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Goemulgaw Lagal: Cultural and Natural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait

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COVER

Image on book cover: Pearlshelling station at Panay, Mabuyag, 1890s. Photographer unknown
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A century of Christianity on Mabuyag

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The first Christian mission on Mabuyag was established in 1872 with two London Missionary Society teachers from the Loyalty Islands. Mabuyag became the headquarters of Torres Strait mission activity on several occasions and, from the 1880s, Mabuyag-born teachers and lay workers played a key role in the establishment of mission stations in Torres Strait, New Guinea and Cape York.

- *Christian missions, London Missionary Society, Church of England, Torres Strait*

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In 1871, the year following the beginning of the Torres Strait pearlrush, the first Loyalty Islander Christian missionary teachers were placed on Erub (Darnley Island) 'with the sanction of the government which felt that they would serve to protect, pacify and civilize the Islanders' (Langbridge, 1977: 29). The teachers were from the Congregationalist and evangelical London Missionary Society (LMS), which viewed the islands as a 'stepping-stone' to their true goal of converting the inhabitants of mainland New Guinea. Although there was some initial resistance, mass conversion to Christianity was achieved in a remarkably short time and by the mid-1880s the whole population had converted at least nominally to Christianity. Conversion put an end to the cycle of arbitrary and reciprocal killing for that most valuable of exchange items, human heads, and provided a means for unifying once-feuding populations. Its significance as a symbol of both rejection of the 'dark' traditional past and acceptance of the 'light' of civilization is shown by the annual celebration of the date of the first Christian religious service in Torres Strait, 1 July 1871, as the Torres Strait national day, 'The Coming of the Light'.

In 1915 the LMS handed over its Torres Strait ministry to the Church of England. Almost all the Islanders became Anglicans, whose priests were more accepting of traditional custom and encouraged local forms of Christianity to incorporate elements of Torres Strait ritual, belief and musical expression. The first mission priest director, John James Edmond Done, chose Mabuyag as his base, as had the LMS missionaries, Benjamin Thomas Butcher and Thomas Oliver Harries, before him (details on individuals associated with the church on Mabuyag are presented in Appendices 1 to 7). The Anglican Church

dominated the strait's religious landscape until a schism in 1998, although this may be healed in future (see section on the Rev. Gayai Terrence Hankin in Appendix 4).

Aspects of the history of Christianity in Torres Strait have been surveyed by churchmen (Bayton, 1965, 1971; Butcher, 1963; Chalmers & Gill 1885; Done, 1987; Gill, 1876; Horne, 1895; King, 1895; Lovett, 1899; McFarlane 1888; Murray, 1876; Murray & McFarlane, 1872; Rayner, 1962; White, 1917, 1918), and analyzed by Goodall (1954), Prendergast (1968), Beckett (1971, 1978), Langbridge (1977), Nokise (1983), Williamson (1994), Wetherell (1993, 1998, 2001) and Mullins & Wetherell (2004), among others. The interested reader is also referred to publications listed in Shnukal (2003) under the heading 'Religion'. This paper has more modest aims, confining itself to Mabuyag. It returns in major part to primary sources that are not easily accessed. The first section (1872-1914) draws on LMS Papua journals, reports and letters of the time, descriptions from the local newspaper, research by Teske and others in the mid-1980s, Eseli (1998) and the reminiscences of three Mabuyag men, Daniel, Harry and Ano, recorded in note form by MacFarlane (1927b). The second section (1915-1965) is based on Diocese of Carpentaria publications and archival material now held in the Townsville diocesan archive. The activities of foreign-born missionaries on Mabuyag are discussed, as are those of the Mabuyag-born LMS mission teachers and Anglican priests and lay workers, who acquired status for themselves and their families through these affiliations. They and their descendants played a key role in the establishment of early mission stations and schools in Torres Strait, New Guinea and Cape York.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY ON MABUYAG 1872-1914

The LMS initially depended on the government authorities at Somerset for information, accommodation, some transport and general support and on the trepangers and pearlshellers for transport, food, interpreters and guides; the three groups having a common interest in 'civilizing' the Islanders. These relationships eventually and perhaps naturally soured. Of particular interest, given the later conflict between them, is the nexus between religious and commercial imperatives, made explicit by the Rev. A.W. Murray of the LMS as early as 1872, when he first considered placing a teacher on Mabuyag:

The people of Mabuigi resemble their neighbours in their general appearance, but they struck us as less friendly looking. However if we can get the gospel brought to bear upon them we may soon have a change for the better. Their houses are mere sheds - not to be compared with those of Darnley Island, Tauan [Dauan], Saibai and the coast of New Guinea. This seems strange as the people of this island are accustomed to visit the main-land - distant only about thirty-six miles, for the purpose of traffic, and possibly to visit friends and relations. Their articles of barter are chiefly pearl shell, and iron goods in exchange for which they obtain canoes and provisions. Their own island does not produce much that is available for food, chiefly I should think from want of cultivation. There is on it a grove of cocoa nuts, the first we had seen during our cruise - though they and other tropical fruits might be raised on these islands to an unlimited extent. The gospel

is wanted to rouse the dormant energies of the natives by placing before them motives which make life worth having (Murray, 1872).

The LMS placed its first teachers in Torres Strait in July 1871 but Mabuyag did not receive teachers until late 1872 or January 1873, when Waunaia and Gutacene from Mare, New Caledonia, relocated to Mabuyag from Mua (Murray, 1872, 1873a; Langbridge, 1977: 171, 187).¹ The establishment by November 1872 of two pearling stations at Panay, the easternmost point of Mabuyag, where the teachers could obtain both food and a supportive network of countrymen was probably the main reason. The two young pioneer teachers and their families disembarked at Dabangay, in the Panay clan district, where 'many people were camped' (Teske, 1986: 6).² The elderly Daniel, Harry and Ano, reminiscing about the early history of Christianity on Mabuyag, refer to Dabangay as the 'main village' on Mabuyag. It was either the most important or the most populous area or both, although it is unclear whether this was so traditionally or because of the recent attractions of the shelling stations or, again, both (MacFarlane, 1927b).³ As the headquarters of the Dugong-Crocodile clan, which had its *kod* (male ceremonial ground) nearby, close to the shore at Dabangay, Panay was a significant traditional site and the chief men of Panay 'appear to have been always predominant' (Haddon, 1935: 56).

One local tradition tells of the role played by Mathai,⁴ a war leader from the Panay clan, in welcoming Waunaia to Mabuyag. He was camped out on Sabil Talab⁵ when the missionary ship arrived, met the people on board and took them to his clan land at Dabangay. To commemorate the occasion of the first Christian prayer offered by the missionaries, 'a white wooden cross was erected' (Teske, 1986: 6). Another tradition

stresses the role of Sausa,⁶ who befriended Waunaia 'so Mabuiag man no make yarn for kill him' (MacFarlane, 1927b).

The Mabuyag people were mystified at first by Waunaia's behaviour: 'day by day he prayed and sang' (MacFarlane, 1927b). Following the established practice of 'giving some tomahawks and trade to the chiefs to propitiate them, and purchase the ground on which the teachers were to build their huts' (Moresby, 1876: 35), they selected a mission site at Ganan Koesa, 'Gana's creek', cut down wood and erected a grass-roofed building (MacFarlane, 1927b). Captain John Moresby of the *Basilisk*, who visited the missionaries in late January 1873, described those early hardships: Wainaia and Gutacene had begun plantations but their only food

consisted of ten or twelve pounds of salt meat for four adults and two infants, but this island being a pearl-shelling station, they were kept from actual starvation by the humanity of the pearl-shellers; and were living in a poor and very uncleanly native hut, wholly without influence of any kind over the natives of the island (Moresby, 1876: 164-165).

Three months later, on 30 April 1873, Murray returned to visit the teachers. He left a few days later, expressing enthusiasm for the new station but he admitted later to being discouraged because of the lack of both food and achievement.⁷ On the other hand, the island was 'thoroughly healthy, and fish and cocoa nuts can generally be had, and they have plantations coming on so they will soon be less dependent'. He decided to send Gutacene back to Dauan but Waunaia, 'a man of great promise', would continue at Mabuyag.⁸ It was early days and 'the bulk of the people assemble on Sabbath, and attend Services, and they are kind to the teachers' (Murray, 1873b). In fact, Murray

briefly considered choosing Mabuyag as the mission's headquarters, on account of its healthy climate and water supply, safe anchorage and central position with respect to Mua and Badu, ironically, in the light of their later antagonism, the same aspects that attracted the pearlshellers.

Murray changed his mind after his next visit on 2 September 1873. While Waunaia and his family were well and making progress, he deemed two men and a boat were necessary to supervise Mabuyag, Mua and Badu. The greatest problem was 'that the island is one of the principal resorts of the pearl shell seekers and that almost if not all the able bodied men are in their employ during a great part of the year' (Murray, 1873c). They were neglecting their gardens and becoming dependent on European food. Moreover, 15 Islanders had recently died of an unknown disease and those not engaged in fishing had fled to another (unnamed) island, promising to settle near the teacher when they returned. They believed the deaths to be God's punishment for the theft of goods from the mission station, an idea almost certainly encouraged by the missionary himself. Despite these setbacks however, the mission was given 'land on which to build and plant' and Murray arranged for Waunaia to open a school on Sunday 7 September 1873. On 5 November 1873 Murray called again at Mabuyag. This time he was more heartened by the progress made, since the people were no longer stealing from the teacher but sharing their food with him.

The chief... and the greater part of the women and children, and elderly and middle aged men, have gathered together and encamped in the same bay with the teachers. I cannot say they have formed a village for they live in open sheds which afford a little protection from the sun. They will soon however I trust get houses

that will shelter them from both rain and sun. At present the able bodied men, with very few exceptions, are employed in pearl shell fishing. Of this however they say they are tired, and that when their engagement is completed, at the close of the present year, they have made up their minds to leave it and come and live alongside of the teachers.

The chief is leading the way in getting a house. It is being built, chiefly by the teacher, close to his own. There is but one chief, and he seems to have considerable influence, and at present he is very friendly to the teacher, and attentive to his instructions (Murray, 1873a).⁹

The following month another Mare Islander, Saneish, and his family joined Waunaia. Murray made a one-day visit to Mabuyag on 29 March 1874 and was so pleased with the mission's success that he again contemplated establishing his headquarters there and temporarily stationed two other teachers, Kerisiano and Pethin, to assist in house-building.

During the short time they have been together – about three months – they must have worked hard. With very little assistance from the natives they have built a good boat house, and a dwelling house, nearly forty feet long, is far advanced. The heaviest part of the work is done. They get a little help from the natives. The women got the thatch for the boat house, and they are willing to do the same for the dwelling-home (Murray, 1874).

Mauare Eseli later told Lawrie (1970: 124) that the missionaries persuaded the people to shift from Dabangay, where they had originally landed, to Bau in the east, possibly

as early as late 1873 or early 1874.¹⁰ Murray (1874) wrote that by the end of April 1874, the chief of Mabuyag and his family and a few others had shifted to be near the LMS teachers, although most of the people kept at a distance, 'not from choice, they say, but to be out of the way of white men – the pearl shell fishers, as they are tired of working for them, and they find it difficult to keep from getting entangled with them when they are in the way.'

Despite poor attendance at the Sabbath services, Murray considered that they had 'obtained a hold' at Mabuyag. However, barely four months later McFarlane (1874a) reported that the attractions of the three shelling stations on Mabuyag outweighed those of the mission. Despite building a house for the chief, 'neither he nor any of his people will live in it; nor did any one come near us during the whole evening. The teachers are living quite by themselves, whilst the natives swarm about the shelling stations for biscuit, tobacco, and "grog"'. By October, McFarlane was convinced that it was hopeless to make Mabuyag a missionary centre, as all the people had moved away from the teacher to seek employment as marine workers. However, the teacher had had some influence, for the people were building a house similar to his and making plantations and they 'seemed anxious to retain [him]. They all see and feel the advantage of having such a person amongst them. They said that if the teacher left there would be plenty of fighting again. But that there would be peace so long as he was there' (McFarlane, 1847b).

Waunaia and Saneish and their families soldiered on. In April 1875, McFarlane conducted a Sabbath service in the grass house that was turned into a chapel for the occasion for about 60 people 'all more or less clothed, who sat very quietly, and appeared to listen very attentively to what

was being said. ... They ... are beginning to make plantations and build better houses' (McFarlane, 1875). McFarlane had decided to downgrade the Torres Strait mission to focus resources on mainland New Guinea. Waunaia, although by now a reasonably good speaker of Kala Lagaw Ya, was willing to leave Mabuyag to help form a station on the mainland, leaving Saneish in sole charge but boatless, the boat going to the new mainland station.

Almost a year later, McFarlane (1876) found Saneish and his wife well and exercising a good influence on the wearing of clothes. The chapel was 'nearly completed, and well filled on Sabbath days by natives of the island and South Sea islanders in the pearl shellers employ.' He had not been able to establish his school, since all the people, both young and old, were working for the shellers. MacFarlane (1927b) was told that Saneish was the first to open a school, 'assisted by a fellow-countryman named Thomas (who died later, and is buried on ground)', and was the first to prepare Mabuyag Islanders for baptism. These were conducted by the Rev. Samuel MacFarlane not by immersion in the sea but in the first church built on Mabuyag of coral lime with a grass roof (Teske, 1986: 20).

In mid-1878 McFarlane made a two-day visit to Mabuyag and 'was very much pleased with the improvement made since my last visit': Saneish's school was flourishing. He had completed 'a very neat and commodious lath and plaster chapel also a comfortable little dwelling house of the same material', most of the population were clothed, and new houses were being built in the Loyalty Island fashion. Many of the Islanders were refusing to re-engage with the pearlshells, building houses near the mission premises and 'attending school regularly. The people are beginning to see the advantage of being able to read and write, and are anxious to

learn.' Moreover, 'the presence of an English or native missionary seems absolutely necessary to keep in check the lawless South Sea Islanders who are engaged by the shellers'. McFarlane's morning prayers in the chapel attracted about 100 people, and Sabbath services were usually crowded – 'all indicate progress such as the missionary likes to see' (McFarlane, 1878). McFarlane was keen to persuade the mamoose and clan leaders to choose a group of young men to be trained as pioneer evangelists at the LMS Papuan Gulf Native College, which he would open on Mer in January 1879. Also known as the Papuan Institute, it was an industrial school and religious training institution. Young Mabuyag men were among the first group of nine Torres Strait Islander students to follow McFarlane and, on behalf of the clan, learn how to negotiate the new socio-political and religious order, to study how Europeans thought and what they knew, to network and to learn other languages, especially English. Visiting between east and west was tightly controlled. Only a few selected men had trading and ceremonial contact with other Islanders and mainland Papuans but this educational experiment would bring together young men from the islands and southern coastal New Guinea to study and work alongside each other in a non-confrontational environment for four to five years. Their training course could be viewed as a second initiation, in that they were given further moral instruction and learned new secrets and responsibilities befitting an adult. Short biographies of the Mabuyag-born LMS missionary teachers and other Mabuyag-born students of the Papuan Institute can be found in Appendices 1 and 2; and information about the Mabuyag-born wives of LMS missionaries in Appendix 3.

Chalmers (1878) describes a visit with McFarlane in 1878 to choose students for his institute. Accompanied by two orphaned

brothers from Mabuyag, who 'knew English pretty well', one of them asked him:

'What they call you?' 'Chalmers.'
'Well Chamas, no gammon white fellow make fool me and countrymen belong me.' 'How is that?' 'Oh, me fellow no work no more white fellow. You see South Sea Islander he make learn, white fellow he no make fool him, me no savey white fellow he fool me now me go learn make read.' ... Several times they told me of their great anxiety to learn.

One of the brothers had been accepted into the institute and the other, though upset at his brother's departure, could see the benefits:

'What did he say about your going to school [at Mer]?' 'Oh, he glad, he speak me "you go get learn, come back, me learn. One year you come back. S'pose you no know one year, two year, three year, you stop you make learn, you come me make learn!" You see my countryman he altogether he speak me last night. 'You two fellows go, Misi Makafalane you make learn; every day every night you make learn. You come home, me fellow all learn, white fellow he make fool no more.'

McFarlane's 1878 visit to Mabuyag also appears to have coincided with the beginnings of the permanent settlement of Bau, the site of the present village. The year in which the majority of Mabuyag people left their clan territories to settle there permanently is contested, as occupation of the site was sporadic, but much of the resettlement may have been accomplished by the end of 1878. McFarlane, who next visited in January 1879, reported that the people had moved their village close to the mission compound and the mission was prospering.¹¹ The compound by then comprised 'a neat

white cottage which with several outhouses and a garden ... enclosed by a good fence.' But, despite Saneish's attempts to 'get them to improve their dwellings' and his help in building three good houses, 'they seem to prefer their own kind' (McFarlane, 1879).

According to Teske (1986: 2), the church was moved in 1877 'to the longest beach on the island, where fresh water was accessible and, as the people followed, a new village grew up at Bau under mission control.' It was the policy of the society to insist on resettlement close to church, school, jetty and trade store, partly for ease of administration and oversight and partly to break down clan identification and the traditional 'heathen' practices it was attempting to suppress. There were probably several failed attempts to bring the Islanders into a single grouping but Teske (1986: 20) was told that 'the missionary of the time [Saneish] decided to move his church to Bau which is the site of the present village. He sent word for all the other villagers to come and form one village so that he could work amongst them more easily.' Another tradition has it that Waunaia moved all the inhabitants from the clan-based villages of Panay, Dabangay, Sipingur and Wagadagam to the site of the school. Lawrie (1970: 124) was told that the sorcerers, led by Gi, forbade the move but on '[t]he night of the day that they went to their new home, Gi died'. According to Manase Bani (c.1964), grandson of Mabua, Mabua refused to leave Wagadagam and so Waunaia

sent five or six people who destroyed his garden and house and told him: 'Missionary wants you'. Then they tied his hands and took him to the new village. He called for help and for his clan to pull down their houses, but his tribe didn't fight because too many other clans there. Mabua later co-opted. The others said: 'This missionary he bring us good thing'.¹²

Saneish may have been too successful in his activities, since he became the subject of numerous complaints by pearlshellers and damning reports by both Captain Thomas De Hoghton of HMS *Beagle*, and Charles Pennefather, a former pearlsheller and captain of the Queensland Government Schooner (QGS) *Pearl*. Both officials found the teacher to be generally at fault, a trouble-maker, too fond of power and slovenly in his habits and recommended that he be replaced by a more conciliatory individual. While concord reigned between pearlshellers and missionaries during the first decade of contact to the benefit of both parties, by the late 1870s this had degenerated into open hostility, as each competed for control and influence over the Islanders. Moreover, the two most important local officials, the police magistrate, Henry Marjoribanks Chester, and his friend and ally, Charles Pennefather, supported the pearlshellers. Both were 'unsuccessful ex-pearl shellers ... whose habits and sympathies are so opposed to our work' (McFarlane, 1882d).

Pennefather (1879a) arrived on Mabuyag on 10 December 1879 both to inform the people that their island had been annexed by Queensland and to inquire into complaints against the teacher. It is worth quoting both De Hoghton's letter to Pennefather, dated 8 September 1879, and Pennefather's report, dated 19 December 1879, to illustrate the antagonism between shellers and the teachers, who were often left for months without supervision 'and that of the most cursory kind'.¹³

From the unanimous evidence of the white men here I believe the teacher to be a bad lot. They say his house is a 'brothel' (that I heard long ago) and I believe he tried to club Mr Mogg some time ago, he lives under practically no supervision as the white missionaries only visit him once a year for a day (De Hoghton, 1879).¹⁴

After three days on Mabuyag spent investigating the charges and the pearling industry, Pennefather found himself agreeing with Hoghton. Immediately upon his arrival he had been handed a list of complaints against Saneish by George Mortimer Pearson, manager of John Bell's station:

1st Inciting Capt Pearson's men to refuse work, but to work only for the teacher, and that instigated by him they accordingly did so though signed on articles.

2nd That the teacher has on several occasions brought cases of spirits in his boat from Thursday Isld to Mabiatic which have been drunk on the missionary premises by the countrymen of the teacher, who when mad drunk had pulled the women out of the native camp and abused them, causing a general uproar on the Island. That Albert Collis in charge at Mabiatic for Mr Merriman of Sydney, G. Field carpenter for Capt Pearson and George Belford were witnesses to this occurrence.

3rd That the Murray [Mare, New Caledonia] men assaulted and nearly killed one of Capt Pearson's men named "Albert" a captain of a swimming boat that they were incited to do this by their countryman the teacher.

4th That the teacher refuses to tie up a large and savage dog which has severely bitten at different times seven men in Capt Pearson's employ, some having been laid up several weeks from the effects of the bites.

Finally Capt Pearson charges the teacher of keeping the missionary premises as a common brothel and generally instigating both South Sea

islanders and natives of the place to refuse to work for their employers and causing ill feeling between the blacks and whites.

I read over these charges to the teacher who denies the first. To the second he confesses that the grog did come with him in his boat, but said he was not aware of its being there, confesses that the Lifou and Murray men when drunk had pulled the women out of the camp, but that it occurred on another occasion. Thirdly denies that he induced his countrymen to assault "Albert" but acknowledges that they did so.

To the 4th charge confess[es] to having neglected to fasten up his dog though repeatedly asked to do so and aware that he had bitten a number of men.

To the last charge denies that the mission station is a harbor for bad characters but that the men in the boats were in the habit of leaving their women at the station while at work.

In reply to a complaint made to Capt. De Hoghton HMS Beagle mentioned by him in a letter left at Mabiatic for me, charging the teacher with shooting the fowls belonging to a woman named 'Guinea' because she would not leave her husband to go with a countryman's of the teacher who wanted her, confesses to have shot the fowls but says he had nothing to do with the woman as to going with either of the men.

From what I could gather on Mabiatic things are in a very unsettled state. I do not think the teacher makes use of his position and influence to conciliate matters between blacks and whites.

Where the two occupations that of the missionary and the sheller come in contact it is to be expected they will clash at times – but a more intelligent man and a more civilized one than the teacher at present on Mabiatic might have conciliated matters there instead of stirring up strife. There is no doubt these teachers do gain influence of a kind amongst the natives, but they do not always exert it wisely.

The teacher as an example of personal cleanliness, is not a credit to the mission, neither are the missionary premises.

The teachers have a great love of a little authority and are not always the men to exercise it wisely. This teacher has been in the habit of shooting fowls and pigs belong[ing] to different people on the island which have trespassed on his garden so called, though not fenced in. I considered he hardly showed a Christian spirit in the matter of not tying up his dog. I saw some of the wounds inflicted by it and they had been very severe. I caused the dog to be shot. I made inquiries as to the drink being brought on the island and there is no doubt but that it is a fact – on an island where some hundreds of semi-savage South Sea islanders and natives congregate at times this is likely to be the cause of great trouble and to those who are legitimately employed in shelling operations the source [sic] of great annoyance.

