga, Tom Young and Asera. QSA A/58757: Islands-Torres Strait, 1928.
- 84 The *Wakaid*, named after the old village at Badu, was taken to New Guinea in 1939 and sunk by machine gun fire at Lae.
- 85 The boats chosen were the *Wakaid*, *Wakemab*, *Saibai*, *Yama*, *Manu*, *Karabai*, *Badu*, *Dauan* and *Miriam*.
- 86 Akilipa Harry, Moses Akiba and Zangaur Babia were all born on Saibai but came to live on Badu, where Tanu Nona recruited them Badu women.
- 87 She was purchased for a little over her actual value and renamed. On 14 January she 'left Mabuag Island with a full crew to work trocas shell' (Green, 1933b).
- 88 The letter was written by the Poid teacher, H.N. Armstrong, and the manager of Aboriginal Industries, F.P. May, on Wasaga's behalf.
- 89 List of boats and crew in QSA A/58853: Aboriginals-Generally, 1936. Surnames added and some spellings changed to conform with current usage.
- 90 The others were Nagi, Dauan and Boigu (Annual Report 1938:15).
- 91 This was probably Elisara Nawie.
- 92 Inquest into death of Paikai, 18 June 1935. QSA JUS/N996/35/387.
- 93 Asai, who had been trochus diving north of Mabuyag, miraculously escaped by gouging his fingers into its eyes, forcing it to open its mouth and release his head and neck from its jaws. He was rushed to Mabuyag hospital with extensive wounds of the head, neck and chest but ultimately recovered. 'His shoulders jammed between the hinges of the shark's mouth and probably saved him from instant decapitation. In desperation, [Asai] gouged his fingers into the shark's eyes. Later, he described the incident to Matron Frith. "The shark started to shake me away but I kept pressing its eyes until it opened its mouth and started to thrash its tail", he said. "I then came up to the surface and swam ashore. I thought my head was off because of the amount of blood which was coming away from my neck."' Asai suffered extensive wounds to the head, neck and chest and needed over 100 stitches 'and a long spell in hospital before he returned to trochus diving' (Anon., 1953: 37; Annual Report 1937: 10; Patterson, 1939: 59). He was nicknamed 'Bridle' because of his neck scars (Steven Mam, pers. comm., 2004) and became a minor celebrity on Thursday Island before the war, posing for tourist photographs on the wharf (Bartlett, 1954: 145; Patterson, 1939: 59; Anon., 1953). Asai came to Mua to mine wolfram. Initially he and Keri (Waituka) Futuna stayed with Wees Nawia at Poid and formed kinship links with Mua through the adoption of Asai's daughter, Loretta, to Wees Nawia's family and her marriage to Fr John Manas from Mua (Loretta Asai Manas, pers. comm., 1982). Keri's stepdaughter, Georgina, married Malachi Levi from St Paul's. Through her mother, Loretta is related to Adata Kusu from Saibai, wife of Andrew Namok from St Paul's, the son of one of the founders. Asai's cousin was Carolus Isua's father, Isua Nawia, and Keri Waituka is said to be the natural or adopted child of a Futuna (Vanuatu) man, which explains his adoption by Jimmy Futuna from Futuna, a resident of St Paul's (Angela Ware Morrison, pers. comm., 1996).
- 94 This information comes from Namai's tombstone inscription in the Kubin cemetery. There is no mention of the incident in the department's annual reports.

- 95 Information contained in a handwritten note, date stamped 6 August 1931, in QSA A/58759: Islands-Torres Strait, 1935.
- 96 Tentative itinerary, Torres Strait tour by Governor of Queensland: September-October 1933. QSA A/58758: Islands-Torres Strait, 1933.
- 97 An album of photographs from the visit is held by the Queensland State Archives as SRS 5746/1/2.
- 98 The correspondence is contained in QSA A/58759: Islands-Torres Strait, 1935.
- 99 Because of an embargo by the Papuan government, Armstrong could not obtain suitable canoes from New Guinea to transport the timber and the work had to be suspended during the high tides of July and August.
- 100 Letter from Under Secretary, Department of Public Works, Brisbane, to Under Secretary, Department of Health and Home Affairs, Brisbane, 19 May 1936. QSA TR1158/4 E363: Moa Island Aboriginal School.
- 101 Councillors during this time included Saila Miskin, Wasaga, Misick and Anu Ara.
- 102 This was the year before the appointment of a teacher and the handover to the Church of England and therefore few vital registration records were kept.
- 103 The influenza pandemic began in 1918 and was probably brought back to Australia by World War I troops returning from overseas. The first reported case occurred in Melbourne in January 1919 but the disease did not reach Torres Strait until early 1920. Over 40 million people are believed to have died of it worldwide, about 12,000 of them in Australia.
- 104 Charlie Bell Luta, the Adam-born son of Luta and Naika, for example, died at Adam on 27 November 1920 at the age of three, possibly from the indirect effects of influenza.
- 105 The adults used bush medicine against yaws, burning the eruptions with hot coals (Rachel Morseu Scott to John Scott, pers. comm., 1982); only after the war did sulphur drugs and antibiotics become available.
- 106 See also Collection Account in QSA HOM/J697/1929/215. With the improvement of the Moa Island Fund, the loan was repaid within two years (Buxton, 1931a).
- 107 Muimui was the mother of Elipuna Tom.
- 108 Inquest into death of Mami at Poid, 1 July 1931. QSA JUS/N934/31/685.
- 109 Calahane reported that, while dental caries existed to a great extent in the first teeth, the second teeth were in most cases 'perfect'; on the other hand, 'caries was more prevalent at Badu and Poid than at any other island possibly due to dietary influences' and he carried out 114 extractions at Poid on 64 children, paid for by the island fund. His fee was 2/6 per extraction and 7/6 per filling.
- 110 The disease was introduced by trochus boat crews returning from southern ports at the end of 1937. There had been no epidemic of whooping cough in the district for some 35 years and people had lost their immunity; the GMO attributed 44 deaths among Islanders and Aboriginal people on Cape York directly to whooping cough, most of them among infants and children under 10. He also considered that the increase in deaths from pneumonia and tuberculosis could be attributed to the epidemic (Annual Report 1938: 8).
- 111 Ambar was the son of Ausa and Adakau, married Geni Gasu from Mer and died at Mabuyag in 1947. He served as the skipper of the Anglican mission ketch *Herald* for many years. His son, Sagi Ambar, went through St Paul's College at the same time as Bishop Kiwami Dai and they were priested together in 1951.
- 112 See Queensland Department of Public Lands register of special leases, July 1902-January 1907, Nos. 748-983. QSA LAN/U5.
- 113 No LMS lease was ever issued for Mua.
- 114 Daku is probably the 'native named Darko' who built the church at Saibai, that 'would do credit to any carpenter. The tie-beams and king-posts which support the roof are artistically carved with such simple tools as a knife and a tomahawk' (Missionary Notes 13 April 1909: 27). According to Nokise (1983:373), it was built of local timber 'by a local tradesman with no previous training in carpentry' under the direction of the Samoan missionary, Ne'emua, and dedicated on 7 July 1897.
- 115 Mara was the son of Dick Hammond and Baithie and, although born at Kirriri, he is usually said to belong to Injino. He married Kila Tarai Algida from Badu in 1913 and is recorded as living at Adam in 1916 and 1918. The other two are almost certainly the first cousins, Tom Alua Savage and Mary Savage, whose fathers are said to have been brothers from Niue. Alua was the son of Sam and Aga (or Aiaka) Savage, born on Mua in c.1888; Mary was the daughter of Jimmy Savage and Daku from Muralag, born at Dabu in c.1899. Two years later Mary married Jakonia Yalla from Badu.
- 116 'The first change in the conduct of the [Church of England] Mission took the form of a change of name for the native church officials. Under the LMS these were called "deacons" or as the natives used the word "dikona". These men were accustomed to take the services which were in the native language and generally look after the local work. As the word "deacon" has with us a different signification, Bishop White designated them "church wardens" and gave each man a special licence authorising him to conduct services in the absence of the white missionary, and to have control of the Church buildings and Mission grounds on the respective islands' (Done, 1987: vii).
- 117 Kag is probably Kag from Kirriri, said to have been the wife of Jimmy Mari (Maori) and to have lived with him on Aureed in early times. According to Rivers' genealogies (in Haddon, 1904), she was the daughter of Baut and Nakobad and married three times.
- 118 According to Bethena Maratta Ropeyarn (pers. comm., 1995), Pikidan was given a Papuan name, Madiri, by the LMS. Madiri was the name of a rubber plantation at the head of the Fly River estuary leased by PIL in 1908. In 1931 ownership was transferred to the Unevangelised Fields Mission which leased out Madiri to Janet Cowling, widow of John Cowling (Lewis, 1996: 81, 96).
- 119 Billy is almost certainly the husband of Kausa and father of Asera Billy.
- 120 Makie was born on Mua and died at Poid in 1938. In 1908 he married Dinah (Taina) Nakau and the couple had nine children.
- 121 This may be Edward Isaka, the adopted son of Isaka and Madiri.
- 122 Memeru Alala was the first wife of Charlie Moa, whom she is said to have married 'native fashion' in c.1893 at Adam. Their only surviving daughter, Leah Charlie, married Waina and then Kaur Agai.

