

Japanese-Australians in the Post-war Thursday Island Community

Yuriko Nagata

Introduction

From the late 19th century, a scattering of small Japanese communities gradually established themselves around the northern coast of Australia. These communities existed as ethnic minorities within already established communities of Europeans and indigenous Australians in towns such as Broome, Darwin and in the sugar-growing areas of northern Queensland. The largest of these communities were found on Thursday Island, in the Torres Strait, and Broome, in Western Australia. At the outbreak of World War II, Thursday Island was the largest Japanese community in the country.

As a result of wholesale internment during World War II and repatriation of internees to Japan after the war, these Japanese communities were largely eliminated. After 1946, only 141 ex-internees were allowed to remain in Australia. The attempted re-establishment of normal life by these Japanese-Australians may be only a small part of the history of post-war reconciliation between Australia and Japan, but their story is significant in that it paralleled the wider regrowth of trust between the two nations and remained the only actual link between the pre- and post-war Japanese communities. The most successful reintegration of Japanese was on Thursday Island (hereafter TI) and it is there that the most substantive link, albeit small and tenuous, remains between the pre- and post-war Australian-Japanese communities.

Background: the Pre-war Japanese Community on TI

According to David Sissons, the first recorded Japanese arrived on the island in about 1878, seeking work in the island's developing pearl-shell industry.¹ In 1883, a white pearler, J.A. Miller, brought 37 Japanese to TI. This marked the beginning of labour migration which was officially contracted and approved by the Japanese

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Government.² The success of these Japanese divers led to the eventual use of Japanese in pearling operations in other parts of Australia, including Darwin and Broome. This small group of Japanese on TI eventually grew to become the majority among TI's increasingly multi-racial population.

In 1900, the island's population of 1253 was recorded as consisting of 614 Europeans, 385 Japanese, 79 Filipinos, 74 Chinese, 48 Malays, 48 Cingalese, 39 Aborigines and 40 people who were classified as belonging to "other mixed races".³ In another source, the Japanese population for the entire Torres Strait in the same year was recorded at 1,091, comprising 1,030 males and 61 females.⁴ Population figures for the area vary considerably, probably due to the transient nature of the work and the fact that a large percentage of the workforce was, at different times, offshore. The indentured labourers who worked at sea most of the year, or on pearling stations on other islands in the Torres Strait, often came to TI to use the facilities and services, so they had significant influence on the island's commercial and cultural life.⁵ The Japanese population was so influential that in 1900 one visitor to the island described it as being "more a Japanese settlement than a British colony".⁶ The added significance of this concentration of Japanese on TI can be seen from the fact that the total population of Japanese in Australia in 1901 was, according to the Commonwealth Year Book, only 3,593.⁷

The Japanese were acknowledged to be essential to the pearling industry and were spoken of as "the best pearl-shell divers in the world".⁸ Deep-sea diving for shells was physically demanding and dangerous, causing many deaths. More than six hundred Japanese men died in Torres Strait between 1878 and 1941. They are buried in the cemetery on TI, where their Japanese tombstones remain as the most tangible reminder of the strength of the community which supported them. These tombstones incidentally were transported from Japan to the island by the Nippon Yusen Shipping company without fee.⁹

In 1901, the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act was designed to control the number of non-white aliens coming to Australia. However, the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fishing industries were exempted from the provisions of this Act because of their heavy dependence on the Japanese and other "coloured" labourers. The number of Japanese working in the pearling industry was not severely affected by the passage of this legislation and Japanese contract labourers continued to arrive and dominate the industry until the outbreak of World War II.¹⁰ Because of this dominance and their contribution to the island's economy, the Japanese were accorded a high status on the island. As one indicator of this status, Japanese children were allowed to attend the European school, while other non-white children attended the Aboriginal school.¹¹

The pearl-shell market declined after World War I and many Japanese residents of TI moved to cities on the mainland of Australia, where they established themselves as merchants, or started laundry businesses.¹² In the 1919-1920 census, the number of Japanese on TI was 715. They were mostly indentured labourers, but the shore-based population also included boarding-house keepers, store keepers, soy sauce-makers, laundrymen, prostitutes and one doctor.¹³ They formed a closely-knit community in a quarter which they called "Yokohama" (non-Japanese residents of TI referred to Yokohama as "Japtown"). Yokohama was not only their residential area, but it was the Japanese commercial centre as well. The residents also

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established a *Nihonjin-kai* (Japanese Society/Club) which played a central role in the welfare and social life of both onshore and offshore Japanese. *Shooyu* (soy sauce) and *miso* (soybean paste) were made locally, but other Japanese food, including *sake*, was imported from Japan.