I informed the teacher and men of the island that it was now incorporated within the colony of Queensland and that they would be held responsible for their deeds, that the teacher had no right to interfere between employer and employee, that the Police Magistrate at Thursday Island

was the proper person to settle any disputes which may occur. I would recommend the London Missionary Society's representatives here, to replace the present teacher by some one who is more likely to conciliate any opposing interests there may be (Pennefather, 1879b).

Saneish was removed in 1880 and replaced by another Loyalty Islander, Hëxen, who served until the influx of Samoans in 1892.¹⁵

Chalmers' focus was on mainland New Guinea but he was determined not to abandon any of the Torres Strait stations. In April 1882, McFarlane (1882b) successfully secured official leases for the five mission stations on Mabuyag, Saibai, Dauan, Mer and Erub. Before the 1879 annexation the society had occupied land acquired in exchange for iron and trade goods to the value of about one pound per acre and the two acres on Mabuyag were officially transferred to the LMS that year (McFarlane, 1882a). However, by 1883 only Mabuyag, Mer and Saibai had resident teachers (McFarlane, 1883) (Figure 1).

Despite the hazards of the pearling stations and no visits from the society for 18 months, Hëxen's tenure was a success. He did his best to protect the people of the village during the drunken rampages of the crews, while being criticised for keeping the girls and women on mission premises. It was probably around this time that Hëxen 'had two houses put up, one each for boys and girls where they might

sleep, though they fed at home'. It was only the older boys and girls who attended school and Hëxen instituted 'rigorous precautions' to keep them segregated in the dormitories. He also erected a new church of coral lime and grass, larger than the previous one (McFarlane, 1927b). Possibly in gratitude for his protection, the island in mid-1882 sent a further 23 of its young men to the Papuan Institute (McFarlane, 1882c). The explorer John Strachan (1888: 11-12) spent two days on Mabuyag at the end of April 1884 and noted that most of the women were 'dressed in long robes reaching from neck to ankle', a signifier of Christianity. In a rare reference to a teacher's wife, he described the mission station as

consisting of two neat little wattle or daub cottages with a small barn-like church of the same material carefully fenced around. All these buildings are whitewashed and have a very cleanly appearance. I entered the enclosure and approaching the missionary's house found his wife, a fat pleasant-faced woman from the Murray [Mare] Islands, squatting on the floor nursing a baby.

She accompanied him to the church,

where I took a seat amongst as attentive and decorous a congregation as I have ever met and the preacher ... preached what seemed to be an impressive sermon. Grouped on either side of

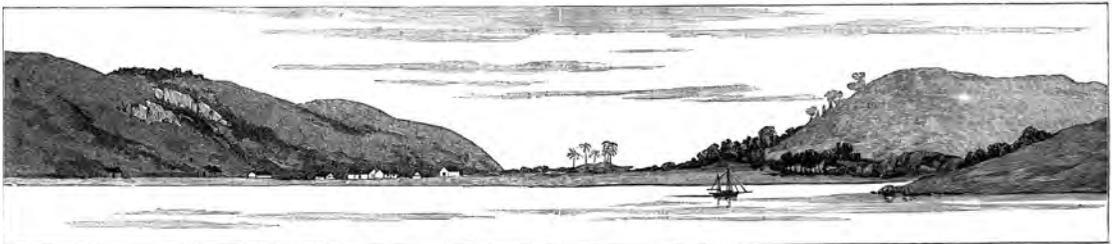


FIG. 1. LMS mission station, Mabuyag (from *The Illustrated London News*, April 28, 1883: 404).

the building were the old men, and in the centre was a highly raised seat for the Mamoose, or chief, and his family; the younger men occupied seats at the back. Squatting on the ground in front were the female members of the congregation, and a corner near the preacher was set apart for the youngsters (Strachan, 1888: 13).

In August 1884, McFarlane baptised 98 adults and children into the church and received 27 into church fellowship (McFarlane, 1884a); returning three months later, he spent three days on the island and found

a church of forty-two members out of a population of about four hundred. There are fourteen in the seekers' class and nearly two hundred in attendance at the day school. Here I spent a most enjoyable sabbath with the people, administered the sacrament, baptized twenty-five adults and twenty-three children, and received five into church fellowship. This is one of our most prosperous and orderly mission stations. There is a neat lath and plaster chapel and three houses built of the same material on the mission premises. The people are tolerably well dressed, look healthy and happy, and seem anxious to advance in civilization. The chief is an intelligent man, speaks good English, ... and is an active deacon of the church. ... The people are now living at peace with their old enemies and intermarrying. Such are the results of ten years missionary labour (McFarlane, 1884b).

It was during this visit that McFarlane learned that a sacred house had been preserved on a small neighbouring island – Pulu, although he does not name it – 'in which are preserved

nearly a hundred human skulls, being those of enemies taken in war'. This may have been when he ordered Hëxen to have all the sacred relics of Kuyam burned:

The Mamoose gave his consent to their destruction, but only a South Sea man, Charley Mare, dared destroy the various *augud*; he burnt them on the spot. The natives say that when the Mission party started for home the water was quite smooth, there being no wind whatever. As they boat rounded Sipungur point, on their return, a sudden gust of wind made the boat heel over and nearly capsize, and that same night Charley's body swelled up, and he was sick for a fortnight (Haddon, 1904: 368, fn. 2).

Visiting Mabuyag in 1885, the newly-appointed government resident, the Hon. John Douglas, was also favourably struck by the appearance of its mission compound,

consisting of a church and school-house, and several houses in which native teachers live. It was not far from the spreading beach on which were drawn up a dozen canoes with their fantastic ornaments. Immediately around the houses, their grass-covered roofs peeping out from among the cocoanut palms, there was a nice sward of couch grass. It was something like a small Indian cantonment – the church on one side of the square, the houses of the teachers and of their *entourage* on the others; some open sheds on another side, while the fourth side was open – the whole being shaded by the graceful palms in full bearing. I spent two very pleasant days there – one of them was a Sunday. I daresay there were fully three hundred

natives at church, all neatly clothed, and most reverent in their behaviour. The hymns went with a fine burst of rude melody, and could not fail to appreciate the charm of this gracious influence which had transformed those savage men and women into cultivated human beings. I say cultivated, for in their whole attitude and demeanour there was a simple subjection to higher influences which could not be recognised as most pleasing (Douglas, 1886: 76-77).

The first batch of Papuan Institute graduates had already begun their work in Torres Strait and coastal New Guinea in 1883 and, by the end of 1884, 14 of the 19 teachers in the various mission stations were 'trained (with their wives) at our Papuan Seminary' with others 'preparing to follow their friends who are already labouring there' (McFarlane, 1884b). Visiting Mabuyag in September 1886, the acting Government Resident, Hugh Miles Milman (1886), observed the LMS mission boat which had been sent to return the students to Mer after their annual holiday. They were among the 'upward of 50 men and boys in institute and School, besides women and girls'. When the Rev. Edwin Bentley Savage asked for volunteers to accompany him to eastern New Guinea, four married and two unmarried men offered to go, three of them from Mabuyag. Savage chose the married men: Buzi, Paiwain and Gaulai (Scott, 1886a). Before the Papuan Institute closed in 1889, nearly 100 students – from Mabuyag, Saibai, Erub, Mer, Boigu, Katau (Mawatta), Kadawa, Tureture and Parama (Parama) – had passed through the institute, although only 26 were appointed as LMS teachers (Lovett, 1899: 447; Haddon, 1935: 16; Ohshima, 1983: 291-292). Biographical notes on Mabuyag men and women who served the LMS are found in Appendices 1-3.

By 1888 Hëxen and the Saibai teacher, Jakobo, were the only Pacific Islander teachers left in the western Torres Strait mission and both were waiting to be repatriated (Lawes, 1889).¹⁶ The marine zoologist, Alfred Cort Haddon, stayed with Hëxen in late 1888 during his first scientific expedition (Savage, 1889a). Hëxen and his wife also cared for their countrywoman, the wife of Waceu, the Lifuan teacher from Kiwai, during her pregnancy; she gave birth to a child on Mabuyag in mid-1888 and remained there for several months. Both Waceu and his wife died in early 1889, leaving their infant an orphan (Savage, 1889b) (Figures 2-5).

Visiting Mabuyag in September 1891, the painter Ellis Rowan (1898: 121) noted that its shore

was lined with native huts; these are formed of rafters and posts of bamboo, fastened together with split cane; the walls and roof are thatched with grass and lined with plaited cocoa-nut, and the floor covered with a coarse sort of matting; a hole in the wall does duty as a window, and the only other opening is the door.



FIG. 2. LMS mission station, Mabuyag (from McFarlane, 1888:137).



FIG. 3. Former LMS church house (background) with Ned Waria participating in visual acuity testing by the 'Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits', Mabuyag 1898. Photographed by Alfred Haddon (CUMAA: N.23038.ACH2). This building appears to be the same building used as a laboratory by the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition (see also Kuklick, 1998: Figs 7.1 and 7.2).



FIG. 4. LMS compound buildings, Mabuyag, September-October 1888. Photographed by Alfred Haddon (CUMAA: P.23320.ACH2).



FIG. 5. LMS compound buildings with Alfred Haddon (centre left) and Jama (centre right) and children sitting under a tree (left), Mabusyag, September-October 1888. Photographed by a Mabusyag Islander for Alfred Haddon (CUMAA: N.22799.ACH2).

Several weeks later, Chalmers returned to Mabusyag for the first time since his dismissal of Saneish in 1880 and reported that the people,

who formerly lived in leanovers made of a few sticks, on which grass or bark was placed, now live in good houses, built in the style of those in the Loyalty islands. All the people have been baptised and all attend services. We had a service, and found the church too small. ... The population is 202, there are 68 church members and the Ordinance is administered every month (Chalmers, 1891b).¹⁷

The congregation also included 'quite a large number of South Sea Islanders' from Rarotonga, Samoa, Niue, Mare, Lifu, Uvea,

as well as Malays employed by the shellers, all with Mabusyag wives, who assisted the teacher in his work. Rowan (1898: 125-126), however, was more cynical about the extent of the men's religious convictions, noting a discrepancy between their refusal to climb coconut trees on a Sunday and their willingness to 'sell their wives to any trader for a trifle'.

Partly because of Hëxen's abilities and partly because of Mabusyag's prosperity and central locality, it was chosen as the site for the 'highly successful' annual 'Mei' meetings for the near Western Islands in 1890 and 1891. The success of these meetings was judged by both attendance and amount of contributions: in 1891 a total of £35.14.0

was received, of which £25.5.0 came from Mabuyag (Chalmers, 1891b).¹⁸

Many shelling boats had come in, all prepared for a right good time. Fourteen dugong had been caught, and wherever one went it was dugong. I found the natives of Badu, and Moa, at the settlement. The former Moa complained that they had no "May" on their own island, and many would not come over, because we were making Mabuig the chief place and they thought themselves as good as Mabuig. After a good deal of talk I arranged that in future New Year and May meetings should be held in turn on Mabuig and Badu.

They were accustomed to have races at the "May" – "No gammon, woman run, man run, woman he get shirt belong woman, and man he get shirt belong man." Great quantities of food was [sic] brought in from all round. That night we had a large crowd to evening prayers around the fire in the cocoanut grove. It was a strange weird sight. Next morning early, all were astir, young and old, cooking and getting all ready. About 8 o'clock the bell rung [sic], and then away to dress. At 11 a.m. old and young assembled at the western end of the village, and marched in procession to church, all singing. The church was soon full to overflowing. We began the service with singing and prayer...

We finished in church about 1 p.m. and after a rest – to the feast. A very large heap of food was erected, and on top of all an abundance of dugong. When complete blessing was asked, and all divided out in native fashion. It was dark before finished, so the sports had to be given up. The

evening was spent in singing. They sing Rarotongan and Samoan hymns very well indeed. Later some of the youths had an hour or two's dance to themselves, and about midnight all was still.

Hëxen, who was assisted in his work by one or two Pacific Islanders 'and a lad trained on Murray' (Chalmers, 1891a), occasionally visited Mua, where there was no teacher, while Waria from Mabuyag – 'a smart looking fellow' – served as the LMS teacher on Badu. These smaller stations formed a single church with Mabuyag (Chalmers, 1891b). All the Mabuyag people were now baptised and Mabuyag was the baptismal centre for neighbouring Mua and Badu.

As its commitment to New Guinea grew, the LMS found it difficult to find teachers for Torres Strait. It was then decided to appoint Samoans to the larger stations and local men to the smaller ones. In August 1892, Isaia and his family, all ill with the fever they had caught in Port Moresby, replaced Hëxen (Bruce, 1892; Langbridge, 1977: 171-2, 187-188). Despite this difficult beginning, within 18 months Chalmers pronounced himself 'well pleased' with the work of Isaia and his wife, Seluia, who proved to be both energetic and enterprising.

The school was always good, but now it has advanced wonderfully. He has built himself a good house, and in all things good they make themselves one with their people. In their house, as well as when about they are clean and tidy, and their house is kept, as a teacher's house should be. This has a good effect. Everybody attends church and from the wrapt [sic] attention, I should fancy the teacher has got a good hold of the language, and preaches with much power. He is quiet and earnest (Chalmers, 1893).

It was Isaia who, with the assistance of Tom Nabua, Peter Papi (Peter Eseli's father) and Ned Waria,¹⁹ had by September 1899 translated the four Gospels, the catechism and a number of hymns into Kala Lagaw Ya (Langbridge, 1977: 173-4; Nokise, 1983: 310): 'Isaia has taken so much time and great pains with them' (Chalmers, 1899b).²⁰

The Rev. Frederick William Walker of the LMS may have lived briefly at Mabuyag in 1895, when he helped the men purchase the lugger, *Little Nell*.²¹ Whether it was his or Isaia's suggestion that they fund the construction of a new church from the proceeds of their fishing venture, it was largely due to Isaia's organising drive and ability that Mabuyag's first modern church, at the time the largest and most impressive of all the island churches, was built. Chalmers (1896) visited Mabuyag at the beginning of 1896 and found the congregation occupied with building plans. 'They will buy all their own material in Thursday Isd, import it in their small vessel and put up the place themselves.' Chalmers' letters give no hint of displeasure but, according to the elderly Mabuyag men interviewed by MacFarlane (1927b):

As 'Tamate' (who was in charge of the mission) had not been to Mabuiag for a considerable time, Isaia and some Mabuiag men proceeded to T.I., and sought the advice of Mr. Seymour, the Vicar of T.I., regarding building. He assisted them by getting into touch with local builders, arranging for designs etc.; and a party from T.I. proceeded to Mabuiag and erected a wooden church. When Rev. J. Chalmers ('Tamate') arrived some time later, he was much disturbed, and reprimanded Isaia for his excess of zeal. 'Why you no wait for me?'²²

The church was financed entirely by contributions from Mabuyag Islanders. In early 1897,

when diving for pearl shell [on the Orman Reefs] they discovered a great patch of copper ingots and bringing a few in sold them to advantage to a trading firm on the island.²³ When all was brought in the natives realised about £600. Part of that was put aside for a church ... The fund had increased to over £200 and so a contract was made with a Thursday Island carpenter to put up a new church [which] cost just over £250 and was all paid for before opening (Chalmers, 1898).²⁴

On 29 April 1897, the Mabuyag men entered into a contract with Burns, Philp and Co. through the Rev. Charles Frederick Seymour for the construction of the new church to be '60 feet long 28 feet wide and 13 feet high with accommodation for between 170 and 200 persons' (*Torres Straits Pilot*, 1 May 1897). It was built of imported European timber and with glass windows and named 'Etena' ([Garden of] Eden). The dedication ceremony conducted by Chalmers on 16 October 1897 was attended by people from every island as well as leading government and civic officials. The following account by Finau, the Murray Island pastor, was translated from Samoan by Nokise (1983: 372-373):

Many villagers attend. There were many boats with sails, schooners and the Government Steamer owned by the Governor. In all, 80 boats specially designed for pearl diving and 70 sailing boats. An incredible number of people and consequently many were not able to get inside the new church...

One of the most beautiful lights was a gift from the Governor. There were many Europeans present. Mr Chalmers preached in English and the following Samoan pastors

preached in various dialects: Isaia (Mabuiag dialect); Ne'emias (Saibai dialect); Iotamo (Erube dialect); Finau (Murray Island dialect).

Chiefs of every island were also present. All sermons praised the gracious love of Jesus Christ which has made it possible for all these different people to live in peace. Mr Chalmers and his wife as well as all the Europeans present were delighted and marvelled at the wonderful effort by Isaia and the deacons of the Mabuiag church for the work they had done.

Raising of funds began in November 1897. Parents were to give 10 shillings and children 5 shillings. After the first week only £3.9.6 was raised. Isaia then preached saying 'This is the foundation of our building fund. Let us begin working earnestly from tomorrow. Jehovah will be with you in this work.' The following day, the people went out to dive for shells and found a treasure from an old Spanish wreck. The Europeans suggested that the incident occurred 50 years ago. The silver was sold for £700.

The people gave £115 to the pastor for the new church testifying: 'This money has been given to us from Jehovah for His new Church, for it has been hidden for years, but has now been revealed after we heard your sermon last Sunday.' The rest of the money was used to buy flour to offset the famine which was felt to have much greater need in Murray Island. The money needed to complete the work was £261. During the dedication, the crowd raised £50.

Chalmers himself described the opening in great detail:

For nearly a fortnight the natives from other islands had been gathering in and were Royally entertained by the Mabuiagi friends who had laid in stores of flour, rice, jams, tea and sugar, and tinned meats.

The feast on the opening day was a sight never before seen in Torres Straits. Long tables were laid in a cocoanut grove near to the mission house and these well were crowded with natives who came in relays. In the teacher's house was a large table at which the white friends were entertained and over which Mr Jardine of Somerset presided. Outside was a large pile of food such as could be got from the Thursday Island stores and that was all divided out amongst the islanders.

The opening day was a Saturday, and the opening service lasted two hours at which there were over 30 speeches. All chiefs, teachers, deacons and several white friends spoke. The inside and outside of the church was nicely decorated with flowers and leaves of many kinds. Natives and whites reported the whole a great success.

The sabbath following was a great day, all services crowded and hundreds outside. They have several hanging lamps and that we might see how the church looked in artificial light we had an evening service with much singing. It was a sabbath that will long be remembered by the people (Chalmers, 1898).

So important was the occasion that it was reported at length in the Torres Straits Pilot of 23 October 1897:

Quite an extraordinary number of all kinds of people found their way

to Maubiag [sic] for the purpose of being present at the opening ceremony. The total number on the island on Saturday and Sunday must have reached quite twelve hundred. Natives from nearly all the peopled islands of the Straits were present, and there were also present others from the more remote places who are employed in the Torres Straits industries – Samoans, Rotumans, Fijians, Papuans, etc. the number of different peoples being no fewer than thirty-four, not including whites. It was no light task to provide food for all these visitors, but feasting was the order of the day, and whole dugongs, pigs and turtle, besides fowls, etc., were prepared for this part to the celebrations. When the time came for the proceedings to commence the church building was crowded, the body of the church being filled with dark, eager, earnest faces, intently and patiently waiting. The platform inside the rail was occupied by the teachers and their wives, and with friends and visitors from Thursday Island. In the pulpit sat Mr Chalmers, who directed the proceedings. The building itself was neatly decorated with cocoa palms, etc. and presented an appearance, aided doubtless by the presence of the coloured faces, all eagerly upturned to the platform, exceedingly fascinating. Few country places in Queensland under the dominance of whites could show a like building, large, substantially built, and free of debt. Its capacity was proven on Saturday, as without crushing, there were seated over 500 people in the building.

Mr Chalmers had a programme drawn up which was carried out

with vigor. Proceedings commenced with natives singing, and throughout the service the addresses were interspersed with hymns sung by choirs organized amongst the different islanders, Saibai, Murray Island and Maubiag being chief choristers. Who can offer any criticism of their singing? There was no half-heartedness about it. Led by tenor voices the singers did what must be considered splendidly, the marked precision of tone and parts being simply wonderful. Pitched in high keys suitable to the leading tenors and sopranos, there was afforded a full scope for the bass in all the hymns rendered, and the effect upon the listener was eminently pleasing. All in their natives tongues, into which familiar hymns were adopted. English also were capitally sung, though there was not the same freedom in the rendering of them.

Mr Chalmers briefly related the circumstances as to the building of the church... Then followed addresses by the mamoooses of the islands who were present, each speaking in his native tongue... Then followed short addresses by the white visitors, again more singing and the opening service of the church was concluded by prayer.

According to Douglas (1898), the church was financed by a large proportion of the money the Mabuyag Islanders received for the copper ingots discovered on the Orman Reefs (see Gesner & Hitchcock, this volume). They were, he wrote, 'very proud' of their new church:

It was built by contract, of sawn timber, the cost of which was £225, and there were great rejoicings

on the occasion of its ceremonial opening for Divine service. Visitors from all the islands of the Straits attended, and were most hospitably entertained. There was the greatest gathering of people which has ever been seen in the straits, and the utmost good feeling prevailed.

The new building underlined Mabuyag's centrality in spreading Christianity to its neighbours. For at least a year many of the 80 or so inhabitants of Muralag (Prince of Wales Island) had been attending church at Mabuyag and during the festivities Chalmers baptised the chief, his family and two others, while Mabuyag's leading men urged him to appoint a teacher. Services on Mua, then also without a teacher, were also frequently conducted by the Mabuyag and Badu teachers (Chalmers, 1896, 1898) and by the end of 1898 Chalmers appeared more sanguine about the future of the mission. He had attended the May meeting at Mabuyag in early October and his impression was

that the work in the Straits is consolidating, and the church members are becoming more intelligent, and more pronounced. Of all the islands my great fear has been Mabuiaigi, that their great prosperity instead of leading them to more earnest, thankful living should lead to a lukewarmness in spiritual things and an indifference to Christ, but so far I have not detected any going back, or any growing indifference (Chalmers, 1899a).

The pastors worked almost without supervision, Chalmers made only infrequent visits to the islands and the Rev. Oliver Fellows Tomkins, who arrived in April 1900 to superintend the Torres Strait Mission, initially chose Mer as his headquarters. Returning from New Guinea in mid-January

1901, he planned to move to Mabuyag (Chalmers, 15 January 1901). The island then had the largest church membership in the Strait, 86 members out of a total population of 216. The people proposed paying for a new mission house themselves, as well as contributing to general collections for the society. Chalmers (c.1900) reported that throughout the strait all services 'were well attended throughout the week and on the sabbath only the very ill are absent'.