- 123 The following information comes from the Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria (1927-28: 25) and various reports of the Mothers' Union in the Diocese of Carpentaria contained in manuscript material formerly held in the John Oxley Library, Brisbane, at JOL OM.AV 12/2.
- 124 After the shift from Poid to Kubin, the Mothers' Union continued to support international and local endeavours in myriad ways. In 1947, for example, its members raised £23.0.0 in response to an appeal for funds to repair the Mary Sumner House Chapel in London, whereas St Paul's branch contributed £10.0.0 (Year Book 1947:29); and its members provided the 'great feast of pork and chicken and turtle' that followed the opening of Kubin's new store building, opened by Ben Nona and blessed by Badu-based Revd Kiwami Dai in 1957: 'the feasting and dancing in the hall were the best that Kubin could boast. Matilda [Savage], beside me, mentioned that this was her dinner service; all the Mothers' Union brought their dinner services and their cutlery and their tablecloths for the long table down the hall' (Tennant, 1959:198, 200).
- 125 Both Revd Sailor Gabey and Jacob Gabey were the sons of Gabey, one of the first five graduates of the LMS Papuan Institute, who served at Erub, Mer and Masig before being expelled for 'immorality' in 1895 (Langbridge, 1977: 178-80).
- 126 'We have regular day schools at all the Stations. Soon after beginning a station school work is attended to' (Chalmers, 1880).
- 127 Their teacher at Badu was Mrs Mildred Cummings, assisted by her husband. In 1901 she was obliged to resign from ill-health and Mr Hewitt was appointed (Douglas, 1901b:3).
- 128 Mrs Minshull proved to be a disappointing teacher as far as the government was concerned and a new teacher, Mrs Weston, was appointed in 1905 (Annual Report 1907: 4, Milman, 1905: 2-3).
- 129 The first school on the island of Mua was opened at St Paul's Mission in 1908.
- 130 This following discussion is based on correspondence in QSA A/69432: Island School-teachers, 1926.
- 131 Yoram or Damukuik, the son of Zawa and Damadiai, was born c.1891. He and Sopa were both baptised by Chalmers. They married in 1913 at Badu and were confirmed into the Anglican Church in 1916. After Sopa's death in 1918 at Badu, Yoram married Rosie, an Aboriginal woman from Normanton, on 17 June 1918. They met at Mapoon Mission. Yoram became captain of the *James McBride*, the methodist mission lugger and in later year became a lay missionary at South Goulburn Island (Wilkins, 1928:127). As a young man of about 22, Yoram greatly impressed Revd Harries by a 'risky and heroic' act, saving the life of all aboard the missionary boat after they struck a reef in 1913, and he was accepted as Harries' first student (Harries, 1913b).
- 132 These were Yoram at Adam and Aragu at Poruma (Coconut Island), both paid by the government; there were European teachers at Badu, Erub, Mabuyag, Mer, Saibai, Thursday Island, Iama and Yorke (Blue Book of Queensland for 1915: 39).
- 133 Gemetu or Salepapela (Charlie Propeller) from Badu, the ancestor of the Charlie family, was the son of Sani Gauri and grandson of Panipan, whose mother came from Muralag. Sani's sister, Zarazar, married Joe Savage, whose brothers lived for a time at Dabu. Salepapela therefore already had links to Mua and Muralag through Yaragas, the son of the sister of Salepapela's greatgrandmother. Yaragas's family would be shifted first to Kiririri and in 1922 to Adam. Salepapela's wife, Maria Zawa, was Yoram's sister and the two brothers-in-law were LMS missionaries before becoming government teachers. Salepapela was visiting Sydney with Revd B. Butcher when his daughter, Baithie, was born in Papua in 1911 (Baithie Salepapela Sagigi to Jenny Rich, pers. comm., 1996) and completed his training course under Butcher in 1912. In March 1912 he and his fellow student, Poey Passi (later to become one of the two original Islander priests), were accepted as probationary teachers in Papua (London Missionary Society, 1912) and in 1914 he was appointed a teacher in the Fly River District at a salary of £14 per annum (London Missionary Society, 1914). After the LMS withdrew from the Strait, Salepapela became assistant to Mrs Zahel at Badu for 12 months and then transferred to Adam, where he was among the first Church of England confirmations on 15 August 1916. During his years at Adam, Salupapela, who owned a dinghy, would often row across to Badu for the weekend (The Carpentarian 1 July 1919: 605). The Bishop once accompanied him to Badu after a wedding at Adam, thus according him great prestige, and his work was often praised by the Chief Protector (see, e.g., Annual Report 1919: 4, 6).
- 134 Atuelu was also a Badu Islander, the son of Mabua and Wiba. He married Asau Gainab in 1912 at Badu and was among the first intake of students at the training college at St Paul's in February 1917 (White, 1925: 48). His oldest son, Joseph, married Kaki Daisy Rupia from Poid in 1950.
- 135 Also attending were Kabay Pilot, Francis Bowie and William Namok from St Paul's.
- 136 While in Torres Strait, McKenna held discussions with Revd W.H. MacFarlane and the bishop about the education of the Islanders and necessary reforms, including the preparation of more suitable readers (Annual Report 1927: 4-5). They would be illustrated 'and should be of ethnological as well as educational value' - the costs of preparation (£100) and illustration (£50) were paid on 19 and 24 April 1928 respectively (QSA HOM/J697/1929/215). Among the stories told was a simplified version of the final battle of Mua, based on the story told to the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition in 1898 and reproduced in Shukul ('The last battle' chapter 3, this volume).
- 137 Captain, another of Revd Butcher's Sunday school pupils, trained as a teacher at St Paul's 1920-1921, married Cissie Zaubi Namok at St Paul's in 1922 and shortly afterwards was licensed as a Catechist (Davies, 1922). The childless couple adopted or fostered several children.
- 138 List of Torres Strait native schools, dated 20 September 1932, in the file: Mission schools 1927-1935. QSA file A/15994.
- 139 The son of George Kanai and Wane Passi, grandson of Ait Passi and nephew of Revd Poey Passi, Sam Passi went on to teach on seven islands, including Thursday Island, before becoming principal of the Lockhart River school 1968-1971. He became one of Torres Strait's most respected teachers and linguists, a Justice of the Peace in 1966 and was awarded an MBE in 1979 (Horton, 1994: 848, Sam Passi, pers. comm., 1981).
- 140 In 1937 he married Nazareth Savage from Adam, daughter of Alua and Matilda Savage, and their daughter, Lillian, became the first Islander woman to join the RAAF (Annual Report 1964:16).
- 141 Tennant (1959: 182) met Jacob Gabey after his retirement and remarked upon the gold rings in his ears.
- 142 For reports of inspection see QSA A/15994: Mission schools 1927-1935.

