

THE SURVIVAL OF A PACIFIC ISLANDER
POPULATION IN NORTH QUEENSLAND,
1900-1940

Patricia Mary Mercer

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian
National University

August 1981



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This thesis is all my own work.

Patricia M. Mercer

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ABSTRACT

ONE OF the first Acts enacted by the Parliament of the new Commonwealth of Australia prohibited the recruitment of Pacific Islanders to work in Queensland from 1904. By 1908 the majority of these Islanders had been deported from Australia. The small number who remained, legally or illegally, were one of several non-European groups who served as reminders of 'white' Australia's multi-racial past.

This thesis draws on not only conventional historical sources but also oral evidence and local records to examine the survival, in demographic, economic, social and cultural respects, of a Pacific Islander population in North Queensland in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Like other non-indigenous non-European groups, these Islanders were subjected to a campaign, spearheaded by the labour movement, to exclude them from all favoured occupations and civic privileges. Despite and, indeed, as a result of such obstacles, they developed a sense of identity and community which marked them as a distinctive ethnic group. By 1940 the demographic and cultural survival of this Pacific Islander population was assured.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Australian Archives
ABR	Anglican Baptism Register
ABUR	Anglican Burial Register
AMR	Anglican Marriage Register
<u>ASJ</u>	<u>Australian Sugar Journal</u>
ASPA	Australian Sugar Producers Association
AWU	Australian Workers Union
<u>AYB</u>	<u>Anglican Year Book of the Diocese of North Queensland</u>
<u>BC</u>	<u>Brisbane Courier</u>
<u>BI</u>	<u>Bowen Independent</u>
<u>CMP</u>	<u>Cairns Morning Post</u>
<u>CPD</u>	<u>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates</u>
<u>CPP</u>	<u>Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers</u>
CR	Cemetery Register
CSR	Colonial Sugar Refining Company
DHAR	District Hospital Admission Register
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
<u>NM</u>	<u>Mackay Mercury</u>
NMR	Methodist Marriage Register
MPC	Mackay Police Court
<u>MS</u>	<u>Mackay Standard</u>
<u>NC</u>	<u>Northern Churchman</u>
<u>NQR</u>	<u>North Queensland Register</u>

PBR	Presbyterian Baptism Register
<u>PDMR</u>	<u>Port Douglas and Mossman Record</u>
<u>PDT</u>	<u>Port Denison Times</u>
PMR	Presbyterian Marriage Register
<u>Q</u>	<u>Queenslander</u>
<u>QGG</u>	<u>Queensland Government Gazette</u>
<u>QLG</u>	<u>Queensland Industrial Gazette</u>
<u>QPD</u>	<u>Queensland Parliamentary Debates</u>
<u>QPP</u>	<u>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</u>
QSA	Queensland State Archives
<u>QVP</u>	<u>Queensland Votes and Proceedings (known as <u>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</u> after 1902)</u>
RSPS-PSEAH	Research School of Pacific Studies - Pacific and South-East Asian History Department
RSSS-ANUA	Research School of Social Sciences - Australian National University Archives of Business and Labour
SABUR	Salvation Army Burial Register
<u>SJTC</u>	<u>Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator</u>
SSAR	State School Admission Register
TlBsa:1	Tape 1B, Black Oral History Collection, side a: part 1 (see Appendix A, n10)
Ty1Bp.1	Typescript 1B, page 1 (see Appendix A, n10)
UCGA	United Cane Growers' Association

INTRODUCTION

IN LONDON in 1912 the Anglican Bishop of North Queensland, G.H. Frodsham, told the Colonial Institute that the system of bringing indentured Pacific Islanders to Queensland had ended in 1906, "when the last kanakas had disappeared ...".¹ This epitomizes the popular belief about the ending of this system of labour migration which had operated for over forty years. After March 1904 Pacific Islanders were no longer recruited for labour in Queensland's tropical agricultural industries and by 1908 most of the Islanders in Australia had been repatriated. Yet not all the Islanders were sent home. A small population remained and its vigorous increase ensured that today there are several thousand descendants of this remnant.

This thesis is a history of the Pacific Islander population in North Queensland between 1900 and 1940. The opportunity for such a study arises out of the state of historical research on related topics. Extensive research has been undertaken into the issues surrounding the recruitment of Pacific Islanders for Queensland's tropical agriculturalists. Work on the recruiting system in the south-west Pacific, popularly known as the labour trade, has demonstrated that every criticism and every defence of it were at once true: there was kidnapping ('blackbirding'), eager volunteering, and every possible permutation between these two extremes.² Research into the Queensland experiences of these migrants has similarly highlighted the difficulties in isolating a 'typical' situation. Early studies glossed over abuses, painting a rosy picture of the treatment and behaviour of

1. NQR 15 Jul. 1912, p.36 (page numbers are only given for very large newspapers). The use of 'kanaka' (an Hawaiian word for man) is avoided in this thesis, since it is meaningless and was used by Europeans in a derogatory sense.

2. See P. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration 1870-1914 (Carlton, Vic., 1973); D. Scarr, Fragments of Empire A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914 (Canberra, 1967); D. Scarr, 'Recruits and Recruiters: a portrait of the labour trade', in J.W. Davidson and D. Scarr (eds), Pacific Islands Portraits (Canberra, 1973); D. Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865 (Melbourne, 1967).

Islanders in the colony.³ Later studies have been more critical of conditions of life and labour on the plantations and more perceptive regarding the political, social and economic ramifications of the 'kanaka' question.⁴

Recent and more specialized research has greatly extended our knowledge. Supplementing written with oral sources, Peter Corris has sensitively sketched the experiences of Solomon Island recruits as temporary migrants in Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia and Samoa.⁵ Kay Saunders on the basis of extensive archival research has studied the racial attitudes of Europeans and their treatment of the indentured Islanders, comparing this with that meted out to Negro slaves in North America.⁶ The importance of Pacific Islanders as a labour force and other economic issues arising from the development of the sugar industry

3. B.H. Molesworth, The History of Kanaka Labour in Queensland (M.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1917); H.T. Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry (Brisbane, [1931]), p.14; Sir Raphael Cilento with C. Lack, Triumph in the Tropics An Historical Sketch of Queensland (Brisbane, 1959), pp.288,291.

4. M. Willard, A History of the White Australia Policy to 1920 (Melbourne, 1923; repr. 1967), Chapter 7; G.C. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away A History of North Queensland to 1920 (Canberra, 1963; repr. 1972), esp. Chapter 7; J.P.C. Sheppard, The Pacific Islander in Queensland 1863-1883 (B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Queensland, 1966); A. Birch, 'The Implementation of the White Australia Policy in the Queensland Sugar Industry 1901-12', Australian Journal of Politics and History Vol.XI, No.2, Aug. 1965, pp.198-210; A. Birch, 'The Origin and Economics of Pacific Islands Labour in the Australian Sugar Industry 1863-1906', Business Archives and History Vol. VI, No.1, Feb. 1966.

5. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation; P. Corris, 'White Australia' in action: the repatriation of Pacific Islanders from Queensland', Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand Vol. 15, Apr. 1972, pp.237-50.

6. K.E. Saunders, Uncertain Bondage: An Analysis of Indentured Labour in Queensland to 1907 with particular reference to the Melanesian servants (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1974); K. Saunders, 'The Pacific Islander Hospitals in Colonial Queensland: the failure of liberal principles', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 11, 1976, pp.28-50; K. Saunders, 'Part Two: 'The Black Scourge''', in R. Evans, K. Saunders, K. Cronin, Exclusion Exploitation and Extermination Race Relations in Colonial Queensland (Redfern, 1975).

have been investigated by Ralph Shlomowitz and Adrian Graves.⁷ Clive Moore is engaged on a case-study of Malaitan migrants in Mackay, tracing them from their recruitment in the islands to their experiences in this prominent Queensland sugar district up to the 1920s.⁸ My own earlier work considered the racial attitudes of the colonists and the political history of the 'kanaka' question to 1892.⁹ In collaboration with Moore, I have described the lifestyle of the present day Islander communities in Australia. Since 1974 we have interviewed many of the descendants of the migrants who are living in coastal North Queensland, and our collection of this oral evidence has provided invaluable information on their historical experiences in this century.¹⁰

This seeking out of the descendants of Pacific Island migrants in order to obtain their recollections owes its stimulus to the promotion of

7. R. Shlomowitz, 'The Search for Institutional Equilibrium in Queensland's Sugar Industry 1884-1913', Australian Economic History Review Vol. XIX, No.2, Sep. 1979, pp.91-122; R. Shlomowitz, 'Markets for Indentured and Time-expired Melanesian Labour in Queensland, 1863-1906: An Economic Analysis', to be published in The Journal of Pacific History; R. Shlomowitz, 'Melanesian Labour and the Development of the Queensland Sugar Industry, 1863-1906', to be published in Research in Economic History; R. Shlomowitz, 'The Profitability of Indentured Melanesian Labour in Queensland', paper presented at the Seminar in Economic History, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 3 Jun. 1977; A.A. Graves, Pacific Island Labour in the Queensland Sugar Industry: 1862-1906 (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1979).

8. Tentatively titled Kanaka Maratta: a history of Melanesian Mackay (Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, in progress).

9. P.M. Mercer, An Analysis of Racial Attitudes towards Melanesians Expressed in the Queensland Legislative Assembly and Newspapers, 1877-1892 (B.A. Hons. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1973). This has been published in a condensed form in P. Mercer, 'Racial Attitudes Towards Melanesians in Colonial Queensland', in H. Reynolds (ed.), Race Relations in North Queensland (Townsville, 1978).

10. P.M. Mercer and C.R. Moore, 'Melanesians in North Queensland: The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 11, 1976, pp.66-88; P.M. Mercer and C.R. Moore, 'Australia's Pacific Islanders 1906-1977', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 13, 1978, pp.90-101; C. Moore and P. Mercer, 'The Forgotten People: Australia's Immigrant Melanesians', Meanjin Vol. 37, No.1, Apr. 1978, pp.98-108. Interviews with Islanders which were broadcast on ABC radio in 1978 have been published. C. Moore (ed.), The Forgotten People. A history of the Australian South Sea Island community (Sydney, 1979).

regional history at the James Cook University of North Queensland. The History Department there has built on Geoffrey Bolton's pioneering history of the settlement of North Queensland up to 1920 by actively encouraging its honours and post-graduate students, as well as its staff, to undertake local research. The resultant doctoral and honours theses, articles and books have produced a regional historiography spanning such diverse subjects as the history of minority groups, race relations, women's history, the labour movement and the pastoral, mining and sugar industries.¹¹

In both this regional history and the history of Pacific Islanders in Queensland, the emphasis has been on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Research on Pacific Islanders in the State, with the exception of my work with Moore, does not go beyond 1908.¹² Twentieth century studies of North Queensland have been mainly limited to political history, the trade union movement, and two of the important minority groups, the Chinese and the Italians.¹³ A history of the Pacific Islander population in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940 therefore contributes both to the history of this group and to that of the region.

This thesis tries not merely to study the actions and experiences of Pacific Islanders but also to consider their treatment as part of the wider non-European and non-Aboriginal population in 'white' Australia. In

11. A representative sample of this regional history is contained in the published series of lectures. See Lectures on North Queensland History (Townsville, First series, 1973, Second series, 1974, Third series, 1978).

12. Bolton, Corris and Saunders very briefly discuss the Islanders who remained after 1908. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251; Corris, 'White Australia in action', p.249; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.459-60.

13. K.H. Kennedy, The Public Life of William McCormack, 1907-32 (Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1973); D.W. Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland: trade unionism, politics and industrial conflict, 1900-1920 (Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1979); C.R. May, The Chinese in Cairns and District 1876-1920 (Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1977); L.D. Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, 1921-1939 (B.A. Hons. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1978). There have also been earlier honours theses on towns such as Mackay and Innisfail and various local and shire histories.

locally commissioned histories Pacific Islanders and other non-European groups such as the Chinese and Indians have received scant attention. Most twentieth century 'white' North Queenslanders chose to ignore their presence. Yet from the 1900s to the late 1930s there was a vigorous campaign, principally by the labour movement, to exclude non-Europeans from all favoured occupations and civic privileges.

It will be seen that, despite the discrimination practised against them, Pacific Islanders in North Queensland managed to survive not only physically but economically, socially and culturally. By 1940 their adjustments had created a community which was not 'pure' Pacific Islander nor brown-skinned 'white' Australian. In this respect, the experiences of Pacific Islanders are most nearly comparable with those rural and semi-rural Aborigines who escaped institutionalization on the government and mission reserves: they also overcame threats to their physical survival, and developed into communities which could not be regarded as 'traditionally' Aboriginal but which displayed a distinctive lifestyle and identity setting them apart from the wider population.¹⁴

MY STUDY is focussed on North Queensland out of practical considerations: the collection of oral and local sources necessitated the limitation of the geographical area, and roughly half of the State's Islander population was in this region, principally in the coastal districts. North Queensland is defined as extending from the tip of Cape York down to Sarina and across to the Northern Territory border (see Map 1.2). It is also restricted to the first forty years of this century. 1900 provides a convenient starting-point, as the first year of the new century and federation and the beginning of the decade in which the 'White Australia' policy was enacted and the system of Pacific Island immigration was halted and reversed. However, to

14. See M. Reay, 'A Half-Caste Aboriginal Community in North-Western New South Wales', *Oceania* Vol. XV, No.4, Jun. 1945, pp.296-323; M. Calley, 'Pentecostalism among the Bandjalang', in M. Reay (ed.), Aborigines Now New Perspective in the Study of Aboriginal Communities (Sydney, 1964). D. Barwick, 'The Aboriginal Family in South-Eastern Australia', in J. Krupinski and A. Stoller (eds), The Family in Australia Social, Demographic and Psychological Aspects (Sydney, 1974).

provide the necessary background, much of the material contained in Chapter I refers to the nineteenth century. 1940 represents a watershed in the history of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland: in the 1940s World War II made its impact on the region and amongst the Islanders a generation change occurred.

The sources for this thesis are multiple, diverse and in some cases unconventional. The three broad categories described below are outlined in greater detail in Appendix A. The first category contains conventional historical sources, such as manuscripts, newspapers, contemporary and recently published works, government publications and archives. The second is made up of records held locally: in coastal North Queensland's major towns there is an abundance of material contained in the records of the cemeteries, hospitals, churches, sugar mills and other organizations. The third category consists of oral sources. In Appendix A, the collection of these is discussed and the strengths and weaknesses of oral sources for historical evidence, which has been examined in detail elsewhere, is briefly considered.¹⁵

Both the second and third categories are still novel sources for historians and their use imparts a distinctive quality. However, all three kinds of sources are combined in the family history approach which underlines my study. The techniques of historical demography, which are discussed in Appendix B, are very useful for tracing the unexpected survival of the Islander population. Historical demography, in essence, involves the reconstruction from nominal sources (that is, those in which a person is named) of individual life-histories which span the vital events of a person's life such as birth, marriage and death. This has enabled me to track down the overwhelming majority of the individuals who made up the Islander population in North Queensland, and to construct quantitative data which is more reliable than that available from contemporary sources. The family history approach is also dependent on qualitative as well as quantitative material. In this regard, two recent and very different studies employing a family history

15. See P.M. Mercer, 'Oral Tradition in the Pacific: problems of interpretation', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 14, 1979, pp.130-53.

approach have been important models and sources of inspiration: these are Herbert Gutman's The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom and Paul Thompson's The Edwardians.¹⁶

OF SEVERAL thousand migrants who came to Queensland as indentured labourers, only about two to two and a half thousand, mainly single men, stayed on after 1908. The central theme in this study is the process by which this population survived, both in the physical and non-physical respects. In the sense that Pacific Islanders attempted as far as possible to create their own world within Australian society, there are parallels with studies of other small-scale societies. By 1940 the population was assured of demographic survival and had developed a distinctive identity and lifestyle.

The organization of the thesis is thematic but change over time is clearly indicated. Chapter 1 is an outline of the colonial experience of Pacific Island migrants, providing the necessary background to the twentieth century. Chapter 2 discusses the indications in the late 1890s and early 1900s that some of these men and women had begun to put down roots and to regard Queensland as their permanent home. Chapter 3 examines the processes by which the majority of Islanders were deported and a small number stayed on (legally or illegally) in Australia. Succeeding chapters are concerned with the period 1908 to 1940. In Chapter 4 the principal features and demographic patterns of the Islander population in North Queensland are discussed. Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the discriminatory attitudes and actions of Europeans and the labour movement in particular towards non-Europeans in general and non-European sugar workers specifically. The focus returns to the Islander population in the final three chapters. Here their survival is examined from an economic standpoint in Chapter 7 and the social and cultural perspectives in Chapters 8 and 9. In the Epilogue the chief features of the history of the population to 1940 are summarized and developments since then are briefly sketched.

16. H.G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (Oxford, 1976); P. Thompson, The Edwardians The Remaking of British Society (Bungay, Suffolk, 1977).

CHAPTER 1
THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

THE FIRST Pacific Islanders brought to Queensland came in 1863. Apart from a brief interval in 1891, their recruitment continued for over forty years until 1904. In this chapter the colonial experience of the migrants is considered, as a necessary prelude to the examination of their twentieth century experiences.

A fully rounded history of Pacific Island immigration is not the objective. The focus is on the lives led by these men and women once in the colony.¹ First, the numbers, origins and motives of the recruits and their 'mental baggage' are examined. Secondly, their numbers and distribution in the colony, the legal constraints imposed on them, the attitudes of Europeans and their treatment of the Islanders are briefly considered. Thirdly, there is a discussion of the adjustments to the colonial lifestyle made by the Islanders. Fourthly, the extent to which they preserved traditional beliefs and customs is dealt with. Finally, the attitudes of the Islanders themselves towards their host society and other non-European groups, and the changes in their self-perception, are discussed.

ACCORDING to a recent estimate, nearly 62,500 Islanders were brought to Queensland between 1863 and 1904. The actual number of persons was less than this, since many recruited more than once.² In Table 1.1 the

1. The sources for this chapter are primarily secondary, but primary sources are used wherever references in secondary sources are lacking or scarce.