In a letter to the LMS, Tomkins (1901) set out his reasons for choosing Mabuyag over Mer: safer anchorage, ease of communication with Daru and Thursday Island and the largest church membership in the Strait. However, Chalmers pressed him to move to the New Guinea mainland. In 1901 both Chalmers and Tomkins were killed at Goaribari Island in the Papuan Gulf and for a time the mission floundered. Chalmers' successor, the Rev. Edward Baxter Riley, administered Torres Strait from his station on Daru.²⁵ However, the annual 'Mei' meetings continued with ever greater success: over 1,000 people attended the meeting at Badu on 6 November 1903, when the 'spirit of rivalry' among Mabuyag, Badu and Mua resulted in contributions of £207 10s. from Mabuyag (population 300), £112 2s from Badu (165) and £22 2s from Mua (82). Riley did not expect so large an amount:

I shall never forget the look on their faces when I stood up to announce the totals. I had to choose my words carefully, lest I should utter some word of praise about one island that would give offence to another! So I simply said that all had done their best, and we would thank God for their offerings. After a short prayer I announced the amounts. When I came to Mabuiaig there was a scene of wild enthusiasm. People stood up on their seats and cheered again and again. It was a great meeting, and I

am thankful everything passed off so happily (Riley, 1904a).²⁶

However, warned Riley (1904b), there would be a much smaller collection at Mabuyag the following November, shell prices having fallen by two-thirds during the year.

Riley's limited oversight gave Isaia the freedom to lead the church community as he wished and he did so with great success. However, between 1897 and 1904 he lost three young children, losses which 'almost prostrated my wife with grief', and in 1904, five days after the death of his two-year-old son, Fuatau, he applied for two years' home furlough (Figure 6). He had served for 12 years on Mabuyag but did not want to leave before completing his translation of the Gospels into Kala Lagaw Ya (Isaia, 1904). The

arrival of the Rev. Benjamin Thomas Butcher in May 1905 robbed him of both autonomy and status: almost immediately the two came into conflict (see Shnukal, Butcher paper, this volume). When Isaia returned to Samoa in 1906, he complained to his local district committee about his treatment, and Butcher and Riley were asked for a formal explanation.

Isaia was replaced in 1911 by another Samoan, Solo (Saul), who came to Mabuyag after several years' service in Erub (Darnley Island) and a furlough necessitated by his wife's poor health (Langbridge, 1977: 175; Nokise, 1983: 323).²⁷ In 1912, however, the local chief magistrate reported Solo to Butcher's replacement, the Rev. Thomas Oliver Harries, for 'immorality of a serious character'. Harries went to Mabuyag on 9 November 1912 and obtained a confession of adultery with a young local woman.²⁸ Their trial took place on Mabuyag on 16 November:

Under the 'Island's Laws' Solo and the girl are liable to a penalty of 2 pounds or imprisonment; but Mr Lee Bryce left the punishment of Solo to me. I took him to another Island with his wife and children. There I have him watched by a deacon of our church. The first week in December he goes back to his own home (Harries, 1912b).²⁹

Harries, an ordained Congregational Minister with strong social and religious convictions, had arrived in Torres Strait in 1912. He and his wife took up residence on Erub in mid-October but moved to Mabuyag on 7 June 1913 because of its geographical centrality and its comparative closeness to Badu and Thursday Island, the centres of the marine industries. He planned to resume Butcher's scheme of industrial training and immediately applied for a special lease of 20 acres of land at Dabangay for missionary purposes, including a boat-building operation



FIG. 6. Grave of Benjamin, son of the Samoan missionary Isaia, located at the old village site of Mui. 23 September 2006 (Photo: Garrick Hitchcock).

(Harries, 1912a, 1913b; Williams, 1913). However, Wyben Pearling Co. Ltd., the largest shelling company on Thursday Island, also sought a lease over the same area of land for a trading depot and store at Mabuyag and Harries' request was refused.³⁰ On 15 September, local protector William Miller Lee-Bryce recommended the lease of two areas of 6 and 2 acres to add to the 'block of nearly 3 acres on which is erected a church, mission house and workshop: portion is also used as a garden' (Lee-Bryce, 1913a). The government's support of the application by Wyben Pearling Co. is surprising, given that Mabuyag was declared an 'Aboriginal reserve' in 1912. Whatever its reasons – its political ideology, the political influence of Sir Robert Philp (Wyben Pearling Co. was a subsidiary of Burns Philp Pty Ltd), the imminent departure of the LMS from Torres Strait, the successful operation of the LMS-associated Papuan Industries Ltd on nearby Badu, or an expectation of greater revenue from a commercial operation than from a non-profit missionary enterprise – Harries had to abandon his plans 'as the foreshore that remains would not serve my purpose' (Lee-Bryce, 1913b).³¹

Harries' application was not helped by the fact that by this time he and Lee-Bryce were barely on speaking terms. If Harries had stayed on Erub, away from the centre of events, or if he had arrived at a time when government and mission were in greater accord, he may not have fallen foul of the local authorities.³² But his arrival coincided with a significant government policy change, several years in preparation, whereby the Islanders would be placed entirely under the provisions of the Aboriginal Protection Act 1897. These included the gazettal of the islands as 'Aboriginal reserves',³³ regulation of travel, imposition of curfews, removals to the mainland for relatively minor infractions and excessive taxation on earnings to finance

a special island fund. Relations between Harries and Lee-Bryce reached their nadir after Harries wrote an impassioned letter to the Queensland Home Secretary, dated 18 August 1913, in which he made a number of complaints critical of island administration (Harries, 1913c).

It had come to a test of authority and Harries was bound to lose. The outcome for Mabuyag was that in 1914 the LMS was granted a lease over only three acres for garden purposes in addition to its existing lease of two acres (Special Lease 1678) but by then the LMS had determined to leave Torres Strait. Harries' decision to leave Manoah Kaigey from Mer in charge of the Mabuyag mission station and Manoah's subsequent misconduct gave Lee-Bryce further bureaucratic ammunition. Harries was accused of naivety and excessive trust in the Islanders (Lee-Bryce, 1914) and he left at the end of 1914, the last European LMS missionary to live on Mabuyag.³⁴

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON MABUYAG 1915-1965

By the end of 1914 the LMS had negotiated the handover of its Torres Strait operations to the Church of England, including its leases on Mabuyag, Badu, Erub, Mer, Masig, Yam and Saibai. In 1915, the bishop of Carpentaria, Gilbert White, made a preliminary voyage around the islands to explain the new arrangements and the handover was formally accomplished on 1 July 1915 with the arrival of the first priest director of the Torres Straits mission, the Rev. John James Edmond Done. For reasons of accessibility, potential and language, Done selected Mabuyag as his headquarters and built his house there.³⁵

Without any doubt Mabuyag is the strategic point of the whole Mission, and I intend making my headquarters there. With the exception of Murray,

Masig, and Stephen, the whole of the islands speak the Mabuiag language. The Mabuiag people seem to exert a big influence in all these islands, for one is continually hearing of Mabuiag. The Mabuiag people, too, are much more advanced in ideas and more independent than any other people in the Straits, and are more difficult to deal with; but with their sympathies won they would be the biggest power for good, and it is not impossible to win them, for I personally have found them the warmest hearted of people, though in every island I have had the best of welcomes (Done, 1915a).

As the Torres Straits mission's first priest, the Rev. Done's decision to base himself on Mabuyag was a significant step in the history of Torres Strait Anglicanism. His wife and two children joined him in April 1916 after a ten-month separation and the family arrived on Mabuyag on 1 June (*The Carpentarian*, July 1916: 507) (Figure 7). The Australian Board of Missions (ABM) appealed for funds and the 'splendid' response was enough to build both a boat and Done's house. He was given the use of the Wyben Pearling Company's house while building his own small house behind the church. It was close to the village and

most ingeniously constructed of odds and ends cast out as useless by others, with some new material,



FIG. 7. Mission house, Mabuyag, 1915-1918 (John Done Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7647-0). The caption to this photo which was published in *The Queenslander*, 26 October 1918, states: 'Rev. and Mrs. J.J.E. Done and Rev. and Mrs. MacFarlane and their families'

but it would be hard to imagine a more comfortable or compact little home – discarded windows from a Cathedral, portions of ships and boats, and part of a fowl-house all have their places in the building, but now that it is finished and painted the most fastidious could hardly find fault with it as a home (Davies, 1923: 715).

The Islanders quickly jettisoned the ‘austerity’ of LMS worship, ‘its complete absence of ritual and ceremony’, and accepted the ritual of the Anglican Church: kneeling for prayers, priests rather than ministers, ‘confession

rites, altar candles, vestments, incense ... The richness and ceremony of Anglican worship seemed apparently more to their taste’ (*A.B.M. Review*, November 1974: 27-28). ‘Perhaps the most striking thing in this is that the huge “pulpits”, which were the most prominent things, have been in nearly every case taken to pieces and altars made of them’ (Newton, 1917a) (Figure 8).

In 1916, the Diocese of Brisbane agreed to support all Anglican missionary work on Mabuyag (Anon, 1916a, 1916b). Delighted with this support, Done (1917a) wrote to the ABM, giving an outline of his work and thoughts about the island and its people:



FIG. 8. Interior of St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1916-1926 (John Done Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7725-0).

In point of size it is not by any means the largest, but in my opinion it is the most strategic point in the Straits, and hence I have made my headquarters there. The people have been more in contact with undesirable white men than any of the other islands, and it has left its mark upon them, and one of the first things to teach them is that one intends to be straight with them – they like plain speech, and they get it. In fact it has been necessary more than once to have a men’s meeting and give them a tongue bashing, but they took it all in good part, and I hope were the better for it.

Their influence is felt in all the islands of the Straits, save Murray and Darnley, and they are by far the most vigorous. Their new Church is an example of what they can do; ... Out of a population all told of 280, there are 75 communicants on the roll, and the smallest attendance at any celebration has been 46, the absentees being for the most part away on their boats. The old Mission houses were pulled down, some of the material went into my house, while the rest made a native Mission house alongside the Church, with one room to act as vestry. The captain of the “Herald” and his family occupy this place temporarily. An old boat shed left by the L.M.S. has been re-roofed, and is now known as the Mabuiag “kwod,” “kwod” meaning meeting house in the language. ... In this building Mrs Done and one native woman hold a Sunday School, and the people are able to hold meetings, sing songs, etc., there whenever they wish.³⁶

Done spent the next 11 years traveling three weeks out of four, conducting baptisms, marriages and burials and preparing

candidates for confirmation. The first Anglican baptisms on Mabuyag were performed by the Rev. John Done on 23 April 1915. Between then and 1926, 124 baptisms were conducted. Appendix 5 is a list from the Anglican baptismal register.

The first Anglican marriage on Mabuyag took place on 10 May 1917, when David or Paiwain Ibigan married Mekela Gizu; the second on 3 August 1917 when Daniel Nabua married Buia Bainu, widow of Tom Dorrick. Five marriages were conducted in 1918, another two in 1919 but no further marriages took place until June 1922, when Mareko Nabua married May Hankin. There was another gap until February 1923, when William Namok married Daudai Charlie. Five marriages were celebrated on Mabuyag in 1924, including two double weddings in August and October. Done celebrated his final marriage at Mabuyag on 1 September 1925, when Frank Mills from Nagi married Masalgi Paiwain. There were no marriages in 1926 or 1928 but on 24 September 1927 the widower Paiwain Kokoa married the widow Maria Mooka; and on 15 January 1929 the Rev. W.H. MacFarlane celebrated a triple wedding: Baniam Getawan from Badu with Gagabei Gaulai; Tabitiai Mooka with Saku Motlop; and George Hankin with Diat Ware, the first of six marriages that year. A dozen weddings took place in 1937 and, from 1929 until the withdrawal of European clergy in 1942, at least one marriage was celebrated on Mabuyag each year, except 1939. See Appendix 6 for a list of Anglican marriages 1917-1941.

The first Church of England confirmations on Mabuyag took place on 19 January 1916, one day after those on Badu.³⁷ Almost all the candidates had been baptised by the LMS on Mabuyag except Joseph and Jimmy Lui (on Erub) and Leo Cowley (on Mer) and the others were baptised as adults just before confirmation. Not all Mabuyag people were

confirmed on the island: depending on the circumstances, they might be confirmed on another island or in All Souls Cathedral, Thursday Island. Among the 75 confirmed were Luffman and Bani, who were licensed as the first Anglican churchwardens on the same day (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 19 January 1916).

It was really a most inspiring experience. The people evidently expected something and their attention and their reverence was touching, and the absolute stillness their [sic] being no noise or shuffling with their bare feet was very impressive. ... Most of those confirmed had been LMS Church members, indeed few such members did not offer themselves for Confirmation which is good. When I was at Mabuiag last November the new Church was a building of walls only. Now they have the roof on – fibro cement tiles on lining boards – and the floor of cement with the steps for the Sanctuary. It is really a very fine building with quite good proportions – an apse 3 sides of a hexagon for the chancel (Newton, 1916).

The second confirmations at Mabuyag were held on 17 June 1917, far fewer than the first, but witnessed by the Queensland governor and his party, who were then visiting Torres Strait (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 17 June 1917). Bishop Newton confirmed 27 people on 12 November 1919. No confirmations were carried out in 1921, probably because of the dengue fever outbreak, which affected all the clergy, but another 12 candidates were confirmed on 15 October 1922 (*A.B.M. Review*, 7 June 1921: 59). Between 1916 and 1938 there were 295 confirmations, which are listed in Appendix 7.

On his first visit to Mabuyag from 23-26 July 1915, Bishop Henry Newton had found

a concrete church in process of erection, 'a really handsome building, about 70 feet long, and very lofty', which the bishop hoped they would finish in time for the first confirmations. The roof was to be covered in red tiles, a gift from a local Mabuyag man, Mimia Luffman Kris.

A native named Luffman found a pearl which he sold through the Papuan Industries for £300. Having paid off all his debts, he paid the debts of his mates, and gave his wife and family a present. Then, as a thankoffering to God, he gave the tiles for the Church roof, costing about £76. The remainder was banked. (*The Carpentarian*, July 1915: 470, October 1915: 477).^{38,39}

During a visit by the bishop on 17 November, the bishop made arrangements for Done to begin classes for the confirmations, which he hoped would take place early in the new year (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 17 November 1915; *The Carpentarian*, January 1916: 490). Meanwhile, Done went to Mua

for saplings for scaffolding for the Church, and for firewood for ourselves. I thought it a good plan to do this, and so save a good deal of time, besides which the Mabuiag men have not been working too well with their boats, and have been told by Mr Lee-Bryce to get out on the reefs, and I did not wish to hinder them. ... I was much pleased with this visit to Mabuiag. Undoubtedly the Mabuiag race is the predominant one in the Western Group, and I felt that if one can get closely into touch with them, it will have a big influence with Badu and Adam.

Owing to the absence of the men, five women have been assisting in breaking stone and mixing concrete.

'Woman him work better than man' is the verdict. During the afternoon I did some visiting, and inspected a site for a Mission House. The best spot is on the slope behind the Church; unfortunately it is just outside the Mission Ground, but as the land is of no value for gardening purposes there should be no difficulty in obtaining it, especially if we were prepared to give, as we might, a small piece of garden land in exchange for it. A great deal of the material in the old Mission House can be used again, hence a building could be put up at comparatively small cost (Done, 1915b).

On 18 January 1916, the bishop returned and the following day licensed Luffman and Bani as the first Anglican churchwardens. He found the new church completed just in time for its dedication as the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on 20 August 1916, the first Torres Strait church to be dedicated in a Church of England ceremony (*The Carpentarian*, April 1916: 493) (Figures 9-10). It was accounted 'a fine building ... easily the equal of many parish churches within half an hour's journey of Sydney's railway station' (Done, 1916a; Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 20 August 1916). 'It was and still stands proud and strong today' (Teske, 1986: 20). The bishop described the dedication of the new church as follows:

At Mabuiag a new Church built of concrete by the people themselves, and at their own cost, was dedicated in August 1916. The services were very fine – in Church and outside. Representatives came from all the Islands in the Straits and there was an offering of £47.14.0. In olden days there was a system of pitting one Island against another to increase the collection on such occasions. We

refused to allow this at Mabuiag, and the offertory and Collection was made during service in the ordinary way. The wardens decided to use the money to pay their debts and of £39 they devoted [crossed out] to the College to be established at S Pauls Moa, [crossed out] to the New Guinea Mission for the new church at Taupoti, and a portion to be sent to the Secretary of A.B.M. [Australian Board of Missions] for allocation to what Missions he thought best.

There was a very fine out of doors service attended by some 600 people when native Christians gave addresses.

There was feasting and dancing, another great point about the celebrations was the way in which church services and feasting and dancing blended. The services were as naturally a part of the rejoicing as the feasting and dancing (Newton, 1917a).

Done had supervised the church building and his account of this 'event of importance' contains details of the ceremony and accompanying festivities:

on arrival at Mabuiag we had the pleasure of watching the various boats arrive from the different islands until there were 31 cutters and luggers at anchor, and, counting the people of Mabuiag, about 800 people on the island. Great stores of food had been provided, and it was good to see the stacks of yams, coconuts, potatoes, bananas and pumpkins, as well as many other things. Only intending communicants came to Evensong, when the Bishop gave an address on the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, but still the Church was crowded.

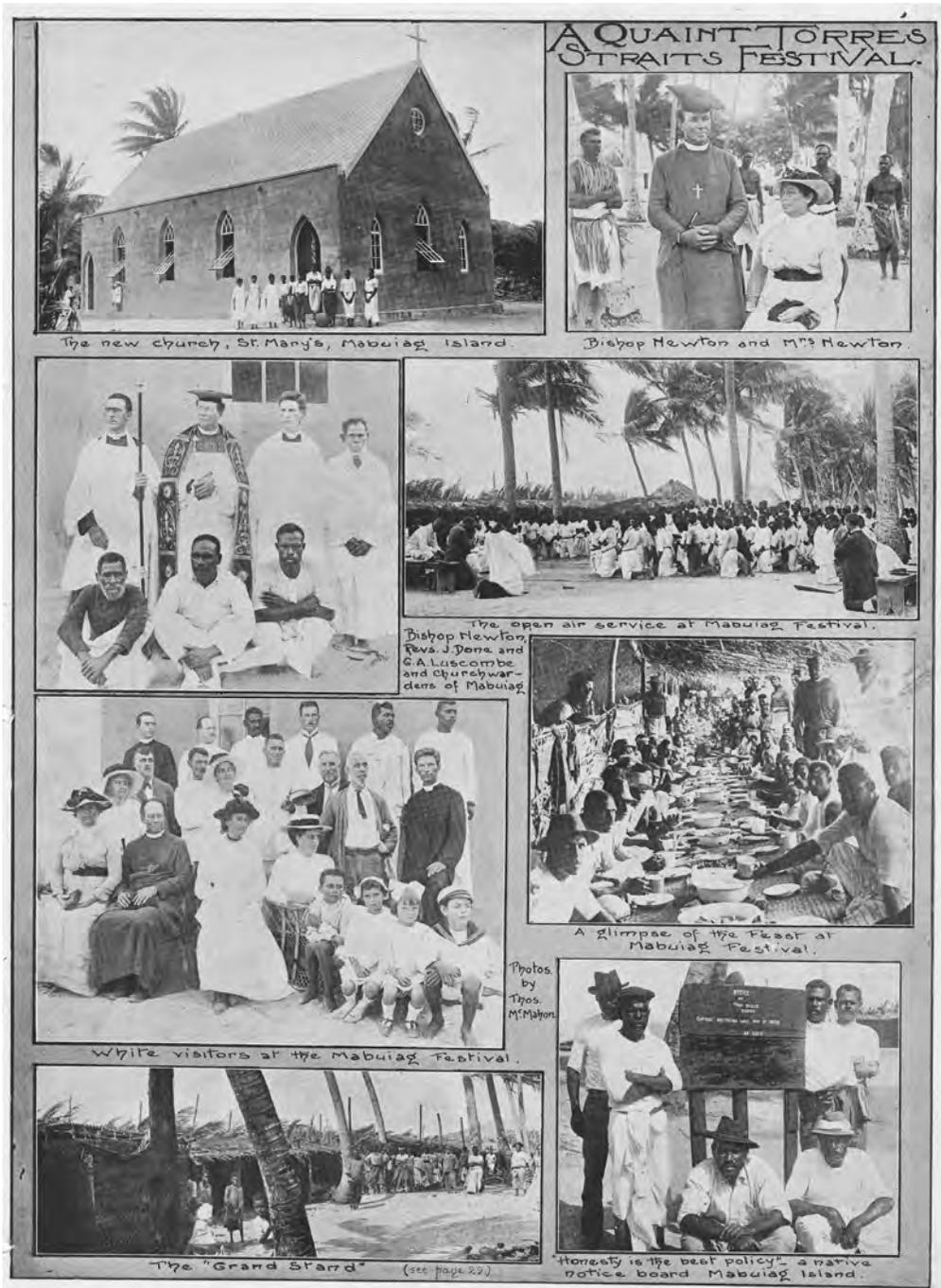


FIG. 9. Celebrations associated with the dedication of St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 19-23 August 1916 (from McMahon, 1916: 25).