- 143 Unless otherwise stated, population data are taken from the annual reports of the Government Resident of Thursday Island and the various Protectors, Year Books of the Diocese of Carpentaria, Queensland Government annual censuses and Queensland Year Books.
- 144 Such figures are not entirely reliable and do not include the inhabitants of St Paul's, who were not legally classified as Islanders.
- 145 I have been unable to find the original of this valuable document but an (uncited) photocopy was made by Margaret Lawrie (JOL MLC 1791-316). It is included because of its historical value and significance to the men's descendants. I have added family names and approximate dates of birth and slightly altered some spellings to conform to contemporary usage.
- 146 His descendants now sign 'Charlie.'
- 147 His descendants now sign 'Manas.'
- 148 Figure from the first Commonwealth census, which enumerated only 'half-castes.'
- 149 Figures from the first official census taken after the Aboriginal reserve on Mua was established in 1912.
- 150 A separate census for Islanders was conducted under the *The Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939*.
- 151 In all the versions Ned Warriia is said to have chased out the Pacific Islanders to Mua on account of the marriage dispute.
- 152 According to notes by Margaret Lawrie (n.d.b), the Namok and Ware families went from Mabuyag to Moa with LMS missionary Ben Butcher on 30 October 1905 but she gives no source for her information.
- 153 Aviu Ware and his adopted brother, Samuel Kawane, are recorded as having purchased the five-ton cutter Yadi in March 1907 at a cost of £20; by July her debt to PIL was £12.6.5 (Costin 1908a, 1908b). This accords with information from Sam Nako Kris (pers. comm., 2004) that the brothers purchased her after the move to work trochus. She was probably named for the small island off the west coast of Mabuyag, which was also the name of the wife of Painauda (Wallaby) from Muralag, mother of Pud (see Shnukal, 'The last battle' chapter 3, this volume). Many western island women were named for places (Eseli, 1998: 202-204).
- 154 An interesting footnote to the often difficult relationship between Church and State in Torres Strait is Butcher's comment on 17 November: 'I have nothing to do with the courthouse and though Mr Milman wants me to charge certain of the men so that he may punish them I feel I can have nothing whatever to do with such a thing.'
- 155 Lily Namok and Alit Futuna were sisters, both being daughters of Waiakap(u) from Mabuyag.
- 156 The inscription on the star memorial and bell in the centre of the village states: 'C.M. Namok was the first one to land here in 1905. His and Jack Ware's families moved from Mabuiaq to settle here.'
- 157 Babath takes its name from the Kala Lagau Ya word meaning 'sister', because it was where most of the the eastern island women lived – Ada Kennell, Rachel Abednego, Sibisap Mam, Dora Ober, Babai Oth, Serai Lawa and Esi Tibau. Being countrywomen, they called each other 'sister' (*berbet* in Meriam Mir).
- 158 The bloodline of Kusunsug is said to be from Saibai through Kaio Kris's second wife, Akabu Anu.
- 159 The name comes from Japanese *hinode* meaning 'sunrise,' a name given by James Morrison to his land, possibly because he served aboard the lugger *Hinode*. Wild cotton grew at Enodi. The girls would pluck the cotton and put it in a bag and hang it on the line using split bamboo pegs. They would beat it so that the seeds would go to the bottom. Then they would work together, stuffing the cotton into pillow casing to make fresh pillows. Everybody worked together and sang and talked and it was a good time. The sand at Enodi was white and clean. When the women had done their washing in the creek, they would wrap it in a cloth and bring it back to Enodi and lay it out on the sand, hang the washing on the line, shake the cloth and hang it on the line also (Pauline Savage Mills, pers. comm., 2006).
- 160 Namok, who lived there first, gave it the name, which is thought to come from the language of Tanna. When Namok's grandson, Steve Mam, incorporated his Torres Strait Islander organisation in Brisbane in 1984, he called it 'Iina.'
- 161 It is speculated that this is named for 'White Charlotte' (the light-skinned Charlotte Ware) and was home to the Bullio family.
- 162 The archaeologist Rowland (1985: 128) remarks that the presence of large quantities of pumice was a predominant feature of the sites he investigated on Mua.
- 163 The *bila* (blue tusk-fish, *Choerodon albigena*) from Good Bay are darker in colour than those caught on the front reef, which are a lighter greenish-blue.
- 164 'Leading up Daisy Point is a ridge of white quartz stones. They were once white crane feathers that Waia, a powerful magic man, had stuck on his face because he could not grow whiskers' (Teske, 198: 56).
- 165 Possibly from *thoeyam* (creature, young person).
- 166 Possibly from *waumer* (frigate bird, *Fregata minor*) and *pad* (hill).
- 167 The Pacific Islanders, who tended to devoice the voiced stop consonants in their pidgin, pronouncing 'b' as 'p', 'd' as 't' and 'g' as 'k', joked that the name was really 'Mobig Hill' (from 'more big', i.e., 'bigger') or even Mopig (from 'more pigs'), since many wild pigs roamed the island in the early days.
- 168 *Ith* refers to the knob on a crocodile's head and back. Tennant (1959: 224) was told that Ith Hill meant 'Rich Place.'
- 169 Letter dated 3 September 1907 and cited without source in Moa Native Title claim, 2: Area 1 (Part of Moa Island), Lot 6 on TS158.
- 170 Milman took an active part in the building up of the mission until his death in 1911.
- 171 Buchanan was a devout Englishwomen who had worked among the Pacific Islanders for many years, first in Bundaberg, where she established a school for their children, and from 1895 as a church worker on Thursday Island, where she founded a similar school, known as 'the institute.' After her ordination as deaconess, she was sent to St Paul's 'in default of an available man' (A.B.M. Review August/October 1973: 25). Florence Savage, Florence Miliana Lee and Florence Solomon from St Paul's were named after her.
- 172 Queensland Government Gazette, 1908.1.1303.
- 173 They came in the *Lacandola*, a four-ton cutter purchased by PIL from the estate of the Filipino Heriberto Zarcal and sold to Kaio Kris for £22 in February 1907 (Costin,

- 1908d; Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004). However, only his three sons by his second wife, Akabu Anu from Saibai – Jawai, Bana and Nasona – accompanied him to St Paul’s as did his two daughters: Maima and her husband, Kelma Levi; and Nalam Ebithia, who married Samuel Kawane in November 1908 at Badu after the death of her first husband, Elia Ware. Johnny, Mimia and Isakara (Keddie), Kaio Kris’s three sons by his first wife, Kelam Waidorie from Gebar (Two Brothers Island), remained on Mabusyag, Johnny and Mimia taking the surname Luffman. Kaio served the mission as policeman and Councillor. As an old man, he was described by Revd MacFarlane as follows: ‘Kaio, the round-featured bald-headed old Tanna man, stout and corpulent, had moved round the Straits (and elsewhere, too) a good deal; he was one of the crew of the *bêche-de-mer* ship *Woodlark*, whose exploits have been mentioned in other articles, and now in his old age, hoping that “Guv’ment” might give him a pension, was spending a holiday period with his friends at Mabusyag’ (Coral, 1925: 11).
- 174 Letter from Bishop of Carpentaria dated 11 February 1908 and cited in Moa Native Title claim, 2: Area 1 (Part of Moa Island), Lot 6 on TS158.
- 175 After the Government agreed to pay Florence Buchanan’s salary, she refunded it to the mission to purchase the first mission boat, the cutter *Banzai*, meaning ‘long live’ in Japanese. She was skippered by Joe Bann, and regularly ferried mail, garden produce, supplies, staff and residents between St Paul’s, Thursday Island and Badu (Annual Report 1909: 19).
- 176 Billy Abednego was already a seasoned entrepreneur, having leased the *Lorna* from PIL on 18 December 1907 at 10/- a month. In 1908 his debt with the company was £6.12.3 and he was working from Erub, selling all his produce to PIL and taking out stores from its store at Badu (Costin, 1908d).
- 177 According to Peter Gardiner of the then Queensland Department of Natural Resources (pers. comm., 1997), there was no legislative category of Informal Lease. Such leases, although locally registered, never existed officially and were replaced in the early 1970s by Permits to Occupy. They did not entail exclusive possession and any number of licenses could be issued over a given area. Often they were issued to validate squatting on crown land and, although some form of documentation was created, no formal lease document was issued. They were essentially a means of producing revenue for the Lands Department, authorising informal leaseholders for a small regular fee to occupy land upon which they would otherwise have been trespassing.
- 178 See Thursday Island Court House Cash Book 1929-1932, 4 February 1930. The *Dulcia* was purchased from the Moa Fishing Coy Ltd by the department for the Saibai Islanders at auction on 15 February 1930 for £550 and renamed the Binibin (Green, 1930).
- 179 According to a list of divers’ licenses in the Thursday Island court house, Savage was a registered diver on *Beatrice* in 1919, *Keafō* in 1920 and *Felton* in 1922.
- 180 The register includes the names of five crewmen discharged from the mission boat *Herald* on 3 January 1930: Agi Ambar (former LMS missionary, longtime *Herald* skipper and father of Revd Sagi Ambar, Moigub Aiaba and Kame Paipai all from Mabusyag; Tumema Sagaukaz from Saibai; and Samuel (probably Samuel Kawane). All these men are stated to be of St Paul’s ‘nationality.’
- 181 Johnson Gela (or Lessin) was at that time living at the Pacific Islander settlement on Port Lihou, Muralag.
- 182 I include the Saibaian Keri Futuna because of his later association with Mua. It is interesting to learn that he crewed aboard the Bowden Pearling Co boat, *Willow*, with two Abednego brothers before coming to Gerain to mine wolfram.
- 183 Thursday Island Court House Cash Book 1924-1929, 27 October 1926, when Samuel Kawane paid 5/- to the Mines Department for a miner’s right to prospect.
- 184 Queensland Government Gazette, 23 May 1910:149.
- 185 Blue Book of Queensland 1912.
- 186 She left St Paul’s on 27 November 1911, as recorded by Andrew Namok, and died on 30 December 1913 in Brisbane.
- 187 The temporary appointments may have been due to war-time difficulties and the hiatus between the resignation of Bishop White on 21 June 1914 and the appointment of Bishop Newton on 21 September 1914. Newton was enthroned on 17 October 1915.
- 188 Darke had recently arrived from England to replace Revd MacFarlane, after serving two years at Accra in Ghana (Pacific Islands Monthly, 22 November 1933). In 1936 he married Joan Hennessey, the daughter of local pearlsheller, Ernest J. Hennessey (The Parish Gazette, 1 March 1936: 5).
- 189 This list does not include temporary replacements during furloughs.
- 190 The two postulants from Iama, Elap and Maza, both aged about 18, were admitted later in 1917. ‘They will act as pupil teachers in the school, and Miss Sindel will give them special lessons in the afternoons. In this way they will be better fitted for the college course when the time comes for them to be admitted as students, and it may be possible for us to insist on the students passing an examination before they are admitted to the college in the future (A.B.M. Review 1 April 1917: 3-4). The youths are almost certainly Elap Pryce, who brought his family to live at St Paul’s after the war, and Maza Ford, who died in 1918 at Iama. Maza, like his brother, Oxen Ford, was born at Waraber (Sue Island) but grew up on Iama (Opeta Fauid, pers. comm., 2001). Bishop Newton confirmed both men at Thursday Island on 27 June 1917 in preparation for entry (Newton, 1917e).
- 191 Between December 1920 and April 1921 Hurlley visited Erub, Mer, Mabusyag, Mua, Poruma, Waraber, Dauan, Saibai and Boigu.
- 192 Poey Passi was the son of Ait Passi, mamoose of Dauar, and Gimai Magad.
- 193 His department produced an album of historically significant photographs of the mission held by the Queensland State Archives as QSA SRS 5746/1/1.
- 194 Tentative itinerary, Torres Strait tour by Governor of Queensland: September-October 1933. QSA A/58758: Islands-Torres Strait, 1933.
- 195 I have regularised the spellings and added surnames where possible.
- 196 Sonny Lifu was only about 15 when he arrived in Australia and about 60 when he died. On 30 June 1902 he gave evidence in the trial of his good friend, Peter Bee, that he was a *bêche-de-mer* fisherman living at Erub (QSA CPS13D/P10). Through his three marriages, Lifu formed extended kinship bonds with Torres Strait, Cape York and New Guinea families. His first two wives came from Torres Strait but his third wife, Mary Wive, was an Aboriginal woman from Ducie River, the widow of Harry Price from Tahiti (though half Samoan), one