2. The problem of estimating the total number of recruits is difficult. These figures are drawn from C.A. Price with E. Baker, 'Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland, 1863-1904: a research note', The Journal of Pacific History Vol.11, 1976, pp.106-21. For other estimates, see Parnaby, Britain and the Labor Trade, pp.201-6; N. McArthur and J.F. Yaxley, Condominium of the New Hebrides. A Report on the First Census of the Population 1967 (Sydney, 1968), p.16.

proportions supplied by different island groups over the years are given (see also Map 1.1). Nearly two-thirds of the recruits came from the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) and just over one-quarter from the Solomon Islands, although between 1888 and 1904 the Solomons provided over half the recruits. The remainder of the total came largely from the Loyalty Islands (especially in the earliest years) and New Guinea (where recruiting was banned after 1884). Very small numbers were recruited from islands such as Lord Howe, Samoa, Tikopia and the Gilbert (now Kiribati) and Ellice (now Tuvalu) Islands.³

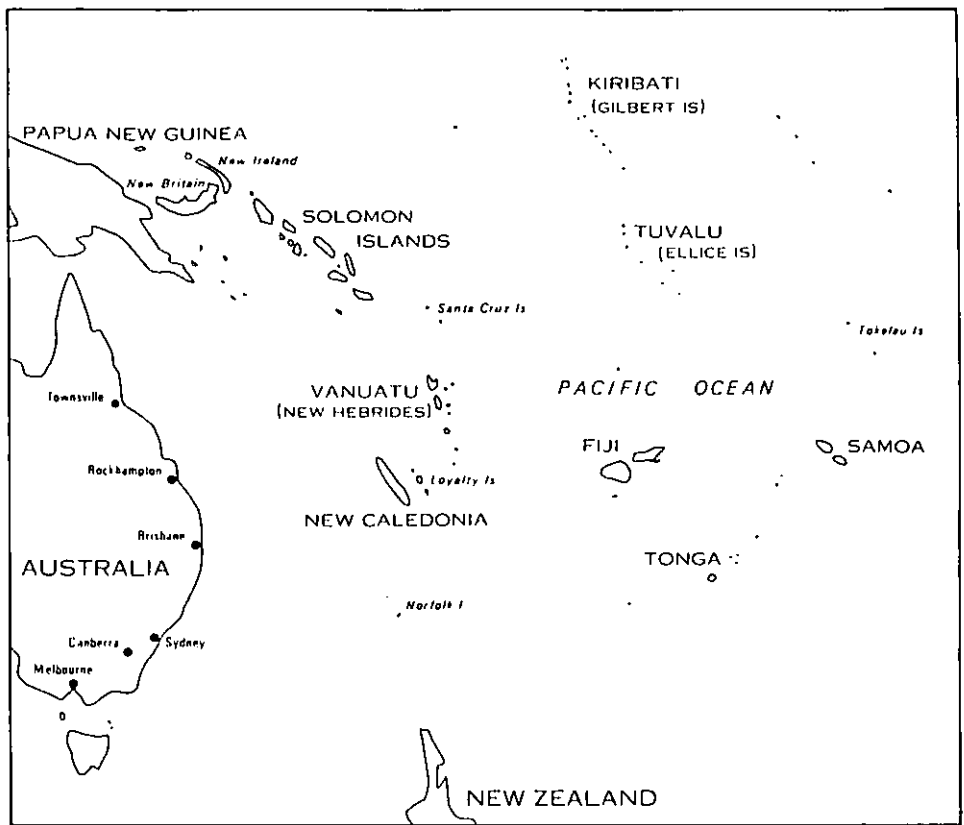
TABLE 1.1: Origins of Pacific Island Recruits to Queensland, 1863-1904

IS. GROUP	PROP. OF TOTAL DURING EACH PERIOD			TOTAL NO. OF RECRUITS	PROP. OF TOTAL NO. %
	1863-72 %	1873-87 %	1888-1904 %		
Loyalties	19.4	0.2	-	1,123	1.8
New Hebrides	77.7	73.7	45.7	39,931	63.9
Santa Cruz	-	0.6	0.9	429	0.7
Solomon Islands	1.5	16.9	52.4	17,756	28.4
New Guinea	-	8.2	-	2,808	4.5
Other*	1.4	0.4	1.0	428	0.7
Grand Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	62,475	100.0

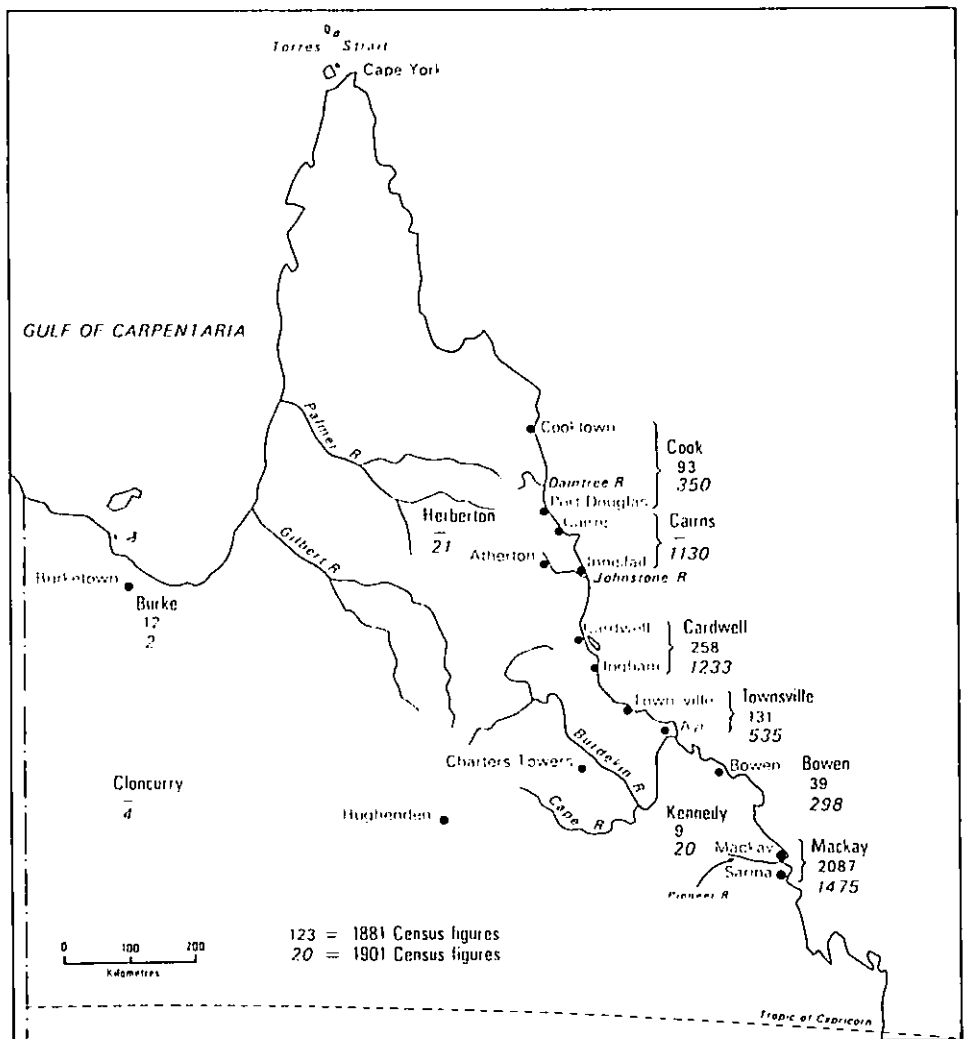
* Including the islands of Lord Howe, Tikopia, Rotuma, Samoa, Nuie, Gilbert and Ellice and Ocean Island.

Source: Adapted from Price with Baker, 'Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland', pp.114-16, Table 2.

3. For a discussion of the shifting focus of the labour trade, see Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.1-2, 24-32; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.332, 337.



MAP 1.1: Australia and the Pacific



MAP 1.2: North Queensland and the Islander population by census districts in 1881 and 1901

In Table 1.2 the origin of recruits by island and district in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands is shown (see also Maps 1.3 and 1.4). In the New Hebrides, Epi, Tanna, Aoba and Ambrym were the principal sources; Malekula, Espiritu Santo, Gaua, Pentecost and Efate were also important recruiting grounds. In the Solomons, recruits were drawn predominantly from Malaita, Guadalcanal and Nggela. Over half, the largest number from one island in both island groups, came from Malaita. While New Hebrideans formed the overwhelming majority of Islanders in Queensland, the number of Solomon Islanders (and especially Malaitans) increased dramatically from the late 1880s. 'Polynesian' was the inaccurate term applied to these migrants, while 'kanaka' (the Hawaiian word for 'man') was a popular and derogatory epithet.⁴

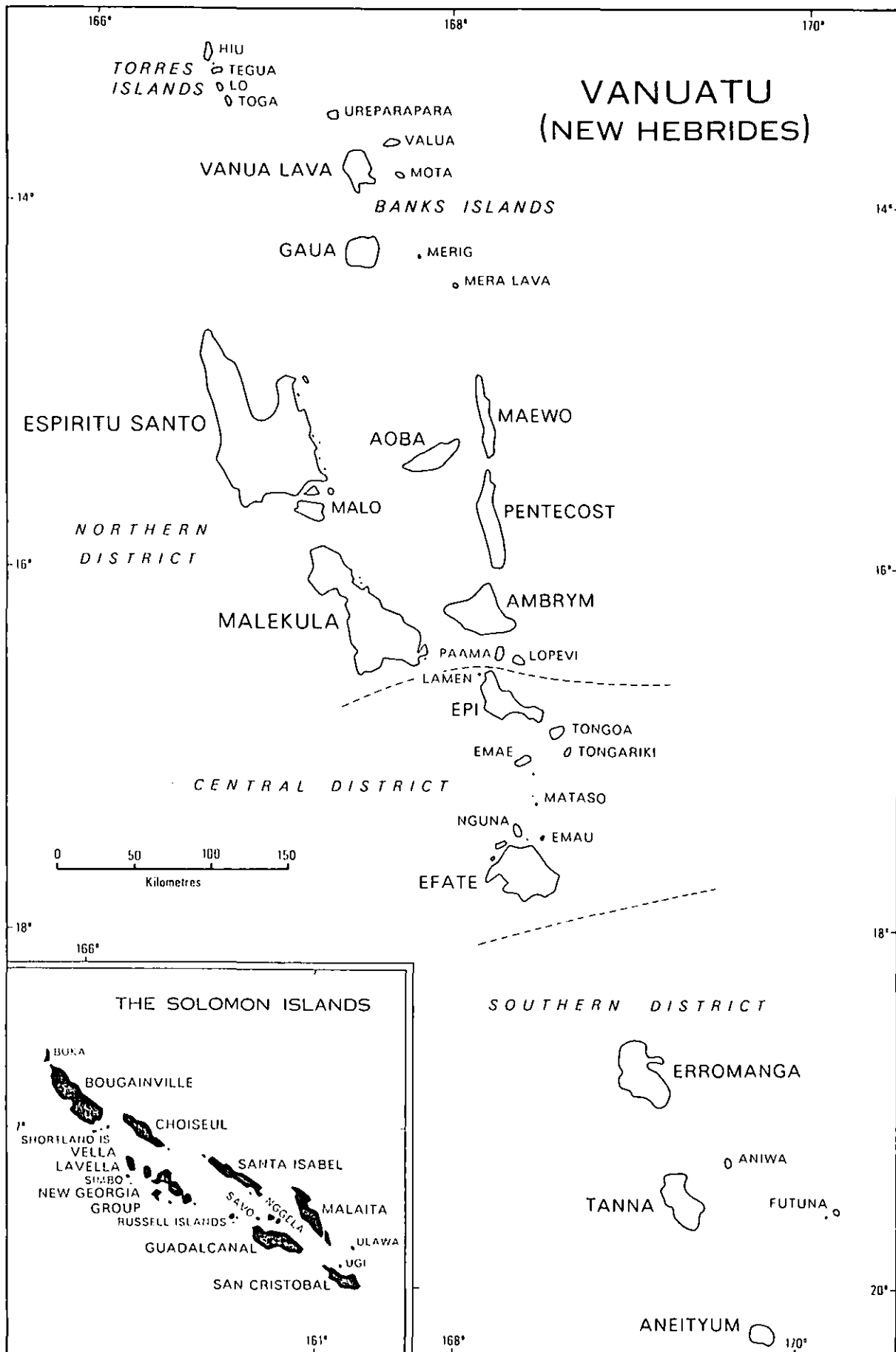
Pacific Islanders were brought primarily to work on Queensland plantations. Since the Islanders were not regarded as permanent settlers, male recruits were preferred to women. After 1884 it was stipulated that women could only recruit if accompanied by their husbands; this severely limited the number of potential female recruits, since Melanesian men tended to marry at a comparatively late age.⁵ The nature of Melanesian society also ensured that few women came to Queensland. Their work in the gardens and their value to their relatives in terms of the bride-price paid on marriage meant that young women fulfilled an important economic role, and therefore their recruitment was strongly opposed by their kinfolk. Nevertheless, there were some unmarried women in Queensland and many men and women seized the opportunity to elope by recruiting for the colony.⁶

Until 1907, women were a tiny proportion of the total Islander population in Queensland: 6.2 per cent in 1881, 8.7 per cent in 1891 and

4. 'Melanesia' is taken to include the islands of the south-west Pacific to and including Fiji. There were tiny numbers from some Polynesian islands and therefore I refer to the migrants as Pacific Islanders except in instances where I am aware that an individual or individuals were indeed from Melanesia.

5. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.45.

6. See ibid., pp.45-46; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.338-39; J.A. Bennett, Cross-cultural influences on village relocation on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands c.1870-1953 (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1974), p.52 n14. See also Chapter 2, p.83. (Page numbers for cross-references are given where the reference would otherwise be too difficult to locate.)



MAP 1.3: The New Hebrides (Vanuatu)

MAP 1.4: The Solomon Islands

TABLE 1.2: Origin by Island of New Hebridean and Solomon Island
Recruits to Queensland, 1863-1904.

NEW HEBRIDES (by district)	NO. OF RECRUITS	% OF ALL RECRUITS
Tanna	4,244	6.8
Erromanga	1,174	1.9
Aneityum, Futuna and Aniwa	382	0.6
Epi	5,084	8.1
Efate	1,762	2.8
Emau and Emae	980	1.6
Tongoa and Lamén	966	1.6
Moso, Nguna, Pele, Mataso, Tongariki and Other	930	1.4
Aoba	3,658	5.8
Ambrym	3,464	5.6
Malekula	2,934	4.7
Espiritu Santo	2,806	4.5
Pentecost	1,960	3.1
Malo	1,375	2.2
Paama, Lopevi and Maewo	1,425	2.3
Gaua	2,537	4.1
Valua and Vanua Lava	1,855	3.0
Mera Lava, Moto, Ureparapara and Merig	1,286	2.0
Toga, Lo, Tegua, Metoma and Hiu	1,108	1.8
TOTAL	39,931	63.9
SOLOMONS (by district)		
Malaita	9,186	14.7
Guadalcanal	4,188	6.7
Nggela	2,069	3.3
San Cristobal, Savo, Ulawa, Ugi and Other	1,590	2.6
Santa Isabel, Choiseul and Other	400	0.6
Bougainville, Buka, Shortlands and Other	323	0.5
TOTAL	17,756	28.4
GRAND TOTAL	57,687	92.3

Source: Adapted from Price with Baker, 'Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland', pp.114-16.

7.3 per cent in 1901.⁷ There are no statistics on the islands of origin of these women, but it can be reasonably assumed that they came mainly from the New Hebrides. The regulations governing the labour trade were more strictly enforced in the years of heavy recruiting in the Solomon Islands. Very few women ever recruited from Malaita, Nggela and Guadalcanal.⁸

The majority of recruits were unmarried males in their late teens or early twenties.⁹ Since the social and economic obligations of young men were relatively light until they married, they could often be spared from their villages. Relatives received trade goods from the recruiters and were less inclined to oppose the recruiting of single men.¹⁰ The inactivity and frustrations of this period in their lives predisposed young men to welcome this opportunity for travel and new experiences. The example of those who had recruited and returned was a further stimulus; by the 1890s the experience of wage labour had become almost a ceremonial initiation into manhood. Recruiting also provided a means of escape for those whose lives were endangered by the breaking of a taboo or the endemic feuding between communities. Yet the primary reason for recruiting, initially and on subsequent occasions, was the desire for cash and material wealth, a desire created by European contact and which could not be fulfilled at home.¹¹

These economic and social pressures encouraged recruiting. There were always some who were 'blackbirded' but the majority went willingly. An understanding of the social organization of the New Hebridean and Solomon Islands societies from which over ninety per cent of recruits were drawn, is a necessary prerequisite to any consideration of the

7. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.46.

8. The recruitment of women was strongly opposed on these islands. Ibid., pp.45-46; Q 29 Dec.1906, p.8.

9. Regulations regarding age such as that stipulating that recruits must not be younger than sixteen were extensively evaded. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.46-47; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.337-337A.

10. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.55.

11. For a more detailed discussion of the motives behind recruiting, see ibid., pp.52-59; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.77.

migrants' colonial experience.¹² Generalizations are difficult because of the great diversity and cultural dynamism of these islands. Physical, linguistic and cultural barriers served to perpetuate a small-scale, loosely structured political system in which single villages or small groupings of neighbouring hamlets were autonomous and virtually self-sufficient. The primary social unit was the hamlet or village.

Hereditary chieftainship may have existed on some islands such as North Malekula in the New Hebrides and parts of Malaita, New Georgia and Bougainville in the Solomons. Leadership for the most part, however, was meritocratic and often gerontocratic. Power and prestige were achieved rather than ascribed. A governing principle in this loose social organization was reciprocity. To maintain respect and power, a leader built up a complex system of indebtedness through the redistribution of his wealth.¹³ The ritual exchange of gifts involved an obligation to

12. The sources for the following discussion are R.W. Adams, "In the land of strangers and degraded human beings". A culture contact history of Tanna to 1865, with particular reference to the Rev. John G. Paton (Ph.D. thesis, La Trobe University, 1977); M.R. Allen, *The Nduindui. A Study in the Social Structure of a New Hebridean Community* (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1964); R.H. Codrington, *The Melanesians. Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore* (Oxford, 1891; republ. Dover, 1972); J. Cromar, *Jock of the Islands Early Days in the South Seas The Adventures of Jock Cromar Sometime Recruiter and lately Trader of Marevo British Solomon Islands Protectorate told by himself* (London, 1935); A.B. Deacon, ed. by C.H. Wedgwood, *Malekula. A Vanishing People in the New Hebrides* (London, 1934); H.B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and Their Natives* (London, 1887); C.B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides. An Ethnological Record* (Cambridge, 1926); W.G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands* (London, 1927); R.B. Lane, 'The Melanesians of South Pentecost, New Hebrides', in P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt (eds), *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia. Some Religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides* (Melbourne, 1965; repr. 1972); J. Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula* (London, 1942); W.H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1914); H.M. Ross, *Baegu Social and Ecological Organization in Malaita, Solomon Islands* (Illinois, 1973); Dr. F. Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific* (London, 1913); R. Tonkinson, *Maat Village, Efate: A Relocated Community in the New Hebrides* (Oregon, 1968).

13. In some of the New Hebrides prestige and renown was achieved by gradual ascendancy through the ranks of the public and secret graded societies; in the Solomons through pig money and the distribution of shell money and other forms of wealth.

reciprocate at some future date, and thus enabled ambitious 'big men' and groups to establish their superiority over rivals. Kinship formed the framework of the social order. Each individual had social obligations and duties: a 'good' man worked hard, helped clan members, observed the customs and taboos, respected and obeyed the elders, contributed to sacrifices and feasts and was suspicious of strangers.

Traditionally these were subsistence economies, based on gardening, fishing and hunting. There was no rigid division of labour, but women performed the more tedious work such as weeding the gardens, tending the pigs and preparing the daily meals, and men the more exciting tasks of fishing, hunting and fighting as well as the heavy work of clearing the garden, house building and canoe building. Descent and inheritance was matrilineal or patrilineal. Polygamy, while widely accepted, was in practice limited by the restrictions of finding the bride-price to the older, high-ranking men. Marriages were arranged and the choice of a spouse was subject to strict kinship rules.

Male-female antagonism was present everywhere in these islands but on some, such as Tanna, Espiritu Santo, Erromanga and North Malekula in the New Hebrides and Malaita in the Solomons it took on an obsessional quality. In these islands the bodily functions of women (as expressed in menstruation, childbirth, urine and faeces) were considered to be highly polluting to men. Accordingly, there were rigid taboos and segregation of the sexes. Amongst the Baegu of Malaita, for example, it was taboo for women to menstruate, give birth or relieve themselves other than in rigidly defined separate areas for these purposes. However, on other islands such as Pentecost, Aoba and those in the Banks group, the social, physical and ritual roles of men and women were not kept so strictly separate.¹⁴

Diversity and divisiveness were the principal features of social organization in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. Members of a district on the larger islands, such as the Nduindui of Aoba and the Fataleka of Malaita, were not politically united and even communities in close proximity were likely to be in a state of constant warfare with one another. The universal fear of sorcery isolated communities by fostering suspicion of strangers. Greater affinity in terms of linguistic,

14. For instance, there were avenues by which women could acquire rank and status, as through their own graded societies.

cultural and trade links often existed between communities on neighbouring islands rather than on the same island. Identification by island of origin and by island group was weak and broader identification as one 'race' was unknown. A 'countryman' (meaning a man from the same island) could conceivably be regarded traditionally as a greater enemy than a man from another island and even a different island group.

The world-view of Pacific Islanders was narrow. Their social and mental universe was confined to experience of their own and neighbouring territories, beyond which there was an unknown world in which the risk of physical and mental attack was high. Melanesian and European concepts of time and space were also fundamentally different. Their knowledge of space in the sense of distance between two places was vague by European standards and the European conception of time (since industrialization) as linear advancement without cyclical repetition was alien. Seasonal activities and the stages in an individual's life (such as puberty and marriage) were the important time-sequences, although a reckoning of the passage of time by lunar months ('moons') was kept.¹⁵ In the later years of the labour trade, comprehension of the length of an indenture and measurement of its passage became quite sophisticated by European standards, amongst both the labourers in Queensland and also their kinfolk at home.¹⁶

THE NUMBERS of Pacific Islanders in Queensland rose and fell over the years. From 1,543 in 1868, numbers increased rapidly to a peak of 11,443 in 1883, then declined sharply and only gradually increased again until there were 9,428, in 1891.¹⁷ In Map 1.2, the shifting distribution of

15. See E.R. Leach, 'Primitive Time-Reckoning', in C. Singer, E.J. Holmyard and A.R. Hall, A History of Technology Vol. I (Oxford, 1954), p.114; K. Burridge, Tangu Traditions. A Study of the Way of Life, Mythology and Developing Experience of a New Guinea People (Oxford, 1969), p.199; Guppy, The Solomon Islanders, p.55; T. Harisson, Savage Civilisation (London, 1937), p.249 nl; Ross, Baegu, pp.104, 107; QPP II, 1906, p.627, F.C. Hornbrook.

16. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.41; Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.56; Rev. A.C. Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question: with special reference to Missionary Efforts in the Plantations of Queensland (Brisbane, 1892), p.19.

17. Parnaby, Britain and the Labor Trade, p.204, Table 2.

Pacific Islanders in North Queensland is shown. The overwhelming concentration was always in the coastal sugar districts, but the pattern underwent internal changes: in the early 1880s the sugar industry began to spread north and by the 1890s was concentrated in North Queensland. Within this region, the largest Islander populations were in the Mackay district, followed by the Herbert River (around Ingham), Cairns, Johnstone River (around Innisfail) and Port Douglas districts. In the other northern sugar districts, the Burdekin (around Ayr) and Proserpine, sugar-growing only took off in the 1890s. At Bowen, where there was a small but stable Islander population, there was little sugar-growing but this was an important port and a long-established settlement.

As a proportion of the total population, the Islanders were never significant: of the total (and also of the male population) in the colony, they were 2.99 per cent (and 4.78 per cent) in 1881 and 1.85 per cent (and 3.09 per cent) in 1901, respectively. In the sugar districts, however, they formed a much higher proportion of the population, especially in sparsely populated North Queensland. In Mackay in 1881, for example, Pacific Islanders constituted thirty-six per cent of the total population.¹⁸

Until 1901 the legislative responsibility for Islanders in the colony was borne by the Queensland Government. They were subject, like other indentured labourers, to the harsh provisions of the Masters' and Servants' Act of 1861 which, for example, prohibited servants from collectively or individually attempting to better their conditions.¹⁹ From 1868 they were also the focus of special legislative measures. More strictly applied and effective controls over the recruitment of the Islanders and their treatment in the colony resulted from the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880 and its subsequent amendments (see Appendix C).

18. Ibid., pp.129, 130, 201; OPP II, 1902, p.956.

19. 25 Vic., No. 11. See ss. 2-6, 9, 13; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.395-96, 398, Table 10; Parnaby, Britain and the Labor Trade, p.141. This Act was only repealed in 1918 by the Labor Government of T.J. Ryan.

From the 1870s the 'kanaka' question was a very divisive issue in Queensland politics and a thorny problem for Liberal and Conservative/Nationalist administrations alike.²⁰ The result was that a tight net of special legislation was gradually built up around the Islanders. There was a dual intention: to prevent abuses by extending the supervision of the recruiting trade, and to restrict the occupations in which Islanders could be employed.

Initially the Islanders were employed in roughly equal numbers on plantations (first cotton and then sugar) and pastoral stations.²¹ After 1876 their employment was restricted to tropical and semi-tropical agriculture (see Appendix C). The attitude adopted by succeeding administrations, and especially S.W. Griffith's Liberal Government, was that the Islanders were a 'necessary evil': while their services were essential for the development of tropical agriculture, their presence was to be closely restricted.²² Griffith sought, in the Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1884, to severely limit competition with European labour by confining the Islanders to fieldwork (unskilled labour in the fields) in tropical agriculture - work which Europeans would not or could not perform. Only a few hundred Islanders who received certificates of exemption under this Act were legally permitted to be engaged other than in fieldwork.²³ Eventually, in Griffith's scheme, the

20. The political impact of the 'kanaka' question is discussed in Mercer, *An Analysis of Racial Attitudes*, esp. Chs. II, V, VIII and XI; Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade*, esp. Chs. II, III, IV, V, VI and VII; Sheppard, *The Pacific Islander*.

21. Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade*, pp.125-26; Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, pp.220-21, Table 2.

22. See Mercer, 'Racial Attitudes towards Melanesians', p.315.

23. To obtain a certificate of exemption an Islander had to demonstrate that he or she had been continuously resident in Queensland since September 1879 or earlier. The total number issued was 835; by 1892, 119 of these had been cancelled (the holders had died or left the colony) and by 1906 there were 691 still in Queensland. QVP I, 1892, p.20; QPP II, 1906 Appendix XVII, p.903.

planters and Islanders would be replaced by small farmers employing European labour only. In the Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1885 Griffith imposed a closing date of 31 December 1890 on the labour trade but economic exigencies and political considerations impelled him to re-open the labour trade indefinitely in 1892 (see Appendix C).²⁴

In practice, the restrictions on the Islanders' employment were extensively evaded, although there were more concerted efforts to enforce the law from the 1890s.²⁵ In particular the 'time-expired' men and women (the terms employed to describe those who had completed their initial indenture) were illegally employed in many occupations, such as cooks, domestic servants, store assistants, farm labourers and timbergetters.²⁶ A regulation gazetted in 1896 effectively reduced their ability to compete in the labour market, by stipulating that within one month of finishing an agreement an Islander must enter into a fresh engagement for six months or more, or return to his island.²⁷

The justice of imposing strict occupational restraints upon the Islanders was seldom questioned.²⁸ They were also subject to other

24. Mercer, *An Analysis of Racial Attitudes*, esp. Chs. VIII and XI; Moore, *The Transformation of the Mackay Sugar Industry, 1883-1900* (B.A. Hons thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1974).

25. See CMP 5 Mar. 1896, 18 Aug. 1903; W. 26 May 1906; MS 6 Jun 1892, Editorial and letter to Ed. by Donald McIntosh, 7 Jun. 1892, Editorial and letter to Ed. by 'A Struggling Farmer's Wife'; Colonial Sec. to Police Commissioner, 31 Jul. 1894, 07214, POL/J1 M5, QSA; Police Commissioner to Insp., Townsville and Cooktown, 6 Jan. 1896, memo., QSA; Insp., Townsville, to Police Commissioner, 23 Jun. 1897, 07500, QSA.

26. Those who held certificates of exemption could have been legally employed in these occupations. MM 29 Apr. 1882, letter to Ed. by 'Franc-Tireur', 27 May 1886, letter to Ed. by 'Justice'; MS 29 Jul. 1892, letter to Ed. by 'Fair Play's Bonnie Play'; CMP 18 Aug. 1903; W 24 Sep. 1892, 7 Sep. 1895; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.86.

27. QGG LXV, 1896, p.471. Employers had pressed for this. W 9 Feb., 18 May 1895.

28. For exceptions to this, see CMP 18 Aug. 1903, 'Rambler'; BC 5 May 1892; Mercer, *An Analysis of Racial Attitudes*, esp. Chs. II, III and IV.

restrictions aimed at safeguarding the European population. Since 1868 the sale or supply of alcohol to Islanders had been banned and from 1884 the supply of firearms or ammunition was also prohibited.²⁹ It was also an offence from 1891 to sell or supply opium to Pacific Islanders, Aborigines and 'half-castes'.³⁰ Other legal constraints aimed at non-Europeans in general also affected the Islanders. A Pacific Islander could legally be party to a contract, marry and engage in business (insofar as this did not contravene the Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Acts).³¹ But he or she could not legally own land since an 'alien' (a person who was not a natural-born or naturalized British subject) could acquire, hold and dispose of personal property but could not hold real property. Few Pacific Islanders were eligible for naturalization, and all 'aliens' were disqualified from electoral privileges.³²

In comparison with Aborigines, Pacific Islanders were theoretically well protected from abuse by employers.³³ Clothing, daily rations,

29. s.29, Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868; s.42, Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880; s.9, Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1884. This ban on firearms had been imposed briefly in 1878, and was re-stated in 1896 due to the frequency of evasions. QCG XXII, 1878, pp.69, 290, LXV, 1896, p.471; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.37, 111-12.

30. s.13, Sale and Use of Poisons Act of 1891 (55 Vic., No.31); s.13, Liquor Act of 1895 (59 Vic., No.29). A 'half-caste' was defined as any person with an Aboriginal parent or grandparent and any person of Aboriginal or Pacific Islander extraction who lived or associated with Aborigines.

31. Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.473.

32. ss. 3, 4, 6 and 12, Aliens Act of 1867 (31 Vic., No.28); s.7, Legislative Assembly Act of 1867 (31 Vic., No.21). Asians and Africans were eligible for naturalization. Legislative restrictions are discussed in detail in Chapter 5 and outlined in Appendices D and E.

33. N.A. Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations in North Queensland, 1861-1897 (Ph.D. thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1976), p.691. Contemporaries certainly believed this. See Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.20; MM 21 Sep. 1886, 12 May 1906; CMP 11 Mar. 1897; H. St George Caulfeild, 'Native Labour in Ceylon and Queensland. Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild, Late Inspector of Pacific Islanders', The Steering Wheel and Society and Home 1 Jun. 1937, p.46.

accommodation, the minimum wage and free medical services were all supplied. Complaints about the terms or conditions of an agreement could be taken to the local inspector of Pacific Islanders. But such theoretical safeguards were totally dependent on their enforcement at the local level. In practice, the treatment of the labourers was directly related to variables such as the size of the farm or plantation, the character and energy of the local inspector, the degree of intimidation by employers, the attitude of the local bench of magistrates, the awareness amongst the Islanders of their legal rights and the extent of the language barrier. A vigilant inspector, for instance, might incur local and even official censure and even where Islanders had clearly justifiable complaints, these could be dismissed by a partial bench of magistrates.³⁴

Physical and mental violence, manifested in beatings, withdrawal of food, deprivation of leisure time and separation of couples, were ever-present in the treatment of the Islanders.³⁵ More flagrant abuses such as the use of whips and chains also occurred but were rare after the early years. Usually Islanders on small farms were better fed, housed and treated, and the number of small farms increased markedly in the 1890s. It can be presumed, moreover, that planters and small farmers alike discovered that higher wages and bonuses were more effective than violence in inducing their labourers to work hard.³⁶ The Islanders themselves, it will be seen, could exact revenge for ill treatment by disrupting plantation life.

The local treatment of Pacific Islanders was segregationist and often depersonalizing. On the plantations and farms, they were fed and housed separately from both the European labour force and other non-

34. For some examples, see MM 29 Oct., 29 Nov. 1881, 24 Feb. 1886, MPC; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp. 399-403, 405, 408.

35. Ibid., pp.405-8, 410-11, 415; A.Markus, Fear and Hatred Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901 (Sydney, 1979), pp.191-92; J. Kerr, Pioneer Pageant A History of the Pioneer Shire (Mackay, 1980), p.84.

36. As on plantations in the Solomons. J.A. Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons A History of Trade, Plantations and Society, Solomon Islands, c.1800-1942 (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1979), p.316.

Europeans.³⁷ There were special 'kanaka' hospitals in the major sugar centres and in the local hospitals elsewhere the Islanders were housed in 'kanaka wards' or in 'alien wards' with other non-Europeans. Even asylums for the mentally insane and the lazarets were segregated on 'racial' grounds.³⁸

On the railways, the Islanders and other non-Europeans shared carriages while other carriages were reserved for Europeans and upper-class Chinese and Japanese.³⁹ In the sugar towns 'kanaka stores' run by Europeans specialised in cheap and usually shoddy goods for the Islanders: firearms (despite the prohibition), brightly coloured clothing, cheap musical instruments, pipes, tobacco and boxes ('bokis' in pidgin) for storing these possessions. In the Chinatowns which flourished in the sugar centres, Islanders patronised the stores, 'grog' shops, gambling houses, brothels and boarding houses.⁴⁰ At the horse races, they were given a special cheaper rate of entry and carefully kept away from the European stands and refreshment booths.⁴¹

Throughout these years, the Islanders took no part in general community social life - they did not attend the balls, church bazaars and concerts, nor were they members of the sports clubs, school of arts libraries or local farmers' associations. In the missions to the Islanders (discussed later), converts attended the mission schools and only went inside European churches on important occasions such as baptisms and confirmations. Educated wealthy Chinese were sometimes

37. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.83; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.196; T6Bsa:1; T7Bsb:1; T19Bsa:1-2.

38. On occasions Islanders were refused admission to local hospitals. MM 23 Oct. 1880; PDT 29 Jan. 1884; QVP IV, 1889, p.223, W.C. MacDonald; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.195, 196.

39. See CMP 23 Jul. 1906; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.250; R.L. Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, MSS (Ingham, n.d.), pp.222-23.

40. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.84; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.220; MM 8 Aug. 1885; CMP 15 Mar. 1899; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.196; C.May, 'The Chinese Community in Far North Queensland', Lectures on North Queensland History Second series, pp.127-28.

41. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.84.

regarded as 'honorary whites'⁴², but only one case of an Islander accepted into the European community during the nineteenth century has been found: this was William Seekis, from Lifou in the Loyalty Islands, who came to Mackay, married an English woman and raised a family; significantly, he thought of himself as 'white'.⁴³

Pacific Islanders were viewed as a temporary expedient rather than as permanent settlers. Since they could be taught to cultivate the soil, they were ranked above Aborigines in the 'racial' hierarchy devised by Europeans, but well below the more 'civilized races' such as the Chinese and Japanese.⁴⁴ The alleged population decline in the islands brought about by the labour trade was deplored, yet perceived as the working out of the Darwinian principle of the 'survival of the fittest'. Those few colonists who felt a need to justify the disruption of Melanesian societies for the benefit of planters and small farmers in Queensland, stressed the benefits to be acquired from living in a Christian, civilized country.

Usually Pacific Islanders were characterized as good-tempered, humorous, well-behaved and loyal but child-like. Compared with the Chinese and other Asians, they did not threaten to flood the colony and were tractable and exploitable labourers who spent their wages in the colony. But this was a Janus-like portrait. The other side to this painted male Islanders as lustful, cunning, savage and uncontrollable.

Treatment of the Islanders varied according to which of these two attitudes prevailed. In a 'normal' climate, they were treated as a harmless people whose presence could be easily contained. But incidents such as the alleged murder of Europeans or sexual assaults on European women by Pacific Islanders, brought to the surface the underlying fear of the potential physical danger represented by large groups of predominantly single, male Islanders. Such that, in Mackay in 1877 a policy was instituted of

42. May, 'The Chinese Community', p.135; Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, p.365; D. Jones, Hurricane Lamps and Blue Umbrellas. A History of the Shire of Johnstone to 1973 (Cairns, 1973), p.250.

43. See MM 8 May 1914, 2 Jan. 1932, 5 May 1957.

44. The following discussion is based on Mercer, *An Analysis of Racial Attitudes*, esp. Ch. I; Mercer, 'Racial Attitudes Towards Melanesians'.

disarming all Islanders of firearms and other dangerous weapons, and over the years other districts followed suit.⁴⁵ Intermittently the behaviour of drunken, riotous Islanders in town provoked suggestions (usually not implemented) of forbidding them to enter town without a written pass from their employers or of imposing a curfew on the labourers.⁴⁶

The outstanding manifestation of the belief that the Islanders should be treated as an 'antagonistic race' was the infamous Mackay Racecourse Riot in 1883. A publican's refusal to supply an Islander with alcohol led to a full-scale skirmish between the Islanders and armed, mounted European racegoers, in which at least two Islanders were killed. In the aftermath, the European community behaved hysterically, convinced (mistakenly) that an uprising by Islanders had begun or would soon begin.⁴⁷

THE DISCUSSION of the Islanders' treatment and European attitudes towards them provides the necessary backdrop for examining their lifestyle in Queensland. Some fundamental adjustments were forced upon them, but in many other ways the Islanders made their own adaptations to the new environment.

Generalizations about the prior knowledge of European society held by the recruits are difficult to make. Certainly by the 1880s there were always old hands aboard the labour vessels, and many new chums had listened to the stories of those who returned and admired their possessions. Nevertheless, the voyage to Queensland took young Islanders outside their mental and geographical universe. The length of the voyage, the inevitable outbreak of diseases such as dysentery, the crowded accommodation shared with strangers (and therefore enemies), were all profoundly disturbing

45. MM 19 May, 26 May 1877, 25 May 1881, 29 May 1883; Wide Bay and Burnett News 21 May 1881; SJTC II, 15 Nov. 1893, p.258.

46. See MM 13 Sep. 1884; MS 11 Jan., 12 Apr. 1889; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp. 353-54; CMP 11 Jan. 1901; Markus, Fear and Hatred, p.193.

47. See MM and MS quoted in PDT 5 Jan. 1884; H. Finch-Hatton, Advance Australia! An Account of Eight Years' Work, Wandering, and Amusement in Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria (London, 1885), pp.165-68; C.R. Moore, 'The Mackay Racecourse Riot of 1883', Lectures on North Queensland History Third series, pp.181-96.

experiences.

In the colony, the recruits were transferred from the ports to the plantations by dray or train. Their astonishment at European society was condescendingly described by a few observers.⁴⁸ Yet within a few months they were said to have adjusted to life in the colony.⁴⁹ Certainly there were some initial and obvious adjustments. Trousers and shirts for the men and long-sleeved and full-skirted dresses for the women were provided; traditional decorations such as elaborate headdresses and hairstyles, penis sheaths and body paints were not permitted (see Plate 1.1).⁵⁰ They also acquired new names. The most common were quasi-generic, in which a familiar English first name was affixed to a surname indicating island of origin - thus Sam Solomon, or Alice Santo. These 'Queensland names' were, however, only a superficial adjustment; friends and relatives addressed them by their real or 'island' names.⁵¹

On the plantations the Islanders were housed in long wooden barracks or in grass huts of their own construction (see Plate 1.4). New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders were usually kept apart. On the bigger estates, those from the one island or even the one district for some of the larger islands were housed together.⁵² But in their daily work they laboured with men from many different islands, clearing, hoeing, weeding, trashing, cutting and carting cane under the supervision of gangers or overseers, who were mostly

48. See J.L.A. Hope, In Quest of Coolies (London, 1872), pp.109-10; MM 2 Jul. 1884; H.I. Blake, 'The Kanaka. A Character Sketch', The Antipodean 1893, p.83; Argus (Melbourne), 15 Dec. 1892.

49. See Hope, In Quest of Coolies, pp.112-13; J. Spiller cited in E.B. Kennedy, Four Years in Queensland (London, 1870), p.174.

50. Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.285.

51. Ibid., p.352; PDNR 8 Oct. 1902, 15 Feb. 1907; T6Bsa:2. Europeans in the islands found that Melanesians were reluctant to give their personal names. Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, p.11; C.R. Moore, Malaitan Recruiting to Queensland (paper presented at ANZAAS, Auckland, 22 Jan. 1979), p.8.

52. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.83; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.196.



PLATE 1.1: Pacific Island labourers outside the manager's residence on Macknade plantation in the Herbert River district, c. 1880s.



PLATE 1.2: Caption - 'Kanakas Cutting Cane at Bingera Prior to Federation'.



PLATE 1.3: Caption - 'A Merry Group of Slaves' c. 1890s. Note the traditional weapons and European musical instrument.