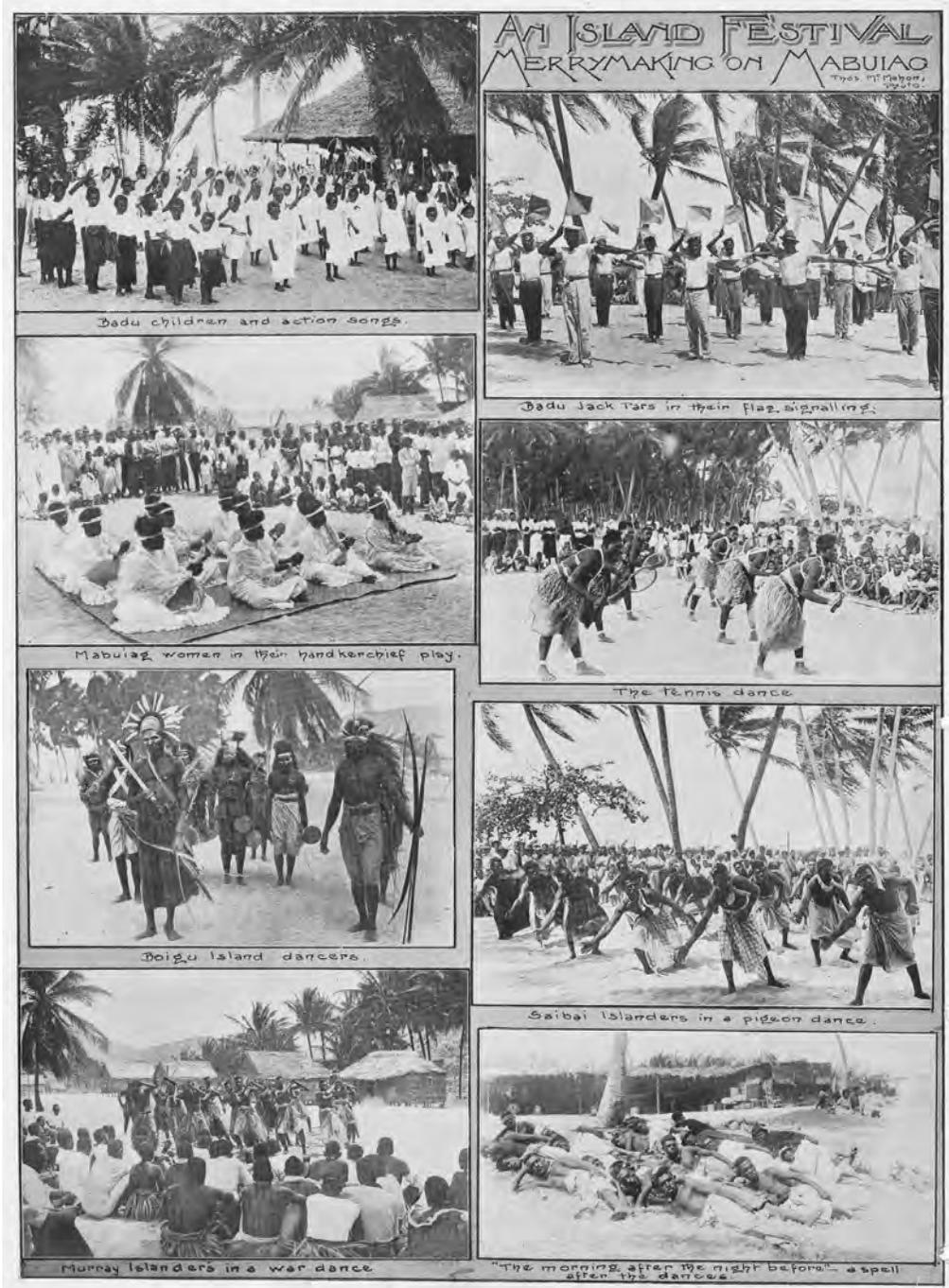


FIG. 10. Celebrations associated with the dedication of St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 19-23 August 1916 (from McMahon, 1916: 26).

The Dedication Service commenced at 7 a.m. ... During the afternoon an open-air service was conducted in the village by the Rev. J. Done. The two languages in the Straits were well represented, so three hymns in each language were used and an address in each given – for Murray Islanders by Poey, and for the Mabuiag people by Tamwoy of Badu, while the Mission Priest spoke in English on “Unity”. At Evensong the Church was packed and a most hearty service held. It must have been an eye-opener to the few white visitors from Thursday Island. ...

Mabuiag Church completed is a fine building. Concrete walls and floor, terra cotta fibro cement slates over pine lining for the roof with the rafters showing inside, and it is furnished with altar and retable, credence, rails, prayer desk, lectern and font. To quite complete the church a cross and vases are needed, and as the people have done so much for themselves perhaps some kind friend would donate them (Done, 1916b).

In an echo of the 1897 church dedication, the local newspaper described the ceremony:

Revd J. Done, the mission priest, assisted by native labour only, has reared up a substantial concrete building of such design, beauty, and finish, that it stands forth as a triumph of the mission. The church is completely furnished, and most noticeable are the remarkable native mats, with scriptural designs in white and brown, on the walls at the back of the altar.⁴⁰ The church, with its red fibro-asbestos cement tiles, stands prominently under the shade of many tall coconut trees, a pleasing

foreground of the Mabuiag native village. While amply commodious for the village population, it was impossible to hold the great number of visitors, and so on the Sunday afternoon an open-air service was held in the village square, Bishop Newton being present, and the service being conducted by the Rev. J. Done. This vast concourse of native people was a most imposing sight, and the service a wonderfully impressive one. Two native speakers, both of splendid presence, in turn addressed the huge assembly, in the native tongue, and the other in a mixture of native language and pidgin English, who gave as his text, original, convincing, and appropriate, “Suppose-em you no fill a cask with water, he no good, he leak; but suppose-em you fill a cask, he good, he no leak”, and this admirable text the speaker used cleverly to bring before the minds of his hearers the necessity of recognising the proper use of the new church, and the urgent need of a full attendance at every service that took place within its walls (McMahon, 1916).

The only sour note was heard from the employers of the boats’ crews, who resented the loss of three weeks work and refused to pay the men’s wages. Acting local protector Cecil John Handley suggested that such functions should in future be held during the lay-up season and the bishop replied diplomatically that ‘we would not mind and we did not want to interfere with work and duty of Xtians to this life and the body’ (Newton, 1917b). A year later the Archbishop of Brisbane preached at matins in the newly-built church during his visit from 18 to 20 August (Newton, 1914-1919, entries for 18 and 20 August 1917) and it remained a showcase for many years.

Done was greatly assisted by the arrival in 1917 of the Rev. William Harold MacFarlane, who took up residence on Erub (Newton, 1917c). Done was now responsible only for Saibai, Dauan, Boigu, Mabuyag, Yam and Poruma⁴¹ and in early March 1918 he prevailed upon the local people to destroy the Dugong-Crocodile *kod* at Dabangay (Done, 1915-1926: 49-50). In 1921, Done helped implement a fee of 'five shillings (or more)' for each marriage to contribute to a pension fund for the first Islander deacons, Poey Passi and Joseph Lui, who had taken charge of the mission schools at Boigu and Dauan, respectively.⁴² The schools themselves were maintained by annual contributions from each island in proportion to its population: Mabuyag, Badu, Saibai and Erub each gave £18 (*The Carpentarian*, July 1920). In mid-October 1922, the new bishop, Stephen Davies, made his first confirmation tour of Torres Strait with Done in the mission boat, the 13-ton ketch, *Herald*. The first port of call was Mabuyag where they received an enthusiastic welcome.

When Done left Mabuyag in May 1926 to become the Mitchell River Mission chaplain, it was proposed that MacFarlane replace him at Mabuyag but the MacFarlanes had settled on Thursday Island in 1924 and were reluctant to move (*The Carpentarian*, April 1926: 135; MacFarlane, 1985, 12: 5-6). The worldwide depression also meant there was no money for repairs to the roof of the Mabuyag church and in late 1927 Done's house was shipped to St Paul's 'to serve as a residence for the teachers there, and also as a hostel for girls' (*The Carpentarian*, January 1928: 37). However, despite the severe financial situation of the diocese, by the end of 1931 the Mabuyag people were busy putting a new roof on their concrete church:

when the building was erected, fibrolite slates were used (bought by the people themselves), but have been found unsatisfactory on this and other buildings, letting in the water badly and damaging the woodwork, and so the only thing seems to be re-roofing with fibrolite corrugated sheeting, which with the necessary new timbering will run into about £250, a large sum for a small community to raise in these times of low prices for marine products. The women have been making and selling fans and coconut oil for their roofing fund, while the men employed on the fishing boats are giving regular contributions (*A.B.M. Review*, 15 November 1931: 141).

They were supervised by a builder and contractor, A.G. Harris, who gave his services to the Anglican missions for 12 months: 'his salary and the payments for all materials are contributed by the Islanders themselves, who also give their labour' (*The Carpentarian*, July 1933: 484) (Figure 11).



FIG. 11. Looking southwest towards St Mary's church, Mabuyag, 1916-1926 (John Done Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7712-0).

MOTHERS' UNION⁴³

No account of Christianity on Mabuyag should ignore the role played by its women, not only in their private but also in their public capacity. The latter is exemplified by their contribution to the Church of England Mothers' Union, which was for many decades the most important women's organization in Torres Strait and reached its greatest influence during the interwar years. The Mothers' Union gave the women the organizational and fundraising skills and experience which they were to pass on to their

daughters, many of whom are prominent in today's community organizations.

The first Torres Strait branch of the Mothers' Union was formed by a group of white parishioners on Thursday Island and held its first meeting on 8 June 1908, when Mrs Milman, wife of the government resident, became president. An official diocesan branch was established in 1909 (*The Carpentarian*, October 1908: 254, October 1909: 290). Island branches were not established until the 1920s, when for the first time, Islander women became members of 'a world-wide



FIG. 12. Mother's Union banner, St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1952-1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7452-0).

organisation, stressing upon its members the sanctity of the marriage vows and the proper training of children along Christian lines'. It proved to be extraordinarily popular: 'Its members took their promises very seriously, and its platform of "Faithful wives and loving mothers" was a great help to the women in the many temptations of their daily life.' Their normal duties involved visiting and helping the sick, looking after the church linen and sweeping the church and mission grounds, but the society also provided all married women 'of good character' with a forum to gain experience in organising and fundraising, which they passed on to

their own daughters (*The Parish Gazette*, 1 December 1940: 2) (Figures 12-13).

Mabuyag was one of the first island branches to be formed in the early to mid-1920s by the wife of the Rev. John Done and it was taken over by Sepoima Min after Mrs Done left Mabuyag in 1926 (Barbara Done Stevenson, pers. comm., 1998).⁴⁴ By 1927 she headed an active branch and continued in that role for two decades until her death (*The Carpentarian*, October 1927: 9). Matheson (1992: 25) cites an article from *Mothers in Australia and New Zealand*, the Mothers' Union magazine, of 1 September 1930, describing a meeting held on Mabuyag:



FIG. 13. Mother's Union group, St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1952-1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7463-0).

They meet once a month in a big dim concrete church shadowed by a magnificent grove of coconut palms. Sepoima, their comfortable queenly leader is there. The Angelus is translated into the local language and it is a curious and pleasant sound when English ears hear the unaccustomed words; it means to them as much as it means to any other Mothers' Union member.

The Mothers' Union minutes show that Sepoima Min was elected a diocesan council member at the meeting on 1 May 1931; also elected were Mrs Mary Lui from Erub and Mrs Alice Passi from Mer, the wives of the first two Torres Strait Islander priests. They attended the first meeting of the council at Bishop's House on Thursday Island on 21 September 1931, when Mrs Mogi Gabey, wife of the Rev. Sailor Gabey, was also invited to become a council member. At the second meeting on Thursday Island on 22 June 1932, Sepoima was the only Islander member who could be present because of distance and the lack of convenient transport.

In 1929, the seven diocesan branches, most of them in Torres Strait, had a membership of 252 (*The Carpenterian*, January 1930: 227) and by 1934 there were 450 members of 13 branches, one on every island except Masig (Yorke Island). The Mothers' Union continued to grow during the interwar years. 'Bazaars, mat-making and help given at village feasts reflects social activities of the Branches, and can thus be observed. The real aims of the Mothers' Union involves [sic] such personal consecration that the spiritual influence of Branches cannot be discerned in the same way'. In 1937 the Mabuyag membership stood at 43, with five members waiting to be admitted. By 1939 there were branches on every island and Mabuyag had 58 members. Members met every month on Friday, 'commencing with service in the

Church followed by tea and then work'. The members, who included Charlotte Hankin, Athalia Luffman and Sunema Whap, made mats for the church, prepared the church for services, cleaned the yard, washed and ironed the church linen and held a bazaar every year to raise funds for the upkeep of the church. According to the government teacher, Philip Raymond Frith (n.d.), who was appointed to Mabuyag in early 1930, Charlotte Hankin, wife of the long-term Mabuyag chairman,

was greatly admired and loved for her extreme kindness to all those who were in trouble and distress. No one was ever refused her help ... She was an embodiment of goodness. For practically all her adult life she was President of the local branch of the Mother's Union and was perpetually busy raising funds for the church and organising bazaars to meet the church dues levied by the Church authorities in Thursday Island.

The Mabuyag branch of the Mothers' Union was particularly active during the interwar period as was its branch of the Heralds of the King. This was a youth fellowship group, rather like the guides and scouts, affiliated with the ABM, the body which financed the Torres Strait Mission through the Church of England. In 1924 there were ten branches in the Diocese of Carpentaria. Girls and boys met regularly each month and raised funds to support the ABM's missionary activities and each branch received a monthly paper called the *Herald*. Sepoima Min, Mary Lui and Ethel Saveka from St Paul's Mission on Mua attended a meeting on 11 July 1938, when the bishop and the president of the Torres Strait Mothers' Union agreed to place £10 from its trust account to the credit of the Mabuyag bell fund. 'This together with £10 set aside by the Mabuyag Heralds of the King and monies collected by the people of

Mabuiag, to keep in memory the coming of the first Missionaries, will purchase a bell to about the value of £25 landed at Thursday Island and will be a real tribute to the work of the missionaries'. By 1939 the Mabuyag branch had subscribed a further £10 towards the purchase of a new church bell.

Attempts to revive the Heralds after World War II on its pre-war scale were not successful, although it was apparently still operating on Mabuyag during the early 1950s (*A.B.M. Review*, 12 May 1924: 49, 1 January 1949: 7; Anthony Hall-Matthews, pers. comm., 2011) (Figures 14-15).



FIG. 15. Heralds of the King group, St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1952-1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7465-0).



FIG. 14. Heralds of the King church group (European girl in front centre is Win [Norma Winifred] Done), Mabuyag, 1917-1920 (John Done Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7691-0).

WARTIME

World War II was declared in September 1939 but little impact was felt in Torres Strait until the declaration of war with Japan on 8 December 1941. The Japanese population of Thursday Island was interned almost immediately and two months later the population of Thursday Island and nearby islands was evacuated, including the local protector and his staff. Local administration was relocated to Badu and almost every seaworthy vessel in the strait was commandeered for defence purposes. Men from every island began to join the defence forces.

The evacuation from Torres Strait brought about a fundamental reorganisation of religious life. On 12 March 1942, Bishop Davies left Thursday Island and gave the Islander priests, the Reverends Poey Passi, Sailor Gabey, Francis Bowie and Kabay Pilot spiritual charge of the communities of Torres Strait and Cape York. They ministered to the people as best they could but only partial records are available from that time. From his base at St Paul's, the Rev. Boggo Pilot continued to baptise, marry and bury at Mabuyag as part of his circuit of the islands (Pilot, 1946). Only two marriages on Mabuyag were recorded: Karakasoma Isakara Kris to Uruba Ware on 25 January 1940 and Gesa Ware to Kiriz Joseph on 5 October 1944.

Bishop Davies was able to pay two brief wartime visits to the islands in 1943 and 1944 but the military authorities abruptly withdrew permission for his planned 1945 visit (*Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1947: 13). According to his diary, he confirmed 15 adolescents at Mabuyag on 15 October 1943: Jim Tuta 13, Gelam Warria 12, Man Harry Magala 13, Philemon Bagari 13, Ned Luffman 13, Wittie Hankin 13, Irene Bani 15, Mawema Luffman 15, Elsie Bagai 13, Nagele Arona 15, Baitie Motlop 14,

Maleta Warrior 14, Gertie Tekelu 13, Malamo Mareko 13 and Tigi Repu. On 24 October 1943 at Thursday Island he confirmed Gib Gaulai; the following day at Mabuyag Harold Matthew, Philip Joseph and Amo Mooka; and on 6 October 1944, again at Mabuyag he confirmed Mandi.⁴⁵

POSTWAR

By the end of June 1946 all the Islanders had been discharged from the army and sent back to their islands and the bishop was allowed to return to Thursday Island from Townsville in the mission boat *Herald*, arriving on 7 July 1946. He immediately set about the task of reorganisation but it took some time for the church to reestablish itself. Three senior priests 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, 149; *Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1949: 27).

One of the bishop's first actions was to make an extended visit of the islands (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 November 1946: 150) and on 1 October 1946 he reopened St Paul's Theological College with 18 students enrolled out of many more who applied. For mainly economic reasons the college was relocated to Thursday Island (*Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1945-1947: 13-17, 28). Of the initial intake only eight students returned the following year and they were joined by a further two students. One of these was Mabuyag-born Sagi Ambar, who was deaconed on 13 March 1949. There were now six Islander clergy ministering to the island and mainland missions; by mid-1965 that number had grown to 17 (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 June 1949: 86; *Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1949: 27).

Four Mabuyag-born men were priested in the years following the war: the Rev. Sagi Ambar in 1951, the Rev. Michael Bani in 1963,

the Rev. Gayai Hankin in 1970 and the Rev. Ibegan Mene in 1983.⁴⁶ Mabuyag-born the Rev. John Eseli of the Independent Church of Torres Strait and Kaiwalagal Australia served at Badu in 2006. According to the *Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria* (1965-1966), the following priests had charge of the Mabuyag church between 1956 and 1966: the Rev. Adea Wapau from Saibai (1956-1960); the Rev. George Mara from Badu (1960-1962); the Rev. Ephraim Gebadi from Saibai (1961-1963); the Rev. Michael Bani from Mabuyag (1964-1965); and the Rev. David Passi (1966). The Rev. Waiaka Jawai from Saibai served as priest-in-charge (1970-1973) and in 1972 Mabuyag was briefly home to an ordained United Methodist Church minister from Alabama, the Rev. Buddy Simpson and his family, engaged to work as a Bible translator (*A.B.M. Review*, February/April 1972, 14 August/October 1973: 17). Biographical notes on Mabuyag Islander Anglican priests and lay mission staff are found in Appendix 4 (Figures 16-17).

Postwar historical events eroded Anglican hegemony. Significant numbers of those who left for better economic and social opportunities on the mainland were attracted to what they perceived to be the more welcoming and sympathetic congregations of the Pentecostal denominations and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). At first prevented from bringing these new churches to Torres Strait, in time they succeeded in transplanting them into their home communities. In response to calls for a more significant Torres Strait Islander presence in the Anglican hierarchy, in 1986 the Rev. Kiwami Dai of Saibai, who was priested in 1951 along with the Fathers Sagi Ambar and Kabay Pilot of Erub, was consecrated the first Islander Bishop of Carpentaria. The Rev. Morrison Ted Mosby of Masig, a controversial choice, became the second bishop in 1997 but died unexpectedly three years later. Fathers Gayai Hankin and David Passi from Mer led a number of disaffected Islander Anglican priests to break



FIG. 16. St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7454-0).



FIG. 17. Interior of St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7456-0).

away from communion with the church and in April 1998 both men were consecrated as bishops in the newly constituted Church of the Torres Strait Incorporated, in communion with the Anglican Catholic Church of Australia (Wetherell, 2001). Some years later Bishop Hankin left the church he had helped establish and formed the Diocesan Church of Torres Strait and Kaiwalagal, Australia (United Anglican Community) Inc. His death in 2010 has led to uncertainty about its future and there is uncertainty, too, about the future of The Church of Torres Strait within the Roman Catholic Church. Its leader, the Right Rev. Tolowa Nona, supports the change, describing Pope Benedict XVI's offer to Anglicans to enter the Catholic Church as 'very generous'. Its members accepted Pope Benedict's invitation to join the Roman Catholic Church at a conference and synod held from 3-5 June 2011, while retaining its autonomy and Anglican heritage. However, the final outcome remains unclear, there

being resistance to the move in some influential quarters of the Catholic Church (Roy, 2011; *Torres News* 969, 22-28 June 2011: 6; Anthony Hall-Matthews, pers. comm., 2012).

Nonetheless, the majority of Torres Strait Islanders retain deeply-held Christian beliefs and Christianity is firmly embedded in contemporary *ailan pasin* (island custom). All significant private and public events, for example, are introduced by Christian prayer: domestic meals and public feasting begin with prayer, as do modern adaptations of pre-Christian ceremonies such as the celebration of the arrival of male puberty, the launching of dinghies and the blessing of the first year's harvest. Whatever their denomination, most Islanders are intensely committed to their Christian faith and are likely to remain so for decades to come, despite schism, upheaval and their growing integration into an increasingly secular Australian society.

CONCLUSION

Mabuyag has played a significant role in the history of Christianity in Torres Strait, being one of the earliest islands to accept LMS pastors. The Rev. Oliver Fellows Tomkins planned to move his headquarters from Mer to Mabuyag in early 1901, citing safe anchorage, ease of communication with Daru and Thursday Island and a large and enthusiastic church membership but he died before he could carry out his plan. These same factors influenced both the LMS and the Anglican Torres Straits mission to choose Mabuyag as their headquarters on three occasions: from May 1905 to March 1906 under the Rev. Benjamin Butcher; from June 1913 to the end of 1914 under the Rev. Thomas Oliver Harries; and from mid-1915 to May 1926 under the Rev. John James Edmond Done (Harries, 1913b; Langbridge, 1977: 188; Done, 1987). As one of the more successful mission stations with a central location, comparatively prosperous congregation and fine church building, Mabuyag was often chosen to host the annual LMS Mei (May) meetings. A majority of western island students to the Papuan Institute were Mabuyag-born and they helped pioneer mission stations throughout the region. Mabuyag Islanders made a seamless transition to Anglicanism and now other denominations and since then their priests, teachers and lay mission workers have continued to play a significant religious and educational role in other island and mainland communities.

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APPENDIX 1: MABUYAG-BORN LMS MISSIONARY TEACHERS

The contribution of foreign missionary teachers to the development of Christianity on Mabuyag has been well documented in church records and academic papers. However, little has been published about the pioneer Mabuyag-born missionary teachers who served the LMS in Torres Strait and New Guinea after their training at the Papuan Gulf Native College (or Papuan Institute).

The institute was an educational experiment unique in colonial Queensland. Modeled on similar LMS institutions in the Pacific for training indigenous teachers, it was an ideological and practical product of missionary endeavour. So many of the pastors imported from the Pacific had either died or fallen gravely ill because of the climate and endogenous diseases that it was felt necessary to replenish the supply locally. For the first time high-status young men and their wives were brought together from eastern and western Torres Strait islands and coastal New Guinea, in an attempt also to subdue ancient antagonisms. Instruction was in the eastern language, Meriam Mir, but Pacific Islander assistants employed some Pacific Pidgin English, which was just beginning to assume the role of a regional *lingua franca*, and the junior class was being taught in English as early as 1882 (McFarlane, 1882c). The main subjects were reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, scripture and carpentry. When the Rev. Archibald Ernest Hunt arrived in August 1887, he began teaching English. Recalling his time as a teacher, the Rev. Harry Scott (1934: 147-148) wrote:

Our pupils were youths of many different tribes drawn from a wide area and a few Murray Island lads. In our teaching we used the Mer, or

Murray Island language. We had as our sole text book the Gospel of St. Mark. I speak from experience when I say that St. Mark makes a capital history, geography and mathematics Primer. And, of course, is a good spelling and reading book, with a fascinating story to tell.