- of the founders of Aurukun mission. Sonny Lifu was a countryman of Fred Walters' father, Zitha Lifu, who married Dai from Hanuabada. His own children died young and he adopted several boys said to have Loyalty Island connections: Sam (Kursar) Zitha, born Simplicio (Semples) Manantan; Fred Walters; Josaiah George Lee; Moran Lifu; and Andai Ware (Pauline Morrison Ansey and Ada Ware Tillett, pers. comm., 2004).
- 197 Sam Savika was about 20 when he came to Queensland from Rotuma and 48 when he died. He married Nay Eliza Tibeï from Mer in 1907 and brought her to live at St Paul's.
- 198 Sammy, the young son of Harry and Alion Newie, is said to have died of influenza in 1918 and his younger brother, David, either in 1918 or 1920 (Angela Newie Torenbeek, pers. comm., 2006). Unfortunately I can find no record of David's death or burial. Two of Sam and Nay Savika's children died late in 1920, probably as an indirect result of influenza, since their mother was not well: Annie aged 13 on 19 September and Eliza Mary aged 5 months on 18 December.
- 199 William Bee from Mabuyag entered the theological college early in 1925. The son of Peter Bee from Samoa, who helped develop Aurukun Mission, and Annie Hankin from Mabuyag, he died of tuberculosis at St Paul's on 10 May 1926 at the age of 21, less than a year after his marriage to Louisa Busch from Mapoon Mission (The Carpentarian 1 April 1925:78, 1 July 1926:143; Ward,1908: 6).
- 200 The Malaitan, John Maratta from Poid, also died of tuberculosis in 1929.
- 201 The Dogai was a large ketch of nearly 15 tons, chartered from PIL for six months to serve as the mission boat. It was crewed by Badu men with Joseph Lui as captain (Bayton, 1965: 122). Lui, the son of Lui Geteno from Lifu, an LMS missionary, became the first Torres Strait Islander Anglican priest.
- 202 After retiring at the end of 1929 for health reasons, Lowah and his family returned to live permanently at St Paul's and Jimmy Koraba from Saibai took his place (The Carpentarian, 1 January 1930: 213). Koraba was replaced by another St Paul's man, Miseron Levi, who had to retire in November 1934 because of illness, after which Lama Buzi from Badu took over (The Carpentarian, 1 October 1934: 588; Year Book, 1934-35: 44).
- 203 'Classes are conducted on the professorial system, and the students receive lectures in the Old and New Testaments, Prayer Book, Doctrine, Early Church History, Reading, and Sermon preparation. Devotional reading occupies the first quarter of an hour each day. The students conduct the daily offices and assist the mission priest on Sundays. The building and repairing of houses, making of gardens, and various other duties all serve as training for those who will one day go out as leaders of a people now wholly given up to the service of the one true God' (Schomberg, 1924: 75).
- 204 I cannot identify this individual: he is not Jimmy Futuna, Jimmy Morrison or Jimmy Toto, who were all confirmed in the mid-1920s, nor Jimmy Tanna, an Aboriginal boy from Palm Island, who was born c.1920 and adopted by Jack and Alice Tanna. Steve Mam (pers. comm., 2004) tells me that Alice was the first assistant matron at Palm Island; she and her husband adopted Jimmy and brought him back with them to St Paul's. Jimmy Sineng, who was living at St Paul's in 1921, was probably Sineng Tanna, son of Tawaka and Baith Tanna and brother of Neri.
- 205 Minutes of meeting called by the the Bishop of Carpentaria, for the purpose of forming a diocesan council of the Mothers' Union, held at Bishop's House, Thursday Island, 1 May 1931. JOL OM.AV 12/2.
- 206 During the first official inspection of the Poruma school Harry Captain, then head teacher, told Fox that most of what he knew about his duties 'he picked up from Mrs Smallwood, now at Yorke but formerly at St Paul's (Fox, 1924). However, I can find no other reference to Mrs Smallwood's tenure at St Paul's in official reports, diocesan journals or private diaries.
- 207 The bishop licensed Miss Prior as St Paul's teacher on 13 November 1925 (Davies, 1925).
- 208 Edna Gray trained as an infant teacher at Sydney Teacher's College in 1923-24 and joined the staff in April 1929. She was licensed by the bishop in May (Davies, 1929) but was retrenched at the end of 1931 for lack of funds. As a result of her experiences there and at Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls' School, she helped form an Aboriginal Schools Committee, part of the NSW Teachers' Federation, to improve Indigenous education and was active in FCAATSI. In 1990 at the age of 85 she became the oldest graduate from Murdoch University in WA and was still alive in 2005 (Blackshaw, 1990).
- 209 Captain married Cissie Zaubi Namok from St Paul's and he continued to teach there until his retirement at the end of 1949 due to the onset of blindness.
- 210 These were Laurette and Daisy, both of whom had Aboriginal mothers and European fathers. Having no family to care for them, they had been taken to St Paul's and were 'entirely dependent upon the Hostel Bursary Fund for their maintenance.' Laurette was born around 1934 and had been deserted by her mother in the bush near the Lockhart River Mission. 'When she was found she was trying to feed herself by grubbing for berries and roots. She tagged on after her mother's tribe and was fed if and when anyone remembered her. She was at the Lockhart for a while and was then sent here. She arrived in a pitiable condition, as on the journey she had developed whooping cough - at that time it was raging everywhere. Had she died we would not have been surprised, as her period of care at Lockhart had not been long enough to eradicate the results of her early years of neglect, and whooping cough on top of all was a serious matter. However, she recovered and is now getting quite gratifyingly plump, as well as shooting upwards' (A.B.M. Review, 1 July 1939: 106). Daisy Jack was born around 1922, the daughter of Mary and Ted Evans and full sister of Albert Cottis from New Mapoon. Daisy and Albert were brought up by Jack Sergeant from Seven Rivers after their mother's death, hence Daisy's surname of Jack. She was to be 'the responsibility of the mission until she is married' and lived for a time with Revd Pilot's family and then with the Gilberts as a housegirl until she married Jack Waio Ware, son of Jack and Uruba Ware, in 1941.
- 211 Kitty brought her niece, Florence Savage (now Kennedy), with her from Lockhart as a school monitor to help with Grades II and IV. After Flo resigned at the end of 1939, Wagi Passi was appointed in her place (A.B.M. Review, 1 August 1939: 149-150, 1 June 1940: 86).
- 212 Tenepau Namok was adopted to Jimmy and Alit Futuna and then to Tom and Dora Ober. She married Malachi Levi from St Paul's in 1925, died on 9 August 1943 and is buried at St Paul's.