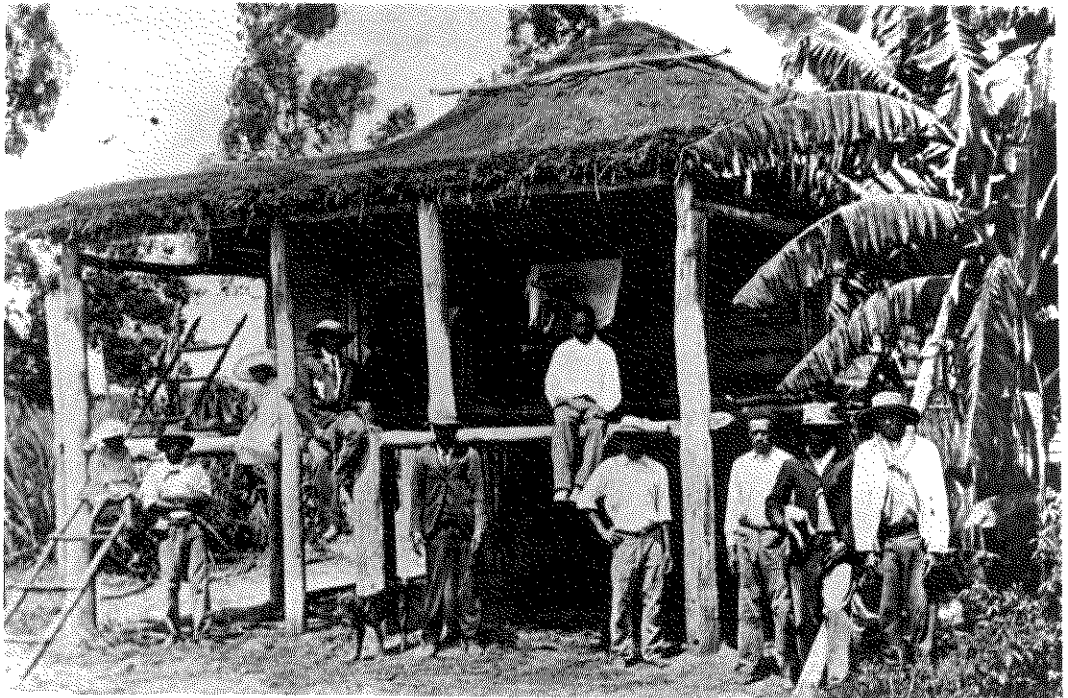


PLATE 1.4: An Islander family's house at Farleigh in the Mackay district, c. 1900.

Europeans but sometimes experienced Islanders (see Plate 1.2).⁵³ While the work was not unfamiliar, it was monotonous and tiring. The Islanders became accustomed remarkably quickly to the workings of the plantation equipment and mill machinery, and despite the legal restrictions often worked in the mills.⁵⁴

The language barrier posed a serious obstacle to understanding what was expected of them. In Melanesia, linguistic diversity promoted the spread of a trading language between the Islanders and itinerant Europeans, and this pidgin developed rapidly on Queensland plantations owing to the need for the labourers to communicate with Europeans and with each other. It became common for planters, overseers, inspectors of Pacific Islanders, missionaries and others in close contact with the Islanders to speak to them in pidgin or more often a form of broken English - even if the Islanders themselves were fluent in English. Most new chums, like Tom Lammon from Lamien Island in the New Hebrides, spoke only "mai kantri langwish" when they arrived and were tutored in pidgin by the overseers and fellow Islanders.⁵⁶ Usually only the more experienced of the time-expired Islanders understood and spoke pidgin well.⁵⁷ Accordingly, most labourers

53. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.83; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.287-91; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.119; QVP IV, 1889, p.186, W. Canny; MM 27 Mar. 1880.

54. 'The Daily Mercury' Jubilee Issue Aug. 1912, p.24; Kerr, Pioneer Pageant, p.84; T. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English of the Late Nineteenth Century (A Record of Interviews with Two of the Last Surviving Kanakas in North Queensland, 1964) (Canberra, 1980), pp.27, 29.

55. The development of pidgin is discussed further in Chapter 9. For examples of its use, see MM 14 Apr. 1880, 2 Sep. 1886; MS 27 May 1892; CMP 19 May 1897; Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.83; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 May 1937, p.62, 1 Jul. 1937, pp.41, 43, 2 Aug. 1937, p.54; J. Fussell, A Kanaka Slave ... A Story of the Early Queensland Labour Traffic (London, n.d. 1903); W.R.O. Hill, Forty-Five Years' Experience in North Queensland 1861 to 1905. With a Few Incidents in England, 1844 to 1861 (Brisbane, 1907), p.123.

56. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, pp. 21, 23-24; T75Bsa:1.

57. See MM 22 Oct. 1884; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.40; Dr. Guinness cited in F.S.H. Young, Pearls from the Pacific (London, n.d.), p.132; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.76-77.

had only an imperfect understanding of what was required of them.

The language barrier was one reason why some did not adjust well to life in Queensland. Some newly arrived Islanders with little comprehension of the indenture system could not tolerate the unfamiliar restrictions, discipline and heavy work and deserted, often living for months or even years in the scrub before they were apprehended.⁵⁸ In particular, recruits from islands which were only lightly tapped by recruiters, such as New Ireland and New Britain, Santa Cruz and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, found it difficult to adjust - mortality amongst them was very high, as also was the incidence of absconding.⁵⁹ Recruiting was prohibited in New Guinean waters in 1884 and in the Gilbert and Ellice group in 1896.

Psychological disturbances amongst the labourers were manifested in cases of suicide and insanity. The incidence of suicide varied throughout Melanesia, but on Queensland plantations there were numerous suicides.⁶⁰ The incidence of insanity amongst Islanders in Queensland was also striking. Islanders found to be insane, either on arrival in the colony or at a later stage, were usually returned to their islands but were sometimes committed to Queensland asylums.⁶¹ Often insanity only became obvious when an Islander

58. Ibid., pp.419-20; MM 1 Mar. 1884, 17 Jun. 1887; 'The Daily Mercury' Jubilee Issue Aug. 1912; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.236-37.

59. MM 20 Jun. 1883, 5 Apr. 1884; QVP IV, 1889, p.239, J.T. Williams, p.240, J. Mackenzie; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 2 Aug. 1937, pp.56-57; Saunders, 'The Pacific Islander Hospitals in Colonial Queensland', pp.41, 42, 48.

60. See MM 28 Jun. 1884, 25 Mar. 1891; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.97, 183, 288; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.418; Inquest No.512 of 1906, Sineka, JUS/N365, QSA. In some cases, suspicious circumstances suggested that alleged suicides may have been murders.

61. Coquicee, Register of Pacific Islanders Employed at Pioneer in the District of Townsville, 1895-1906, p.4; Kee-Lour, ibid., p.61; MM 28 Apr. 1886, 27 Mar. 1902; MS 8 Feb. 1889; PDMR 24 Sep. 1902; Saunders, 'The Pacific Islander Hospitals in Colonial Queensland', pp.38-39; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.90.

behaved violently.⁶²

Even if a labourer adjusted readily to the plantation lifestyle and was in good mental health, he was unlikely to escape physical sickness. Most saw at least some of their friends or relatives die on the plantations. Queensland canefields, contended opponents of the labour trade, were manured by the dead 'kanakas' buried there; defenders countered this charge by pointing to the high rate of mortality in the islands themselves.⁶³ But the many deaths amongst the labourers, predominantly young men in the prime of their life, was a glaring indictment of the indenture system. Mortality, though high in the mid- and late-1870s, peaked in the early 1880s: in 1883 the mortality rate amongst Islanders was five to six times higher than that amongst the whole European population.⁶⁴ During the late 1880s and the 1890s the mortality rate declined noticeably (if irregularly) but was still much higher than that amongst Europeans.⁶⁵

Adjustments to the work, diet, clothing, climate and other circumstances of their new life made the Islanders susceptible to illness and reduced their resistance. New chums were most at risk and were usually given lighter tasks and a shorter working day to ease the adjustment. From the 1880s most large plantations had their own dispensaries and Pacific

62. See MM 14 Nov. 1885, 22 Jan., 29 Jan. 1906; PDT 13 Jun. 1877; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.90.

63. W 9 Mar. 1901; McArthur and Yaxley, Condominium of the New Hebrides, pp.12, 21; S.L. Clemens, Mark Twain in Australia and New Zealand (1897; facsimile ed., Ringwood, 1973), p.88; BC 19 Oct. 1901; SJTC XI, 15 Oct. 1901, p.71; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.78.

64. Scarr, 'Recruits and Recruiters', p.231.

65. The mortality rate and causes of death and sickness amongst the Islanders are discussed in Willard, A History of the White Australia Policy, pp.167-68; S.C. Wigley, 'The First Hundred Years of Tuberculosis in New Guinea', in J.H. Winslow (ed.), The Melanesian Environment Papers presented at and arising from the Ninth Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby, 2-8 May 1975 (Canberra, 1977), pp.472-73; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.82, 150, 241; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.76-78; Saunders, 'The Pacific Islander Hospitals in Colonial Queensland'; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.281, 288, 292-93, 302-3, 306, 311-15.

Islander hospitals were established in the main sugar districts. The provision of medical care, however, never reached a high standard, and there were many deaths attributable to callous neglect by employers.

Melanesians were highly susceptible to the epidemic diseases of Europeans, such as measles. Respiratory complaints, particularly tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia and bronchitis, were common and dangerous. Dysentery was also often fatal, both on the plantations and the labour ships. According to European observers, there were also many occasions on which Islanders appeared to give up the will to live and died without any apparent cause; poor physical condition and the belief that they were victims of sorcery may have been predisposing factors in such fatalistic attitudes.⁶⁶

Those recruits who survived the rigours of plantation life for three years had the opportunity to become old hands, either by staying on in the colony or returning home and later re-engaging. These men and women displayed the greatest adjustments to European society. The time-expired men, for example, frequented Chinatown's 'grog' shops, gambling houses and brothels. They were well aware of the value of money and much harder to dupe or cheat than the inexperienced new chums.⁶⁷ Indeed, the extent of their savings often astounded Europeans: one Solomon Islander who left Mackay in 1907, for instance, had sixty or seventy sovereigns in his possession.⁶⁸

The time-expired Islanders also displayed considerable awareness of their legal rights. They took complaints about their treatment or

66. See MM 29 Mar. 1884; Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.84; M.Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia (London, 1898), p.276; F.M. Harricks, 'Coloured Labour in Tropical Queensland', Victorian Review Vol. 6, Oct. 1882, p.659; Willard, A History of the White Australia Policy, p.168.

67. New chums were easily misled, for instance by the value of the different coins. See MM 10 Jul. 1880, 25 Jul. 1905, 12 May 1906; T37Bsa:1; Ty3Bp.1; E. Foreman, The History and Adventures of a Queensland Pioneer (Brisbane, 1928), p.116.

68. MM 7 Feb. 1907. For other examples, see MM 12 May 1906; CMP 14 Jan. 1897; PDMR 12 Jan. 1906; Government Savings Bank, IPI 11/2, QSA; Ledger of Polynesian Labourers' Savings bank accounts, IPI 12/L1, QSA.

conditions of service to the inspectors of Pacific Islanders, and brought assault charges against heavy-handed or violent overseers and managers.⁶⁹ They also took to court, although with limited success, fellow Islanders and even Europeans, who had cheated or assaulted them.⁷⁰

On the plantations, there were various methods by which aggrieved Islanders could disrupt plantation life.⁷¹ Absconding was one means, albeit not particularly successful, of attracting attention to abuses in treatment or conditions. Recalcitrant Islanders feigned sickness when roused in the morning and such malingering was particularly aggravating during the crushing season. Defiance was shown by refusing to obey or deliberately disobeying the orders of overseers or managers or by setting fire to the cane. Europeans who maltreated the Islanders ran the risk of their victims attacking them, as numerous assaults on overseers and others demonstrated. Only a small proportion of such incidents and insubordination reached the courts. The planters had their own methods of dealing with all but the inveterate 'troublemakers', and they removed the latter by arranging to cancel their agreements and send them back to their islands.⁷²

69. See MM 27 Mar. 1880, 23 Nov. 1881, 24 Apr. 1886, MPC; MS 28 Feb. 1887, 8 Apr. 1889, 19 Feb. 1890, MPC; QVP IV, 1889, p.229, C.A. Forster, p.250, J.A. Wallace, p.297, F.C. Hornbrook.

70. See MM 19 May 1880, 3 Nov. 1880, 10 Jan. 1885, 10 Jun. 1886, 10 Feb. 1906, MPC; MS 30 Jan. 1888, 7 Oct. 1891, MPC; CMP 13 Jan. 1906, Cairns Police Court.

71. For examples of these methods, see Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, pp.417-20, 422-24; MM 16 Nov. 1880, 1 Apr. 1882, 28 Mar. 1885, 6 Nov. 1886, 4 Feb. 1905, MPC; MS 19 Jul. 1889, 11 Jun. 1890, 8 Jul. 1891, MPC; CMP 26 Nov. 1896, 8 Feb. 1899, 24 Nov. 1905, Cairns Police Court; PDMR 30 Nov. 1906; J.W. Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an Extended Colonial History* 2nd ed. (Adelaide, 1884), p.411; Smart to Manager, 21 May 1906, 4 Jun. 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Co., Alexandra Plantation Letter Book (reference supplied by C.R. Moore). All these methods were also employed on plantations in the Solomons. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp.267-71, 316.

72. Gualulunga, Register of Pacific Islanders Employed at Pioneer, p.31; Drysdale Bros to Serg. Fraser, 9 Nov. 1904, 8 Mar. 1906, 21 Sep. 1906, Pioneer Mill Letter Books 1904-5, p.187, 1905-6, p.349, 1906-7, p.139; CMP 24 May 1899, 15 Feb. 1905; Smith, *The Kanaka Labour Question*, p.22; Mulgrave Central Mill, *Fifty Years in Retrospect, 1895-1945 Jubilee Souvenir* (Cairns, 1947), p.39.

Unemployed Islanders, who were known as 'walkabouts', were regarded as a nuisance and a danger, and there were attempts to prevent them from 'spelling up' and moving freely about the colony.⁷³ Not only their mobility but also the time-expired Islanders' ability to demand and receive higher wages incensed Europeans. New chums received the minimum stipulated wage (£6 per annum and keep) or slightly more.⁷⁴ But after this initial term of service an Islander could expect greater remuneration. The average wage of those who re-engaged for Queensland in the islands over the years 1883 to 1903 has been estimated at £10/9/2 per annum.⁷⁵ Time-expired Islanders, who were also provided with keep, could demand more than this, since the new employer did not have to pay for the passage from the islands and obtained a labourer who was acclimatised and required little supervision. The wage rates for time-expired Islanders displayed great variation over the years and between different districts. Time-expired men in North Queensland in 1889, for example, were receiving wages ranging from £13 to £24 per annum.⁷⁶ In the more northerly districts the greater demand for Islander labour tended to push wages higher than those in the more established districts

73. See BC 6 Mar. 1895; W 2 Mar. 1895; C.A. Bernays, Queensland Politics During Sixty (1859-1919) Years (Brisbane, 1919), p.64; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.86; Kanaka Labour Traffic, Newspaper Cuttings, Mitchell Library, Vol. 52, BC, n.d., p.231.

74. See QVP IV, 1889, p.105, D. Hart, p.168, G. Adams, p.243, J. Drysdale, p.285, W.H. Hyne; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.22; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.39.

75. This has been calculated by Moore and Shlomowitz. See C.R. Moore, Oral Testimony and the Pacific Island Labour Trade to Queensland: Myth and Reality, Paper presented at the Oral History Association of Australia National Conference, Perth, 19 Aug. 1979, p.18, n56; Shlomowitz, The Profitability of Indentured Melanesian Labour in Queensland, p.39, Table IX.

76. Ibid., p.36, Table VIII. For examples of such wages, see QVP IV, 1889, p.98, R.O. Jones, p.108, J.D. Johnstone, p.123, W. Langdon, p.147, W. Mason, p.164, J. O'Halleran, p.168, G. Adams, p.265, N. Peterson; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.86; Moore, Oral Testimony and the Pacific Island Labour Trade, n58.

such as Mackay.⁷⁷ Experienced men working on short-term contracts for small farmers in the far north could command the highest wages.

Time-expired Islanders were determined wage-bargainers, employing such tactics as negotiating through agents or moving to other districts to secure higher wages.⁷⁸ They were also prepared to use collective wage-bargaining. From the late 1880s, there were many reports of unions established by Islanders to agitate for better wages and conditions.⁷⁹ The strike weapon to obtain higher wages was increasingly employed by Pacific Islanders in the 1890s and 1900s.⁸⁰

Employers reacted to such collective action by attempting to set ceilings on wages and by calling for tighter restrictions and enforcement of existing restrictions to confine the Islanders to fieldwork.⁸¹ Notwithstanding the Islanders' attempts at unionisation, which well preceded those by European sugar workers, the 'white' labour movement was not prepared to accept the Islanders within its ranks. The Islanders' unions and strikes were described derisively by the Labor press, and the Islanders

77. Wages for Islanders were highest in the Port Douglas district. Shlomowitz, *Melanesian Labour and the Development of the Queensland Sugar Industry, 1863-1906*, pp.38,39.

78. CMP 25 Feb. 1897, letter to Ed. by J. Lely, 11 Mar. 1897; SJTC IV, 15 Apr. 1895, p.55; QPP II, 1906, p.733, R.A. Donnelly; BC 26 Jan. 1907; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.86.

79. See W 5 Feb. 1898; CMP 24 Apr. 1903; PDNR 25 May 1906; MM 4 Jun. 1906, Pacific Islander Association meeting; QVP IV, 1889, p.142, J. Metcalfe; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, pp.263-64; A. Markus, 'Divided We Fall: The Chinese and Melbourne Furniture Trade Union, 1870-1900', Labour History No.26, May 1974, pp.7-8.

80. See Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, pp.424-25; Markus, 'Divided We Fall', p.8; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.250; Shepherd, *The Herbert River Story*, p.236; J. Harris, 'The Struggle against Pacific Island Labour 1868-1902', Labour History No.15, Nov. 1968, pp.41, 42. Those who returned to the islands also employed these tactics. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp.260-61, 388; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.139.

81. For such comments, see CMP 25 Feb. 1896, letter to Ed. by J. Lely, 11 Mar. 1897; W 9 Feb. 1895; MS 18 Apr. 1901; SJTC III, 15 Jul. 1894, p.128, IV, 15 Feb. 1895, p.9.

were excluded from membership of the unions formed amongst manual workers such as the Amalgamated Workers' Union (AWU) and the Australian Sugar Workers' Union.⁸²

Europeans were reluctant to be employed in fieldwork in the sugar industry in the nineteenth century, not only because of reasons of status but more importantly because of the very poor wages and conditions which applied.⁸³ Only the Aborigines were below the Pacific Islanders in the wage scale; Asian labourers such as the Chinese and Cinghalese usually earned more. The wages of those Europeans who did engage in fieldwork in the sugar industry, or in similar manual labour, were considerably higher than those paid to time-expired Islanders.⁸⁴

Apart from planters, farmers, inspectors of Pacific Islanders and doctors, the Europeans with whom the Islanders were most likely to come into contact were of two kinds. The first were the local enforcers of the law. As a rule, the Islander population was peaceable and law-abiding. Rarely were they convicted of offences against property, such as larceny and robbery with violence; rather were their crimes those of 'temper' (assaults and murders) and were usually provoked by alcoholic over-indulgence and disputes among themselves.⁸⁵

82. Other non-Europeans, with the exception of Aborigines, were similarly excluded. Q 30 Jan. 1886; W 26 Nov. 1892; CMP 10 Feb. 1900; Harris, 'The Struggle against Pacific Island Labour', pp.41, 42; Markus, 'Divided We Fall', pp.7-8; D. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism: Europeans in the Queensland Sugar Industry 1900-1910', in A. Curthoys and A. Markus (eds), Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Australian Working Class (Sydney, 1978), pp.80, 93; A. Markus, 'Talka longa mouth ...' Aborigines and the Labour movement, 1890-1970', in Curthoys and Markus (eds), Who Are Our Enemies?, p.139. The exclusion of non-Europeans from the various unions in the twentieth century is discussed in Chapter 5.

83. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.86-87.

84. This is even allowing for the fact that keep was not provided. See QVP IV, 1889, p.129, T. Swallow, p.168, G. Adams, p.243, J. Drysdale; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.364-65; Moore, Oral Testimony and the Pacific Island Labour Trade, n59.

85. See QPD LXXIV, 1895, pp.1614, 1655; Return showing Offences and Convictions of Polynesians in the Colony of Queensland during the ten years ending 31st December 1895, 70/165, PRI/8, QSA; Crimes Committed by Kanakas and Male Whites in Queensland during Ten years ending 31st December 1900, PRE/88, QSA; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.358, Table X.

The hand of the law fell heavily on those Islanders who did transgress. Even for minor crimes - drunkenness, disorderly or dangerous behaviour, obscene language and obstructing the police - they were harshly punished.⁸⁶ Conditions in the law courts strongly favoured Europeans over non-Europeans. It was not until 1884 that the evidence of witnesses believed to be incapable of understanding an oath became legally admissible. Free legal defence was provided for Islander defendants and inspectors of Pacific Islanders were expected to attend trials and ensure that the accused understood the charges against them.⁸⁷ In practice, it is clear that Islanders generally did not understand the charges against them or legal procedure, and that good and impartial interpreters were seldom available. Those accused of violent or sexual crimes were very often insane.⁸⁸ Nor was trial by jury, in the prevalent racial climate, likely to ensure an impartial judgement, especially for those charged with crimes of violence against Europeans.⁸⁹

The consumption of alcohol was considered to be the root cause of most offences committed by Islanders - it was said to strip off the veneer of civilization and reveal their essentially savage nature.⁹⁰

86. See MM 13 Aug. 1880, 7 Jan. 1885, 22 Jun. 1886; MS 14 Apr. 1887, 30 May 1888; Cooktown Courier 19 Feb. 1889; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.90.