But by the late 1880s it was becoming obvious that the early promise of the Papuan Institute had not been fulfilled and many of the students returned to their former life. Mabuyag and Saibai had provided the majority of the graduates (19) but by 1889 six had died, two had retired because of ill-health and three had been withdrawn for immorality or inefficiency (Hunt, 1889), leaving only eight still serving at their various stations. With a few exceptions and for many reasons, they proved disappointing and were rejected by the New Guinea villagers. They began to be replaced by a new group of Samoans and were sent to the smaller islands to serve as unpaid evangelists. On the other hand, instruction in English literacy and the industrial arts had fitted them to become some of the earliest Torres Strait Islander schoolteachers and they and their descendants formed the majority of early churchwardens and teachers in the islands. By mid-1913, 18 months before the LMS withdrew from its Torres Strait mission, it had churches on 11 islands with five Pacific Islander and three Torres Strait Islander pastors (Harries, 1913a). This total did not include the Torres Strait Islander missionaries then serving in New Guinea. Unfortunately, few of the men are named in correspondence. When visiting Mabuyag towards the end of 1891, for example, Chalmers (1891b) found

four men, three of them married, formerly of Murray Isd Institution, one a South Sea Islander, and all anxious to become teachers. I cannot

understand what they are doing here, nor how it is we never heard of them before. Mr Savage speaks well of them, and as soon as the Directors have decided something about Dauan, and the Fly River, I should at once use any material such as these men and women, for beginning work. They would form the nucleus of a small college, and I could then get in all the teachers on the mainland near the Fly and on Kiwai, and give them a good drilling in school work and house building. Alas! These are much needed indeed.

A tentative identification of the Torres Strait Islanders who served the LMS in various locations, either as missionaries or teachers, includes 17 Mabuyag Islanders: Aiaba, Ambar, Baidam (Daniel), Billy, Buzi, Gabai, Gaulai, Guamitara, Kimai, Magala, Mauga, Nakau, Paiwain, Peter, Pinu, Waria and Zerkolap. Three other students from Mabuyag, who apparently did not become missionaries, were Bagai, Bani and Wame. Most of the early students at the Papuan Institute were the younger sons of clan leaders and initiated men in their late teens or early 20s when they began their studies.

Taking his cue from LMS correspondence, Williamson (1994: 48) largely dismisses these men on the grounds that their training 'only effectively took place for three years from 1882 and produced relatively few graduates' and they had minimal significance for Torres Strait education. Numbers are relative and their contribution was highly significant. Many of them served in the islands or New Guinea but left the LMS after the Anglican takeover and returned to their home islands to become the first Islander school teachers and churchwardens; only a few continued to work in New Guinea. Certainly, the members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition in 1898 when on Mabuyag

benefited hugely from the interpreting and translation skills of Peter Papi and Ned Waria (Haddon, 1904: 123).

The following brief biographies of Mabuyag-born men and women, who served the LMS and Anglican church in various capacities show how the men's decision to seek an education in Christianity and 'civilisation' has influenced their descendants. Sons, daughters, nephews and grandchildren provided the bulk of the early Anglican priests, teachers, mission crews and lay personnel who are today identified with Mabuyag or its former outstation 'small Mabuyag', St Paul's Mission for Pacific Islanders on Mua. Williamson's (1994: 50) claim that 'schooling and evangelist training offered no opportunity for elite status' in Torres Strait, as had emerged elsewhere in the Pacific, ignores the fact that until the 1970s certain families held a semi-monopoly over 'white-collar' jobs – as priests, teachers and store managers – and that the descendants of those pioneer students, who were literate, educated and charged with modeling acceptable and 'civilised' behaviour for the people among whom they lived, figure disproportionately among them.

Aiaba Agi (1860s-?). All that is known of Aiaba Agi's career in the LMS is that by 1889 he had been expelled for immorality (Hunt, 1889). Aiaba's son, Moigub Aiaba, crewed the first Anglican mission boat *Herald* in the 1920s; a grandson, Satrick, was the first Anglican missionary to serve at the newly-formed Anglican mission station at Cowal Creek (now Injinoo); and a grandchild, Tom Lomak Phineasa became a school teacher.

Agi Ambar (c.1866-1947). Agi Ambar is said by some to have been the son of Mauga, also a LMS missionary; according to Peter Eseli (1998: 100), he was adopted from AUSA and Adakau. Having graduated from the Papuan Institute, he was appointed to Totalai on Mua

after the death in October 1902 of the Niue Islander, Morris, who had been in charge of both Mua and Badu, and a Samoan was placed on Badu (Riley, 1903). Ambar oversaw the relocation of the community to Adam and married Geni Gasu from Mer in one of the earliest recorded east-west marriages. He was dismissed in September 1905 for adultery with a girl from his congregation (Butcher, 1905). A deacon then ministered to the community. Ambar later joined the Anglican church and became the long-serving skipper of its mission boat *Herald I* under the Rev. John Done (1987: 104).⁴⁷ His adopted son, the Rev. Sagi Ambar, became the first Mabuyag-born Anglican priest.

Baidam (Daniel). Riley (1907: 183) mentions 'a Torres Strait native' named 'Bidam' being placed in charge of Gaima in about October 1906 as 'one of the advance guard'; he accompanied Riley during his visit to the inland village of Mida in August 1907. Gaima was about 100 miles from Daru and the most remote LMS station on the Fly River. Baidam was still there in October 1910 (F.M., n.d.: 2). He accompanied Gunnar Landtman and Ben Butcher on their trip down the Aramia in 1910 (Lawrence, 2010: 32-37). He may be the man named by Eseli (1998: 130) and Rivers (Haddon, 1904: Table 2) as the son of Asai or Nabua and Pad, grandson of Waigi and Kangai, husband of Patipat Wipa and Buia and father of Asai, Nagele Ngata, Meroma and possibly Aigiwak. Aigiwak married the Murray Island LMS teacher, Manoah Kaigey. If so, he is identical with Daniel from the Shovel-nosed Shark clan, born c.1867 at Mabuyag, who gave information about the early history of Christianity on Mabuyag to the Rev. W.H. MacFarlane in 1927.

Billy. Billy of Mabuyag, possibly the son of Sagaukaz and Uriwari, is recorded as giving a sermon at the dedication of the new church at Badu in August 1900, while temporarily stationed on Masig (Nokise, 1983: 370). By

early 1903 he had 'sinned' and been dismissed, leaving Masig vacant (Riley, 1903).

Buzi (c.1850-1929). Buzi was one of the men selected by the Rev. E.B. Savage to accompany him to the eastern district of Papua at the end of 1886 (Scott, 1886a). He was the first LMS teacher appointed to Mua and he and his wife, Kapin, are reported as living there in March 1888 (Savage, 1888). How long Buzi remained on Mua is unclear; he was apparently expelled for immorality (Savage, 1888). A teacher could be expelled at least three times for this offence and yet be reinstated. By late 1889 Buzi was working at Mawata, although Hunt (1889), who had arrived on Mer in 1887, knew nothing about him. By April 1891 Savage (1891) reported to the LMS directors that he had '[t]ried man after man at Mawat – the last one, Bozi (Saibai/Mabuiag), no better than rest, has left. Now no teacher.' However in April 1894 Bruce (1894) reported that Buzi, then stationed at Boigu, was at Dauan, ill with fever, and had been given permission to leave. He had been ill for at least a month. Buzi's wife, Manaima, was a long-time member and office bearer of the Badu Mother's Union and their son, Lama Buzi, served as caretaker, verger and bellringer of the Thursday Island cathedral for some 40 years (*A.B.M. Review*, February 1974: 24).

Gabai (c.1860s-?). 'Gabia' is mentioned by Savage (1888) as a teacher serving at Dauan and by Hunt (1889) as either a Saibai or Mabuyag Islander teacher then stationed at Sui in New Guinea. This is probably Gabai of the Dugong clan from Panay, grandson of Peid and Makasa, son of Dadabu and Muguda and brother of Asi, Sawi and Korai.

Gaulai (c.1865-1927). Gaulai (Dugong clan) was the son of Gib and Koisugu and married Aziku (Shovel-nosed Shark clan); their son Nagere was adopted by Nakau, Gaulai's brother, also a LMS missionary. Gaulai,

along with Buzi and Paiwain, was selected to go with the Rev. E.B. Savage to the eastern district of New Guinea in late 1885 or early 1886 (Scott, 1886a). Gaulai wrote to the Rev. Harry Scott, his former teacher at the Papuan Institute, on 24 March 1888 to tell him that he had married and had a son. He was still attending the Papuan Institute. As a result of his success in the examination given by Hunt in 1888 in which he won first place with 84 per cent, he had won half a crown as a prize (Gaulai, 1888; Hunt, 1888: 391). In the early 1900s Gaulai served as LMS lay preacher at Yam Island but for most of his life he was employed by the Panai Company of Mabuyag as a swimming diver for pearlshell. Paidan was Gaulai's true island name, Gaulai his baptismal name (Gaulai, c.1922). A daughter, Uzu Gaulai, taught on Mabuyag before and during World War II; a grandson, the Rev. Ibegan Mene, was deaconed in 1980 and priested in 1983, taking charge of St Mark's church, Badu, where he had lived from the age of six; two other grandchildren, Orepa and Alam Mene, became teachers, Orepa at Masig and Alam at Cowal Creek, while their brother, Buwa Mene, was briefly a Mabuyag school monitor in 1933.

Guamitara (c.1860s-1889). Guamitara may have been the son of Ngukis (Crocodile clan) and Baithi (Snake clan), husband of Magau and father of Kaidui. He became one of the Rev. Harry Scott's students and is recorded as being stationed at Samarai in New Guinea in March 1888, by which time he had a daughter (Gaulai, 1888; Savage, 1888; Hunt, 1889). By June 1889 he was dead. In his case, Savage did not blame the climate, which was the usual cause, Guamitara having confessed before his death:

to having seduced the daughter of one of the chiefs of Kiwai, and declared this to be the cause of his sickness. Whether this is mere superstition, or whether there is an

element of truth in it, it is hard to say. In any case, it is very sad for a Teacher to have to make such a confession as this. It means that his work has been a failure; that he has been leading those astray, whom he should have sought to lead to Jesus (Savage, 1889b).

Kimai (c.1860s-1888). Kimai was probably a Mabuyag Islander (Langbridge, 1977: 179-180), who was appointed to Badu but was dead by March 1888 (Savage, 1888; Hunt, 1889). He may have died with Pinu at the hands of the Tugeri.⁴⁸ He was replaced at Badu by Waria (Savage, 1888).

Magala (c.1869-1949). Magala of the Crocodile clan, was the son of Banai and Uruba (Rivers' Table 4B). In 1898 he was known to Haddon (1904: 353) as 'a Mabuig mission teacher at Kunini, on the New Guinea coast'; Chalmers (1898) thought him 'a very intelligent young Mabuigi native', who spoke good English. He had recently lost his first wife, possibly Iruba from Waraber (Sue Island):

At Kunini the work has been hindered by the teacher's absence. He lost his wife by fever and for a long time has been away at his home on Mabuigi. Having again married, I returned him with his wife to his station last July. He is a smart young fellow and before his wife's death was getting on well with the people, a bush tribe who have come to live on the coast (Chalmers, 1898).

He may also have worked at Tureture after he married his second wife, Pudi from Dauan, the widow of Mooka from Dauan, another LMS teacher. He adopted Pudi's daughter, Leah, and the family eventually returned to Mabuyag, where Leah married Adi Tom Nabua and had a son, Sagi. Sagi was adopted by Anau Ambar (as was James, the son of Manua and Aigiwak Kaigey) and

was ordained as the first Mabuyag-born Church of England priest in 1951. Magala and Pudi may also have adopted Nagere from Gaulai, another LMS missionary (Gaulai, c.1922; *A.B.M. Review*, 1 June 1951: 79; Eseli, 1998: 100).

Mauga (c.1860s-c.1910s). A Mabuyag Islander from the Shovel-nosed Shark and Dugong clans, who was stationed at Parem (Bampton Island) in January 1906. He may have exchanged names with Nomoa (Rivers' Table 1). On 1 January 1901, Chalmers (1901) arranged for him to go to Parem (Bampton Island) in New Guinea and he was apparently still there in January 1906, when Butcher wrote approvingly of him, to the effect that, whatever their faults, Mauga, like the other Torres Strait Islander teachers, knew his:

Four Gospels better than the majority of Christians in England. They are the only works they possess in their own language and so are read constantly. Thus Mauga was able to tell the story with the aid of my crude pictures in a more effective way than it had ever been heard before. It brought things near to the people and that night many of them never went to sleep but sat up and by the light of their fires talked over the many things they had heard and seen concerning the wonderful Gospel story until daylight broke and found them still talking and wondering (Butcher, 1905-1914).

Nakau (c.1860s-c.1904). Nakau (Dugong clan) was either the true or adopted son of Gib and Koisugu and brother of Gaulai (see above), who gave Nakau his son, Nagere. When Nakau went to New Guinea as a LMS teacher, he took Nagere with him.⁴⁹ After Pinu's death in c.1888, Nakau, who was formerly at Tureture, took his place at Dauan with instructions to minister to the Boigu

people also (Savage, 1888). He was still there at the end of 1891.

Before leaving we began on Dauan by having a meeting with the people and a school examination afterwards. The teacher, Nakau, is a native of Mabuiag, and seems to have some go in him, but fails entirely in school work. He has charge also of Boigu, but complains that it is impossible to get the Boiguans to live on Dauan and he cannot live on Boigu it being nearly all swamp (Chalmers, 1891b).

Nevertheless, after spending some time with him, Chalmers thought Nakau 'may make a good teacher yet, at all events we must try'. He and his wife were reported as suffering from fever in April 1894 but were still at Dauan in 1898 (Bruce, 1894, 1898). He may be the 'Nakkow Nakkow', who is officially recorded as having died on 9 September 1904 in Queensland. According to Elisala Bigi and Anau Mau (Bigi & Mau, 1968), when Nakau was at Dauan

he speared a shell-turtle on the eastern side of the island. The prongs of his spear went right through the shell and pierced the guts of the turtle. After it had been cut up and cooked, the people of Dauan ate the flesh of the turtle and were sick. Many of them died. The survivors dug two holes and buried people in them as they died. One hole was dug at a spot in front of the present-day school, the other at a spot in the cemetery. At a later date the mass grave at the cemetery was covered with a slab of cement.

Paiwain (c.1865-1931). Paiwain Sugu from the Dugong clan of Panay and a cousin of Ned Waria was another of the men chosen to go with the Rev. E.B. Savage to New Guinea at the end of 1885, along with Buzi

and Gaulai (Scott, 1886a). In March 1888 he was serving at Mawata and had a daughter, probably named Manar, who died young. He replaced Anau from Saibai, whom Savage was 'compelled to remove ... as I found that he was scarcely ever at his station, and when there, his influence was anything but what it should be' (Savage, 1888; Gaulai, 1888). By 1889, Paiwain was at Erub where in 1892 his first son, Waria Sakawai, was born, but government resident Milman described him 'as an "utterly useless fellow" and who, the natives told him "was no good"', although Hunt did not know him personally (Hunt, 1889). Hunt sent him to Masig in 1893 (Langbridge, 1977: 178-180) and a daughter, named Manar after her dead sister, was born there in 1895. On his return to Mabuyag he became a deacon and on 12 June 1918 the bishop appointed him a churchwarden (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 12 June 1918).⁵⁰ MacFarlane described him in 1925:

Paiwan, white-headed and venerable, looking like a figure out of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' took his quiet part in the discussion. He was a lad when the missionaries came over half a century ago, and in due course he became a missionary himself, going with the L.M.S. to the neighbouring island of New Guinea on the north, and afterwards acting as teacher in some of the islands (Coral, 1925).

Paiwain married three times, to Kewas Saku, Pad from Gebar, and the widow Mary Mooka. One of his grandchildren, Marie Bageri Magala, became a teacher on Mabuyag.

Peter Papi (c.1852-1914). Peter or Papi of the Shovel-nosed Shark clan was the teacher at Kiwai. By March 1888 he was still childless and had returned to Mabuyag because he had become very ill 'some time ago' (Gaulai, 1888). When the Rev. E.B. Savage came to Mabuyag, Peter suggested he go to live with Waria at Badu but Savage told him to

remain on Mabuyag. By the following year he is reported as having retired because of illness (Hunt, 1889). On his tombstone is the inscription: 'He carried out God's message throughout New Guinea'. He was one of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition's 'chief assistants' in 1898 and the love letters between him and his wife, Magena, are published in Haddon (1904: 123, 227). One of Peter's sons, Peter Eseli, authored an important document about Mabuyag published as Eseli (1998) and his granddaughter, Mauare Eseli, was one of the early teachers who taught for 49 years until her retirement (Mauare Eseli, pers. comm., 1995). Another son, Bageri, married Paiwain's daughter, Manar. One of Peter Papi's great grandsons, Erris Eseli, is a deacon in the Anglican Church; another, the Rev. John Eseli, is a priest in the Independent Christian Church of Torres Strait.

Pinu (c.1860s-c.1887). Pinu was probably the son of Pedia and Dokei and belonged to the Dugong and Crocodile clans; his wife was Numagu. He served the LMS from c.1884 to early 1888, when he was reported as having been attacked and killed at Dauan, though the place of death was most likely Zangawal Maza, a sand bar between Boigu and the Papuan mainland (Rod Mitchell, pers. comm., 1998). In c.1884 Strachan and his party were rescued by Pinu, then teaching at Boigu, and at the end of October 1885 Strachan (1885-1886: 89) returned to Boigu to repay him. Pinu is mentioned in the story of Christianity on Boigu, told by senior Boigu men: 'Pinu, a deacon from Mabuig, brought his wife with him and came to live on Boigu. They were made welcome by the Boigu people and soon they were all very good friends'. Another story relates how Pinu led the failed peace mission of Boigu men to the New Guinean Tugeri, who were planning a raid, which ended in his murder and that of his servant boy, Kimai (Boigu Island Council, 1991: 120-125). Pinu is mentioned by

MacGregor (1890: 69) as having been killed by the Tugeri c.1887 along with the Boigu mamoose; he is also mentioned by Haddon (1904: 353). According to Rod Mitchell (pers. comm., 2007), Pinu was the first LMS missionary to go to Boigu, the second last island to receive an LMS missionary. He and his family went because they had relatives at Boigu. He and his wife already had children before he died and his family remained at Boigu. The descendants are the Matthew family; Pinu Matthew, perhaps a grandson, was a deacon and *marimulaimabaig* 'spirit talker'. Nakau, another Mabuyag Islander, replaced Pinu at Boigu.

Ned Waria (c.1865-1913). Ned Waria, the last Mabuyag mamoose, was a descendant of the Dugong clan leaders of Panay and one of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition's chief assistants (Haddon, 1904: 123, 266). A cousin of Paiwain, he is said also to have trained at the Papuan Institute, where he learned to speak Meriam Mir. According to Savage (1888) and Gaulai (1888), he was stationed at Badu in 1888, having replaced Kimai after the latter's death. Chalmers (1891b) calls him 'a smart looking fellow', Cowling (1908) 'a very capable man'. He was still serving as the LMS teacher on Badu at the end of 1889, when Hunt reported that he knew nothing about him, and also at the end of 1891, when Badu and Mabuyag formed a single church. John Douglas appointed him 'mamoose' in 1899.

Waria's son, Gelam Warria, served as a lay reader at Mabuyag as a younger man and as a verger of the Thursday Island cathedral and, when sent to Fantome Island, greatly assisted the superintendant in church work: 'There was no more devout, regular, and exemplary communicant in the parish than he' (*The Parish Gazette*, 1 April 1939: 4). A great granddaughter, Dillyapo Warria, taught at Badu.

Zerkolap (c.1860-1935). Zerkolap, also known as Maki, Mauma, Maki Mauma and Maki Waba, was the son of Waba, the clan leader of Maydh, and Akabu (Eseli, 1998). His first wife was Dawa, his second Urkar, and he named his first son Magala, presumably after the LMS teacher at Kunini. All that is known of Zerkolap's time as a LMS teacher is that by the end of 1889 he had been expelled for immorality (Hunt, 1889).

APPENDIX 2: OTHER STUDENTS OF THE PAPUAN INSTITUTE

Not all the Mabuyag-born men who attended the Papuan Institute finished their full course of studies and became mission teachers. Those who decided, for whatever reason, not to complete their studies but take up other occupations or were dismissed are rarely mentioned in LMS correspondence. However, they profited from their education and often served the LMS and the Church of England in a lay capacity. At least three belong to this category:

Bagai (c.1860s-1923). In March 1888, Gaulai (1888) wrote to tell the Rev. Harry Scott that Bagai had returned to the Institute but the Rev. E.B. Savage had not provided enough food and, when he complained, Savage dismissed him. He left Mer and returned to Mabuyag. He married Dabangai and, like Wame, became a swimming diver for pearl shell. According to Haddon (1904: 354) Bagai owned land at Gebar (Two Brothers Island) called Umai Piti (Dog Point). In 1916 he was among the first Mabuyag people confirmed in the Church of England. Scott (1934: 172) often wondered what Bagai, 'faithful attendant and constant companion and others of those whom we had under our care, thought of the many great changes that were going on in and around them. But we could never tell. There was the further great puzzle of how far they really understood us, and we them.'

Mabua Aki (c.1850-1917). According to Maria Gebadi (pers. comm., 2001), Mabua, son of Aki and the fourth traditional chief of Wagadagam (Crocodile clan and Northwest Wind), trained at Mer alongside the father of Kudin Mosby (possibly named Yawasu) from Masig, the first LMS student from Masig. Ephraim Bani (1993) writes that his grandfather Masi took Barney Mosby

of Masig as a brother and they exchanged names, so 'athe [grandfather] Masi became athe Barney now spelt Bani and athe Barney became athe Masi'. However, according to Maria Gebadi (pers. comm., 2001), Ned and Kudin Mosby named their second son Barney Masi Mosby (c.1882-1944) after Mabua's only surviving son, Bani Masi (c.1877-1954), because of the brother relationship forged between Kudin's father and Mabua when they were at the Papuan Institute. Whether or not Mabua served as a LMS missionary is unclear but, if he did, he had returned to Mabuyag by 1908 (Cowling, 1908). Mabua had resisted moving away from his ancestral land but became convinced that the new ways represented the future. He may also have been invited to visit the institute for a short time to witness operations and deepen his understanding of Christian teaching. Mabua became Mabuyag's first Anglican churchwarden and the Rev. John Done wrote of him shortly after his death:

There has just passed to his rest one of the finest characters it has been my privilege to meet, Mabua, native Churchwarden of Mabuiag. He was for years a deacon under the old administration, and on the taking over by the Church of the Torres Straits Mission, was licensed by Bishop White as Churchwarden. His knowledge of English was extremely limited, so that most of his instruction for Confirmation and otherwise had to be done by interpretation. He was a quiet, simple soul, who realised his duty to God and man, and did it to the best of his ability. He was known as Bellman on the island, having been instructed by Hon. John Douglas to ring the rising bell every morning, and that duty has been faithfully carried out for years. On pouring

wet days he might be seen going down from his house to the bell, and on coming back he invariably picked up any stray coconut leaves or rubbish lying about in the Mission compound so that the place could be kept tidy. He was never absent from Church or Celebration till his final illness overtook him. He attended the Celebration on Easter Day, and his absence from Matins that morning was so unusual that I went at once to inquire the reason. He had developed fever, which proved fatal on Low Sunday morning. His seat was immediately behind the Reading Desk, and one could hear him praying in his own language throughout the prayers of the service, for he was very old, probably near 70, and could not understand much of the new ways, though he most loyally assisted by word and example in the establishing of them. He set a fine example of industry to his fellow-islanders, built his own house, worked his own garden, caught his own fish, and kept everything in spick and span order, and his example might be followed by anyone with advantage, for he was truly one of those who had been "converted and become as little children". His wife predeceased him only by a few days. His son, Bani, was made a Churchwarden a year ago, and is proving by his devotion that he has learned at least some of the lessons the old man taught him (Done, 1917b).