Under the Immigration Restriction Act, Japanese indentured labourers were not able to bring their families with them and the only Japanese migrants who were able to lead married lives were those who married local women of either Japanese or non-Japanese descent. The number of Australian-born women of Japanese descent available for marriage was very small, but this did not mean interracial marriages were common. According to former residents of the island, many Japanese-born men (*Issei*, or first-generation) had relationships with non-white local women, but most of these unions did not result in marriage. Many of these unions produced *Nisei* (second-generation Australians of Japanese, or part-Japanese, descent) and *Sansei* (third-generation), some of whom remain on the island today.

When war with Japan broke out in December 1941, Australian policy was to intern all Australian residents classified as "Japanese" and over the age of sixteen. On the morning of December 8th, Yokohama was transformed into a temporary internment camp where almost all residents and indentured labourers of Japanese ancestry were held until they were transferred to the mainland of Australia.¹⁴ 359 internees were transported to the mainland and interned in the permanent camps at Hay, in NSW, and Tatura in Victoria.

Under the Nationality Act of 1920 and the Alien Registration Act of 1920, wives married to Japanese, and children born of this mixed parentage, were regarded as "Japanese".¹⁵ The non-Japanese wives were given the option of accompanying their husbands to internment camps, or remaining behind. There were two families who remained while only their Japanese fathers were interned. In another family whose father had gone back to Japan, the wife and children were not arrested, but were later evacuated to the mainland together with other non-Japanese residents.

After the War

The Torres Strait region played an important part during WWII in forward defence by the United States and Australian forces.¹⁶ TI was used as one of the principal naval bases for the Commonwealth during the war and much of Yokohama was demolished to make way for the construction of military barracks. Most civilians of all ethnic groups were evacuated to the mainland and it was reported that occupying soldiers looted many vacant homes.¹⁷ On April 1st, 1946, TI was returned to civilian control.¹⁸ When former residents from all ethnic groups returned, many found their homes neglected and damaged.

At the end of World War II, Australians had an understandably intolerant attitude towards the Japanese. The near-invasion of Australia and the trials of its soldiers in opposing the Japanese military left many Australians bitter and unforgiving towards Japan. Authorities advised Japanese internees from TI not to return to the island because of potential anti-Japanese sentiment. They stated they were concerned about the lack of accommodation and that there might be no employment for them.

Nevertheless, when Japanese internees were released from the camps during 1947, some gradually made their way home to TI. A local newspaper of 13 September

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1947 wrote:

Is TI, one of the Commonwealth's principal naval defence bases, again to become a centre of Japanese espionage as it was before the war? Commonwealth authorities have approved the return there of Japanese released from an internment camp ... Numbers of individual Japanese have also been allowed to return to the scene of their pre-war activities.¹⁹

In spite of the general suspicion prevalent in Australia during these immediate postwar years, those ex-internees who returned to the island experienced little racial hatred in the community. The first Japanese resident to return was Tamiya, the eldest son of the Nakata family. He was nineteen years old in 1947. He did not experience much of the animosity that the camp authorities had warned him about. He said:

I arrived on TI on 3 June, 1947. I was amazed at the desolation; there used to be six hotels ... I stayed with the Dewis family [of Malay-Islander origin] who I knew before the war. They welcomed me.²⁰

Evelyn, the eldest daughter of the Yamashita family agreed:



Cessa (née Mills) and Tom Nakata, Thursday Island.
Photographed by Regina Ganter

We were readily accepted back into the community by most people on TI, but there were a few new-chum people who had not lived on the island before the war. They didn't like us.²¹