87. Oaths Act Amendment Act of 1884 (48 Vic., No.19); Police Commissioner to Insp., Sep. 1887, Circular No.106, POL/J1, QSA; W.R. Johnston, A Study of the Relationship between the Law, the State and the Community in Colonial Queensland (M.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1965), pp.183, 184. Under the Oaths Act Amendment Act of 1876 (40 Vic., No.10), those unable to take an oath could make a declaration but this was found to be unworkable in practice. QPD XXXXIII, 1884, p.311.

88. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.91; Cooktown Courier 25 Nov. 1888; Johnston, A Study in the Relationship between the Law, the State and the Community, p.182.

89. See Regina vs Billy, 89/51, EXE/5/18, QSA; Regina vs Tui Tonga, 92/43, EXE/6, QSA; Herberton Advertiser 21 Oct. 1892 (reference supplied by N. Loos).

90. See CMP 11 Jan. 1901; Cooktown Courier 16 Sep. 1892, letter to Ed. by 'Resident'; QVP IV, 1889, p.187, W. Canny, p.320, W.M.C. Hickson; Hill, Forty-Five Years' Experience, p.123; Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations, p.483.

Especially in town on Saturday night, groups of drunken Islanders were responsible for much offensive or dangerous behaviour.⁹¹ A high correlation between alcohol and violence was predictable for a group such as the Islanders to whom alcohol was a cultural novelty and an important release; moreover, the example of Europeans in this regard was not edifying.⁹²

Despite intermittent police crusades to apprehend sly 'grog' suppliers, the supply of alcohol to the Islanders was not cut off. Non-Europeans, especially Chinese, were held to be chiefly responsible, but European publicans were usually willing to serve Islander customers 'under the counter'.⁹³

A double standard applied in regard to more serious crimes such as assault and murder. An Islander who killed another could expect to be charged with manslaughter, and often the judge was lenient on the grounds that such offences would not have constituted crimes in their own societies.⁹⁴ But if a European was the victim, the charge was murder and the death penalty was usually paid by those convicted.⁹⁵ Similarly, charges of sexual assaults on Islander women were dismissed or only lightly punished, whereas assaults on European women were

91. MM 21 Sep. 1881, 24 Sep. 1884, 17 Feb., 23 Nov. 1886; CMP 6 Feb. 1896, 19 May 1897, 11 Jan. 1901; J.W. Collinson, Early Days of Cairns (Brisbane, 1939), pp.77-78.

92. The kava drunk in the islands produces a lethargic stupour rather than over-excitement. Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations, p.482; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.357, 362; F.A. Campbell, A Year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia (Geelong, c.1873), p.167; Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol. I, pp.82, 187, 211.

93. See MM 10 Sep. 1881, 17 Feb. 1886, 28 Dec. 1905; MS 27 Jul. 1891, MPC; PDMR 29 Nov. 1902, Port Douglas Police Court; CMP 10 Jan. 1905; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.356-57, 363; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, p.364.

94. MM 14 Nov. 1885, MPC; MS 23 Apr. 1890, 26 Oct. 1892, MPC; Regina vs Pollybogomena (Jacky), Lombo (Bob) and Bollo, 89/96, EXE/5, QSA; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.91.

95. See ibid., pp.90-91; Record of Death Sentences, Brisbane, 1880-1922, PR1/19, QSA.

considered an outrage and harshly punished.⁹⁶ In fact the number of sexual assaults on European women committed by Pacific Islanders was never high, but in the 1890s and 1900s the incidence of such crimes rose⁹⁷, and this was an added factor in the objections beginning to be heard against the Islanders' presence.

The other Europeans with whom the Islanders had close contact were those who sought to convert them to Christianity. Until the early 1880s mission work was restricted to the efforts of a few concerned individuals.⁹⁸ The attitude of the general European population towards such mission work was largely indifferent and sometimes actively hostile.⁹⁹ Before considering the impact of attempts to convert the Islanders, the extent of mission work in North Queensland will be outlined.

In 1906 Bishop Frodsham proudly proclaimed that there were classes for 'South Sea Islanders' in every part of the North Queensland diocese.¹⁰⁰ In fact, there were substantial Anglican missions to the Islanders only in the Mackay, Herbert River and Johnstone River districts. In Proserpine, Bowen, Cairns and Port Douglas, efforts to convert the Islanders were

96. MM 25 Nov. 1885, 17 Jun. 1886, 19 Jun. 1886, MPC; MS 16 Sep. 1892, MPC; W 19 Feb. 1898, Letter by 'Sugar Grower'; Telegraph 19 May 1877; PDMR 15 Feb. 1907; Cooktown Courier 19 Mar. 1895; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.90.

97. Ibid., p.91; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.249; E.J. Brady, The King's Caravan. Across Australia in a Wagon (London, 1911), p.259.

98. See Q 29 May 1926, p.7; M.M. Banks, Memories of Pioneer Days in Queensland (London, 1931), p.47; J. Bayton, Cross over Carpentaria. Being a history of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865-1965 (Brisbane, 1965), p.64; Foreman, The History and Adventures of a Queensland Pioneer, p.115; Rev. J.G. Paton, The Kanaka Labour Traffic: reply: [to] Queensland's defence: correspondence with Colonial Office: rejoinder to Premier of Queensland (London, [1894]), p.17; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.367.

99. See MM 24 Jul. 1880; NC 1 Oct. 1928; AYB, 1904-5, p.81; R. Bardon, The Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland 1849-1949 (Brisbane, 1949); Young, Pearls from the Pacific, p.181.

100. QPP II, 1906, p.852.

sporadic and relatively ineffectual, while in the Burdekin district some serious work in the early 1900s fell away after 1905.¹⁰¹

The first Anglican mission, and also the best known and most successful, was the Selwyn Mission in Mackay, established in 1882 by Mary Goodwin Robinson.¹⁰² Between 1878 and 1907 well over 1,000 Islander adults and children in the district received an Anglican baptism.¹⁰³ With the assistance of local clergy, Robinson ran the mission until she retired in 1904 and was replaced by Charles Sage (later a missionary on Malaita in the Solomons).¹⁰⁴ A feature of Selwyn was that it attracted large numbers of Solomon Islanders and particularly Malaitans; Alec Sayven and Luke Logomier were prominent amongst the several Malaitans on the mission staff.¹⁰⁵

In the Herbert River district, a mission was established in 1894 at Gairloch by F.D. Pritt, an English priest of independent means. After his death in 1904 the mission was maintained by his widow and two

101. AYB, 1898-99, p.10, 1900-1, p.15, 1904-5, p.82; Information supplied by Mrs Cottrell of the Bowen Historical Society; NC 7 Jan., 8 Jun., 9 Oct., 10 Nov. 1905, 7 Feb. 1906; PDMR 27 Aug. 1902, 11 Jan. 1907.

102. Her husband was the manager of Tekowai Mill. Known initially as the Robinson Mission, it was situated on land donated by Meadowlands plantation opposite the Racecourse Mill. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.93.

103. In the baptism registers there are over 500 baptisms up to 1907 but there are gaps. Up to July 1901 there were said to have been 798 baptised, and in the registers from then till the end of 1907 there are a further 226 baptisms. BC 12 Oct. 1901, Mackay correspondent to The Times; ABR, Mackay, 1878-1907.

104. MS 27 Apr. 1892; F.C. Rowland, The Tropics for Christ. Being a History of the Diocese of North Queensland (Townsville, 1960), pp.105-7; W.T. Wawn, The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade. A Record of Voyages and Experiences in the Western Pacific from 1875 to 1891 (London, 1893), p.439; NC 8 May 1905; AYB, 1905-6, p.76.

105. See QPP II, 1906, p.854, C.C. Sage; J. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes (London, n.d.), pp. 74, 75; NC 7 Apr. 1905; AYB, 1900-1, p.14.

New Hebridean catechists, Jack Oba and Tom Lammon, until a European chaplain was finally appointed late in 1906.¹⁰⁶ Since the Pritt Mission had begun later and the Islander population here was much smaller, its success was more modest than Selwyn's: between 1888 and 1907, just over 100 Islander adults and children were baptised.¹⁰⁷ The only other vigorous Anglican mission was in the Johnstone River district. From the late 1890s, well-attended classes were conducted by the local clergy. This mission mainly attracted New Hebrideans.¹⁰⁸

The only significant Presbyterian mission was conducted at Walkerston in the Mackay district from 1888 by a specially ordained missionary, John McLean McIntyre, with the assistance of his wife, church elders such as A.H. Tidemann and later a second missionary. McIntyre held services on the plantations and in a Kanaka Mission Hall erected at Walkerston in 1890. In the ten years to 1898 there were said to have been 447 baptisms performed at Walkerston.¹⁰⁹ Those who attended the mission were largely New Hebrideans, and indeed efforts were directed especially at this island group.¹¹⁰ Outside Mackay the only other Presbyterian missions were in the Bowen and Burdekin districts

106. NC 7 Dec. 1904, 1 Sep. 1906, 1 Feb. 1928; AYB, 1898-99, p.10, 1904-5, pp.77, 81; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.157, 158, 221; Church of England in Australia and Tasmania, Self-Denial Effort of 1894 Leaflet No. IV, South Sea Islanders in Queensland (Hobart, 1894), p.3.

107. ABR, Ingham, 1888-1907. Island of origin was not given consistently, but amongst those for whom it was given New Hebrideans predominated.

108. NC 7 Apr. 1905, 12 May 1906, 1 Jan. 1907; AYB, 1905-6, pp.75, 77; C.W. Tomkins, Easter Letter 1905 (St Alban's, Innisfail); QPP II, 1906, p.795, C.W. Tomkins. The number baptised cannot be calculated, since Pacific Islanders were not always identified as such in the baptism registers.

109. The baptism registers for this period have not survived. BC 11 May 1889, 6 May 1896, 5 May 1898, Presbyterian General Assembly; MM 23 Nov. 1886; Bardon, The Centenary History, pp.45, 47; A. Asboe (compiler), History of Presbyterianism in Walkerston and District (Mackay, 1932), p.3; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, pp. 10, 11, 25.

110. MS 3 Aug. 1892; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.94. The intention was to assist the work of Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides.

and were of limited duration and success.¹¹¹

The Queensland Kanaka Mission conducted the other important mission work. An undenominational evangelical mission dependent on private individuals for its support, this was founded in the Bundaberg district in 1882 by Florence Young, whose brothers owned Fairymead plantation. Its activities were only extended to North Queensland in 1899.¹¹² In Mackay, the Burdekin and Herbert River districts, the Queensland Kanaka Mission had limited success. Its best results were in the far north - in the Johnstone River, Cairns and Port Douglas districts - where mission activity by the established churches was virtually non-existent or late in establishment.¹¹³

The only other mission work amongst the Islanders was conducted by the Salvation Army in the Mackay, Burdekin, Johnstone River and Cairns districts and by the Methodists in Cairns.¹¹⁴

To recapitulate, the most extensive mission activity was performed in the Mackay district by the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. Outside Mackay such activity was on a much smaller scale, being mainly performed by the Anglican missions in the Herbert River and Johnstone River districts and by the Queensland Kanaka Mission in the far north.

What proportion of the Islanders came under the influence of the missions? In the Mackay district, perhaps the majority received mission

111. PDT 10 Feb. 1894; BC 9 May 1895, 6 May 1896, Presbyterian General Assembly; Bardon, The Centenary History, p.48; Brown to Serg. Fraser, 3 Aug. 1899, Pioneer Mill Letter Book, 1898-1901, p.363; Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, 1901 (Brisbane, 1901), p.54.

112. Young, Pearls from the Pacific, esp. Ch.3; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.94-95; Hilliard, 'The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands', The Journal of Pacific History Vol.4, 1969, pp.42-48.

113. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.151; Young, Pearls from the Pacific, pp.126, 129, 135; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.283; Mulgrave Central Mill, Fifty Years in Retrospect, p.109; PDMR 5 Feb. 1902, 15 Mar. 1907.

114. See War Cry 5 Sep., p.7, 7 Nov. 1896, p.7, 20 Feb. 1897, p.7; Jack Mullacoola, SABUR, Ayr, 30 Jul. 1939; CMP 15 Oct. 1896, 2 Mar. 1907; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.383.

teaching: in 1906 Sage and McIntyre each claimed to have 500 Islanders connected with their missions, yet there were only 950 Islanders in the district!¹¹⁵ Elsewhere converts were definitely a minority: in Innisfail in 1906, for example, the Anglican mission was said to represent 120 Islanders, or just under one-third of the district's population.¹¹⁶ Apart from the fact that the most energetic mission activity was conducted in Mackay, the high proportion of converts in this well-established district can probably also be related to the tendency for converts to come from those long resident in the colony and those who had attended mission schools in the islands.¹¹⁷

An unsubstantiated and undoubtedly exaggerated claim that nearly seventy-five per cent of all Islanders in Queensland had received some religious instruction was made in 1892 by the Rev. A.C. Smith, the convenor of the Queensland Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committee.¹¹⁸ According to the Queensland census of 1901, some forty per cent of Islanders belonged to a Christian denomination; the proportion who received some degree of religious teaching would have been somewhat higher.¹¹⁹

The method of religious teaching, throughout the different missions, was to impart simple religious instruction and a basic education through the medium of pidgin or broken English, and to teach Christian hymns.¹²⁰ Emphasis in the services was placed on simple stirring addresses and hymn-singing. The Queensland Kanaka Mission was particularly attractive

115. QPP II, 1906, p.438, Appendix XVIII, p.634, J. McIntyre; NC 8 May 1905; AYB, 1905-6, p.76.

116. QPP II, 1906, p.438, Appendix XVIII, p.795, C.W. Tomkins.

117. Ibid., p.852, G.H. Frodsham; D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen. A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942 (St Lucia, 1978) p.129; NC 1 Dec. 1929; AYB, 1900-1, p.15.

118. Smith was intent on refuting claims of ill treatment and neglect of these labourers. Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.17. Corris accepted this figure. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.96.

119. QPP II, 1902, p.196.

120. BC 4 May 1901, Rev. A.E. Eustace; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.10; Wawn, The South Sea Islanders, p.269; Asboe, Presbyterianism in Walkerston, p.3; Young, Pearls from the Pacific, p.133; QPP II, 1906, p.854, G.H. Frodsham.

to the Islanders, due to its extensive use of pidgin, its simple message, open-air hymn-singing meetings and mass adult baptisms in the rivers.¹²¹

The strength of the desire amongst the Islanders to obtain religious instruction often drew comment. Converts were noted for the sincerity of their devotion, their zeal to proselytise and their financial generosity.¹²² They would walk several miles to attend services, and only sickness or the long working hours in the crushing season kept them away from classes.¹²³ In the running of the missions the Islanders and particularly the lay teachers played an active part - keeping up classes and services in the missionaries' absence, inducing other Islanders to attend classes and assisting in the preparation of candidates for baptism.¹²⁴

Why did the Islanders flock to the missions? While a spiritual motivation may not have been insignificant, there were other reasons for their attraction.¹²⁵ In an alien and often hostile environment, they responded eagerly to the only positive gestures made towards them by

121. Young, Pearls from the Pacific, p.136; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.95; BC 2 Dec. 1891, 5 May 1892, Presbyterian General Assembly; NC 7 Nov. 1904; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.283.

122. European parishioners were often compared unfavourably with the Islanders. QPP II, 1906, p.852, G.H. Frodsham; AYB, 1898-99, p.10, 1904-5, p.81, 1905-6, pp.42, 76; NC 7 Dec. 1904, 10 Nov. 1905, 1 Mar. 1907; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 Jun. 1937, p.45; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.25.

123. If necessary, they would move to another plantation or district to attend classes. NC 9 Oct. 1905, 8 Jan. 1906; MM 11 Jun. 1906; BC 4 May 1901, Rev. A.E. Eustace, 12 Oct. 1901, Mackay correspondent to The Times; Church of England, Self-Denial Effort, pp.2, 3; AYB, 1905-6, p.76; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.369.

124. BC 9 May 1890, 5 May 1892, 9 May 1895, Presbyterian General Assembly; NC 7 Jan. 1905; AYB, 1898-99, p.10, 1905-6, p.77; Bardon, The Centenary History, p.47; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.10; Rowland, The Tropics for Christ, p.106; Young, Pearls from the Pacific, pp.46, 181.

125. For discussion of these motives, see Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.95; Hilliard, 'The South Sea Evangelical Mission', p.44; W.N. Gunson, Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860 (Melbourne, 1978), pp.220-21.

Europeans. Pressure to attend was applied by those already converted, who used both moral and physical forms of persuasion. Classes and services offered a regular social outlet which may have partially made up for the loss of the close community interaction of their village societies. In Mackay, the highlights of the year were the annual 'tea meetings' held by both the Anglican and Presbyterian missions for their adherents, at which prizes were distributed and there was supper and entertainment.¹²⁶ In the Queensland Kanaka Mission, there were opportunities for enthusiastic participation with other Islanders in the open-air services and baptisms.

Involvement in the missions presented one of the few avenues for leadership. A lay teacher was a man of prestige and influence amongst the Islanders. Oratorical skills, an important leadership quality in Melanesia, could be displayed at classes, services and prayer meetings; the moving and allegedly spontaneous addresses given by converts often impressed Europeans.¹²⁷

The aim of the missionaries was to convert and to civilize. Any unacceptable beliefs and practices, such as adultery, nudity, cannibalism and spirit-worship, must be eliminated.¹²⁸ For example, the Presbyterian Mission at Walkerston would not baptise children whose parents were only married in the 'custom' way. 'Womanly' habits such as sewing and cooking were encouraged amongst the few Islander women. Above all, the 'vices' of European society such as gambling, drinking and fighting were strictly prohibited.¹²⁹

126. NC 7 Dec. 1904, 8 Jan. 1906; MM 7 Jan. 1907; BC 2 Dec. 1891, 5 May 1892, Presbyterian General Assembly; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.23.

127. See ibid., p.26; BC 4 May 1901; Bardon, The Centenary History, p.47.

128. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.95; Gunson, Messengers of Grace, pp.196-97, 201.

129. QPP II, 1906, p.634, J. McIntyre; BC 6 May 1896, 5 May 1898, Presbyterian General Assembly; NC 7 Dec. 1904; MM 7 Mar. 1903.

Converts were noticeably more sober and peaceable than their 'heathen' countrymen, and in Mackay at least the incidence of feuding between different groups of Islanders declined very considerably as the missions grew. The missions were indeed an effective means of social control.¹³⁰ The planters, initially hostile, became their warmest supporters. Significantly, the missions, which were always bordering on financial difficulties, were heavily dependent on the planters and, in later years, on the Queensland Government for financial support.¹³¹

A further incentive to join the missions was the opportunity to gain an education. Literacy was the key to a full understanding of their new world. Like American Negro slaves, the Islanders were keen to learn to read and write.¹³² The importance they attached to a European education was revealed in a comment by an Islander in 1906 that the 'bad old days' of abuse and neglect on the plantations had only ended because the Islanders "have been to school" and learnt to stand up for their rights.¹³³ The missions provided a basic education as well as religious instruction: in Mackay, for instance, McIntyre taught reading,

130. QPP II, 1906, pp.852, 854, G.H. Frodsham; BC 11 May 1889, 5 May 1890, Presbyterian General Assembly, 2 Sep. 1891, Rev. A.C. Smith; Asboe, Presbyterianism in Walkerston, p.3; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 Jun. 1937, p.45; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.368.

131. Minutes of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, 1902, p.50; NC 7 Jan. 1905; AYB, 1901-2, p.47, and Appendix II, 1905-6, p.76; MM 25 Jul. 1892; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.25; Teale, Easter Letter 1902.

132. Hilliard, 'The South Sea Evangelical Mission', p.44; E.D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1972; repr. 1976), p.565.