- 213 Harriet became the matron of the girls training hostel and acted as secretary of the Mothers' Union during the war. She married Nasona Kris in 1942 and died on 16 May 1961.
- 214 Lena Gela was the third child of the marriage, the first two, Billy and Lily, being born on Mabuyag (Dora Namok Uiduldum, pers. comm., 2004). She married Revd Kabay Pilot at St Paul's in 1928 and died on 1 November 1961.
- 215 May was adopted by Josaiah and Anna Lee after Anna remarried; in 1938 she married William Mam from St Paul's.
- 216 Elia (written Alea on his tombstone) was the son of Ned and Demaga Ware and one of the pioneers of the settlement. He was born around 1887 and had recently married Nalam Ebithia Kris. His young son, named Ned, died that year and was buried beside him (The Carpentarian 1 October 1909:289). Nalam Ebithia took her younger brother, Bana Kris, with them to St Paul's to help look after the boy (Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004). Harry Captain told Margaret Lawrie that the boy was raised by his grandfather, Kaio Kris, and that he was aged about four years old when he died, although that would make his father only 15 at his birth. Neither the marriage nor the birth are recorded. Two years after Elia's death, his widow married Samuel Kawane, supposedly at the insistence of Aviu Ware (Angela Ware Morrison, pers. comm., 1996).
- 217 Dinah and her sister, Kaitu, who married the Rotuman, George Eroa, were the daughters of Sam Filemon from Rotuma and his first wife, Gada Ware from Mabuyag. The girls were taken by an LMS Samoan missionary family and, after the LMS withdrew from Torres Strait, to Erub, where Dinah lived at Badog and was adopted by the Kivat family. Leaving her brother, Jimmy Tibau, at Erub, she went to St Paul's as a single girl to live with Sam Savika, her father's countryman. At first they lived at Savika Point but moved to the village because it was too far to go to church (Sam Kris, pers. comm., 1982).
- 218 I have made some alterations and additions to the names to conform to modern spellings and enable contemporary readers to identify them; and arranged the list alphabetically by surname.
- 219 One of their children, George Wilson Williams, died at St Paul's in 1929 aged two years.
- 220 According to his daughter, Angela Ware Morrison (pers. comm., 2004), her father began to consider leaving Erub after the MacFarlanes left for Thursday Island in 1924. Revd MacFarlane used to speak to him about the benefits of removing the family from departmental control.
- 221 A photograph taken in the mid-1920s of Aviu Ware and his family at the old Jardine home at Somerset is held by AIATSIS. MacFarlane collection N4772.40.
- 222 Variation between departmental and Commonwealth census figures occurred because 'the Queensland Act determines the status of a person consistent with his breed and location of habitation while the Commonwealth Census has a different method of recording' (Annual Report, 1963: 1).
- 223 According to Stephen Mam (pers. comm., 2004), Baith came from Mua.
- 224 John Wesley was the son of a LMS missionary, born c.1868 'on the British ship *John Wesley* between Fiji and Rotuma.' He was a man 'of extraordinary strength and endurance, and a fine seaman', who captained the mission boat *Francis Pritt* (White, 1918: 179). After marrying Lily Gabey from Mer, sister of Jacob and Revd Sailor Gabey, in 1908, he settled at Iama. It is not known when the couple came to live at St Paul's but it was probably by July 1912 (A.B.M. Review, 1 September 1912: 108). They died and are buried at St Paul's – he in 1916 and she the following year.
- 225 Poey Passi came to St Paul's in 1917 to study for the priesthood and in 1918 married Alice Namok, daughter of Charlie Mukubi and Lily Namok.
- 226 This is probably Bob Barraga, policeman during the 1920s, after whom Barraga Rock and Barraga Passage are named.
- 227 I visited Port Lihou on 3 August and 7 September 1996 while researching the Pacific Islander communities of Torres Strait and this account is based on Shnukal (2001).
- 228 Register of Informal Leases, Nos. 575-869. QSA LAN/67.
- 229 Jimmy Toto came from Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, and became the stepfather of Michael Bourne after his marriage to the widow Tina Taum in 1920. According to Angela Ware Morrison (pers. comm., 1996), Toto went from his home at St Paul's to Port Lihou to cut sandalwood from nearby Zuna and firewood from Muralag, which he sold on Thursday Island. He died on 21 March 1947 at Port Lihou and was buried the same day. His grave lies a little behind the line of coconut palms above the beach. The stone gives his date of death as 3 September 1945.
- 230 Sam Solomon was the brother of Napiu Solomon Abednego and Baith Solomon Bourne.
- 231 On the day the war with Japan was declared, 359 Japanese were detained on Thursday Island: 'Yokohama, the Japanese quarter, was surrounded with barbed-wire fencing to make it a secure, though temporary, internment camp. Soldiers armed with fixed bayonets guarded the gate. However, daily life was allowed to continue, with the children still attending school' (Nagata, 1996: 68). The Japanese divers still working at sea were arrested as they returned, although Bradley (1995: 17) claims that many others escaped in their diving boats, before the authorities could arrest them.
- 232 After the fall of Rabaul on 23 January 1942, the women and children of Thursday Island were ordered to evacuate from 28 January.
- 233 Japanese bombing of Ngurupai began on 14 March 1942 and continued on 18 March, 30 April, 11 May, 7 July, 30 July and 1 August 1942. The last raid took place on 18 June 1943 (Bradley, 1995: 20).
- 234 Bill Wasaga, for example, was on a trochus boat in 1941 on the way back home when the army commandeered it and brought boat and crew back to Thursday Island. He enlisted the following year in the TSLIB Water Transport Unit (Wasaga, 2002, 2006).
- 235 These boats were *Cessa*, *Timena*, *Telai*, *Silen*, *Sania*, *Petta*, *Macoy*, *Uropi*, *Thelma*, *Masig*, *Naianga*, *Yaza*, *Poruma*, *Caroline* and *Nancy*.
- 236 She was replaced in November 1944 by the *Lankara* at a cost of £475 for the use of the St Paul's people (Davies, 1944; Year Book, 1947: 23-24).
- 237 Osborne puts the number at 61.
- 238 The last soldier to return to Mua was Sammy Walter Toto in August 1946.
- 239 According to Stewart (1996: 123), the TSLIB was formed on 1 March 1943 'with transfers from the Torres Strait Infantry Company and the Torres Strait Employment