Some pre-war Japanese residents of TI did not return and settled in Cairns, but all of those who were to resettle were back on the island by the end of 1947. Table 1 shows a breakdown of these people according to their surnames:

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Table 1

Surname	Husband	Wife/ Widow	Children	Single	Total
Fujii	1	(1)	2		4(1)
Mana	1	1			2
Nakata	1	1	5		7
Shibasaki	1	(1)	6		8(1)
Tanaka		1			1
Takai		(1)	3		4(1)
Yagura				1	1
Yamashita	1	1	9		11
	5	7(3)	25	1	38(3)

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to those who had no Japanese ancestry. Partial internment is indicated by lighter-shaded boxes, while the darker boxes indicate full internment. Those in clear boxes were not interned.

Although most families had been summarily interned for the duration of the war, they were exempted from deportation to Japan after the war as they were Australian-born, or had Australian-born wives or children. Among them, Sao Tanaka was a widow and a mother of eight children, all of whom had been born on TI. One of her *Nisei* daughters, Kiyō, married Tsunehei Mana, a former pearl diver on TI, in the internment camp. Another Australian-born resident of the island was Kakichi Leonard Yagura, a *Nisei* of mixed descent born to a Japanese father and a white Australian mother. He had been a boat carpenter before the war.

The two families of part Torres Strait Islander descent who had remained on the island while only the fathers were interned, were the Shibasaki and Fujii families. They were eventually included among the 280 "coloured" and twenty Chinese evacuees from TI who were taken to Cherbourg Aboriginal Settlement in January 1942. The evacuation was carried out because of the vulnerable position of TI and because the Government was concerned with the possibility of Aborigines in the region aiding the Japanese during the war.²²

In the early months of 1943, Jean Shibasaki, the wife of Kyuukichi Shibasaki, and three other women were again removed from Cherbourg and taken into custody at Gaythorne Internment Camp in Brisbane for a few months. The State Security Services thought they were "pro-Japanese" and might be a bad influence on others on the reserve. As a result Jean's children were also interned. After her release

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in April 1943, she was granted permission to reside in Bundaberg where her father was a sugarcane labourer. They therefore experienced only partial internment during the war.

Another TI family descended from Iwazoo Takai, a diver from Wakayama, and Sopia Barba, of Malay origin. After their children were born he returned to Japan where he became ill and died in 1939. Sopia and her three children spent the war years at Cherbourg.²³

According to the author's investigations, 38 people, comprising six families, one couple, one widow and one single man are known to have resettled on the island after the war. More than two-thirds were *Nisei*, and many were young children. Table 2 shows a breakdown of these people by generation. The list only includes people who have Japanese heritage and does not include the three wives of other ethnic origin who married Japanese men:

Table 2: Japanese and Descendants of Japanese on TI at the end of 1947

	Male	Female	Total
Japanese-born:			
Issei	5	2	7
Australian-born:			
Nisei:(Japanese parentage only)	8	8	16
(mixed Japanese and non-Japanese parentage)	6	6	12
Total	19	15	35

N.B. The children of the Yamashita family, five males and four females, technically come between *Nisei* and *Sansei* as their mother was a *Nisei*. But they are included in *Nisei*.

Resettling in the Post-war TI Community

Life for all residents of TI was disrupted both physically and socially by the war. The re-establishment of normal life by the Japanese does not seem to have been substantially different from the experiences of non-Japanese residents, whose lives had been equally interrupted.²⁴ Amira Mendis, a newcomer who went to live on the island for the first time in 1947, observed that as people came back to the island they all seemed happy to see each other again, including former internees of Japanese descent. She recalled:

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There were about 50 people on the island and there was a feeling of 'let's start all over again'. There was a small group of white people who placed themselves above others, but the rest were living in harmony.²⁵

By 1949, four babies had been born to two of the Japanese families, increasing the number of Japanese and their descendants on the island to approximately forty-two. Small though this number was, it was still the largest concentration of Japanese in Australia after the war. This remained the case until the gradual easing of restrictions to allow limited entry from Japan for specific purposes after Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951.