133. MM 14 May 1906, Pacific Islander Association meeting. See also BC 12 Oct. 1901, Mackay correspondent to The Times; MM 4 Jun. 1906, Pacific Islander Association meeting; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.370; M. Meggitt, 'Uses of Literacy in New Guinea and Melanesia', in J. Goody (ed.), Literacy in Traditional Societies (Cambridge, 1968), p.302; QPP II, 1906, p.887, J. O'N. Brennan.

writing and arithmetic to those who attended his evening classes.¹³⁴

Schooling opportunities outside the missions were restricted to classes run by a few interested individuals. In one case, on Oakenden plantation near Mackay in 1884, the manager's daughter ran a school for Islanders, teaching them secular, moral and religious subjects.¹³⁵ Overall, few Islanders acquired an education and very few were fully literate.¹³⁶ Very often converts could only read the Bible by rote, having memorised large passages.¹³⁷

The combination of an education and a position on the mission staff made such men as Alec Sayven and Luke Logomier in Mackay and Jack Oba and Tom Lammon in the Herbert River very powerful figures in their local Islander populations. The impressive attendance at the funerals of Islander lay teachers illustrated the respect they commanded.¹³⁸ In Queensland new avenues to power were more important than traditional methods of gaining prestige and renown. Apart from prominence in the missions, there were other secular avenues for leadership. Time-expired men through their knowledge of conditions in the colony commanded influence and authority over the less experienced. On the plantations, these men could assert themselves by physical intimidation or the distribution of favours such as better

134. Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.10; BC 11 May 1889, Presbyterian General Assembly. For other examples, see NC 8 Jun. 1905; Teale, Easter Letter 1902; Young, Pearls from the Pacific, p.40.

135. The Illustrated Australian News (Melbourne), 1 Oct. 1884, p.152. For other examples, see Banks, Memories of Pioneer Days, pp.46-47; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.370.

136. According to the census in 1901, just over fifteen per cent of Islanders could read, or read and write. QPP II, 1902, pp.1099-1100. The educational standards of the children are discussed in Chapter 2.

137. See T6Bsa:1; T8Bsa:1; T15Bsa:1; NC 7 Jan. 1905; QVP IV, 1889, p.319; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 Jun. 1937, p.45.

138. See MM 23 May 1903, 28 Mar. 1906; QPP II, 1906, p.666, F.J. Stevens; PDMR 17 Feb. 1902; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.29.

food or lighter work.¹³⁹ In the early 1900s, the campaign against deportation provided enterprising Islanders with an opportunity to extend their influence by acting as spokesmen for their fellow men and women.¹⁴⁰

It has been suggested by Bolton that the stay in Queensland affected Pacific Islanders no more deeply than the time spent in Egypt or France by Australian ex-servicemen.¹⁴¹ The analogy is hardly apt, even for those Islanders who did not remain beyond the initial three years. For those who became long-term residents, life in a white man's country forced some fundamental adjustments, and other changes were made voluntarily.

PACIFIC Island migrants were subjected to many new influences, notably the efforts of the missions to Christianize and civilize them. Yet simultaneously they maintained some of their own customs and practices, if in a restrained and sometimes secretive manner. The evidence for this, since ethnocentric Europeans were blind to all but the obvious cultural preservations, is both scanty and tantalizing.

One obvious trait was the Islanders' preference for living in grass houses like those in the islands (see Plate 1.4). These housed men from the same island or even the same district and very often were arranged in clusters, thus reproducing something of the sense of community through geographical propinquity.¹⁴² In one of

139. MM 25 Nov. 1885, 17 Feb. 1886; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.119; QVP IV, 1889, p.297, F.C. Hornbrook; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.90.

140. See Chapter 3.

141. G.C. Bolton, Planters and Pacific Islanders (Sydney, 1967), p.57.

142. See Kerr, Pioneer Pageant, p.85, plate; BC 28 Nov. 1881; The Graphic. An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper (London) 11 Jun. 1892, p.704; Photographic Album. Pacific Islanders (History Dept, James Cook University of North Queensland), Vol.I, Nos. 48, 49, 70, 72, Vol.II, Nos. 30, 37, 38, 49.

the few sensitive portraits of the Islander population, Michael Davitt (an Irish MP who visited Queensland in the late 1890s) noted that the exteriors of these houses were decorated with drawings of men and animals. Mission buildings were decorated on special occasions with palms and flowers. Carving and the construction of weapons were other customary arts which were maintained.¹⁴³

The Islanders' delight in acquiring and displaying material possessions was another customary trait noted patronizingly by Europeans. Both men and women displayed ostentation in attire, wearing brightly coloured dresses, shirts and scarves, and in choice of possessions such as watches and chains, clocks, parasols and umbrellas, pipes and hats. To be photographed in their best costumes and with some of their possessions was highly desirable (see Plates 1.5 and 1.6).¹⁴⁴ No migrant was willing to leave the colony until he or she had amassed such symbols of wealth.¹⁴⁵

In leisure pursuits a predilection for customary pastimes also amused European contemporaries. Fishing or hunting in groups was a popular activity.¹⁴⁶ In the fields, they often sang their 'custom' songs and at night they gathered together to sing and dance, using reed mouth-

143. Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.274; MM 1 Jan. 1908; Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.84; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.97; Kerr, Pioneer Pageant, p.84.

144. MM 3 Jul. 1880, 3 Aug. 1881; Blake, 'The Kanaka', pp.82, 84; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.23; Mrs Campbell Praed, Australian Life. Black and White (London, 1885), p.90; H.A. Moore, 'A New Look at the Old Kanaka Days', ASJ Vol. 51, No. 3, 16 Jun. 1959, p.233; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 19, 20, 62, 63, II, Nos. 52, 53, 56, 63.

145. See QPP II, 1906, p.749, Tom Low, p.780, Soona Dabie, p.832, Telly Velly Mi, p.833, Suonalea; Foreman, The History and Adventures of a Queensland Pioneer, p.116.

146. They used spears and throwing sticks as well as European implements. MM 5 Mar. 1884, 21 Nov. 1885; PDT 16 Jun. 1906; Hope, In Quest of Coolies, p.113; Kennedy, Four Years in Queensland, p.195; W.R. Chisholm, 'Ingham District in the Early Days', North Australian Monthly Vol. 5, No. 2, Sep. 1958, p.25.



PLATE 1.5: Caption - 'Dressed for Deportation', Mackay, c. 1906. Note the watchchains, flowers



PLATE 1.6: A young Islander woman at Mackay, c. 1900. Note the full European costume.

organs and wooden drums as well as European instruments such as jews' harps and concertinas (see Plate 1.3).¹⁴⁷ Songs and dances were exchanged by different groups: at one well-attended gathering on Airdmillan plantation near Mackay in 1881, for instance, each island group performed their dances on a smooth piece of ground prepared near their huts.¹⁴⁸

Such singing and dancing was often accompanied by a feast. In Melanesia public hospitality was the means by which an individual and his group extended their prestige and built up a network of obligations, as well as an occasion for cementing social bonds between different groups.¹⁴⁹ The evidence of feast-giving in the colony says little about the purpose and production of the feast - as, for example, who gave it and for whom. Sometimes feasts were restricted to those from the one island, but there were also feasts in which those from different islands and island groups participated. In Melanesia feasts were given for special occasions such as burials or harvests, but in Queensland they were more likely to occur at the twice-yearly payment of their wages.¹⁵⁰ Sometimes these feasts ended with verbal or physical conflict between the groups.¹⁵¹ Such friction (as in Melanesia) may often have

147. Harricks, 'Coloured Labour in Tropical Queensland', p.659; Kennedy, Four Years in Queensland, p.195; MM 28 Apr. 1904; Q 29 Aug. 1885; Hope, In Quest of Coolies, p.113; Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.274.

148. BC 28 Nov. 1881. Such exchanges certainly occurred on plantations in the islands. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.97; M. Panoff, 'An Experiment in Inter-Tribal Contacts. The Maenge Labourers on European Plantations, 1915-42', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 4, 1969, pp.117-18.

149. R.M. Keesing, 'Elota's Story The Life and Times of a Solomon Islands Big Man (St Lucia, 1978) p.62; Allen, 'The Establishment of Christianity and Cash-Cropping', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 3, 1968, p.36; Adams, A Culture Contact History of Tanna, p.74.

150. See MM 3 Aug. 1881; Boomerang 7 Apr. 1888; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.360; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.13; K. Saunders, 'The Black Scourge', p.204. For parallels on the plantations in the islands, see Panoff, 'An Experiment in Inter-Tribal Contacts', p.113.

151. See QVP I, 1900, p.233; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.360; Paton, The Kanaka Labour Traffic, p.5.

been provoked by sorcery accusations.

European observers stressed the honesty, veracity and generosity of Pacific Islanders.¹⁵² These traits were in fact integral to their value system. The ritual exchange of gifts was the means by which a complex system of indebtedness was constructed. Possessions were willingly given to or exchanged with other Islanders, and those unable to find work were supported by friends who were employed. In Mackay in the early 1900s Islanders leasing farms often borrowed from their countrymen to purchase equipment such as ploughs, drays and horses.¹⁵³ The recipients of any such assistance were obliged to repay (eventually) their debts in full.

Certain cultural retentions were either strongly opposed by Europeans or would have been if brought to their attention. Cannibalistic acts were rare but evoked the horror of European colonists.¹⁵⁴ Homosexuality was sanctioned, even institutionalised, in many Melanesian societies. Given the predominantly male Islander population in Queensland, it can be expected that homosexual relationships did develop; the near-absence of evidence on this may only demonstrate colonial attitudes.¹⁵⁵

152. Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.81; QPP II, 1906, p.686, J. Temple; Southern Cross Log Vol. I, No. 2, Jun. 1895, p.1 (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett); Church of England, Self-Denial Effort, p.2; Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.272.

153. See Blake, 'The Kanaka', pp.81-82; Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.273; QPP II, 1906, p.617, H. Tongoa, p.666, F.J. Stevens, p.781, Quiramoo, Tommy, p.782, J.D. Sullivan, p.842, T. Connell; AYB, 1905-6, p.43; MS 11 Jul. 1889.

154. See Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.183; The 'Daily Mercury' Jubilee Issue Aug. 1912, p.24; MM 15 Jul. 1868; C.H. Eden, My Wife and I in Queensland. An Eight Years' Experience in the Above Colony, with some account of Polynesian Labour (London, 1872), pp.330-31.

155. Deacon, Malekula, p.14; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, p.49; Layard, Stone Men of Malekula, p.11; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.339; Hope, In Quest of Coolies, p.114; QVP IV, 1889, p.297, F.C. Hornbrook. Homosexual relationships were evident on plantations in the Solomon Islands. Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, pp.276-77.

One practice which could not be ignored was feuding amongst the Islanders, described by Europeans as 'inter-tribal fighting'. In Melanesia warfare was endemic, the principal causes being land disputes, adultery, elopement, theft and sorcery allegations. The ritual component in such hostilities was extremely important and fatalities were the exception rather than the rule.¹⁵⁶

In Queensland, since each migrant was surrounded by strangers, the potential for conflict was always high. In these 'inter-tribal fights', a new loyalty (discussed later) operated in that men from the same island or even island group tended to be allies. Identification by island and island group was fostered by Europeans. Various islands were given different reputations: Ambrymese were said to be hostile and treacherous, while the Malaitans and Tannese were considered to be natural enemies and both the best fighters and the best workers.¹⁵⁷ Europeans took advantage of animosities between different islands and island groups to obtain the best work from their labourers and to allow the displacement of tensions through fighting which might otherwise have been directed against them.¹⁵⁸ Constant, unchecked feuding was not, however, in the planters' interests, since Europeans might be accidentally injured or their property damaged, and their investment in an Islander lost wholly or partly if he were killed or wounded. Therefore fights were forcibly prevented or broken up, and stiff penalties imposed on the ringleaders.¹⁵⁹

156. See Adams, A Culture Contact History of Tanna, pp.78-79; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.59-60, 149; Layard, Stone Men of Malekula, pp.594-95, 597, 600-1; Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.75; Keesing, 'Elota's Story, p.63.

157. See Bernays, Queensland Politics During Sixty Years, p.65; Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.276; Rockhampton Morning Bulletin 19 Nov. 1884; QVP IV, 1889, p.313, T.P. McHugh; MM 22 Aug. 1883; BC 6 Mar. 1895, 4 May 1901, Rev. A.E. Eustace; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.89.

158. For examples of this, see Hope, In Quest of Coolies, p.113; BC 28 Nov. 1881; Saunders, 'The Black Scourge', pp.203-4.

159. MS 20 Jan. 1890, 5 Mar. 1890, 17 Jul. 1891, 26 Aug. 1891, MPC; MM 17 Aug. 1886; Rockhampton Morning Bulletin 19 Nov. 1884. Saunders argues that this feuding was used by Europeans as a crude mechanism of social control. Uncertain Bondage, p.361.

Generally Tannese or Aobans were ranged against Malaitans, or else New Hebrideans against Solomon Islanders, in these fights.¹⁶⁰ Their long working hours dictated that fights usually occurred at night or on Sunday. The ritual component of confrontations, expressed in the very gradual narrowing of the physical distance between two forces and the hurling of verbal abuse, was marked.¹⁶¹ But serious injuries and fatalities were not uncommon, especially in the 1890s and 1900s with greater numbers of the more belligerent Malaitans, and were due to the use of European firearms, knives and axes in addition to spears, clubs and bows and arrows (see Plate 1.3).¹⁶² As in Melanesia, other methods of fighting were also employed, such as individual murders or surprise attacks on men sleeping in their huts.¹⁶³ Fighting most often arose over Islander women. Revenge for a real or imagined grievance was another important motivation¹⁶⁴, while sorcery accusations undoubtedly would have been another.

Another source of conflict was the unwitting or deliberate transgression of taboos, the important social prohibitions which governed

160. See MM 26 Feb. 1890, 16 Feb. 1907; Queensland Figaro 12 May 1883; Rockhampton Morning Bulletin 19 Nov. 1884; Boomerang 11 Feb. 1888; BC 28 Oct. 1901, letter to Ed. by A. McKellar; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.89; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.360-61. Less often fighting broke out between those from the same island or island group. See Cooktown Courier 12 Sep. 1890; J.W. Collinson, More about Cairns. The Second Decade (Brisbane, 1942), p.63; MM 20 Jun. 1883.

161. Europeans were convinced these were 'sham' fights. See Blake, 'The Kanaka', pp.84-85; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.13; MM 17 Aug. 1886, 12 Apr. 1903; Queensland Figaro 12 May 1883; The Coloured Labour Question, Vol. II, newspaper unknown, n.d., letter by 'Dogspike'.

162. Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.182, 184; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.360-62; MM 28 May 1881, 12 Apr. 1903; MS 23 Apr. 1890, 17 Jul. 1891; Cooktown Courier 12 Sep. 1890, 31 Jul. 1891; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.97.

163. See MM 12 May, 29 Jun. 1886.

164. See MM 10 Jun., 26 Jun. 1886, 21 Jan. 1902, 28 Mar. 1907; MS 21 Sep. 1892; Rockhampton Morning Bulletin 19 Nov. 1884; Regina vs Pollybogomena (Jacky), Lombo (Bob) and Bollo, 89/96, EXE/5, QSA: Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.360.

village life.¹⁶⁵ The strength and nature of taboos varied from community to community but the most important concerned the polluting nature of women. Malaitans rigidly observed these taboos, both at home and away from home. Thus trouble amongst the Malaitans was inevitable if a woman gave birth below deck on a labour ship or inside a hut on the plantations, since childbirth must take place out of doors and away from men, or even if a hospital nurse leant over them, since it was taboo for a woman ever to be physically above a man.¹⁶⁶

This persistence of tradition is further demonstrated in the sphere of religion and magic. Until recently it was believed that the inhibitions of living in a white man's country had prevented the practice of indigenous religion and magic.¹⁶⁷ Drawing on interviews with the descendants of the migrants, I have shown (with Moore) that such practices existed in North Queensland as late as World War II and that community belief in their efficacy was (and in some quarters still is) strong.¹⁶⁸ The incidence and social purpose of such practices may have been quite different in the plantation era. Information from oral sources on sorcery in the nineteenth century is very limited, since the oldest of our informants were very young children in the 1890s or 1900s (see Appendix A). Tantalizing fragments are available from written sources and through comparisons with the behaviour of Pacific Islanders on plantations in other colonies.

165. See also Chapter 9, pp.433-34.

166. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.96; CNP 11 Jan. 1899; Molesworth, Kanaka Labour in Queensland, p.90 n1; Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, p.290; Ross, Baegu, p.56.

167. This was the opinion of Corris and Saunders accepted this. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.96-97; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.373.

168. Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices'. See also Chapter 9.

While many migrants were converted to Christianity, they were by no means the majority, especially in North Queensland. Even in Mackay many and especially Malaitans were outside the sphere of influence of the missions. Unrepentant pagans were hostile to the missions, attempting to dissuade others from attending the classes and occasionally attacking or threatening the Islander lay teachers and even the European missionaries.¹⁶⁹

There were some high-ranking men and women amongst the migrants. The sons of a 'chief', as any powerful Melanesian leader was described by Europeans, came voluntarily or were sent to the colony to acquire an education and an understanding of European society.¹⁷⁰ Although new concepts of leadership applied, such men could still command respect and authority. John Fatnowna from the Fataleka district on Malaita, for example, was the son of a custom priest and the respect in which he was held was attested by the attendance at his funeral in 1906 of over 250 of his countrymen.¹⁷¹

Conceivably such men would have had the necessary knowledge to perform sorcery in Queensland but Fatnowna, like others, was a 'mission boy'.¹⁷² While few recruits would have been religious or magical specialists, no doubt they exchanged some magical spells with other

169. BC 2 Dec. 1891, 5 May 1898, Presbyterian General Assembly; NC 7 Apr. 1905; AYB, 1900-1, p.15; MS 21 Sep. 1891, 24 Oct. 1892; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, pp.28-29; Q 29 May 1926, p.7; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.74.

170. See BC 4 May 1901; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.66.

171. MM 28 Mar. 1906; Johnnie Fatnowna, Mackay CR, 26 Mar. 1906; T7Bsb:l. For other examples of high-ranking migrants in Queensland, see Allen, The Nduindui, p.12; MM 7 Mar. 1903; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 2 Aug. 1937, pp.56-57; T12Bsa:l; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.373.

172. For other examples, see Hope, In Quest of Coolies, pp.114-15; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.373.

migrants.¹⁷³ They may also have kept up certain religious observances. Malaitans, for example, carried on what they called 'small worship': they brought some small item endowed with religious significance as a protection against sorcery and hid this on their person or in the huts or nearby scrub.¹⁷⁴ Other groups may have done likewise.¹⁷⁵

There may have been sorcerers on some plantations and certainly most Islanders knew some magical spells. Others may have been acquired from local Aborigines.¹⁷⁶ Those with sorcery powers could command considerable influence: on Macknade plantation an Islander known as Captain Jack was held in awe by the other labourers for both his magical abilities and physical strength. On a Maryborough plantation a Tannese woman, who carried objects for sorcery in a cavity in her hair, was suspected of having poisoned several Islanders who had died mysteriously.¹⁷⁷

In most of Melanesia sorcery is generally believed to come from outside, in the sense that the perpetrator of such mystical attacks will be a man (or less commonly, a woman) from another village or community. In Queensland the sense of an in-group, as will be seen, was transferred to those who shared the same island of origin. Thus a Tannese might direct sorcery at a man from another island (such as Malaita), or attack

173. As on plantations in the islands. See Panoff, 'An Experiment in Inter-Tribal Contacts', pp.116-17; A. Chowning, 'Recent Acculturation between Tribes in Papua New Guinea', The Journal of Pacific History Vol. 4, 1969, p.30; Ratu Penaia Latianara, 'The Sorcerer weaves his spell and a man dies in Fiji', Pacific Islands Monthly Vol. 44, No. 9, Sep. 1973, p.25.

174. T47Bsb:3; Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp.278-79.

175. One European saw graves on plantations marked with rudely scratched 'heathen' burial sticks and on a plantation near Yeppoon in Central Queensland, a group was said to have erected a wooden statue of their 'god'. *Coloured Labour Question*, Vol. I, newspaper unknown, n.d. [1901?]; Information supplied by R. Tan to C.R. Moore.

176. Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides 1922 (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett).