- Company. Mainly an infantry fighting unit, it also had the ability to conduct field engineer tasks.' There were four companies, men from Mua serving in A and B companies. Thomas Lowah (n.d.:11/76) from St Paul's tells us that there were more men from Mua (presumably St Paul's) serving in A Company, whereas B Company was made up of men from Badu, Poid and Mabayag.
- 240 David met his wife in Papua New Guinea and became a naturalised PNG citizen after the war.
- 241 The Torres Shire Council voted to name a Thursday Island suburb after Kamuel Abednego in 1986 (Torres News 24 June 1986).
- 242 Williamson (1994: 128) states that by 1940 there were 54 Islander teachers as against five White teachers.
- 243 Revd Sailor Gabey ministered to Mitchell River Mission during the war.
- 244 The others were Mabayag, Saibai, Masig, Mer and Erub.
- 245 The St Paul's Council and court operated much as before but this was not possible at Poid, although Wees Nawia continued as Chairman.
- 246 The Abednego brothers were born on Erub but raised at St Paul's, after their father, Billy Rotumah/Abednego, moved there in the early 1920s. Their mother, Rachel Sariro Caledonia from Erub, whose mother was a Mabayag woman, is buried at St Paul's.
- 247 Among the war-time deaths was Daniel Passi, formerly the Poid teacher, who died of malaria at Boigu on 12 June 1940. His wife, Nazareth Savage Passi, was born at Adam and his daughter, Lena Lilian, born at Boigu, was adopted to Wees and Lizzie Nawia and married Oza Bosun from Poid (Oza Bosun, pers. comm., 1982).
- 248 Solomon Faudid had married the widow Alima Kaur Davies in 1931 at Thursday Island and they were living at Poid at the time of his death.
- 249 Mary Annie's mother was Salome Lee from St Paul's.
- 250 Tassie Cowley was Edward (Ned) Morrison's first wife. They married in 1931 at Mabayag and were living at St Paul's at the time of her death.
- 251 Mary was the daughter of Aviu and Petherie Ware and spent her early years at St Paul's.
- 252 Gaulai was the son of Gaulai and Umis from Mabayag and adopted to Umis' brother, Samuel Kawane. He was living at St Paul's at the time of his death.
- 253 Fred Pedro's tombstone on St Paul's has his death date as 15 March 1943 at age 68. There is no official record of his burial in the church register.
- 254 Jean Serai was the daughter of Onee and Lorna Cloudy. The Cloudy family were visiting the Kennells, who were working wolfram, when Jean Serai died (Pauline Morrison Ansey, pers. comm., 2004). She is buried in the St Paul's cemetery. Onee Cloudy also crewed on the *Dulcia* in 1929.
- 255 Fanny Doso was the daughter of Captain Oth and his wife Mabege Babai from Mer. She was born on Dauan in 1926 while her father was serving as deacon there. Her brother, William, married a St Paul's woman, Sasau Gela, and their children were born on St Paul's. A sister, Mary Sorbie, married Elia Ware from St Paul's; two brothers, Paul and David were born on St Paul's. There were prior connections too between Captain Oth and other residents: his sister, Esi, was the second wife of Fred Tibau from Rotuma and Esi was also related to Sibusap, wife of Yessie Samoa.
- 256 Some of those who died in Kubin's early years are buried at Poid, such as Adadi Ara, who died at Kubin in August 1944.
- 257 Gilbert then travelled to Brisbane to report to the military authorities, after which he resigned his position at St Paul's on account of his wife's health (A.B.M. Review 1 May 1942: 65, 1 June 1942: 82).
- 258 Revd Joseph Lui, one of the first Islander priests, had died the year before in hospital on Thursday Island after a short illness. His remains now lie in the south chapel of St Paul's church.
- 259 Gayai then opened his own store and dealt with Burns Philp and Coy (Sam Nako Kris, pers. comm., 2004).
- 260 Addie Noretta Oui was born at Erub, the daughter of Ebenes and Lily Gela Oui. She came to St Paul's after the death of her father and married Sam Nako Kris from St Paul's in 1951.
- 261 James and Baibai Eseli were siblings, the children of Peter and Baibai Eseli from Mabayag. Their older brother, Dubi, married Lela Rattler from Poid in 1946 and they settled at Kubin.
- 262 Bennie (1942) praises Kabay Pilot, 'descendent of the priest kings of Darnley' as a man 'about whom some sort of greatness genuinely hung.'
- 263 Gerain on the northeast side of Mua was home to Gelam's mother, Usar, who lived there at a place called Gebalagath. After Gelam's birth, she decided to leave Gebalagath and move further east to Nagu Ubar, near Bulbul, 'a name still used today' (Lawrie, 1972).
- 264 Keri Futuna was adopted as a son by Jimmy Futuna from St Paul's.
- 265 Iona Asai from Saibai, also went to live with his family at Gerain to mine wolfram. His daughter, Loretta Asai Manas, told me (pers. comm., 1982) that she was aged only five when her mother died and she came to live at Gerain and that 'a Nona brother from Badu was also there and two or three men from Saibai.' Iona Asai was Carolus Isua's father's cousin.
- 266 Inquest into death of Waikai Isobel Bewan. QSA JUS/N1234/1/1954.
- 267 Commonwealth electoral roll, 15 February 1963.
- 268 There is no comparable report for St Paul's.
- 269 Church Day for St Peter's is 29 June.
- 270 Aspects of their subsequent history are discussed in Sharp (1992) and Burchill (1972).
- 271 Appendix VI: Water supply scheme for village on Moa Island and Appendix VII: Water supply scheme for Kubin Village on Moa Island can be found in QSA TR1809/7 [1949].
- 272 An Act to pay a maternity allowance of £5 was assented to in October 1912 but women who were 'aboriginal natives of Australia, Papua, or the islands of the Pacific' were excluded from its provisions. On 1 July 1941 the *Commonwealth Child Endowment Act* was introduced and, for the first time, Torres Strait Islander (and Aboriginal) parents of dependent children became eligible for Federal child endowment payments under certain conditions. These were specified by Regulation 16 of the Act: 'Where endowments are granted in respect of Aboriginal children living in a reserve, settlement or mission supervised by a Protector of Aborigines the endowment may, subject to the approval of the Commissioner, be applied to the general maintenance, training and advancement of the children residing on that reserve, settlement or mission

- (DeMaria, 1986: 32-34). However, as DeMaria points out, Queensland was reluctant to cede control of any Islander income and secured an agreement with the Commonwealth whereby the payments were channeled through the Sub-Department of Native Affairs; this was the case until the early 1980s, according to John Scott (pers. comm., 2006). Within the limits imposed by the department this new income 'proved an immeasurable benefit to mothers and children', allowing them 'to purchase extra foodstuffs, clothing and small luxuries and generally to maintain a higher standard of living than previously prevailed' (Annual Report 1942:2). As far as I can gather, the first child endowment cards were made out in September 1941 but Islanders were granted full social security under the Commonwealth *Invalid and Old-age Pensions Amendment Act* of 1942 only after a meeting of the full Cabinet on 24 March 1942 (DeMaria, 1986: 35; McCorquodale, 1986: 10). The total amount of all military payments – 'wages, dependants' allowances, etc.' – paid to Islanders by the Commonwealth at two-thirds the European rate, was £180,000. Savings from these payments were used after the war to buy boats, houses, building material, furniture, domestic and gardening equipment. At the end of the war 445 Islander parents were receiving social security payments; by the end of 1946 '406 Islanders were receiving child endowment, whilst 97 others were receiving either old-age or invalid pensions' and 73 were receiving war pensions. By 1960 the number of parents receiving child endowment payments had more than doubled to 967 (Annual Reports, 1946: 17, 1947: 21, 1960: 10).
- 273 'The policy of the Queensland Government applicable to its aboriginal peoples is clear and purposeful. It aims at the ultimate assimilation of all aboriginals and half bloods into the State's community life' (Annual Report, 1958: 2).
- 274 Hashimoto (1983: 571) specifies the major fish catches of the 1970s as: dugong, green turtle, beche-de-mer, crayfish, rock lobster, prawn, king fish, green fish.
- 275 Cutting from Courier Mail, dated 19 March 1974, in Margaret Lawrie's files on the turtle farming project. JOL MLC 1791-286.
- 276 Monthly Bulletin of the Queensland Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Islanders, 41, January-February 1966: 2.
- 277 Inquests from the 1970s show a surprising number of 'assisted' Islanders: not until 1972 would the Director officially proclaim his Department's policy goal as the achievement of 'complete equality' for Indigenous Queenslanders (Annual Report, 1972: 3).
- 278 This referendum to amend Section 51(26) of the Australian Constitution and repeal Section 127 was passed with almost 91% in favour.
- 279 Sheehan (1987: 39) lists Commonwealth legislation 1973-1984 in matters affecting *Indigenous Australians as the Aboriginal Affairs (Arrangement with the States) Act 1973*, the *Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Queensland Discriminatory Laws) Act 1975*, the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976*, the *Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Queensland Reserves and Community Self Management) Act 1978*, the *Aboriginal Development Commission Act 1980*, the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage (Interim Protection) Act 1984* and the *Torres Strait Fisheries Act 1984*.
- 280 'By an amendment to the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* which became effective on the 21st May, 1962, aboriginal natives of Australia are eligible for enrolment on the Commonwealth Electoral Rolls and are entitled to vote at Commonwealth elections and referendums.' Enrolment was voluntary but, once enrolled, voting was compulsory' (Annual Report, 1963: 5).
- 281 George Mye submitted a proposal for local autonomy during the 1978 review of the *Torres Strait Islanders Act* (Mam and Foley, 1980: 233).
- 282 Undeterred, Akee unsuccessfully tried to register an offshoot political party, Torres United Party Prince of Wales (TUPOW), in the late 1980s with plans for massive development of the eastern half of that island (John Scott, pers. comm., 2006).
- 283 The Torres News, 1-7 September 2000: 12, reported that Torres Strait had the highest rate of diabetes in Australia: one quarter of all adults suffered from it, as opposed to around 7% of the general Australian population. According to Professor Martin Silink, head of the International Diabetes Federation, by late 2006 that number had slightly increased to 30%, with an estimated 3-4% of Islander children aged 6-14 having undiagnosed Type 2 diabetes (Breakfast Program, ABC Radio National, 13 November 2006).
- 284 Background Briefing, ABC Radio National, 13 December 1998.
- 285 No Muan captains are listed in Annual Report, 1949: *Lankara* had been renamed *Mabuiag* and its skipper was Joseph Mooka from Mabuyag.
- 286 Inquest into the death of Chusei Gushi, 7 April 1958. QSA JUS/N1324/420/58.
- 287 Inquest into the death of Wasaga Miskin, 8 June 1958. QSA QS787/1/6.
- 288 Inquest into the death of Paul Bowia, 14 August 1958 and 4 September 1958. QSA JUS/N1324/418/58.
- 289 Inquest into the death of Karakasoma Isakara Kris, 30 November 1957. QSA JUS/N1309/36/58.
- 290 Inquest into the death of Gordon Mandi. QSA QS745/1/40/1967.
- 291 Inquest into the death of Eddie Bowie. QSA QS 745/1/21/71.
- 292 Inquest into the death of Tadao Nishihagi. QSA QS745/1/46/1968.
- 293 A similar situation existed at Poid. An early child endowment claim was received from Matilda Nawarie of Poid for her two young children and, after the decision to pay additional social security payments to Islanders, Naika Goba Luta from Kubin was one of many Mualgal to benefit: she received an old-age pension from January 1948 and a widow's pension from March 1948.
- 294 The beginnings of the Torres Strait co-operative movement are discussed more fully in Shnukal ('Wolfram mining' chapter 6, this volume). The objectives of the society are set out in correspondence in QSA A/59569/9N/25: Islands-Moa Island. Moa Island Christian Co-operative Society Ltd, which also contains a listing of the full name, address and occupation of each member of the original Board of Directors and applicants for membership. Unless otherwise specified, all subsequent information about the bakery comes from that file.
- 295 The original board members were Wees Nawia and Sailsa Miskin from Kubin; Keri Futuna from Gerain; Jacob Abednego and Lui Mills from St Paul's; and from Badu