When compared to the experiences of Japanese in other parts of Australia during the same period, the Japanese who returned to TI seemed to have been better accepted by other residents. The Japanese returning to Broome and Darwin, for example, received a much more antagonistic reception from their communities and were subjected to anti-Japanese behaviour.²⁶ Although both Broome and Darwin also had a long history of Japanese involvement in their pearling industries, they had been bombed during the early months of the war. TI itself was never bombed by the Japanese, although nearby Horn Island was bombed several times.

The Effect of the War: The *Issei*

The *Issei* were dispossessed of what they had built before the outbreak of the war. The hardships that resulted from internment were not only to be understood in monetary terms. Although property and possessions had been lost, their self-confidence was also gone and the stigma of having been interned was not easily forgotten. In the aftermath of internment, the *Issei* maintained their silence on the subject and occupied themselves with family life and avoiding potential problems.

Haruyoshi Yamashita, the father of the Yamashita family, was already sixty years old in 1947.²⁷ He had been a pre-war Japanese community leader, president of the *Nihonjin-kai* and owner of a soy sauce factory on the island for many years. The family had lost everything. One of his daughters spoke of him as "a very tired man, both physically and mentally, after the war".²⁸ When they returned to the island in 1947, there were nine children in the family, ranging in age from eighteen to three, five of whom were under ten years old. Yamashita was able to find work in a general store owned by a Chinese friend. In five years he bought the business, but two years later, at the age of sixty-seven, he died from an illness which his family said he had developed in the internment camp. His wife and daughters continued running the shop.

Another *Issei* was Jirokichi Nakata, who was born in Wakayama in Japan in 1898, and had come to Australia as a young man. He first worked on a sugar cane farm near Gordonvale in Queensland and later moved to TI, where he worked as a boat builder until the outbreak of the war. He is reported to have married Shigeno when he visited Japan in 1925. Shigeno had their first son in Japan and joined her husband in Australia in 1927.²⁹ In 1947 they had five children, mostly teenagers, except for the youngest who was six. After they returned, Jirokichi took up his pre-

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war occupation again and died on the island at the age of eighty. Shigeno died in a Cairns hospital at the age of seventy-six.

During the war the pearl-shell industry had almost been brought to a halt and there was difficulty re-establishing the industry without Japanese divers after the war. Kyuukichi Shibasaki, Tomitaroo Fujii and Tsuneichi Mana had been divers before the war and when they returned they were welcomed back and able to take up their former occupations.

Kyuukichi Shibasaki, also from Wakayama and born in 1901, came to TI as a diver in 1918. He returned to Japan twice as his contracts expired, but eventually married Jean Ah Boo, who was born on Horn Island of Malay and Aboriginal parents. In 1947 he was forty-seven years old, but he died three years later. When they returned they had six children, ranging in age from twenty to seven. Two more were born after their return. His two eldest sons, Jamel and Hismile, who were twenty and seventeen in 1947, learned deep-sea diving from him. After their father's death the two sons supported the family.

Another Wakayama-born diver, Tomitaroo Fujii, was born in 1907 and came to TI in 1925. He married Josephine Chin Soon, who was of Chinese, Samoan and Torres Strait Islander origin. [Her parents' wedding appears on the cover of this volume. Ed.] He was the youngest of all the *Issei*. They had four children, two of whom were born after the war. Fujii continued diving until 1951, when he became a director of Cape York Pearling Company Pty. Ltd. and an advisor to Japanese pearl-culture technicians. He also looked after the interests of Japanese visitors to the island. In 1978 he was awarded the Japanese "Order of the Sacred Treasure" for his contributions to friendship between Australia and Japan. 1979 was the centenary of Japanese pearling in Torres Strait, and he was instrumental in organising a monument to be erected in that year in memory of the men who had died at sea. After he died a statue of him was erected on the island in memory of his contributions to island life.

In 1932, Tsuneichi Mana came to TI as an indentured labourer to work in the pearling industry.³⁰ He returned to diving for a few years after the war. Tsuneichi died in 1973 at the age of sixty-five³¹ and his wife, Kiyo, died not long after. They are remembered as "a nice old couple" who lived quietly in the community in their old age. They had no children.