Mabua married three times: his son by Dakantai from Mabuyag, Bani Mabua, was appointed an Anglican lay missionary on Mer in 1920; Atuelu Bowia, another (probably adopted) son with his third wife,

Wipa Pauna, was among the first intake of students at St Paul's Mission theological college in 1917 and taught at Poid from 1922 until his death in 1925; a grandson, Ngailu Bani, was a long-serving teacher at Badu, Kubin, Ugar and Mabuyag and served as Mabuyag chairman in 1973; a great grandson, the Rev. Michael Bani, was priested in 1963; another great grandson, Ephraim Bani, became a cultural ambassador for western Torres Strait (see Bani, 1993).

Wame (1860s-?). Wame from Mabuyag, the son of Iwau (Cassowary, Dugong and Snake clans) and Panay, also studied at the Papuan Institute for an unspecified time. He and another man were accused of raping very young girls on Mer during his time as a student and Pennefather was sent to investigate. On 7 August 1880, Pennefather (1880) found not enough evidence

to justify my entering into the cases and committing the two accused natives for trial, though there is not the slightest moral doubt the offences took place, in fact the natives themselves confessed so to me, saying it was their native fashion and that they did not know the white man's laws.

The teacher though he reported these cases seemed very unwilling to offer me any information on the subject – he being either afraid to do so or wishing to obtain favor with the islanders. One of the culprits was a Mabiak man named Wamee being educated at the mission as a candidate for (missionary) clerical orders; the other was named Sunday, a native of Murray Island. The first named I removed from the island, the latter I cautioned in such a manner that I do not think he will feel inclined to repeat the offence.

Wame, who then became a swimming diver for pearl shell, was also known as Karum and Captain Joe, son of Iwau and Panay, and older brother of Tom Nabua, one of the chief informants of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition in 1898. According to Haddon (1904: 290), Iwau was a significant landowner, holding land at Mabuyag, Badu, Mua, Saibai, Boigu, Mawata and Tureture.

**APPENDIX 3:
MABUYAG-BORN WIVES OF LMS
MISSIONARIES**

All but one of the wives of the men listed above, Pudi from Dauan, also came from Mabuyag. They are mentioned in LMS correspondence even more rarely than their husbands. Like their husbands, they were expected to model 'civilised' behaviour and serve as a reference group for the women among whom they lived. Some of these wives attended the Papuan Institute classes for the Murray Island women held by Mary Scott, the wife of the LMS missionary: 'Our day-schools consist of boys' and girls' classes for the Murray Islanders, and classes for men and women, boys and girls, who come from other islands, and are being trained as teachers and teachers' wives' (Scott, 1886b: 159-160).

I think the women and girls surpass the men and boys in aptness to learn, willingness to work, and true appreciation of the Gospel. Four mornings in each week, from 9.30 till 11 o'clock, Mrs Scott holds her class – numbering twenty-seven – on our verandah; the rapidity with which some of her scholars (who have never before seen book or pen) learn to read and write, surprises us all. Another part of the training of the women and girls under Mrs Scott is that they are taught to wash and iron, cook, and do general house work; and, under the superintendence of the teacher's wife, they do all this kind of work for the men and boys in the institution. On Thursday, the women teachers in the Sunday-school have a special class for the preparation of the lesson for the following Sunday, and on Friday afternoon they are taught the mysteries of the scissors, needle and thread (Scott, 1886b: 160-161).

These young women, several of whom 'married the lads and afterwards went back

with them to their old homes as teachers and leaders in the way of better living among their own folk' were indoctrinated into 'civilised' and 'cleanly' ways. This was Mary Scott's main work, explaining the mysteries of 'cutlery, crockery, glass-ware, iron cooking vessels' and teaching them 'how to bake, boil [and] wash' in order 'to lay the foundations of a new and healthier life for the whole community' (Scott, 1934: 146-147, 149).

Another Mabuyag woman, Gawada Mopas, daughter of Wake and Waiu, married one of the seminary graduates, Jimmy Ware from Ouvéa, Loyalty Islands.⁵¹ In 1892, Ware was appointed as the teacher for both Mua and Badu and continued in that position until his death, probably in 1894.⁵²

On Badu there is a South Sea Islander from Uea, Loyalty Group, and trained on Murray. Jimi makes a good teacher – his wife, a Mabuia 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 (Chalmers, 1893).

Mabuyag-born Fanny Mari married Fijian Joe Bann, a stalwart of the Church of England South Sea Mission to Pacific Islanders on Thursday Island and accompanied him to Mua to open the second mission in May 1908. He was Deaconess Florence Buchanan's loyal assistant, skipper of the first mission cutter, mission catechist and churchwarden. Joe and Fanny's daughter, Mary, was assistant teacher at St Paul's for many years and kept the school running during the war after the evacuation of European personnel.

APPENDIX 4: ANGLICAN PRIESTS AND LAY MISSION STAFF

In addition to the Mabuyag Islander LMS teachers, there were other students who returned to Mabuyag and became deacons and then Church of England churchwardens under a special dispensation from the bishop. They made an apparently easy transition to Anglicanism and became stalwarts of the new church. Their younger kinsmen or clansmen were also called to serve the Church of England as priests, deacons, churchwardens, lay missionaries, boat captains and mission school teachers. Among them were the Rev. Sagi Ambar, Bani Mabua, the Rev. Michael Bani, William Bee, the Rev. Gayai Hankin, Napau Namok, William Namok, the Rev. Ibegan Mene, Satraika, Aviu Ware and Te Wittie Ware (Figure 18).

Sagi Ambar (1914-1986). Canon Sagi Ambar was the son of Leah Mooka, the daughter of the Dauan-born LMS teacher, Mooka and his wife, Pudi, and Adi Tom Nabua of Mabuyag. Ambar was adopted by Agi Ambar, a former LMS missionary and longtime captain of the mission ketch *Herald*. Sagi Ambar's first wife was Iali Repu, his second Martha Toby from Boigu. He served in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion from 1942 until the end of the war, when he enrolled as a theological student. He was ordained as deacon on 13 March 1949 and, following ordination, was presented with an Associate of Theology diploma, an educational milestone. He then went as an assistant curate to Mer, assisting the Rev. Poey Passi. Fr Ambar was priested on 14 January 1951 and during the 1950s he served as an assistant priest in the Torres Strait Mission and chaplain at Lockhart River Mission Station. He also served at Erub, the



FIG. 18. Three churchwardens, St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1952-1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7461-0).

Cathedral, Boigu, Saibai and Yam Islands. In 1970 he was made rural dean of the Western Islands in the Torres Strait mission and was installed as a canon of the cathedral church by Bishop Hawkey (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 June 1951: 79; *Torres News*, 12 August 1986).

Michael Bani (1935-2001). Michael Colin Bani, grandson of Bani Mabua and eldest son of Manase and Panau Bani, began his career as a teacher and was acting government teacher on Mabuyag at various times during the 1950s. He completed his six-year course of studies at St Paul's Theological College in 1962 and returned home to be made a deacon, serving on Mabuyag until his priesting on 1 September 1963 in the Thursday Island cathedral. He was posted to Kubin from 1963 to 1964, then Mer 1964, Mabuyag 1964-65, Mer 1965-66, St Paul's Mission in 1966. He married Mudulpa Kris in 1966, was priest-in-charge at Badu in 1972 and had become an archdeacon by 1984 (*A.B.M. Review*, October 1962: 139, February/April 1972, 14; *Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1965-1966: 23).

William Bee (1904-1926). William Bee was the son of the Samoan Peter Bee, an early lay missionary at Aurukun, and Annie Hankin from Mabuyag. His Samoan grandfather was a teacher. William Bee worked as a diver before entering St Paul's Theological College early in 1925. He died of tuberculosis on 10 May 1926, unmarried and without known descendants, and is buried in St Paul's cemetery (*The Carpentarian*, April 1925: 78).

Erris Eseli (1957-). Erris Eseli is the brother of the Rev. John Eseli, grandson of Eseli Peter and great grandson of Peter Papi. He is a deacon of the Anglican church and his wife, the Rev. Mary Flora (Bowie) Eseli, was the first Aboriginal/Islander woman to become an Anglican priest. The couple serve at Injinoo on Cape York Peninsula.

John Eseli (1955-). The Rev. John Eseli is the brother of Erris Eseli. His grandfather

was Eseli Peter and great grandfather Peter Papi. Eseli was ordained a priest of the Independent Christian Church of Torres Strait and Kaiwalagal Australia (United Anglican Church) Inc. and served in St Mark's Parish, Badu. After Bishop Gayai Hankin's death in 2010, John Eseli became his probable successor but by mid-2012 Eseli was still in Badu and the succession was unclear.

Gayai Terrence Hankin (1940- 2010).⁵³ Bishop Gayai Terrence Hankin is undoubtedly the most significant of all the Mabuyag-born Anglican churchmen. A descendant of the traditional owners of Pulu, he was the second son of Charlie and Ruth (Ketchell) Hankin. Responding to a vocation to become a priest, he attended St Paul's Theological College on Mua, gaining an Associate of Theology from the Australian College of Theology. He was given the opportunity to gain wider experience when sent by the then Bishop of Carpentaria, John Matthews, to St John's College at Suva⁵⁴ and was chosen to further his theological study at St Columb's Hall, Wangaratta, Victoria. In 1968 he gained the Licentiate of Theology, being the first Torres Strait Islander to study Greek, the original language of the New Testament. Hankin was ordained a deacon at St Mary's Church, Mabuyag in 1969 and, because he showed exceptional academic ability, he was sent to do more training in the Diocese of New Guinea 1969-1971 and the Diocese of Papua 1971-1974. He was ordained a priest in 1970 by Bishop David Hand in the Anglican cathedral at Dogura in Milne Bay Province, PNG, on behalf of Bishop Hawkey of the Diocese of Carpentaria. Hankin enrolled for a B.A. degree at the University of Papua New Guinea but did not complete it.

Hankin then returned to Torres Strait and became an assistant priest at the Thursday Island cathedral. In 1975 Bishop Hamish Jamieson posted him as priest-in-charge of Kowanyama (formerly Mitchell River

Mission or Trubanaman Mission) on Cape York, where he carried out an exceptional ministry. Unfortunately, he became seriously ill and left the priesthood between 1977 and 1983 to work at Escape River. Restored to health, he became an honorary assistant priest at the cathedral under its dean, the Rev. David Passi, whom he succeeded as dean and parish priest of Thursday Island in 1984.

His preaching and teaching talents were recognised by the recently-appointed Bishop of Carpentaria, Anthony Hall-Matthews, who set up a Ministry Training Programme to enable Islanders to test their priestly vocations. Under Hankin's example and didactic skills, three men were ordained as deacons in 1988. Following this success, Hankin resigned to become principal of the recently reopened St Paul's Theological College on Thursday Island at the beginning of 1989, the year he was made a canon (*Torres News*, 14 April 1989: 8). He attracted a number of students, whom he was encouraged to teach in a more culturally appropriate way, choosing for them the name Paulon Mura Tukuiapal (Brotherhood of St Paul). Inspired by the brown uniforms of the Franciscan Brotherhood in PNG, he decided that they should wear brown shirts and trousers/skirts (and brown cassocks for church services). This venture was the most important aspect of ministry in the Diocese of Carpentaria in the years before its amalgamation with the Diocese of North Queensland.

After the merging of the Dioceses of Carpentaria and North Queensland in 1996 and the forced resignation of the Bishop of Carpentaria, the newly elected bishop of the amalgamated dioceses, without proper consultation, appointed a bishop for the Torres Strait region, who was perceived as inappropriate in some quarters. All but two of the clergy boycotted his consecration. It was the charismatic and ambitious Hankin who took the lead in the resulting conflict.

He organised a meeting in late September 1997 between Bishop Albert Haley of the Traditional Anglican Communion (TAC) and disaffected Torres Strait Anglicans.⁵⁵ In early December 1997 they resolved to form The Church of the Torres Strait Inc.

Hankin then sent a letter to all members of the Diocese of North Queensland setting out their grievances and announcing that a representative conference of Torres Strait Anglicans had decided to reject the jurisdiction of both the Bishop of North Queensland and the regional assistant bishop in Torres Strait (Hall-Matthews, 2007: 300). Thirteen Torres Strait parishes made application to join the TAC. In February 1998, at a special assembly on Thursday Island, Hankin and Passi were elected as bishops of the Torres Strait. They were consecrated in an emotional and politically-charged ceremony at St Mark's church, Badu, on 26 April 1998 before a congregation of over 2,000 people. The schism, which dates formally from the consecration, was 'described at an Anglican History Conference in Adelaide in 2001 as the most disastrous situation to occur in the Anglican Church of Australia in the twentieth century' (Hall-Matthews, 2007: 13).⁵⁶

However, in December 2003 there occurred a division in The Church of the Torres Strait, with Hankin and most of the clergy breaking away to form the Diocese of the Independent Christian Church of Torres Strait and Kaiwalagal Australia (United Anglican Church) Inc., which by 2007 had parishes on Thursday Island, Badu, Bamaga, Boigu, Dauan, Kubin, Mabuyag, Masig, Saibai, Waraber and Cairns (*Torres News*, 10 December 2007). Hankin approached the Primate of the Anglican Church in Australia to talk about reconciliation but was rebuffed because of 'doubts about his consecration as a bishop'. However, it is understood that he continued to contemplate reconciliation until his death in Cairns on 8 December 2010, with

the matter still pending. He was buried on Thursday Island on 15 January 2011 and leaves a widow, the former Anna Roseka Billy from Masig. Without a bishop, the independent diocese is seeking assistance as to its future, since no new deacons or priests can now be ordained.

Bani Mabua (c.1877-1954). Bani Mabua was the son of Mabua Aki, LMS deacon and long-serving churchwarden, and his second wife, Dakantai. Like his father, Bani Mabua also became an LMS deacon, who was appointed an Anglican churchwarden in 1916, a year before his father's death (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 July 1917: 93). Two years later the Rev. John Done, impressed by his devotion, suggested to the bishop that he might be willing to go to Mer as 'Lay missionary-in-charge' (Newton, 1918; *The Carpentarian* April 1920: 625). After a successful interview with the bishop on 24 November 1919 (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 24 November 1919), Bani was eager to go but Raba originally objected because of the distance from home.

The Bishop explained that she must go willingly; that if she were miserable and unhappy it would spoil her husband's work; that she must decide for herself. She thought the Bishop would be angry with her if she did not go, and when she was told he would not be angry, though he would be sorry, she decided to go! (*The Carpentarian*, January 1920: 621).

The bishop then applied to the local protector for 'a permit for Bani and his family at present living at Mabuiag to leave that Island and live on Murray Island. I am anxious to place Bani on Murray Island as a lay missionary and as such he will receive a Stipend from the Mission Funds' (Newton, 1919b). One of Bani's advantages was that he was an outsider and therefore more likely to be impartial. He would work under the

direction of the Rev. W.H. MacFarlane, then living at Erub. Bani Mabua began his two-year tenure on Mer in January 1920 and was paid £1.13.2 per month (Newton, 1920).

Bani's first wife was Kalengo Pitcairn, his second Raba Nabua. By Kalengo he had Ephraim and Manase Bani, the latter also becoming a churchwarden in the 1940s; another son, Ngailu, became a long-serving schoolteacher on Mua and Ugar and eventually the chairman of Mabuyag in 1973. Manase's son and Bani Mabua's grandson, Michael Bani, became a priest in 1963; another grandson, Ephraim Bani, organized the annual Torres Strait cultural festival in 1986 and was awarded the OAM for his efforts to promote and preserve Torres Strait Islander culture and languages in the Australian Honours List of 2004.

Ibegan Mene (1931-1994). Ibegan Mene was the son of Mene Gaulai from Panay and Atai Boa from Mer and grandson of the LMS missionary, Gaulai; his wife was Teisi Panuel of Badu. Although born on Mabuyag, his family moved to Badu when he was six and he identified as a Badu Islander. Mene worked as a labourer in various industries, then as cook, tender and diver, before going to the pearl farms at Gialag (Friday Island) and Kuri Bay, WA. In the late 1970s he was a churchwarden at Badu and took services in the absence of the priest (Matsumoto in Ohshima, 1983: 120-121). Matsumoto considered him 'charismatic and with leadership qualities', a man very much respected by those around him. Mene became a deacon in 1980 and curate at Badu in 1981. He was priested on 5 January 1983 at St Mark's Church, Badu, and received his Certificate of Theology from Nungalinya College in the late 1980s. He died in March 1994 and is buried at Badu outside the main entrance of St Mark's.

Napau Namok (1901-1946). Mabuyag-born Napau Namok, the son of Charlie Mukubi

and Lily Namok, and grandson of the ni-Vanuatu Billy Namok and Zaubi Nawi from Mabuyag, is recorded as a student living at St Paul's Mission in the marriage and birth registers 1923-1924. He was probably studying in the theological college. He served for a while as crew under the Rev. John Done on the mission ketch *Herald*. On 28 January 1927 Namok was licensed as a lay missionary and school teacher at Cowal Creek (now Injinoo) to replace Satraika on 1 February (*The Carpentarian*, April 1927: 196). He had married Barbara (Baa) Buzi from Badu in 1923 at Badu and one of their sons was born at Injinoo. He handed over to Te Wittie Ware in December 1928 (MacFarlane, 1928, entry for 15 December 1928) and was supposed to go to Boigu in 1929 as the teacher. However, he was not prepared to go to Boigu and resigned as of 31 December 1928 (Davies, 1922-1929, entry for 23 January 1929). Namok was one of a group of Torres Strait Islander soldiers who served in Merauke in the former Dutch New Guinea during World War II. He drowned in 1946 with four others in a sailing dinghy accident and their bodies were never recovered.

William Namok (c.1901-1978). William Namok of Mabuyag, son of Tom Dick and Baithie Namok, entered St Paul's Theological College in January 1926. In early 1927 he assisted as one of the lay readers at Mabuyag and obtained his licence that Easter, while working on an island company boat. William Namok lived at Lockhart Mission in 1953 where he worked as a carpenter and supervised housebuilding. Namok's work at Lockhart River Mission and Umagico was both practical and spiritual. He directed the rebuilding of trochus boats for the Aboriginal Cooperative Society at Lockhart River in the mid-1950s and was ordained a deacon in Thursday Island cathedral in 1963. He died at Lockhart River in December 1978. Namok married three times: his first two wives came

from Mabuyag, his third from Badu. His second wife, Paimele, was the daughter of Bani Mabua, the Anglican lay missionary at Mer (*Year Book of the Diocese of Carpentaria*, 1965-66; Pride, 1956).

Satraika (c.1897-1943).⁵⁷ The first Torres Strait Anglican missionary to serve on the mainland was Satraika Agi from Mabuyag, who volunteered to go to Small River (later Cowal Creek, now Injinoo) at the end of 1922. Satraika was among the first candidates to be confirmed on Mabuyag in January 1916 and he responded to a call by the bishop and the Rev. H.E. Warren of the Roper River Mission, who had visited the strait seeking volunteers for service at Groote Island.

He felt that these Torres Strait Islanders would be of immense help to him in teaching his people to manage and sail a boat, build houses and plant gardens. It certainly should have a very valuable reflex effect upon the Torres Strait Mission to feel that they have sent out their own missionaries to another people (*A.B.M. Review*, 7 December 1922: 153).⁵⁸

Satraika and his wife volunteered to go to Small River to take charge of the newly-established mission, arriving on 18 January 1923 (Sharp, 1992: 104).⁵⁹ The mission, none of whose residents was Christian, was officially opened in April 1923. There was no government subsidy and it was financed by voluntary contributions from the Torres Strait churches (Sharp, 1992: 90). In addition to his teaching duties, Satraika held daily services and gave religious and gardening instruction (Needham, 1925). There were 22 school pupils who 'were practically without knowledge of English' (*A.B.M. Review*, 12 May 1923: 18) but the school was reported to be satisfactory at its first inspection on 6 September 1924, when Satraika was described as

a fairly intelligent young man, of heavy build and somewhat reserved in his manner and address. He appears to be working steadily and very earnestly. Making due allowance for the difficulties surrounding him in starting a new school of this kind, I still do not consider he shows great adaptability for teaching. Possibly a course of training might produce a change and bring to the surface hidden qualities and powers that have not yet been called into requisition by him (Fox, 1924).

Satraika's son, Anau, born at Cowal Creek in 1926, was the first individual to be baptised there, when the first 11 adult baptisms were performed on 13 November 1927. Bishop White (1917: 57, quoting Bishop Stephen Davies) reflected on Satraika's role in the founding of Cowal Creek:

within nine months he had gathered together upwards of 120 mainland aboriginals, established his school, instructed the people in building their houses and making their gardens. In the place of [gunyas] about 2 feet 6 inches high scattered over a large area of country, there is now appearing a neat village, where all the children are sent to day-school clean and neat day by day. The Protector of Aborigines in Thursday Island writes of this Mission nine months after Satraika took up his residence: 'I last visited that settlement about six weeks ago, and was struck with the transformation which had taken place.' This Mission was opened by way of an experiment, to see if it were possible to evangelize mainland aboriginals and get them to settle in a village without any other inducement than that of a school for their children

and a teacher. The total cost of the Church is the payment of a salary to the native teacher. Even the school itself has been built by the natives, so anxious were they to have a proper school for their children and a teacher to guide them. The Mission is visited for one day a month by a white priest from the Torres Straits Islands.

Overall, the official assessment was that Satraika, 'considering his poor education did surprisingly good work, in school and church. He was a good and faithful lad and filled an enormous gap' (Done, 1987: 65). He returned to Mabuyag on 1 February 1927 at the end of his service and was replaced by Mabuyag-born Napau Namok from St Paul's Mission. Satraika then took up work on an island company boat but sought permission from the church authorities to help with services or in Sunday-school (MacFarlane, 1927a). Satraika's eldest son, Masiur Satrick, became a resident of Injinoo and served the community there as 'lay reader, lay preacher, churchwarden, local Island Councillor'; a nephew, Tom Lomak Phineasa, became a schoolteacher.