- Ben Nona, then IIB Branch Manager, Mota Charlie and Tanu Nona. Of the 31 original members (including the Board), 21 came from Kubin, nine from St Paul's and one from Badu: Kitty Manas, Lily Rattler, Danangai Namai, Makeer Bosun, Phillip Wasaga, Misick Genai, Ngailu Bani, Cessa Bani, Lela Eseli, Eselina Nawie, Joyce Ubai, Maletta Luta, Matilda Savage, Memeru Tom, Rattler Tom, Seriat Charlie, Katua Namai, Erebu Miskin, Saila Miskin and Nancy Rattler from Kubin; Salome Mills, Napau Pedro, Samuel Kawane, Penina Pryce, Kailang Kawane, Muriel Kris and Abigail Kris from St Paul's; and Ben Nona from Badu.
- 296 The correspondence is found in QSA A/59553/9G/3: Island-Kubin-Investigations-Wolfram deposits (Moa, Kubin).
- 297 Tennant (1959: 96-100) gives an account of the origins and purpose of Tranby. After the war Revd Alf Clint was looking for a large house for young Indigenous men he intended bringing down to apprentice and train as engineers and accountants. Revd John Hope offered him Tranby in the suburb of Glebe as a residential college, 'a charming old house near the University which had been left to John Hope by two elderly ladies.' It was deemed to the co-operative section of the Australian Board of Missions to be run on a co-operative basis. 'At the public meeting chaired by the Archbishop of Sydney, addressed by Federal and State Ministers for Native Affairs and the heads of the Wholesale Co-operative Society, members of the public were asked to take out shares in the Training Centre.' This money was used to fund the trainees who came, the government would pay their fares and Clint's 'trade union friends would arrange to indenture them as apprentices to their chosen trades.'
- 298 'Crayfishing is a growing industry providing employment for some 60 Islanders full time and 30 part time. Two Islander-owned vessels are engaged in fishing and produced 47,873 lb [21,715kg but possibly the amount was 47,873kg] of crayfish tails, value \$74,692, during the year.' Prawning employed another 50 Islanders and brought in over \$50,000. In 1974 crayfishing was even more profitable, exporting 57,658kg of tails to southern markets. These 'cottage type' industries, which depended on freezer units and a good electricity supply previously not available, allowed the Islanders to be 'self-employed and live on their home islands' (Annual Reports, 1973: 25, 1974: 22).
- 299 Samuel Kawane was the first St Paul's baker, erecting a bakery on his own land – the ruins of its oven are still visible. People could not tell me when this was but Samuel gave his occupation as baker when he married Nalam Kris in 1955. According to Ada Ware Tillett (pers. comm., 2006), Samuel Kawane's bakery was called Baker Shop, Jacob Abednego's was called Bakery.
- 300 Abednego, who was now the QCAATSI Torres Strait representative, made the initial contact when he was in Sydney.
- 301 Killoran, while overtly sympathetic, is revealed to be sceptical about the bakery, which, although located at St Paul's and initially employing St Paul's labour, was not solely a St Paul's project: Wees Nawia and Anu Ara from Kubin were also deeply involved, attended the society's meetings and contributed to its policy decisions.
- 302 According to Grattan (1973), by 1973 there were 100 farms with a total of 29,000 turtles and the enterprise had cost the Government \$645,000 since 1970.
- 303 St Paul's held annual elections to elect five Councillors, who received no payment for their services to the community. The Chairman was appointed by the Bishop, the four others being those who received the most votes (Annual Report, 1953: 48; Year Book, 1953: 24).
- 304 See NAA A6122/40/273: Communist Party of Australia activity and interest in Thursday Island, 11 December 1949. Peel's informant told him how the St Paul's people 'had special privileges not shared by most of his countrymen; for instance it was easier for him to get to the mainland if he had money, which was impossible for the others; he even received all his wages in cash. But he told us how the full-blooded Torres Straits Islanders from the other side of his island received only £1 in cash of their £5 baby bonus, the rest being banked for them by the "Protector", the same with wages [...] He told us how his countrymen were barred from entering the pubs on Thursday Island, and a lot more' (Peel, 1947: 9).
- 305 The magistrates court bench record and summons book, Thursday Island, 1953-1956 is held as QSA QS787/1/5.
- 306 This practice was agreed upon at a meeting in June 1937, when 'it was unanimously agreed to set aside one day each week on which everyone over 16 years should give their services to the mission[...] Any person who wishes assistance lets the Superintendent know and this work is then done for the people by the villagers on what is now called "Mission Day"' (A.B. M. Review, 1 August 1938: 140).
- 307 Elap's sister, Sopa, was Yoram's first wife and taught with him at Adam from 1915 until their resignation in 1917.
- 308 The latter couple and their 11 children made their home at Kubin: according to his tombstone, the 'Nawia and Savage families accepted him as their gift that will always be remembered.'
- 309 Queensland Government Gazette 1985.2.1369.
- 310 No school was held after April and no school returns were received that year.
- 311 See the file on St Paul's Mission School 1950-1959. QSA TR1158/E1346/Box 668.
- 312 The 1963 electoral roll shows that some members of the following ex-Kubin families were now living on Ngurupai: Aken, Ara, Asera, Dudu, Genai, Luta, Manas, Misick, Miskin, Nawie, Paul, Rattler, Tom, Wasaga, Wees, Wigness and Young. By the time of the 1971 electoral roll, 55 adults from Kubin had resettled on Ngurupai, leaving only 45 at Kubin. Almost all families had members living in both communities.
- 313 In 1982 the rent on a MAW house was \$20 per week (Mary Kay, pers. comm., 1982).
- 314 Over 40 years before there was talk of constructing an airstrip on Mua on the 'large flat' extending from the beach near Gibb's Head inland to the mining area. 'This flat is lightly timbered and seems quite suitable for the construction of an aerodrome' (Shepherd, 1942: 3). Before the opening of the new airstrip, Muans had depended on a helicopter service, which connected with service flights from Ngurupai (Annual Report, 1982: 15).
- 315 The post-war mission boat, named the *Herald*, was manned for short periods by an almost volunteer crew. 'The Church pays lower wages than the IIB and of course far lower than men could earn as divers, and islanders make a sacrifice in shipping on her. They are