The Nisei and Sansei

After the war, some *Nisei* and *Sansei* in other parts of Australia resorted to either denying, or concealing, their parents' ethnicity, because it was that very ethnicity which had caused their internment. They were released into an environment charged with vehement anti-Japanese sentiment. Magazines and newspapers were full of stories and reports about Japanese atrocities against Australian prisoners of war. Some of the ex-internees pretended to be Chinese to find work, while others changed their names. In 1997, one *Sansei* of Japanese and European origin in Sydney wrote:

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[My aunt] tried to hide the fact of her being half-Japanese and is reluctant to talk of her experience. Mum's other sister who was unmarried changed her last name. My uncle and his wife too changed their family name to an Anglo name. None of my cousins were told of their Japanese ancestry until they were adults.³²

Joe Murakami, a *Nisei* from Darwin, was eighteen in 1946. Although his two brothers stayed in Australia, he decided to go to Japan as he could not find decent work in Darwin after the war. Joe is retired and still lives in Japan. In 1988 he wrote :

In the most vital years of our lives we never had the social opportunities nor engaged in the social activities so necessary for the development of normal social competence. We didn't dare ask any girl for a date because we would have surely been rebuffed. We didn't even get to know any girls ... My brothers are still mentally bogged down in the war era, unmarried, discontented, unfulfilled, and financially and geographically restricted, now too old to change the course of their destinies.³³

It seems to have been easier for the *Nisei* who returned to TI. Although the pre-war Japanese settlement had been physically destroyed, the Japanese were well-accepted by the TI community and did not need to hide their origins. As pearling was still one of the main industries on the island, some of the *Nisei* males took up the traditional Japanese occupations of diving or related work. As they grew up, approximately one third of the *Nisei* eventually left the island for better work opportunities or marriage.

Tamiya Nakata, the eldest son of the Nakata family, found his first job as a diver with Bowden Pearling Pty. Ltd. and was later employed by the Customs Department. He and his Torres Strait Islander wife Cessa (one of the three famous singing Mills Sisters) have five children and twenty-two grandchildren and live on the site of pre-war Yokohama. Kakichi Leonard Yagura, of Japanese and white Australian parentage, returned to his boat building trade after the war.³⁴ The three sons of the Shibasaki family also returned to TI. Jamel and Hismile worked as pearl-shell divers for five years. Jamel later worked on the wharves and Hismile for Telecom, while Billy became the local manager of a cultured pearl company and is now Deputy Mayor of TI and a Torres Shire Council member.

Alone among the post-war TI Australian-Japanese families, the Yamashita family maintained, and even extended, its links with both the pearling industry and their Japanese heritage. Evelyn became assistant to the secretary for the Anglican Diocese of Carpentaria and later married Joe Suzuki, a TI-born *Nisei* and former internee and they settled in Sydney. Harumi Yamashita married William Ahloy, a Chinese-Australian Islander who owned one of TI's largest retail stores. She still runs the store with her daughter and nieces, all of whom are *Sansei* of part-Japanese descent. Sadako Yamashita worked as a typist in Sydney in the 1960s and later married Fumio Ike, a Japanese national who came to the island as a cultured pearl technician in 1961. They now live in Cairns and one of their two sons

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is following his father's footsteps and works for a cultured-pearl company in Broome. Both sons speak Japanese.

History Repeats: Re-introduction of the Japanese to the Pearling Industry

After the war, a ban was placed on the entry of Japanese into Australia, but Australian pearl-shell companies made representations to the government to permit the return of former divers who had been repatriated to Japan.³⁵ It was not until 1958 that 106 Okinawan indentured workers were permitted to work on TI.³⁶ However, they were salvage divers, without appropriate diving skills for pearling and most of them were soon sent back.³⁷ Three of these Okinawan men married local women of part-Japanese descent and settled permanently on the island.