Aviu Ware (c.1885-1948). Alfred Aviu Pigeon Ware was born on Erub, the son of Ned and Uruba Demaga Ware. His father came from the Loyalty Islands and his mother from Mabuyag. The family left Mabuyag at the end of 1905 to found what became St Paul's Mission, Mua. Ware entered St Paul's Theological College on 11 February 1917 as one of its first four students but did not complete his studies (White, 1917: 48). He married Mary Sorbie Oth, the daughter of an Anglican priest, and their grandson, Pastor Elia Ware Jnr, established the Full Gospel Church on Thursday Island in early 1983 and on St Paul's (as Kozan Outreach) in 1987. A great-nephew is the Rev. Gayai Terrence Hankin (see above).

Te Wittie Ware (1905-1929). Mabuyag-born Te Wittie Ware was Aviu Ware's half-brother, the son of Jack Ware from the Loyalty Islands and Uruba Demega from Mabuyag. He was an assistant teacher at the St Paul's Mission school before taking over the mission school at Cowal Creek (now Injinoo) from Napau

Namok in December 1928 (MacFarlane, 1928). Illness forced him to resign and he died of tuberculosis in the Thursday Island hospital on 30 April 1929. He is buried in St Paul's cemetery. His only daughter, Norah, was born three months after his death (Figure 19).

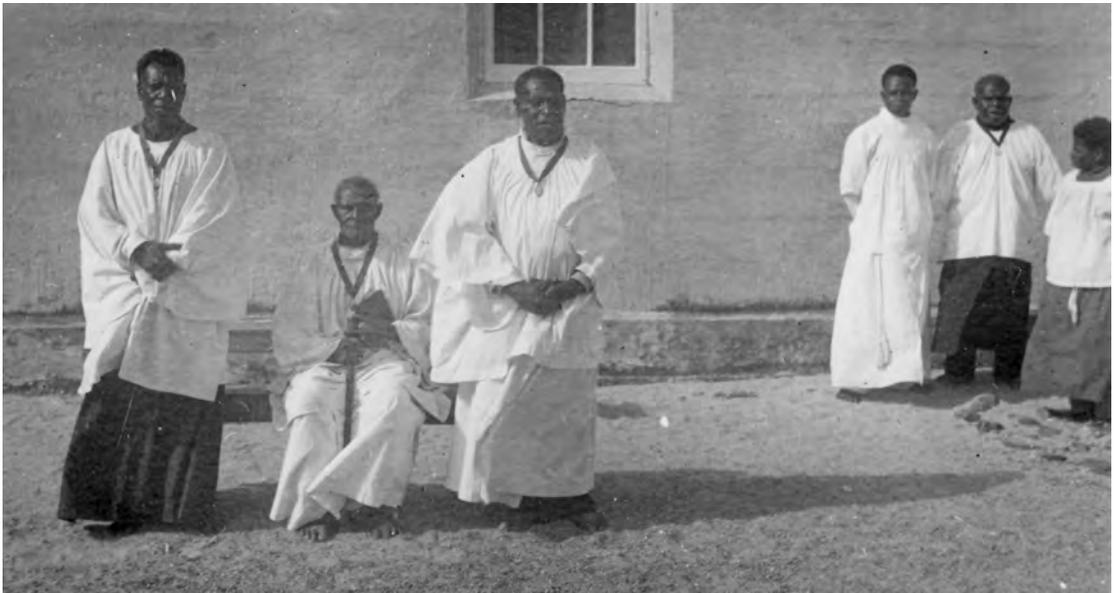


FIG. 19. Three churchwardens, St Mary's Church, Mabuyag, 1952-1953 (Barbara Stevenson Collection, Queensland Museum: EH-7460-0).

APPENDIX 5: ANGLICAN BAPTISMS 1915-1926

Diocese of Carpentaria priests recorded 124 baptisms on Mabuyag between 1915 and 1926. The original spelling is unchanged and information about adoptions has been omitted.

TABLE 1. Anglican baptisms at Mabuyag 1915-1926.

Date of birth	Baptised	Name	Parents
21/2/1915	23/4/1915	James	Ambar and Genni
14/3/1915	23/4/1915	Sania	Issakara and Talila
21/3/1915	23/4/1915	Mesepa	Tom Doreka and Buya
7/4/1915	23/4/1915	Uruba	Missi and Ebia
28/9/1915	24/10/1915	William	Magala and Mazar Maki
25/9/1915	24/10/1915	Faleta	Repu and Nagele Dugui
14/9/1915	24/10/1915	Paparu (Paimele)	Bani and Raaba Mabua
10/11/1915	5/12/1915	Imari	Mooka and Maria Magaram
1/4/1916	25/6/1916	Annie	May Hankin
29/3/1916	25/6/1916	Morres	Felica
4/11/1916	26/11/1916	Boaza	Whap and Epenesa
1/11/1916	26/11/1916	Dadu	Gaulai and Umis Paidan
28/10/1916	26/11/1916	Samuel	Mathaio and Dabungai Hankin
17/11/1916	26/11/1916	Lameko	Paiwain and Pad Sugu
18/9/1917	7/10/1917	Geni	Magala and Mazar Maki
17/10/1917	2/12/1917	Wame	Gometara and Sussana Manuel
9/2/1918	3/3/1918	John	Luffman and Pauna Kris
29/3/1918	19/5/1918	David	Mooka and Maria Magaram
11/4/1918	19/5/1918	Wagi	Mene and Atai Gaulai
4/4/1918	5/1918	Gisu	David and Mekela Taur
18/6/1918	18/8/1918	Harry	Sumai Tekelu
7/8/1918	25/8/1918	Jack	Mattaio and Dabungai Hankin
5/7/1918	28/8/1918	Gugu	Joe and Sepolo Dorrick
28/10/1918	12/1/1919	Masiur	Satrick and Seluia Aggie
23/1/1919	2/3/1919	Alison	Maher Hankin
3/1/1919	19/1/1919	Tauam	Phineas and Gerty Aggie
1/6/1919	6/7/1919	Kubi	Maikari and Nagi Frank
3/6/1919	6/7/1919	Iaili	Repu and Nagele Dugui
10/6/1919	6/7/1919	Urkar	Misi and Evia Mam
-	-	Gib	Gaulai and Umis Paidan
6/1919	6/7/1919	Dadakupai	Paiwain and Pad Sugu
23/7/1919	3/8/1919	Gaulai Jr.	Gaulai and Umis Paidan born at TI3
1/8/1919	-	Edna	Felecia
10/8/1919	31/8/1919	Dulcie	Luffman and Pauna Kris
10/8/1919	31/8/1919	Uruma	Gometara and Susana Manuel
1/9/1919	21/9/1919	Kewas	Sakawai and Tigi Paiwaiian
9/9/1919	28/9/1919	Gorpe	Mandi and Saefa Sandy
24/9/1919	19/10/1919	Petrie	Waiat and Uipa Taur

26/10/1919	23/11/1919	Ned	Tekelu and Muger Gaulai
10/1919	23/11/1919	Peter	Eseli and Baibai Peter
22/11/1919	14/12/1919	Demaga	Zawai and Kailang Kris
18/12/1919	28/12/1919	Bessie	Adi and Leah Tom
25/12/1919	11/1/1920	Maria	Joseph and Miriam Supia
10/1/1920	1/2/1920	Sesa	Asai and Terisa David
11/1/1920	1/2/1920	Kawi	Bagai and Tamara Manuel
-	1/2/1920	Alam	Mene and Atai Gaulai
8/5/1920	13/6/1920	Ellen	Bageri and Manar Peter
29/4/1920	13/6/1920	Salmui	Joe and Sepolo Dorrick
30/5/1920	13/6/1920	Naiad	Magala and Mazar Maki
8/8/1920	19/9/1920	Kagar	Lydia Motlop
16/1/1921	13/3/1920	Sumai	Satraika and Seluia Aggie
13/2/1921	13/3/1921	Baibari	Banasa and Pad Taur
5/1/1921	13/3/1921	Allan	Mene and Atai Gaulai
7/4/1921	17/4/1921	Jane	Mathiao and Dabungai Hankin
20/4/1921	5/6/1921	Tom Lamak	Phineas and Gertie Aggie
13/7/1921	11/9/1921	Moran	Missi and Evia Mam
23/8/1921	18/9/1921	Utui	Whap and Epenesa
25/9/1921	30/10/1921	Kasabad	Aaron and Meroma Kris
26/9/1921	30/10/1921	Paad	Johnny and Mudulpa Kris
27/9/1921	30/10/1921	Mauat	Sakawai and Tigi Paiwaian
1/10/1921	30/10/1921	Murad	David and Mekela
18/10/1921	24/10/1921	Rim	Elimathana (Waiat) and Uipa Taur
20/10/1921	6/11/1921	Kubi	Apelu and Nagi Frank
24/10/1921	6/11/1921	Mene	Tekelu and Muger Gaulai
24/11/1921	11/12/1921	Eliaso	Bagai and Tamara Manuel
11/12/1921	18/12/1921	Panso	Joseph and Miriam Supia
?19/12/1921	22/1/1922	Agiwak	Repu and Nagele Dugui
1/1/1922	22/1/1922	Kamulesa	Seriat and Maletha
2/1922	29/3/1922	William	Paipai and Patagam
7/3/1922	29/3/1922	Neru	Magala and Mazar Maki
12/2/1922	29/3/1922	Uzu	Gaulai and Umis Paidan
9/5/1922	4/6/1922	Adi Jr.	Adi and Leah Tom
1/7/1922	9/7/1922	Supia	Eseli and Baibai Peter
3/7/1922	30/7/1922	Kauza	Paiwain and Pad Sugu
10/7/1922	30/7/1922	Tom Utui	Joe and Sepolo Dorrick
28/10/1922	26/11/1922	Nauai	Bageri and Manar Peter
26/9/1922	24/12/1922	Aaron Levi	Arona and Meroma Kris
1/2/1923	25/2/1923	Bessie	Phineas and Gerty Aggie
23/2/1923	18/3/1923	Paliasa	Satraika and Seluia Aggie
5/5/1923	13/5/1923	Tataka	Bani and Raaba Mabua
8/4/1923	13/5/1923	Alfred	Mareko and Nay Tom
10/6/1923	15/7/1923	Orepa	Mene and Atai Gaulai
10/6/1923	15/7/1923	Barbara Mary	John James Edmond and Ina Wilkin Done

TABLE 1. cont.d.

7/7/1923	5/8/1923	Ngukis	Missi and Evia Mam
18/8/1923	2/9/1923	Jack	Matthio and Dabungai Hankin
7/10/1923	21/10/1923	Eliaso	Bagai and Tamara Manuel
23/10/1923	11/11/1923	Kiriz	Joseph and Miriam Supia
21/11/1923	23/12/1923	Rim	Johnny and Mudulpa Kris
25/12/1923	6/1/1924	Peteri	Waiat and Uipa Taur
24/1/1924	3/2/1924	Benjamin	David and Mekela Taur
25/1/1924	3/2/1924	Baimad	William and Daudai Namok
31/1/1924	2/3/1924	Patipat	Repu and Nagele Dugui
28/2/1924	23/3/1924	Ulum	Magala and Mazar Maki
18/3/1924	6/4/1924	Asai	Apelu and Nagi Frank
9/4/1924	20/4/1924	Sumai	Tekelu and Mugur Gaulai
9/5/1924	25/5/1924	Kamu	Arona and Meroma Kris
7/5/1924	25/5/1924	Waiu	Eseli and Baibai Peter
12/7/1924	3/8/1924	Mooka	Samton and Kiriz Pagai
18/7/1924	3/8/1924	Salmui	Joe and Sepolo Dorrick
10/9/1924	28/9/1924	Siai	Gaulai and Umis Paidan
8/12/1924	4/1/1925	Naoma	Mareko and May Tom
28/1/1925	4/3/1925	Peseka	Sakawai and Tigi Paiwaiian
2/5/1925	31/5/1925	Ngukis	Misi and Evia Mam
?19/5/1925	31/5/1925	Leah	Obediah and Cissie Warria
21/6/1925	12/7/1925	Iopele	Gagabi Gaulai
14/7/1925	9/8/1925	Gutap	Kuluburai Billy
20/9/1925	4/10/1925	Ngailu	Bani and Raaba Mabua, church warden
5/11/1925	29/11/1925	Manuel	Elap and Penina Price of Yam Island
26/12/1925	3/1/1926	Apelu Jr	Apelu and Nagi Frank
29/12/1925	11/1/1926	Paul	Magala and Mazar Maki
6/1/1926	7/2/1926	Waiwai	Bageri and Manar Peter (baptised privately by Bani C/Warden)
25/1/1926	11/2/1926	Frank	Saku Motlop
18/2/1926	26/2/1926	Maher	Mereko and May Tom
19/2/1926	7/3/1926	Mahat	Mene and Atai Gaulai
27/2/1926	14/3/1926	Wamaga	Bagai and Tamara Manuel
17/3/1926	4/4/1926	Daniel Benjamin	Repu and Nagele Dugui
11/4/1926	2/5/1926	Dubi	Eseli and Baibai Peter
13/4/1926	2/5/1926	Katawai	Arona and Meroma Kris
17/9/1898	9/5/1926	Lassmintan	Sedan Amber and Maithawai (wife of Leo Cowley; adult baptism)
2/7/1926	8/8/1926	Demag	Obediah and Cissie Warria
24/6/1926	8/8/1926	Akabu	Joe and Sepolo Dorrick
12/9/1926	25/10/1926	Lizzie	Jimmy and Atalia Luffman
8/10/1926	24/11/1926	Nellie	Tekelu and Mugur Gaulai

Source: Register of baptisms, Mabuyag Island and Thursday Island. JOL OM.AV/21/1, OM.AV/68/1.

APPENDIX 6: ANGLICAN MARRIAGES 1917-1941

A total of 55 marriages conducted by Anglican clergy at Mabuyag between 1917 and 1941 are recorded in the Diocese of Carpentaria registers. When the names differ from those which are more usual now, I use the name used today rather than the name in the register. Note that not all the spouses come from Mabuyag.

TABLE 2. Mabuyag marriages 1917-1941.

D.O.M.	Husband	Wife
10/5/1917	David or Paiwain Ibigan	Mekela Gizu
3/8/1917	Daniel Nabua	Buia Bainu
24/5/1918	Asai David	Teresa Aki
24/5/1918	Joseph Spear	Miriam Mooka
24/5/1918	Sakawai Paiwain	Tigi Dugui
29/7/1918	Satraika Agi	Seluia Gizu
31/7/1918	Maikari Frank Gizu	Nagi Dugui
21/3/1919	Bagai Gometara Manuel	Tamara Agi
24/3/1919	Ned Motlop	Rutha Kris
26/6/1922	Mareko Nabua	May Hankin
13/2/1923	William Namok	Daudai Charlie
3/3/1924	Billy Sagaukaz	Baimad Samaka
5/8/1924	Gelam Warria	Patisepa Motlop
5/8/1924	Obediah Warria	Cissie Gagai
31/10/1924	Jimmy Luffman	Atalia Frank
31/10/1924	Elap Price	Penina Luffman
1/9/1925	Frank Mills	Masalgi Paiwain
24/9/1927	Paiwain Kokoa	Maria Mooka
15/1/1929	Baniam Getawan	Gagabei Gaulai
15/1/1929	Tabitai Mooka	Saku Motlop
15/1/1929	George Hankin	Ware
7/10/1929	Billy Sagaukaz	Umis Gaulai
4/11/1929	Tom Jack Namok	Waikap Paiwain
27/12/1929	Manase Bani	Panau Paipi
2/6/1930	Kamui Au	Louisa Mooka
2/6/1930	Misimam Luffman	Palagil Banasa
10/2/1931	Edward Morrison	Tasi Cowley
28/12/1931	Ephraim Bani	Urupi Gagai
28/12/1931	Alickson Motlop	Saniwani Zezeu
3/2/1932	Banasa Yellub	Gaiba Nabua
3/2/1932	Pasia Whap	Kelam Kris
30/5/1932	Aporia Warria	Puiui Peter
20/6/1932	Matu Bosen	Patagam Gisu
9/1/1933	Elisara Daniel	Akara Phineasa
17/4/1933	Albert Bowie	Annie Hankin

TABLE 2. cont.d.

D.O.M.	Husband	Wife
4/6/1934	Maitui Whap	Sunema Manuel
10/1/1935	Gabai Frank	Sania Kris
25/4/1935	Kame Paipi	Daua Misi
14/5/1936	Billy Hankin	Rosa Doriki
14/5/1936	Aiaba Gizu	Maria Joseph
5/4/1937	William Namok	Paimеле Mabua
9/6/1937	Williemauma Misi	Dadu Gaulai
26/7/1937	Numa Whap	Aiaga Luffman
9/8/1937	Amosa Paiwain	Aziku Tekelu
26/8/1937	Kawanie Motlop	Dadakupai Paiwain
4/9/1937	Kokoa Paiwain	Geni Magala
4/9/1937	Macfarlane Misi	Wagi Mene
18/11/1937	Duluwa Whap	Salope Bani
31/12/1937	Maia Misi	Ellen Bageri
31/12/1937	Tuta Luffman	Tauam Phineasa
31/12/1937	Elimatamo Ganai	Ulud Maki
31/12/1937	Jimmy Maira	Uruba Misi
8/7/1938	Supia Misi	Kewas Sakawai
25/1/1940	Karakosamo Kris	Uruba Hankin
18/9/1941	George Cowley	Gorpe Mandi

Source: Diocese of Carpentaria marriage registers 1916-1938; Somerset marriage register 1916-1941.

APPENDIX 7: ANGLICAN CONFIRMATIONS 1916-1938

TABLE 3. Mabuyag confirmations 1916-1938.

Date	Males	Females
19 January 1916 N=75	N=32 Mabua, Aki, Bani, Luffman, Tom, Dick, Paiwain, Sakawai, Jack, Min, Sataraika, Mene, Apelu, Mam, Mooka, Wap, Amber, Gelam, Bagai, Harry, Paipi, David, Tom (Nabua), John, Obadiah, Jimmy, Arona, Bob, Atta, Joseph Lui, Jimmy Lui, Leo [Cowley]	N=43 Atub, Raba, Baiti, Pauna, Mami, Annie, Lizi [Lizzie], Pad, Sepoima, Uipa [Wipa], Evia, Baibai, Atai, Balu, Maiama, Maria, Damud, Gugu, Geni, Leah, Tamara, Mugua [Mugur], Tusana, Maleta, Manar, Nagele, Maher, Ruth, Keziah [Kesia], Lydia, Thresser [?Theresa], Seluia, Daudai, Malama, Mary Ann, Miriama, Meroma, Umis, Mazar, Girty, Patagam, Nagi, Mudulpa
17 June 1917 N=10	N=6 Episia [Hankin], Gomtara, Phineasa, Joe Doriki, Joseph, Isakara	N=4 Charlotte [Ware], Tigi, Mekela, Penina
12 November 1919 N=27	N=15 Misi [Mam] of Mabuyag husband of Evia (S. McFarlane), Adi [Nabua] husband of Leah (J. Chalmers), Mattaio [Hankin] husband of Dabunga (Revd E.B. Savage), Billy [Sagaukaz] husband of Gatap (S. McFarlane), William [Nabua] n.m. (E.B. Riley), Mark n.m. (E.B. Riley), Adiadi [Eseli] husband of Baibai (E.B. Savage), Gizu husband of Mugur (E.B. Savage), Magala [Maki] husband of Mazar (E.B. Savage), Bagari husband of Manar (J. Chalmers), Repu [Dugui] husband of Nageli (E.B. Savage), Tomjack [Namok] n.m. (B.T. Butcher), Banasa [Taur] husband of Pad (E.B. Savage), Willie [Mam] n.m. (S. McFarlane), Daniel husband of Kamu (S. McFarlane).	N=12 Surakaz wife of Mandi (S. McFarlane), Imad wife of Wap (S. McFarlane), Gatap wife of Billie (S. McFarlane), Nakabad wife of Isakara [Kris] (S. McFarlane), Kanibu wife of Gezu (S. McFarlane), Kagar widow (S. McFarlane), Sisi n.m. (B.T. Butcher), Kamu wife of Daniel (S. McFarlane), May [Hankin] n.m. (J. Chalmers), Pad wife of Banasa (S. McFarlane), Akabu wife of Joe Doriki (S. McFarlane), Dabungai wife of Mattaio (S. McFarlane).
15 October 1922 N=12	N=2 Kaio Kris c. ⁶⁰ , Ephraim [Bani] 23 (B.T. Butcher).	N=10 Panau [Kanai] 16 (B.T. Butcher), Gagabei [Gaulai] 19 (J. Chalmers), Atalia [Frank] 17 (O.F. Tomkins), Patasepa [Motlop] 18 (O.F. Tomkins), Kulubwai 16 (B.T. Butcher), Gaiba [Nabua] (B.T. Butcher), Urupi [Dugui] 18 (B.T. Butcher), Masalgi [Paiwan] 17 (B.T. Butcher), Tasi [Cowley] 14 (Samoan teacher), Ngubum [Mathai] (S. McFarlane).

TABLE 3. cont.d.

Date	Males	Females
31 August 1923 N=15	N=10 Gauri 19 (B.T. Butcher), Iona Mooka 22 (J. Chalmers), Naoma 18 (B.T. Butcher), Joseph Mooka 20 (B.T. Butcher), Ned Luffman 16 (B.T. Butcher), Misiman Luffman 18 (B.T. Butcher), Paseia 16 (Samoan teacher), Kodiab 24 (O.F.Tomkins), Waiat 38 (E.B. Savage), George Hankin adult (Powell in Samoa).	N=5 Dakantai 15 (B.T. Butcher), Waiakap 16 (B.T. Butcher), Gawagi 17 (B.T. Butcher), Solema 15 (B.T. Butcher), Saku 18 (B.T. Butcher).
21 October 1925 N=25	N=15 Ibigan 14, Maitui 15, Aporia 15, Billy Hankin 14, Kame 15, Amosa Paiwain 14, Manase 23, Muigub 18, Matatia 23, Sakaio 12, Kamui 26, Aiangana c.55, Niki 19, George William John Agnew 14,60 Daniel of Dauan Island 18.	N=10 Pulgil 16, Kelam 15, Nasidam 18, Puiui 17, Sanawani 14, Urima 17, Akara 15, Sunema 16, Luisa Muka 12, Bisikup Bani 13.
9 August 1927 N=7	N=3 Pai Mimia 14, Kawani Motlop 15, Numa Wap 12.	N=4 Ulud Maki 14, Salopi Bani 14, Rosa Doriki 13, Aziko Tekelo 12.
6 March 1929 N=10	N=3 Sagi Amber 13, James Amber 13, Adiadi Bageri 14.	N=7 Paimela Bani 13, Maiama Johnny 13, Sania Isakara 13, Uruba Misi 13, Aiaga Luffman 14, Gada Manuel 14, Jane Ah Mat 39.
28 June 1931 N=24	N=13 Buwa Min 14, John Luffman 12, Massiur Sattraika 12, Kuiur Mandi 12, Imaru Mooka 16, Gizu David 14, Lameka Paiwain 14, David Mooka 11, Boaza Wap 13, Guru Phineasa 13, Villiam Magala 15, Morres Billy 14, Samuel Mattaio 14.	N=11 Taleta Repu 15, Geni Magale 13, Daua Misi 14, Dadu Billy 14, Repai Min 14, Patamo Doriki 16, Mauri Esele 14, Annie Hankin 14, Wagi Mene 13, Marie Ah Mat 13, Sessa Asai 11 (from Yam).
23 June 1933 N=25	N=10 Alison Hankin 14, Harry Motlop 15, Tom Tamate Phineasa 12, Ned Tekelu 13, Uruma Manuel 12, Baibara Banasa 12, Alam Mene 12, Gaulai Umis 14, Bani Mabua 12, Peter Eseli 14.	N=15 Irad Johnny 11, Kasabad Aaron 11, Maria Joseph 13, Kagar Motlop 13, Dulcia Luffman 13, Murad David 12, Dadakupai Paiwan 14, Tauam Phineasa 14, Kawi Bagai 13, Mary Poipe 13, Gorpe Mandi 13, Ellen Bagari c.13, Mary Robert c.14, Iaile Repu 14, Kewas Sakawai 14.