177. Shepherd, *The Herbert River Story*, p.119; Q 5 Jun. 1926, pp.6-7.

such a man on suspicion of sorcery.¹⁷⁸ In Mackay on Pioneer Estate in 1904 an Islander with a reputation as a troublemaker was killed in a fight which broke out when another Islander refused to eat food he had cooked, on the grounds that "you might put something longa tucker and we die".¹⁷⁹

Not only the pagans but also the Christians apparently accepted the efficacy of magical practices. This is well illustrated by the steps taken by Malaitan converts to protect Mrs Robinson of Selwyn Mission against the wrath of other Islanders whom she had disarmed. They inscribed signs (clearly magical) on her gate threatening the most awful death to anyone who harmed her.¹⁸⁰

No migrant group can transfer its cultural heritage intact and unaltered. Pacific Islanders had not attempted to do so; they had accepted and also had had thrust upon them important adjustments to their new environment. Yet many traditional beliefs and values persisted. Certain larger groups, notably the Malaitans and Tannese, clung most tenaciously to their 'custom' ways.¹⁸¹ The more important of these traditional persistences escaped the notice of European contemporaries. Undoubtedly the Islanders recognized the need to maintain secrecy in regard to practices of which Europeans would have disapproved, such as sorcery. Life on the plantations had a dimension which was unknown to the European colonists.

178. There is little documentary evidence to support this, but certainly this occurred on plantations in New Guinea. B. Gammage, 'The Rabaul Strike, 1929', Oral History Vol. VIII, No. 2, Feb. 1975, pp. 75-76.

179. MM 13 Oct. 1904, MPC. In the Solomons there were cases of Queensland returns taking back arsenic to use in sorcery. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.115.

180. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, pp.74-75.

181. These two groups were noted for their clannishness in the islands. See Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, p.274; Ross, Baegu, pp. 56, 69; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No. 95, Jan. 1917, p.2; Speiser, Two Years with the Natives, p.270.

THIS FINAL section considers the attitudes of Pacific Islanders to Europeans and to other non-European groups, and then examines the changes which occurred in their self-identification. According to the colonists, Pacific Islanders were loyal servants, eager to please, faithful to employers who treated them kindly and considerately and ready to defend staunchly their employers' wives and property from attacks by Aborigines or 'low whites'.¹⁸² Certainly some Islanders did develop a strong affection for and affinity with their employers and their families.¹⁸³ Contemporaries also stressed the respect and awe with which the Islanders regarded all those in authority.¹⁸⁴

While many Islanders were loyal and law-abiding servants, it was an identity which they could assume and also discard. Other aspects of their behaviour illustrated very different feelings, such as their attitude to the terms used to describe them. They themselves preferred to be addressed as 'Pacific Islanders' or 'South Sea Islanders'; 'kanaka' was disliked because of its connotations of an ignorant, enslaved people.¹⁸⁵

Increasingly over the years the Islanders displayed an independent outlook and an unwillingness to accept their inferior position. They resented, for example, the readiness with which suspicion of guilt

182. See Bernays, Queensland Politics During Sixty Years, pp.64-65; A. Forbes, 'The Kanaka in Queensland', New Review Vol. VI, No. 37, Jun. 1892, pp.642-43; Hope, In Quest of Coolies, pp.115-16; Kennedy, Four Years in Queensland, p.195; Praed, Australian Life, p.89; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 2 Aug. 1937, p.54; A.J. Cotton, With the Big Herds in Australia (Brisbane, 1933), pp.102-3.

183. See MM 20 Nov. 1902; Information supplied by Mrs. J. Allingham of 'Muralambeen' near Ingham; T50Bsa:1; K. and V. Prince, Early Days of the Douglas Shire (Cairns, 1977), p.30.

184. QPP 11, 1906, p.754, H. Niven, p.854, G.H. Frodsham; BC 10 Jan. 1907, letter by Rev. Gillespie.

185. See MM 14 May, 4 Jun. 1906, Pacific Islander Association meetings; NC 7 Jan. 1905.

centred on them for any cases of assault, murder or rape. Their awareness that they were regarded as outsiders also stimulated strong resentment of the new income tax charges which were levied on them in the 1900s.¹⁸⁶ Wariness and suspicion conditioned their dealings with Europeans. In the 1890s and 1900s the Islanders increasingly neglected to seek, or disregarded, the advice of Europeans such as the inspectors of Pacific Islanders and missionaries.¹⁸⁷ Bitterness and resentment of their European masters was a strong motif in the memories of Queensland amongst those who returned, and sometimes led to retaliation against Europeans in the islands.¹⁸⁸

From the 1890s the Islanders displayed their resentment of economic restrictions on them, as wage-bargaining and strikes illustrated. In Cairns in 1896 a Solomon Islander who had been told to discontinue his illegal employment as a firewood-cutting contractor, threatened to leave the colony with several hundred others.¹⁸⁹ Some felt that they should be able to work without restriction and receive the same wages

186. QPP II, 1906, p.622, J. Lunny; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 Jul. 1937, p.41; Trinity Times quoted in CMP 3 Jul. 1903, 18 Aug. 1903, Atherton Notes. In 1903 those on their first indentures were exempted from the tax, and the minimum level of non-taxable income was raised. BC 16 Feb. 1903; QPD XCI, 1903, pp.1072, 1078-79; Brenan to Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, 23 Feb. 1903, Circular No. 205, IPI 3/35, QSA.

187. See Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 2 May 1906, 02010, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; QPP II, 1906, pp.625-26, F.C. Hornbrook, p.852, G.H. Frodsham, p.885, J. O'N. Brenan, p.887, C. Neilson; BC 5 May 1892, Presbyterian General Assembly; MM 14 May 1906, Pacific Islander Association meeting. However, they liked and trusted migrants from Western Europe who were 'new chums' like themselves. See Ole Natsen, Unpublished Diaries, Diary I, n.p. (reference supplied by C.R. Moore).

188. Sir Everard Im Thurn, Preface in Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol. I, p.xi; Allen, The Nduindui, p.12; Harrisson, Savage Civilisation, pp.219-20, 249; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No. 52, Apr. 1906, p.9, No. 62, Oct. 1908, p.29.

189. CMP 5 Mar. 1896. For similar resentment, see QPP II, 1906, p.751, W.P. Wilson.

as Europeans. As one Islander declared in 1906:

We want to be free labourers, and do any work we can get. We don't want contract. We say that as we do the same work that Hindoos and white men do we should get the same wages as them.¹⁹⁰

The Islanders were by no means all loyal, obedient servants. Increasingly they resented their disadvantaged position in the colony, and were suspicious of the intentions of Europeans. Their interaction with other non-Melanesians was similarly marked by hostility or at least a lack of cordiality. There was no bond between these groups, though all bore the brunt of European exploitation and discrimination.

Amongst the Asian groups the Islanders had sustained contact only with the Chinese. In the far north, Islanders were extensively employed by Chinese banana and sugar farmers. Such practices as paying them lower wages than Chinese labourers and providing rations on credit did not endear Chinese employers to the Islanders.¹⁹¹ Their resentment of the economic domination of the Chinese was exacerbated by their dependence on services offered by the Chinese - whether as hawkers on the plantations, suppliers of opium, or the proprietors of the stores, 'grog' shops, gambling houses and brothels in Chinatown.¹⁹² Aware that the Chinese looked down on them, the Islanders were physically aggressive, destroying Chinese property, assaulting and robbing defenceless Chinese.

190. Ibid., p.735, Ackar. See also Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251.

191. See J. Kerr, Northern Outpost (Mossman, 1979), p.45; QVP IV, 1889, p.121, E. Eglinton; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.88, 364-65; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.167; QPP II, 1906, p.844, Cum Cum.

192. Nevertheless, they banked their savings with the Chinese, who offered higher interest rates than the Government Savings Banks. MS 13 Jan. 1888, 29 Jul. 1892; Cooktown Courier 15 Mar. 1892; QVP IV, 1889, p.312, T. Parsons; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.364, 365; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.167.

Conflicts were likely on those plantations where both Islanders and Chinese were employed.¹⁹³ However, other Asian groups such as the Malays and Cinghalese were more often the instigators than the victims of violent confrontations with the Islanders.¹⁹⁴

As the only group below Pacific Islanders in the social scale, it is understandable that the Islanders looked down upon and affected to despise Aborigines. There are accounts of groups of Islanders attacking and killing Aborigines, and even stories of Europeans involving Islander employees in massacres of Aborigines.¹⁹⁵ Aborigines strongly resisted European settlement in North Queensland and in this frontier war Islander employees were as much the enemy as the settlers - as the number of attacks and even killings of 'kanaka' shepherds in the 1870s testifies.¹⁹⁶ Islander and Aboriginal men also fought over women. With so few Islander women in the colony, Aboriginal women were an obvious alternative. Pacific Islander men took women from the camps, usually forcibly, and there were cases of employers providing them with Aboriginal women as part-remuneration.¹⁹⁷

193. Europeans of course also attacked and robbed Chinese. MM 18 Jul. 1885, 3 Aug. 1886; MS 4 May 1887, 1 Feb. 1889, 24 Aug., 20 Jul. 1891, 29 Jul. 1892; Northern Standard quoted in Telegraph (Brisbane), 3 Dec. 1884; PDT 10 Nov. 1883; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, p.365; Hill, Forty-Five Years' Experience, pp.89-90.

194. CMP 9 Nov. 1898, 14 Feb. 1902; PDT 28 Dec. 1906. The exception to this were the Indians, who were terrified of the Islanders. CMP 24 Apr. 1903.

195. MS 11 Apr. 1888; Eden, My Wife and I in Queensland, pp.330-31, 333-34; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.167; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.302; Tonkinson, Maat, Efate, p.40; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.36.

196. Cotton, With the Big Herds, pp.102-3; Cleveland Bay Express quoted in MM 24 Dec. 1870; Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations, pp.138-50, 790-844, Appendix B; C. Lack, 'The History and Potential Future of Cape York Peninsula', Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal Vol. VI, No. 4, 1961-62, pp.969-70.

197. Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations, pp.415-16; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.238; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.344.

Yet there was another side to relations with Aborigines. Many Islander men and Aboriginal women, as will be shown in Chapter 2, formed long-lasting and affectionate unions. From local Aborigines the Islanders learnt to fish and find food in the bush and acquired a knowledge of flora with medicinal properties. A few even gained the respect and confidence of Aborigines.¹⁹⁸

Life in Queensland also involved interaction with other Islanders. Although these men and women came from many different groups, the experience of living in a strange country forced changes in their self-perception. Traditionally loyalties were restricted to the community of origin. Often a group would recruit together, usually under the leadership of a man who had recruited before. Within the colony they maintained an informal network of communications and at the end of their indenture or of any subsequent engagements they would come together to decide whether to stay or return.¹⁹⁹

On Sundays the Islanders liked to visit friends or relatives on neighbouring plantations.²⁰⁰ Many had at least one relative in the colony. Despite the isolation of long distances, they kept up contact with relatives and friends in other districts and 'spelled' between engagements in order to visit them.²⁰¹ Through transfers or re-

198. Fussell, A Kanaka Slave, p.47; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.340; QVP IV, 1889, p.186, W. Canny; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.68.

199. Brennan to Under Chief Sec., 2 May 1906, 02010, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.347-48; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.87. For examples of this, see Charlie Diss Motlap to Dick Motlap, 12 Nov. 1906, p.339, CPS 12E/G2, QSA; Henry Mistabro Malo to Polynesian Inspector, 14 Nov. 1906, p.337, ibid.; Jimmy Weelara Buka Buka to Tom Buka Buka, p.342, ibid.; Oscar Galea to Andrew Tewas, p.394, ibid.

200. Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.82; Hope, In Quest of Coolies, p.114; Forbes, 'The Kanaka in Queensland', p.646; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.84.

201. See MM 25 Nov. 1885; CMP 11 Mar. 1902; BC 15 May 1900; SJTC IV, 15 Jul. 1895, p.143; QPP II, 1906, p.636, C.C. Sage, p.730, J.R. Edmonds, p.780, Keeseree; Statement of C.F. Schulz, Inquest No. 412 of 1907, William Sula, JUS/N380, QSA.

engagements both the new chums and the time-expired could move closer to their kin. There was also a two-way exchange between Queensland and the islands: through oral and written messages the labourers and people in the islands maintained contact.²⁰²

While customary loyalty remained paramount, the close contact with other groups reduced insularity and promoted a wider identification.²⁰³ The development of pidgin allowed migrants from not only different islands but also the same island to communicate, and thus to discover the values and beliefs which they held in common. Christianity also strengthened this sense of unity: those who were joined together in Christ were enjoined to lead a peaceful and harmonious life together.²⁰⁴

This wider identification had a dual expression. First, the island of origin and island group took on a new significance. Those from the one island regarded each other as countrymen and women, a category of little relevance in Melanesia. Social relationships were formed on this basis, and the out-group became all those from other islands.²⁰⁵ As shown, Europeans fostered this identification by emphasizing cultural differences between different islands and also island groups. Thus it became important in some circumstances - as in 'inter-tribal fights' - to be recognized as a New Hebridean or Solomon

202. Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, p.348; Q 5 Jun. 1926, p.6; BC 16 Mar. 1895, trial of William Manson; Ole Matsen, *Diary I*, n.p. (reference supplied by C.R. Moore).

203. As on plantations in the islands. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp.295-96; Panoff, 'An Experiment in Inter-Tribal Contacts', p.113.

204. Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, pp.377-78; Saunders, 'The Black Scourge', p.203.

205. For examples, see BC 28 Nov. 1881; Kennedy, Four Years in Queensland, p.195; Bundaberg Star quoted in BC 15 May 1895; Saunders, *Uncertain Bondage*, p.348. This helps to explain the motivation of those Islanders who betrayed the interests of other Islanders by assisting the authorities. See MM 27 Mar. 1880, 21 May 1884, 4 Apr. 1885, 15 Jul. 1886, MPC; Inspector to Police Commissioner, 28 Jun. 1897, POL/J1, QSA; QPP II, 1906, p.751, W.P. Wilson.

Islander. In Mackay this division was promoted by the concentration of the Selwyn Mission amongst Solomon Islanders and the Walkerston Mission amongst the New Hebrideans.

There was also a growing number of occasions on which the migrants began to think of themselves as racially united - as 'Pacific Islanders'. This category, which had no historical foundation, was fostered by European ethnocentric treatment of the Islanders as one 'race'. Despite European beliefs that cultural differences would prevent them from ever uniting²⁰⁶, Pacific Islanders not only came to have an awareness of themselves as one people but also displayed this in their actions. Their attempts to form unions and to strike for better wages and conditions was one such manifestation. The levying of the income tax was an injustice which they resented and protested against in unison. It was, however, the threat of deportation which provided the greatest catalyst to concerted action: as Chapter 3 will show, the Islanders banded together in the early 1900s to campaign against their proposed expulsion from Australia.

The sense of identity felt and acted upon by Pacific Islanders can thus be compared to a series of concentric circles. First, there was an innermost circle based on customary loyalties in which members of a community were inter-dependent. Secondly, there were larger circles in which island of origin and island group were the important terms of reference. Finally, there was the widest circle in which the migrants perceived themselves as members of a Pacific Islander population. Their colonial experiences had reduced, though not eliminated, their traditional insularity.

PACIFIC Island migrants were drawn predominantly from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides and were principally young, unmarried males. Those

206. MM 4 Apr. 1883; Coloured Labour Question, Vol. II, letter by J. Copeland in Herald, 1901 [?]; Herald (Melbourne), A White Australia. The Kanaka Labor Question. Sugar Growing in Queensland. The Part Played by the Black Man. A 'Herald' Investigation (Melbourne, 1901), p.11.

men and women who spent years in the colony underwent important social and cultural changes. In Australia individual enterprise was lauded and obligations to kinfolk were few. This contrasted with the communalism and co-operation emphasized in Melanesian societies, although individualism was by no means absent there. They were exposed to new ideas about individual rights, new codes of conduct and behaviour, new concepts of authority and prestige. Yet their adaptations were tempered by some maintenance of traditional customs and convictions.

Only Aborigines were regarded by Europeans as lower in the social scale than Pacific Islanders. Usually the migrants were treated with condescension, although on occasions they were regarded as an antagonistic 'race'. As indentured labourers their treatment varied very considerably over the years and between different employers. Their relative tractability and willingness to work hard for low remuneration explained their popularity as a labour force, although in the 1890s and 1900s this attractiveness declined in the face of determined efforts by many Islanders to improve their conditions and increase their wages.

European ethnocentrism and contact with other Islanders acted to break down the insularity and village-centred outlook of the migrants. While Pacific Islanders were by no means a homogeneous group with common goals, there were occasions on which they began to think of themselves as one people. This sense of unity was most prevalent amongst those who had put down roots in the colony, and it is these men and women, and their activities and aspirations, who are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2
SETTLED IN QUEENSLAND

BY THE early twentieth century, a small number of Pacific Islander migrants had established themselves, at least in their view, as a permanent part of Queensland's population. This chapter examines this permanent settlement by Pacific Islanders in North Queensland. First, their location in the region and the possible number who identified themselves as permanent residents are considered. Following this, the occupational structure of those who had moved beyond unskilled wage labour in the sugar industry is discussed, and their living conditions compared with those of their compatriots on the plantations. The number of migrants with spouses (legal or common law) and the ethnic origin of the latter is then examined, since very often such relationships provided a strong reason against returning to the islands, especially together. The treatment and position of Islander women in this new country is also relevant, since many of the small number of women who recruited found advantages in their new lifestyle. The number of Islander children raised in North Queensland, it will be seen, was very considerable. Further evidence of a growing identification with Australia is found in the desire of Islander parents to give their children a European and a Christian upbringing.

IT HAD not been intended that Pacific Islanders would become permanent residents. This unexpected development, therefore, went largely unnoticed until the early twentieth century.¹ The regulations gazetted in 1896, under which time-expired Islanders were required, within one

1. See for example Newspaper unknown, Sep. 1890, letter by 'One of the Unfortunate Planters', Newspaper Cuttings relating to the Labour Trade with Queensland 1890-5, collected by the Rev. Dr J.G. Paton, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 30; Telegraph 9 Apr. 1892; CPD V, 1901-02, p.5918; Herald, A White Australia, pp.14, 83.

month of the expiry of their agreements, to enter into new agreements (of not less than six months' duration) or else to return home, may have been designed, at least partly, to stop the migrants moving into other industries and occupations. In the late 1890s and early 1900s local inspectors of Pacific Islanders were also more vigilant in enforcing the occupational restrictions on Islanders - only the 'ticket-holders' under the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1884, it will be recalled, were free to work at what and where they pleased.²

Pacific Islanders were located principally in coastal Queensland but there were also small settlements in northern New South Wales. In North Queensland, as illustrated in Map 1.2, the overwhelming majority resided in the coastal sugar districts from Port Douglas down to Mackay.³ There were small populations in the non sugar-growing districts of Bowen and Townsville and inland from Cairns on the Atherton Tableland. A very few were scattered throughout the inland western districts.

In 1902, according to an official estimate, there were 353 Pacific Islanders who were permanently resident in Queensland.⁴ Approximately one-third of these were in North Queensland, but no information had been obtained for the Burdekin, Herbert River and Cairns districts. This return was also a very conservative estimate. For example, in the previous year it had been calculated that there were 704 'ticket-holders', who were necessarily men and women resident for more than twenty years, still living in Queensland.⁵ Most of these people must surely have regarded the State as their permanent home.

In assessing the number in North Queensland who may have considered themselves to be permanent residents, a table prepared in 1906 from returns by local inspectors of Pacific Islanders is more useful.⁶ This

2. See Chapter 1; Appendix C.

3. See also Table 2.1.

4. This estimate was prepared by the Department of Immigration and presumably, therefore, the information was supplied by local inspectors of Pacific Islanders. Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA.