In the 1960s, the pearl-shell industry declined as a result of the use of plastic for the manufacture of buttons. However, during this same period, cultured pearling was introduced by Japanese companies.³⁸ Beginning with a team of six Japanese cultured-pearl technicians, who arrived in the region in the 1950s to begin operations on Goode Island³⁹, the Japanese presence in Torres Strait grew again, although this time on a much smaller scale. Many of these new arrivals were single men and, as in the case of Fumio Ike, a few married local women, some of whom were of Japanese descent. This industry, in turn, declined and by 1999 only one small pearl-farming operation remained at Friday Island, run by Kazuyoshi Takami, who came to TI as an employee in 1973. By 1975, there were 85 Japanese-Australians on TI and 110 in the Torres Strait region as a whole.⁴⁰

Conclusion: Continuity and Discontinuity of the Japanese Heritage

The pre-war Japanese community on TI was, without doubt, more "Japanese" than the post-war community. It had maintained strong links with Japan and Japanese culture and there was a "much stronger sense of belonging to the Old World".⁴¹ Community activities were centred around Japanese national events, such as festivals and the Emperor's Birthday. The Japanese language was predominant in Yokohama. After the war, only Japanese-Australians were allowed to return to the island and English was the main language. Only a small minority of *Nisei* maintained Japanese language skills.

There are still many physical reminders of the pre-war Japanese community, such as the *ofuro* (Japanese bathtub) which was excavated in 1999 on the site of the former Yokohama. Such relics as this, and the Japanese cemetery, are being preserved. Singe writes:

In many respects these graves are the only lasting and visible reminders of the various peoples who contributed so much to the history of the Torres Strait. Their influence though is still echoed in the contemporary culture of the islands. At a feast I have seen elderly Islanders stand to sing Japanese songs learned whilst working on luggers forty years ago.⁴²

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Fragments of Japanese language and culture survive in various ways on the island. Anna Shnukal's study of Torres Strait Creole lists many Japanese words and expressions. For example, *namas* comes from the name of a Japanese dish called *namasu*. Shnukal describes it as "Japanese marinated raw seafood, or vegetable marinated in vinegar. Slices of raw fish marinated in vinegar, lemon juice, chillis and sugar. This dish was introduced by Japanese divers".⁴³ The only difference between this dish and the original, is the addition of chilli. *Namas* is now described as being "unique to the Islands and ... prepared in this way for many generations".⁴⁴

Kuksang, meaning "cook", is another example and comes from the Japanese *kukku san*, meaning "mister cook" which was originally used on pearling boats. It is commonly used today throughout Torres Strait.⁴⁵ *Kura Kura* now means "Japanese language" in the Torres Straits, but it comes from a Japanese informal expression *kora kora*, meaning "Hey you, watch out!".⁴⁶ These words remain as evidence of Japanese influence on the hybrid local culture. While these Japanese-Australians are proud of their Japanese ancestry, they are equally proud of belonging to a wider, essentially multicultural community which identifies itself as "Thursday Islander". Sandy Kehoe-Forutan writes:

TI is the 'melting pot' of the various Islander communities and of the diverse external cultures introduced since colonization, Europeans, South Pacific Islanders, Papua and New Guineans and Asians being the most prevalent.⁴⁷

To give the concept of "Japanese-Australian" its full historical integrity, it is essential to understand the links between pre- and post war Japanese communities. Despite the inevitable dilution of the original Japanese culture, the small Thursday Island community of the present preserves fragments of all the essential components of the pre-war community — physical, linguistic and genetic. Whether the living Japanese heritage will survive depends on the social, economic and political developments of the future.

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Mrs Yamashita of Thursday Island, sewing, most likely after her release from internment. Tei Shiosaki was born at TI but taken back to Kushimoto as an infant. She returned at age 20, unable to speak English.
Courtesy of Joe Yamashita, Thursday Island.