- not asked to make it for more than a couple of months or so: it is a willing sacrifice for their Church, I felt, although life on the *Herald* is also a bit of a holiday compared with work on one of the IIB boats' (Raven-Hart, 1949: 131).
- 316 Many visitors from Kubin, Gerain, Thursday Island and Mabuyag attended. A tall concrete pillar, standing on two steps and surmounted by a cross, was unveiled by Kitty Ware, president of the Mothers' Union. It marks the spot where Florence Buchanan landed 50 years before and a tablet at the base of the pillar bears the following inscription:
 Florence Griffiths Buchanan
 Deaconess
 Landed here May 19th, 1908
 This stone was unveiled May 19th, 1958
- 317 See Kubin health report for September 1950 in QSA A/59553/9G/8: Islands-Kubin-Hospital Reports, 1947-1971.
- 318 See the incomplete series of health reports for Kubin in QSA A/59553/9G/8: Islands-Kubin-Hospital Reports, 1947-1971.
- 319 Aidabu and Dadu were midwives at Adam; Salome Waina Bosun and others at Poid. Linnewata delivered many children on Thursday Island before retiring to St Paul's but early midwives who are now remembered there are Maima Levi, and her daughter, Waidorie Levi Ober, Annie Kemp, Kalis Gela, Saulili Zitha, Sibisab Samoa and Geni Marou.
- 320 Hashimoto was reluctant to adduce a possible alternative explanation based on the different ethnic origins of the two communities.
- 321 He was accompanied by Bishop Davies and Revd Ian Shevill, Queensland secretary of the Australian Board of Missions. During that visit Fr Shevill made a film about island life (Year Book 1945-1947: 28).
- 322 Revd Sailor Gabey was admitted to St Paul's College on 29 January 1920, ordained deacon on 4 May 1924 and ministered to Saibai, Dauan and Boigo 1927-1928 before being priested on 20 September 1931. Although he served at Poid 1935-1937, most of his work was conducted among Aboriginal people on the mainland. Soon after his ordination he went to Lockhart River Mission, served also at Cowal Creek and became chaplain and school teacher at the Mitchell River Mission from 1938 until his sudden death on 28 August 1945. Gabey belonged to one of the chieftain families of Mer and was prevented by his death from taking up an appointment there in 1946 (A.B.M. Review, 1 October 1945: 154; Bayton, 1965: 138, 161, 217).
- 323 Lui Dalton Bon was born in September 1938 on Mer, the son of Lui and Mabege Bon. He became a theological student in Adelaide in the late 1970s (The Sentinel, 10 February 1978: 9). He and Morrison Ted Mosby, a future bishop of Carpentaria, were ordained on 9 February 1982.
- 324 Kapua Anson was born in 1934 at Mer, the son of Philip and Gebie Zaro Anson (or Ansey). He may have come to St Paul's in 1947 for the wedding of his older sister, Agnes, to Donald Smith Pitt.
- 325 Crooke first visited the Strait in the 1940s as a young soldier, returning in 1949 to work as a labourer, cook and trochus diver on the lugger *Panton*, when he stayed at St Paul's. As well as the Stations of the Cross, he completed a reredos painting for the St James Church at the Lockhart River Mission in 1954 and a series of later paintings and lithographs based on his time in the Strait: a portrait of Fr Boggo Pilot (Island priest 1958), The wedding, Thursday Island 1958, Sunday, Thursday Island 1960, Island grace 1962, Girl embroidering 1962-63, Island song 1965 (Smith, 1997: 14, 24; Torres News, 30 January-5 February 1998: 18).
- 326 As Bishop of Carpentaria, Hall-Matthews (2004: 34) re-opened St Paul's College at Thursday Island in 1989, with Charlotte Ware Hankin's grandson, Canon Gayai Hankin, as principal.
- 327 In a letter from George Passi to Margaret Lawrie, dated 25 October 1973, he tells her that he has applied for the job of Liaison Officer and started work at Kubin, where Joe Mairu was the head teacher. JOL MLC 1791-155/2.
- 328 Walter Nona from Badu was acting head teacher.
- 329 Gabai Min from Mabuyag was acting head teacher this year. He taught for most of his career at Badu and the office of the Badu Island School is called Gabai Min Room 'in honour of Gabai Min a well loved teacher.'
- 330 Born into a Jewish family, Rechnitz was licensed as headmaster on 15 April 1948 and ordained a Church of England priest on 28 March 1954. (Year Book, 1966). He was a graduate of Humboldt University in Berlin and accounted a good teacher and an excellent musician.
- 331 Philip MacFarlane joined the staff in 1948 and taught at St Paul's until 1954 (MacFarlane, AIATSIS MS 2616/2/21).
- 332 In 1962 the bishop granted the Councillors' request that the school-leaving age for girls be reduced from 16 to 15 years; boys could already leave at 15 (Annual Report, 1962: 20).
- 333 One of the students, Ada Ware Tillett (pers.comm., 2006), remembers two of the others as Kathy Pryce Martin and her sister Cessa Pryce Mahommet.
- 334 The Departmental estimate of the Torres Strait Islander population in 1961 was 8009, of whom 7368 lived on island reserves (Annual Report, 1961: 1).
- 335 Paiwan was also a cousin of the Namoks (Kathy Wapau Mene and Dora Namok Uiduldum, pers. comm., 1982) and served as church councillor in 1973 (A.B.M. Review, August/October 1973: 23). The couple remained at St Paul's and are buried in the local cemetery.
- 336 Rubi, a childless widower, is said to have come from Kubin and wandered in from the bush. Gayai Ware, the chairman and store manager, took him in (Ada Ware Tillett and Angela Newie Torenbeek, pers. comm., 2004), indicating a family relationship. He died at St Paul's in 1949. A New Guinean named Rubi was the father of Pad, who married Paiwan. Pad Paiwan, Lily Namok and Alit Futuna were sisters. An unmarried man named Aingana, son of Gobari and Koi from Mabuyag from the Dugong and Shovel-nosed Skate clans, lived on the southeast side of Mabuyag in 1900 (Eseli, 1998:106; Gaulai, 1900).
- 337 However, at least one family returned to Mua, probably at the end of 1949, after permission was sought from Kubin Council for the return from Palm Island of the widowed Genamai Geia, brother of Kaur Agai, together with his three sons and their families, a total of 11 people (QSA QS 505/1 Box 437). Geia was born in c.1889, died in 1955 and is buried at Kubin. He is recorded as being a resident of Adam in 1915. The Geia family, with its dual Torres Strait and Palm Island heritage through the

- marriage of Genamai Geia to Elizabeth Kyle, remains prominent in Palm Island affairs to this day (Message Stick, ABC TV, 17 November 2006).
- 338 Ohshima (1983: 109) found an ethnically-mixed married adult population at Kubin in 1979: '35% Muralag Islanders, 25% Mua Islanders, 16% of mixed Samoan-Aboriginal descent and 13% from Badu.'
- 339 He counted only children living with their birth parents, i.e., not stillbirths or adoptions. Of the 14 families at St Paul's four had over ten children and four had under four children. Of the 18 families at Kubin none had over ten children, three had 8-9 children, seven had 4-7 children and eight had under three children.
- 340 Northern W.A. was opened up to mining in the mid-1960s by ethnically mixed railway gangs who went from Mt Isa for Utah Construction and built the connecting line from Port Hedland. Three men with St Paul's connections were pivotal: Patrick Levi was the main supervisor; his second-in-command was John Kennell; and the foreman was Gibson Hudson, son of Alfred and Sisan Kawane Hudson.
- 341 Both Aviu and Periotha are buried in Cairns.
- 342 May Yawamit Namok Tanna was the daughter of William and Zaubi Namok and had numerous links with St Paul's, where she lived before moving to Cairns (Dora Namok Uiduldam, pers. comm., 2004). Yawamit's mother was Muradh Morrison's aunt; Charlie Mukubi Namok, one of the St Paul's pioneers, was her brother; one sister, Anna, married Josiah Lee from St Paul's; another sister, Alice, married Jack Tanna and they too eventually made their home at St Paul's.
- 343 Three members of the Waia family from Saibai, already connected with St Paul's through the marriage of Waia with Wiba Ober, oldest daughter of Tom and Kauk Ober, contracted post-war marriages with St Paul's: Saulo Waia with Kaidai Kawane in 1949; William Waia, son of Waia and Wiba, with Rasella Buzi, stepdaughter of William Namok, in 1956; and Jolan Waia with Kailang Kawane in 1960.
- 344 Re death of Anne Gail Ah Wang of St Paul's Mission, Banks Island, 20 May 1959. QSA QS787/1/6.
- 345 Episaio's sister, Annie, was the mother of the theological student William Bee, who died of tuberculosis at St Paul's in 1926.
- 346 Rattler Tom was a well-known local figure and the source of his name was much speculated upon. Burchill's claim (1972: 33) that 'it was generally known that he was born on the British warship H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*' does not stand up to scrutiny, although he may well have claimed so or acquiesced in the suggestion. The *Rattlesnake* made its final survey of Torres Strait waters in 1849, making Rattler Tom 111 (rather than the officially accepted 80) when he died. One possibility is that he took his name from the government inspection boat *Rattler*, which on 12 September 1873 left for Muri with Police Magistrate Jardine, 'native teachers and troopers', in response to a false report that the Muriugal had attempted to capture the *Three Brothers* schooner, captained by R.F. Scott. The *Rattler* made several cruises around the neighbouring islands between 1873 and 1876 (Powell et al., 1876) and may have been sold as a bêche-de-mer boat. According to Swire (1938, II: 53), Jardine was pearling at Muri in September 1874, having 'taken with

him all the able-bodied blacks in the neighbourhood,

leaving none behind but the old men, women and children.’

Another possible source may be the lugger Rattler, possibly

the same vessel, which was hit by cyclone Mahina in March

1899; its owner ‘Douglas Pitt [Jnr], his wife, sister-in-law

and a nine year old boy, Bill Savage, survived when their

boat broke up, by swimming for twelve hours until they

reached the mainland’ (Hodes, 1998).

347 See register of men-in-charge licenses, 1915-1957.

QSA QS 721/1.