TABLE 3. cont.d.

Date	Males	Females
18 July 1935 N=31	N=12 Mene Tekelu 10, Samuel Matthieu 11, Nawi Bagau 10, Adi Ambar 11, Levi Arona 12, Naoma Mareko 12, Rim Johnny 13, William Paipi 14, Jack Hankin 11, Moran Misi 10, Eliasa Bagai 9, Ngailu Bani 9.	N=19 Pauline Namok 10, Wabu Bosen 12, Waiu Esili 10, Urukar Misi 15, Areba Mene 9, Bessie Peniasa 9, Naiad Magale 11, Kamu Arona 10, Jane Hankin 13, Aigiwak Repu 9, Tataka Bani 10, Paliasa Satraika 11, Kubi Frank 11, Uruba Hankin 17, Kriz Joseph 10, Potipat Repu 11, Uzu Gaulai 12, Gertie Apia 12, Sumai Tekelu 10.
9 August 1937 N=24	N=12 Alfred Mareko 14, Frank Asai 13, Ngukis Misi 12, Repu Daniel 11, David Anau 11, Mat Mene 11, Matthew Julius 11, Esili Dubi 11, Frank Mooka 11, Phineasa Phineasa 10, Elap Misi 9, Daniel Repu 11.	N=12 Salmui Joe Dorrack 12, Kitty Satraika 12, Siai Billy 12, Wiwai Bageri 11, Leah Obediah 12, Damaga Obediah 11, Siai Joseph 11, Wamunga Bagai 11, Katawai Arona 11, Maher Mareko 11, Akabu Joe Dorrack 11, Lizzie Luffman 11.
6 December 1938 N=10	N=4 Paul Magala 12, Johnny Phineason 9, Tekulu Mene 10, Utui Wap 10.	N=6 Nellie Tekelu 12, Dorothy Waria 9, Tabi Frank 11, Missiam Magala 11, Nancy May Pablo 10, Angaisola Agi 11.

Name of the LMS missionary who originally baptised the individual in round brackets.

Source: Diocese of Carpentaria confirmation registers 1916-1938.

Mabuyag people were also confirmed in the Thursday Island cathedral. On 30 January 1927: Lassminton Cowley aged 28; on 13 February 1927: Aramin Min 18, Gabai Frank 18 and Karakosama Esakara 16; on 6 March 1927: Amarama Tom 17, Balgub Zesou 17, Elisara Gisu 20, MacFarlane Misi 18 and Tabitai Mooka 19; on 14 August 1927: Aiaba Mam 15 and Spia Misi 16; on 15 February 1929: Willie Maima 20, Andrew Motlop 20, Dubawa Wap 17, Tuta Luffmann 17, Jimmy Johnny 19, Zechariah Waria c.40, Maia Misi 15, Alickson Motlop 22, Ganaia Walet 15, Nakau Frank 20 and George Cowley 16; on 19 May 1929: Jackie Peniasa 15 and Koko Paiwain 15; and on 19 January 1930 Laura Mooka; and on 28 July 1935: John Manuel Wanakai c.24.

□ ENDNOTES

1. The pioneer teacher, Waunaia, had been placed on Dauan on 6 July 1871 but had to be removed 'in consequence of his having suffered so much from fever and ague' (Murray, 1873a).
2. Panay was already well populated, being home to the Koey Buway 'senior moiety', comprising the Dugong, Shovel-nosed Shark and Cassowary clans.
3. While the Goemulgal were probably semi-nomadic, they had built villages and gardens near water sources, although they relied for their food supply more on sea than soil, which is not particularly fertile on Mabuyag. Murray (1872) wrote that he and Gill, sailing north from Somerset during their second trip to the Strait, found a village on Mabuyag and a grove of coconut palms, both of these 'the first we had seen since the commencement of our cruise'. As usual, he does not name the village.
4. According to Eseli (1998: 90, 96, 98) Mathai was the third son of Gasara (Dugong clan) from Panay, Gasara being the eldest of three brothers from whom the Mabuyag people are descended. Mathai was probably born in the 1830s and was the landowner of Guiapun Kurubad (Guiapu's Corner). Mathai and his wife, Uludh, had three daughters: Ngabum or Kaiduba; Kautai or Kausa; and Dabangay and among his descendants are members of the Ahmat and Min families.
5. Talab is a small island across from Panay.
6. I have been unable to identify Sausa.
7. Mabuyag has several fresh water springs rising in the hills, the more permanent streams providing a focus for settlement before the arrival of the missionaries (Davis & Prescott, 1992: 115).
8. Waunaia is still remembered as the first missionary at Mabuyag. He remained there until his relocation to Boigu in 1875, volunteering for service in the China Straits in December 1876 (Langbridge, 1977: 171-172, 187-188; McFarlane, 1875; Murray, 1873a).
9. Torres Strait Islander individuals and locations are almost never named in early missionary correspondence. The 'chief' here is probably Ganaia, who is attested as such in early 1871 and remained so until succeeded by Mauga, possibly in 1885 (Chester, 1878; Eseli, 1998: 76-77; Shnukal, paper on administration, this volume). Some support for this identification is the fact that the missionaries first settled on Dugong clan land at Dabangay and the century-old recall of Ganaia's role as a senior Dugong clan leader, suggesting that he held this position for some time (Eseli, 1998: 94-95). The name of the bay also is unspecified but presumably refers to Dabangay.
10. However Teske (1986: 20) was told that the move to Bau occurred in 1877 and it was only then that the people from Wagadagam, Maidh and Sipingur gathered into one village.
11. Ian McNiven (pers. comm., 2011) has pointed out that the archaeological record indicates that numerous people stayed in the old settlement sites during the late nineteenth and possibly early twentieth century (see also Harris and Ghaleb Kirby, this volume). Whether they continued to camp there for holidays and to fish, after making the new village their primary home (as happened, for example, among the Mualgal and the Dauareb), or whether the old settlement remained their primary home, remains to be explored ethnographically.
12. Bani Mabua (c.1850-1917), the fourth chief of Wagadagam, became a pillar of the church as LMS deacon and Anglican churchwarden (see below).
13. While McFarlane was away from the strait, the Mabuyag teacher was left entirely without supervision for 18 months (Ridgley, 1882).
14. A visitor in 1879, admittedly a friend to the pearlery, observed that the LMS station was 'a disgrace to the society, being dirty, ill-kept, and beyond a harbour for all that is worthless on the island, both male and female, thoroughly useless' (Anon., 1880).
15. Hëxen and wife arrived in the strait in November 1878. According to Strachan (1888: 13), he came from Mare in the Loyalty Islands but in 1882 he gave evidence he came from Lifu and signed his name as 'Hëxenî' (Thursday Island Court of Petty Sessions, 1882).
16. According to Teske (1986: 20), another early missionary was Samitha (Smith), who may have been among the young Pacific Islanders who assisted the pastor in the early 1890s (Chalmers, 1891a); or possibly the Lifuan referred to by Rivers (Haddon, 1904: Table 1) as having married Kakup from Mabuyag, daughter of Korai and Maid. These may be the same individual.

17. At the end of 1891 Mabuyag and Badu formed a single church, with Ned Waria serving as the LMS teacher on Badu.
18. See Langbridge (1977: 146-147) for a discussion of the 'Mei' (May) meetings. McCulloch (c.1921: 10) sourly characterises them as 'an annual gathering of the Christianised natives for religious meetings and a programme of sports. It is also a wile of the church to rake in money since every native is instructed in the belief that it is his duty to subscribe as much as he can to pay for his own enlightenment and incidently [sic] his destruction.'
19. These men became the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition's main informants in the Western Islands.
20. The four gospels were published in 1900 by the British and Foreign Bible Society after editing by Sidney Ray, the linguist of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition (Shnukal, 1998: 192, fn. 36).
21. According to Douglas (1900: 33), Walker 'a missionary, who was established among them [the Mabuyag Islanders] for a short time ... taught them how to co-operate and work together in such a way that they could buy their own luggers.'
22. Given the competition between the LMS and Church of England, he may have objected less to Isaia's actions than to the use of the Anglican vicar as an intermediary, a fact he omits from his account (Chalmers, 1898).
23. According to Coral (1925) the finder was Bani Mabua, who discovered 'a strange-looking cairn in the waters, fathoms below the surface' while swimming diving. 'Further examination proved it to be an ingot of copper, and worth good money. The pile was cleaned up, and, further along the sea-seekers came upon another one. In the vicinity was an old cannon, which they retrieved also. Another ship, working nearby, discovered a third collection.'
24. This was a Mr Menzies (*Torres Straits Pilot*, 1 May 1897).
25. Tomkins and Chalmers were killed together at Dopima village, Goaribari Island, on 8 April 1901, deaths which profoundly shocked the empire and increased missionary vocations. There was extensive coverage in the Australian and British press of the day, including the *Torres Straits Pilot*, which on 27 April 1901 published a long account of the reported murder and on 11 May 1901 an editorial and report. Interested readers are referred to Langmore's (1974) biography of Chalmers. The residents of Thursday Island took up a subscription to erect a 'beautiful marble font' in his memory in the Quetta Cathedral, which he would attend when on the island. It was unveiled and dedicated on 9 November 1902 and can still be seen: 'The Memorial is a worthy offering by our townspeople for the life of one so devoted to the cause of Christianity, as the late missionary undoubtedly proved himself to be' (*Torres Straits Pilot*, 8 November 1902).
26. While the Mabuyag 'Mei' meetings were a source of great prestige and pride, they could have undesired consequences for the people. Hardship resulted after the 1907 vegetable harvest was completely consumed by the visitors from Badu, Mua, Yam, Poruma and Masig, who remained a few days on the island after the meeting of 25 July (Annual Report, 1907: 16).
27. Solo and his wife, Sialofi, are recorded on Mabuyag on 3 May 1911, when they witnessed the marriage of Gaulai to Umis.
28. The woman involved was removed for a year to Mapoon Mission in August 1913.
29. The school teacher, Minniss, reported: 'I am pleased to say that the LMS Samoan teacher, who for a long time had been a source of trouble, has been expelled from the island by Mr Lee Bryce, having been found guilty of immorality with one of our native girls. He had always set the natives a very bad example, in every way, by keeping a dirty house and grounds and I had been compelled to report him several times, both to Mr Milman and to Mr Butcher. The people in the village seem glad to be rid of him' (Annual Report, 1912: 25).
30. In 1912, a subsidiary of Burns Philp Pty Ltd, Wyben Pearling Co. Ltd, was set up to take over all of the company's pearling vessels. The first meeting of directors was held in Sydney on 6 December 1912 with James Burns, Philp's long-time business partner, as chairman (Wyben Pearling Co. Ltd, 1912-1945: 1). The company was informed of the success of its lease for a pearling station at Panay, 'including a frontage of 50 feet to the sea' in a letter from the Home Secretary's Office dated 9 September 1913 and was granted a 21-year Special Lease No. 1833 on 6 January 1914 (Appel, 1913). The lease was transferred on 28 February 1919 (Wyben Pearling Co. Ltd, 1912-1945: 71).
31. Full details can be found in QSA correspondence files A/58755 and A/69467; see also Harries (1913d).
32. For the purposes of analysis, we can discern several distinct stages in the evolution of Queensland government-church-commercial relationships in pre-war Torres Strait. These were governed by historical

currents and ideologies, the characters, personalities and needs of the leading players, and their responses to government policy, church directives and economic imperatives. The correspondence of the earliest LMS European missionaries is full of disapproving references to the pearlshellers, their 'immoral' lifestyle and influence over the Islanders. At the same time they depended upon the shellers to provide interpreters and boats, provide their pastors with food and rescue when necessary. Murray (1874) writes that the conduct of the white men with whom he was in contact, 'with scarcely an exception, is bad – very bad, but we are not yet in a position to come to open war with them'. During the 1870s a state of mutual dependence reigned: the state and the shellers relied on the LMS to help 'pacify' the Islanders and showed their support by association and protection. There are many early recorded instances of the pearlshellers offering help to the missionary enterprise. As Moresby (1876: 34), who visited the islands in early 1873, noted: 'Every impartial man must heartily and thankfully admit that vast benefits have resulted from missionary enterprise in the South Seas; but no human arrangements are perfect, and I have no fear of being misunderstood if I say that in some cases zeal overruns prudence, and new stations are occupied before a proper staff has been organised or means of support ensured.'

With the annexation of the islands to the colony of Queensland in 1879, when the 'failed pearlsheller' Chester was police magistrate, relations between the two groups deteriorated. However, Chester was followed by two government residents, the Hon. John Douglas and Hugh Milman, who managed to balance the competing concerns of all groups. Douglas immediately showed his support for missionary endeavour by inviting the Rev. Samuel McFarlane to accompany him during the first part of his initial visit of inspection in July 1885; his expressed view of the LMS was that its work 'has been a very beneficial one, and the practical results indisputable – over the whole area of the Islands is in the Straits, and along the contiguous coast of New Guinea, the change which has been effected in a few short years is wonderful' (Douglas, 1885). Similar views were expressed by Milman (1905).

Milman's successor, Lee-Bryce, proved a stern enforcer of government policy designed to bring the Islanders under the Aboriginal Protection Acts, notably with his harsh 1912 regulations, which delivered a subservient, though sullen, workforce to the fishing industries and increased income to the state. This led to conflict with the Rev. Harries of the LMS, who took the Islanders' part. No doubt the government expected that the more established and conservative Church of England, which took over from the LMS in 1915, would give greater support to Queensland's 'native policy'. For a while John William Bleakley, chief protector from 1914 to 1942, seemed to be 'very sympathetic' towards its work (*The Carpentarian*, October 1915: 478) but the bishop and his priests soon found themselves privately in disagreement with aspects of government policy. Lee-Bryce was a churchwarden of the Thursday Island cathedral and a member of the diocesan council but the bishop could manage only a short, anodyne obituary after his death in 1916, merely listing his various appointments and praising his regular attendance at Sunday services (*The Carpentarian*, January 1917: 517). The bishop privately remonstrated with the Home Secretary in April 1919 (Newton, 1919a), telling him that 'the present position was bad for the people. That their confidence in the administration was gone, and things might become serious. Of course all the talk will not do any good, the system is wrong and we have to make the best of it.' It was common knowledge that priests and government officials disagreed on a good many matters concerning Torres Strait policy during the interwar period, notably during the 1936 strike, and that commercial interests dominated official policy, but only rarely were the disagreements made public and even in the 1980s I found people reluctant to talk about them openly.

33. Mabusyag, with the exception of the mission station's Special Lease 1678, was officially gazetted an Aboriginal Reserve (R.33) in 1912 (Queensland Government Gazette, 1912, 2: 1330).
34. According to Lawrie (n.d.), the Rev. Joseph Lui, one of the first two Torres Strait Islander Anglican priests, 'entered the LMS's Theological College at Mabusyag'. It appears that Harries, while resident at Mabusyag, continued Butcher's work of training new teachers with Joseph Lui among his students. His son, Getano Belford Lui Snr, who was born on Mabusyag in 1913, told me (pers. comm., 1982) that Joseph Lui 'started his ministry at Mabusyag. There was a Mabusyag College first and then it shifted to St Paul's'.
35. 'The area of the village below Beralmai is called Budukuik. It was here that the first Anglican Minister, Father J. Done, built his house' (Teske, 1986: 18).
36. 'The Australian Board of Missions maintains the clergy, pays all expenses in connection with running their boats, wages of crews, etc., and builds the houses for the clergy' (Anon., 1918).
37. Within two years 592 persons had been confirmed in the Church of England in Torres Strait (Newton, 1917c).
38. Mimia Luffman Kris from Mabusyag (c.1872-1938), the son of Kaio Kris from Tanna, Vanuatu, and his first wife, Kelam from Gebar, crewed the mission boat *Herald* under Done and became a churchwarden on Mabusyag in the 1920s. His half-siblings moved to St Paul's Mission with Kaio and his second wife and took the surname

- 'Kris', whereas Luffman's descendants on Mabuyag signed 'Luffman' (Ephraim Bani pers. comm., 1982; Ned Luffman, pers. comm., 1991).
39. According to Hodel (1916), the new protector, Lee-Bryce, 'was distinctly averse to the natives neglecting their work to build churches; and also expressed in my presence several times his displeasure that Luffman should so hastily, but unsolicited by any European, have given so much of his pearl proceeds to the native Church at Mabuiaig'.
 40. Reid (2007: 12) explains that the Anglican Church was more sympathetic to Torres Strait traditional custom than the LMS, the new bishop (Henry Newton) being keen to maintain continuity with the past. Done shared his attitude and had his parishioners decorate the church with Indigenous items. Locally-made mats hung on the walls, 'with stained black leaf' spelling out in Kala Lagaw Ya the words of the hymn 'Till He come'. The baptismal font in the church comprised a large clamshell weighing 80 lbs, a water worn stone, which served as a base and a basalt pillar. The head-shaped stone was donated by an elderly church-goer and represented the mother of Kuyam, the Mabuyag culture hero.
 41. The Rev. Geoffrey Archibald Luscome at St Paul's Mission supervised Mua and Badu; MacFarlane Erub and Mer.
 42. These were the only islands without a government school.
 43. Unless otherwise referenced, the information in this section is based on the hand-written Mothers' Union minutes 1931-1940, now held in the north Queensland diocesan archives, Townsville, as DONQ Box 139.
 44. Sepoima Kanai Min (c.1882-1947) was the daughter of Kanai and Panau and a noted song composer. According to Gwen MacFarlane (1985, 13: 7), '[b]ig, handsome Sepoima at Mabuiaig, whose son fought overseas during the war' was one of the outstanding personalities who emerged from the island branches of the Mothers' Union.
 45. This is Mandi Sunday (1875-1946), who was born at Saibai and married the widow Sepa, sister of Bani Mabua, at Mabuyag in 1909.
 46. The Rev. Sagi Ambar, as well as Fathers Kiwami Dai, Waiaka Jawai, Boggo Pilot and Adea Wapau, were all trained at the Theological College, Thursday Island, under Archdeacon Alexander Peter Bruce Bennie, the first warden (*A.B.M. Review*, 1 June 1951: 79). Bennie was appointed administrator of the diocese on 4 September 1946 and left in 1953 (Bayton, 1965: 218). David Wetherell (pers. comm., 2012) remembers him as 'a brilliant man who later became rector of all Saints' Wickham Terrace near Brisbane Cathedral and ... master of St Paul's College, University of Sydney'.
 47. Moigub Aiaba and Kame Paipai, also from Mabuyag, were crewmen.
 48. These are the Marind-anim people of southern New Guinea, formerly part of the Dutch empire and now the Indonesian province of West Papua.
 49. Nagere later married Miriam Waipale from New Guinea and had two sons, one of whom remained in New Guinea after Nakau's death; the other, Harry, came to live at Yam with Miriam and her second husband, Ned David. Nagere died in New Guinea and Miriam returned to Yam, where she married Tugai (Lawrie, 1973; Silen David, pers. comm. 2012).
 50. Min Harry (c.1876-1949) became a churchwarden on that same day (Newton, 1914-1919, entry for 12 June 1918). Harry was born at Gebar (Two Brothers Island), the son of Harry Twobrothers and Kautai or Kauza Mathai. He was also known as 'Little Gizu' (Haddon, 1904: 291), and was a member of the Kaigas (Shovel-nosed Shark) clan. He served as crew on the *Mabuiaig* and married Sepoima Kanai, later president of the Mabuyag Mothers' Union. The couple had one son, Harry, and adopted William, who became a government teacher and policeman on Mabuyag; they may also have adopted a daughter, Ripai, from Waiat and Wipa Ibigan.
 51. The couple had two daughters: Nobi Irad, who married Baira; Taum, who married Eccles Tamwoy.
 52. Ware's death was not officially registered but in c.1894 his widow married Paipi Algida Getawan from Badu, who became a long-serving deacon, churchwarden and councillor.
 53. This overview of Bishop Hankin's career and the significance of the schism he led was jointly written with Bishop Anthony Hall-Matthews, although I alone am responsible for the final version. I owe a great debt to Tony and am most grateful to him for his assistance in this and other matters over several years.
 54. Annual Report (1965: 27).

55. Haley had been Priest Director of the Torres Strait in the early 1950s but subsequently joined the TAC, a worldwide body, which separated from the Anglican Church over doctrinal differences, including the ordination of women and practising homosexuals to the priesthood. It was estimated in 2012 that there were about 400,000 Anglicans seeking to reunite with Rome through Pope Benedict XVI's new Ordinariate, a parallel hierarchical structure for ex-Anglicans.
56. For a detailed discussion of events leading to the schism see Hankin (2002); Hall-Matthews (2007: 230-302). Background information can also be found in Wetherell (1998, 2001), Mullins (2001), *Torres News* (17-23 April 1998: 8, 8-14 May 1998: 1, 3), <http://www.churchoftorresstrait.org/about.htm> (accessed 14 December 2009).
57. A different, although possibly related, Satrick family comes from Yam Island.
58. Two unnamed men from Mabuyag volunteered to assist Warren at Roper River Mission (Davies, 1922-1929, entry for 18 April 1923).
59. Barbara Stephenson (pers. comm., 2001) was told by her father, the Rev. J.J.E. Done, that the people of the region came together after the devastation of the 1920 influenza epidemic and asked Done to ask the Bishop to provide infrastructure and a teacher.
60. Son of the school master, George Agnew.