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Notes

- 1 Sissons, D.C.S., "The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry", *Queensland Heritage*, 1974-79, vol. 3, no. 10, p. 9.
- 2 Major works on the Japanese involvement in the pearling industry in Australia include David Sissons "The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry", *Queensland Heritage*, vol. 3, no. 10, 1979 pp 9-27, Mary Albertus Bain *Full Fathom Five*, Perth, Artlook Books 1982 and Regina Ganter *The Pearl-Shellers of Torres Strait*, Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- 3 Evans, G., *Thursday Island 1878-1914: A plural Society*, Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1972, Tables inserted between pages 26 and 27.
- 4 Mullins, Steve, *Torres Strait, a History of Colonial Occupation and Culture Contact, 1864-1897*, Central Queensland University Press, 1995, p. 157.
- 5 Kyuuhara, Shuji, *Remains of Japanese Settlers on the Torres Strait Islands*, unpublished research paper, 1977, p. 1. According to Kyuuhara, in the early stage pearling stations in Torres Strait were located at about ten sites, including Somerset on Cape York Peninsula, Albany Island, Roko Island, Possession Island, Friday Island, Goode Island, Waiweer Island, Prince of Wales Island and Mabuig Island.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 Palfreeman, A.C., *The Administration of the White Australia Policy*, Melbourne, 1967, Appendix, Table V.
- 8 Ganter, p. 99.
- 9 Kyuuhara, pp 4-14. The oldest graves in Torres Strait are on Waiweer and Prince of Wales.
- 10 See Sissons, p. 16, Bain, p. 105 and Ganter, pp 107-109.
- 11 Ted Loban and Con Filewood, pers. comm. 31 August 1987.
- 12 Haig, K., *By the Bounty of the Sea: Industry, Economy and Society in Maritime Japanese Immigrant Communities in Hawaii and Australia, 1890s to World War II*, BA Honours thesis, Harvard University, 1999, p. 71.
- 13 Queensland State Archives POL/J2.
- 14 Nagata, Y., *Unwanted Aliens, Japanese Internment in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, 1996, p. 68.
- 15 Nagata, p. 51.
- 16 Torres Shire Council Literature on Torres Strait, year of compilation not known, obtained from the Shire Council Office in May 1999, p. 3.
- 17 Osborne, E., *Torres Strait Islander Women and the Pacific War*, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1997, p. 85; Thursday Island State High School (hereafter TISHS), *Torres Strait at War: a recollection of wartime experience*, 1987, p. 33.
- 18 TISHS, p. 32.
- 19 Australian Archives, BP 242/1, Q 23993, 6 Dec. 1946 in Nagata, p. 231.
- 20 Nagata, p. 230.
- 21 Nagata, p. 231.
- 22 Nagata, p. 89.

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- 23 Sopia Capri, pers. comm., 6 July 1992. Also see Nagata, pp 90-91.
- 24 TISHS, pp 33 & 43.
- 25 Amira Mendis, pers. comm., 6 April 1999.
- 26 Nagata, pp 226-229.
- 27 The ages of the returnees in 1947 ranged from forty to seventy- three years old. Their length of residency on the island ranged from twenty to forty years, including six years of internment.
- 28 Sadako Ike, pers. comm. 20 July 1999.
- 29 Australian Archives, ACT CRS A 373, 1/505/48. The reason why Nakata's Japanese wife and son were able to come to Australia has not been substantiated.
- 30 Australian AA 6122/40 Item 273, p. 11.
- 31 Burial list of Thursday Island Japanese Cemetery compiled in 1975 by Shuuji Kyuhara.
- 32 P. Eccleston, pers. comm., 25 May 1997.
- 33 Joe Murakami, pers. comm., 18 July 1988.
- 34 AA CRS A 373, 1/505/48
- 35 Y. Nagata, "A Foot In The Door: The Evolution of Australian Policy with regard to Japanese Immigration post-WWII"paper delivered at the JSAA Conference, Brisbane, 1991.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- 37 Sadako Ike, pers. comm., 1 April 1999
- 38 Singe, John, *The Torres Strait: People and History*, University of Queensland Press, 1989, p.161.
- 39 Sadako Ike, *op.cit.*
- 40 Kehoe-Forutan, S., *Effectiveness of Thursday Island as an Urban Centre in Meeting the Needs of its Community*, PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1990, p. 79.
- 41 Haig, p. 76
- 42 Singe, p. 230.
- 43 Anna Shnukal, *Broken: An Introduction to the Creole Language of Torres Strait*, Australian National University, 1988, p. 169.
- 44 *Island Cooking*, Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Print Unit, 1988, p. 8.
- 45 Shnukal, p. 169.
- 46 Shnukal, p. 152.
- 47 Kehoe-Forutan, p. 9.