5. CPP I, 1901-02, p.813; QPP II, 1906, p.669.

6. Ibid., p.903, Appendix XVII. Parts of this return are reproduced in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

gave the number of Islanders in the coastal districts and their length of residence in Australia. Roughly one-quarter of the total number, or over 800, had been resident in Australia since 1891, and over 300 of these had arrived before 1886. Since the development of North Queensland had only begun in the 1860s and had not taken off until the late 1870s and 1880s, such men and women could rightly be considered as pioneers in the region and the majority of these most probably regarded Australia as their permanent home. For example, the Lifou Islander, William Seekis, had arrived in Queensland in 1871 and had been in the Mackay district from about 1874.⁷

SUCH LONG-STANDING residents were prominent amongst those Islanders who had diversified economically. It required considerable enterprise on their part to extend beyond manual wage labour in the sugar industry. Unlike the Chinese and other non-European groups, the Islanders (with the exception of 'ticket-holders') were closely regulated occupationally - after 1884 they were legally restricted to unskilled labour in the fields in sugar and other tropical industries. While there were many evasions of these restrictions, the intention of this policy was achieved: few received any training in skilled or semi-skilled occupations.⁸

In spite of these handicaps, some of the Islanders did improve their prospects. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the time-expired men were considered to be adept wage-bargainers. They were employed by non-European as well as European farmers. In comparison with indentured countrymen they were paid good wages - even if other non-Europeans and Europeans were paid more. Most were employed in sugar-growing and other tropical agriculture, but a small number were engaged in other industries, chiefly the pastoral, sawmilling and timbergetting industries.⁹

7. MM 5 May 1957; QPP II, 1906, p.669, Sigges. For other examples of long-standing residents, see PDMR 7 Sep. 1906, 17 Sep. 1908; QPP II, 1906, p.670, N. Sabbot, p.716, G. Yasserie, p.744, N.P. Petersen; QVP IV, 1889, p.121, E. Eglinton; Townsville Daily Bulletin 21 Oct. 1977.

8. As noted in H.D. Tonga to Winston Churchill, 26 Mar. 1906, A1 06/4761, AA.

9. See QVP II, 1892, p.1215; QPP II, 1902, p.1257; PDMR 17 Sep. 1908; Statement of C.F. Schulz, Inquest No.412 of 1907, William Sula, JUS/N380, QSA.

Some enterprising Islanders contracted to cut cane, employing fellow Islanders and even other non-Europeans to assist them. At Plane Creek near Mackay in 1906, for instance, some 'ticket-holders' were employing other Islanders and also Malays to cut cane at 2s.9d per ton.¹⁰ Other Islanders were attracted by small-scale self-employment, such as clearing scrub, cutting firewood, fishing and carrying cargo. In the towns they ran boarding houses and small shops.¹¹

The obvious alternative to wage labour was to work on the land for oneself. Here again the Islanders faced legal obstacles. They could not be prevented from taking up leaseholds, but only naturalized aliens could own real property and only those Islanders who were French subjects could apply for naturalization.¹² William Wombie from Lifou Island in the French colony of New Caledonia, for example, became naturalized. After years of working as a stockman, he acquired a property in the Gulf country stocked with cattle and blood horses; financial troubles later forced him to relinquish this station and take up a poorer selection known as Gum Hole Station.¹³

Wombie was the only Islander grazier in the pastoral industry (in North Queensland, at least). There were, however, many Islanders who engaged in small-scale agriculture, principally in the sugar-growing districts, but also in other agricultural areas such as Bowen and the Atherton Tableland.¹⁴ The number of such farmers according to returns

10. QPP 11, 1906, p.693, H.E. Turner. For other examples see SJTC III, 15 Jun., p.107, 15 Jul. 1894, p.128; Maxwell to Prime Min., 9 Oct. 1901, telegram, A1 01/132/6, AA.

11. See CMP 27 Feb., 5 Mar. 1896, 18 Aug. 1903; PDMR 3 Aug. 1906; Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Staines to Braikenridge, 25 Mar. 1907, p.408, CPS 12E/G2, QSA.

12. See Chapter 1, p.19.

13. Mining News (Croydon) quoted in CMP 15 Nov. 1905; Statement of D. Wombie, Inquest No.378 of 1927, William Wombie, JUS/N843, QSA; Cotton, With the Big Herds, pp.102-3.

14. The Chinese were also attracted to small-scale agriculture. May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, p.209.

prepared by local inspectors of Pacific Islanders in 1906 is shown below in Table 2.1. The following brief discussion of farmers in each of these districts will compare these figures with other available information.¹⁵

TABLE 2.1: Pacific Islander farmers in coastal North Queensland, 1906

	PT DOUGLAS	CAIRNS	JOHNSTONE R.	HERBERT R.	BURDEKIN	BOWEN	PROSERPINE	MACKAY	TOTAL
NO. ISLANDERS	400	651	382	514	340	38	40	962	3327
NO. FREEHOLDERS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
NO. LEASEHOLDERS	13	-	1	-	-	16	20	155	205

Source: QPP II, 1906, p.903, Appendix XVII.

Mackay was the district with by far the largest number of Islander farmers. As shown in Table 2.1, there were said to be 163 farmers in the district in 1906, 8 on freehold and the rest on leasehold land. The earliest leases dated back to 1893 but the majority had been taken up very recently.¹⁶ This is well illustrated by the evidence from nominal sources (that is, sources in which individuals are named), which provides a total of 129 Islanders (including 2 women and 2 native-born men) who were or had been engaged in farming by the end of 1907: at least 64, or

15. The return prepared in 1902 noted that there were Islanders leasing land but gave no figures. Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA.

16. Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, n.d. [1907], memo., A1 08/2939, AA. It had been wrongly asserted in 1894 that there were no Islanders in Mackay who were leasing land. SJTC III, 15 Sep. 1894, p.172, Editor's note to letter by 'Farmer'.

over half, had taken up farming since 1903 and chiefly in 1906.¹⁷

According to the 1906 return, farmers represented seventeen per cent of the district's Islander population. In the neighbouring districts of Proserpine and Bowen, the number engaged in farming was much lower but their proportion of the population was much greater. As shown in Table 2.1, there were said to be sixteen farmers in Bowen and twenty in Proserpine, all on leaseholds, or forty-two and fifty per cent of the populations, respectively. The earliest date on which an Islander was known to be farming was 1891, when Harry Fraser from Aneityum in the New Hebrides was cultivating land at Murroona near Bowen. In Proserpine most of the leases had been taken up since the early 1900s.¹⁸ A higher total is provided from nominal sources, according to which at least fifty-one Islanders (including four native-born) were farming in Proserpine and Bowen up to the end of 1907.¹⁹

In more northerly districts the trend to farming was less marked. As Table 2.1 shows, there were said to be no Islander farmers in the Burdekin, Herbert River and Cairns districts, one in the Johnstone River district and a few in the Port Douglas district. This assertion is contradicted, however, by the evidence from nominal sources in all but the latter district.

In the Burdekin, nominal sources reveal that there were at least two Islander farmers - one was a tenant of Drysdale Brothers (later the Pioneer Sugar Mills Ltd) and the other leased land from a local farmer.²⁰

17. The nominal sources for Mackay and other districts are varied, but are chiefly government publications (such as evidence presented to the royal commission of 1906), state school admission registers, church baptismal and marriage registers and archival sources.

18. Elvina Fraser, ABR, Bowen, 5 Sep. 1891; QPP II, 1906, p.711, J. Hindmarsh.

19. For other estimates of the number of farmers, see ibid., p.698, Const. W.H. Ryan, p.716, G. Yasserie.

20. Tom's account cited in R. Connolly, John Drysdale and the Burdekin (Sydney, 1964), p.114; QPP II, 1906, p.845, Taller.

In the next sugar-growing area, the Herbert River district, there were at least twelve Islander farmers according to the evidence from nominal sources. These small farmers had been operating successfully since the early 1890s.²¹

In the far north, the only substantial numbers of farmers were in the Port Douglas district. There were at least ten farming leasehold land in the Johnstone River district, but eight of these only took up their leases in 1906.²² In Cairns and the Atherton Tableland from the late 1890s there were several Islanders leasing land but the names of only two individuals have been found.²³ There were said to be thirteen leaseholders, or three per cent of the total Islander population, in the Port Douglas district in 1906 (see Table 2.1). Nominal sources reveal only eight. The pioneer amongst these farmers was Johnnie Nahlun, an Erromangan who had taken up a selection of eighty acres near the Daintree River in the early 1880s.²⁴

The combination of the evidence available from nominal sources and the 1906 return is sufficient to demonstrate that there were considerable numbers of farmers amongst the Islanders in North Queensland. Proportionally and absolutely the number of farmers was greatest in the Mackay, Proserpine and Bowen districts. That these were the districts with the highest proportion of long-standing residents was not coincidental. Apart from this factor, there were developments in the sugar industry which help to explain the concentration of farmers in these districts and the timing of their entry into farming.

From the early 1890s the pattern of large plantations with their

21. Shepherd, *The Herbert River Story*, p.182; Carrie, ABR, Ingham, 18 Oct. 1891; SJTC III, 15 Jun. 1894, p.107.

22. See *Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forwarded by Brennan to Hunt*, 9 Jul. 1907, AI 08/2939, AA.

23. Ibid.; CMP 19 Nov. 1896, 18 Aug. 1903; QPP II, 1906, p.744, N.P. Petersen.

24. File for Selection No.155, LAN/AG613, QSA. See for other examples QVP I, 1896, pp.255, 271; QPP II, 1906, p.731, J. Edmonds, p.734, R.A. Donnelly.

own mills began to break down and to be replaced by a system of small farms and co-operatively owned central mills. This process occurred more rapidly in the established sugar districts such as Mackay where the hard work of clearing had been largely completed and small farmers could cultivate their farms with family labour. In the more northerly districts, and especially in the far north, the heavy task of clearing the land was still in progress and the trend was to greater rather than lesser reliance on Islander labour.²⁵ A further development which may have encouraged Islanders to take up farming was provided by the policy of protection for the sugar industry instituted by the new Commonwealth Government.²⁶

In Mackay there were Islander farmers in the Homebush and Plane Creek areas but most were located on the north side of the Pioneer River. This was because the two largest companies, the Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company and Farleigh Estate, chose to include many Islanders amongst their tenants when they sub-divided their estates in the early 1900s. In the Burdekin district this did not occur because the only large estate, Drysdale Brothers, had sufficient growers and therefore rejected the idea of leasing land to Islanders. In the far north the presence of large numbers of 'old hand' Chinese made them the obvious choice as tenants.²⁷

The threat of deportation in the early twentieth century also prompted Islanders to become farmers. It was believed that the possession

25. See Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.235-37, 243; Moore, The Transformation of the Mackay Sugar Industry, pp.23, 24, 26; Shlomowitz, 'The Search for Institutional Equilibrium', pp.104-5.

26. An import duty protected growers from foreign sugar, while an excise tax gave an additional bonus to European growers who employed European labour only. See Chapter 3, p.104. Some Islander cane farmers in Nambour wrote to Brennan to protest at the lower price they received over Europeans for their cane. See Nambour South Sea Islanders to Brennan, 18 Jun. 1903, PRE/87, QSA.

27. QPP II, 1906, p.609, J. Smart, p.614, J.C. Penny; J.A. Nilsson, History of Mackay The Sugar Town 1862-1915 (B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1963), p.134; Smart to Manager, 7 May 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Co., Alexandra Plantation Letter Book (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.236; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.83, 86, 92-94.

of a leasehold might exempt them from deportation. Henry Tongoa, a cane farmer in Mackay, made this clear to the royal commission appointed in 1906 to enquire into the sugar industry and the practical application of deportation: "we take lease because we want to stop". The commissioners, concerned that leaseholders who were deported might not receive compensation, advised Tongoa and his fellow Islanders not to take up further leases.²⁸

If the threat of deportation encouraged Islanders to take up leases, this was only an additional stimulus to the existing desire to secure financial independence. F.C. Hornbrook, the inspector of Pacific Islanders in Mackay, commented in 1906 that "this leasing land is no new thing, they have found out from experience that they can make more money and have a better and easier life by working for themselves ...".²⁹ If deportation had not taken place, presumably the number of Islander farmers would have continued to increase and in districts such as Mackay, settlements like those of Indian farmers in Fiji might have resulted.³⁰

The royal commissioners had been greatly surprised at the number of Islanders who were farming and historians have tended to refer to this trend only in passing.³¹ Yet from the late 1890s various observers began to comment on this movement into farming, with some objections from European farmers, who believed that the services of the migrants should be preserved for European use exclusively.³² The absence of any determined

28. QPP II, 1906, pp.618, 621, H. Tongoa. For similar opinions on the purpose behind leasing, see *ibid.*, p.635, C. Sage, p.885, J. O'N. Brennan; Fraser to Brennan, 26 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Nielson to Kidston, 19 Apr. 1906, O1953, encl. in Brennan to Under Col. Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH.

29. Hornbrook to Brennan, 16 May 1906, encl. in *ibid.* For similar comments, see Rannie to Hornbrook, 15 May 1906, *ibid.*; Hornbrook to Brennan, 5 May 1906, *ibid.*; MM 13 Oct. 1904.

30. Anon., Indian Indentured Labour in Fiji (Perth, 1918), p.39.

31. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.126; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.452; Scarr, 'Recruits and Recruiters', p.232. The exception to this was J.A. Nilsson, who noted that leasing was a widespread practice amongst Islanders in Mackay in the 1900s. History of Mackay, pp.134-35.

32. Agent-General for Queensland, The Sugar Industry in Queensland. Acts and Regulations (London, 1897), p.11; Morgan to Governor, 19 Oct. 1903, PRE/87, QSA; MM 24 Apr., 12 May 1906; North Queensland Herald quoted in PDT 19 Mar. 1907.

opposition from this, or any other quarter, may be because this movement only took on significant proportions in the years immediately before deportation.

Queensland officials were certainly well aware of the trend to farming amongst Islanders. In 1894 Brennan, the immigration agent and officer in charge of Pacific Island labour, sought and received advice from the attorney-general, T.J. Byrnes, that an Islander could not be legally prevented from "genuinely taking a piece of land on lease and working it for his own profit". Thus while Brennan and local inspectors of Pacific Islanders sought to discourage Islanders from taking up leases, no official policy of interference was followed.³³

Brennan and his inspectors were, however, concerned at the scope for exploiting the Islanders, since leases had to be registered officially for any protection against the land being sold or a mortgage foreclosed.³⁴ Like the Chinese, the Islanders tended to be given 'clearing leases', and therefore ran the risk of an unscrupulous landlord getting their land improved at no cost by resuming possession once the land was cleared. A similarly hard-headed arrangement was made by the Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company with its Islander tenants, who were given land along the riverbank which could only be broken up with hoes (and corresponding physical labour) rather than with ploughs. On Farleigh Estate only the European tenants, significantly, had the option to purchase their land.³⁵ In the years after 1908, the pattern was continued of giving the Islanders land along the riverbanks and on the hillsides, which Europeans were not prepared to cultivate.³⁶

33. QPP II, 1906, pp.884-85, J. O'N. Brennan; Brennan to Under Chief Sec., 2 May 1906, O2010, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH. Hornbrook himself leased land to Islanders, a practice for which he received official censure. Hornbrook to Brennan, 16 May 1906, encl. in Brennan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, ibid.

34. Phillips to Hornbrook, 14 May 1906, ibid.; Hornbrook to Brennan, 5 May 1906, ibid.; QPP II, 1906, pp.884-85, J.O'N. Brennan.

35. CMP 18 Aug. 1903; QPP II, 1906, p.614, J.C. Penny, p.717, G. Yasserie; Smart to Manager, 10 Apr. 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company, Alexandra Plantation Letter Book (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.223-24.

36. See Chapter 7.

In addition to being vulnerable through the conditions of their leases, many Islanders held leases which were merely verbal or at best simple written agreements. In a few cases, and usually at the Islanders' insistence, the leases were drawn up correctly.³⁷ Those who engaged in mixed farming or market gardening usually paid an annual rent of so many shillings per acre, depending on the quality of the land.³⁸ Amongst those growing cane (who were the majority of farmers), the standard lease was for three to five years at a royalty of 1s. per ton.³⁹

Only a tiny number of Islanders held freehold land. The legal obstacles to this have already been mentioned. In 1906, as shown in Table 2.1, there were said to be eight freeholders in the Mackay district, but no details on these individuals have been discovered. In the Port Douglas district, there were a further four Islander freeholders. One of these was Johnnie Nahlun, who in 1887 had satisfied the requirements of five years' residency and improvements to a certain value on his Daintree selection.⁴⁰

There is very little information on the size of these farms, leasehold or freehold. Nahlun's selection comprised eighty acres for mixed farming, but it appears that most Islanders growing such crops occupied only a few acres. The largest cane farm was 160 acres, worked by Willy Ipi and Harry Lifu in the Port Douglas district. Other known acreages are the farms of Henry Tongoa, William Seekis and Noah Sabbo in

37. Fraser to Brenan, 26 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Hornbrook to Brenan, 16 May 1906, encl. in Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mE 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; Phillips to Hornbrook, 14 May 1906, ibid.; QPP II, 1906, p.609, J. Smart, p.614, J.C. Penny, p.625, F.C. Hornbrook.

38. Fraser to Brenan, 26 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; J. Hamilton to Chief Sec., 26 Sep. 1898, 01934, M435, POL/J29, QSA.

39. Europeans received the same terms. QPP II, 1906, p.609, J. Smart, p.614, J.C. Penny, p.621, H. Tongoa, p.648, S. Arbuthnot, pp.669-70, N. Sabbot, p.698, Const. W.H. Ryan, p.711, J. Hindmarsh; MM 24 Apr. 1906; Q 10 Sep. 1904, p.35.

40. File for Selection No.155, LAN/AG613, QSA. For the others, see QPP II, 1906, p.896, Appendix XVII; Staines to Brenan, 8 Jul. 1907, Summary, p.478, CPS 12E/G2, QSA.

Mackay and Taller in the Burdekin, comprising eighty, fifty, thirty-five and seven acres, respectively.⁴¹ Since the first three were well-established farmers, the average acreage held by other Islanders was probably more in line with Taller's holding. The average holding of European cane farmers in North Queensland in 1905 was around 100 acres.⁴²

Little is also known about the capital investment made on these farms. Some Islanders were said to have spent considerable sums, both their own funds and loans from countrymen, on such assets and improvements as houses, fences, horses, drays and ploughs.⁴³ Others were dependent on rations provided by the landholder or cash advances on their crops from the mills. Farmers in Proserpine in 1906 must have been anxious when informed by the manager of the Central Mill that they could no longer obtain cash advances; however, he arranged for orders on the storekeepers for their rations.⁴⁴

Partnerships between Islanders were not unusual. The example of Ipi and Lifu in the Port Douglas district has been cited. In Mackay there were many more farmers than lessees. Typically two or more men (usually single) pooled their resources in one leasehold; for instance, the thirty tenants on Farleigh plantation occupied only eight leases.⁴⁵

41. QPP II, 1906, p.896, Appendix XVII, pp.617-18, pp.669-70, p.845. Amongst twenty Islander cane farmers in Nambour in 1903, the average number of acres was just over eleven, and ranged from twelve to five acres. Nambour South Sea Islanders to Brenan, 18 Jun. 1903, PRE/87, QSA.

42. Shlomowitz, 'The Search for Institutional Equilibrium', p.112, Table 6; QPP II, 1906, p.613, J.C. Penny, p.729, S. Archbold. Sabbo commented that his fellow Islanders had "a bit of cane ...". Ibid., p.670.

43. Ibid., pp.617-18, H. Tongoa; Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA.

44. Smart to Manager, 7 May 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company, Alexandra Plantation Letter Book (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); MM 28 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting.

45. Hornbrook to Brenan, 16 May 1906, encl. in Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; QPP II, 1906, p.625, F.C. Hornbrook.

It was also common for Islanders to lend money to countrymen with leases to enable them to purchase implements and other necessities.⁴⁶ While such loans were probably based on verbal guarantees, the recipients had a strong moral obligation to repay such debts in full. These farmers also relied heavily on other Islanders for physical assistance. According to F.J. Stevens (a local farmer) and Hornbrook, an Islander's 'mates' usually worked for him on shares. In 1906 a petition against deportation sponsored by the Mackay-based Pacific Islanders Association (an organization formed to fight against deportation) included amongst its signatories forty-six labourers working for twenty-three of the Islander farmers in the district. Over half were working for countrymen, that is, men from the same island of origin; Thomas Toloa for example, had six fellow Malaitans and one other Islander working for him.⁴⁷ In other districts also the farmers depended upon fellow Islanders for assistance.⁴⁸

Since the threat of deportation had encouraged Islanders to take up leases, it is not surprising to find that the Pacific Islanders Association, although primarily concerned with deportation, also represented the farmers' interests. Indeed, Hornbrook referred to it as the 'Mackay Kanaka Farmers Association'. Tongoa was the first president, and prominent amongst its members were other farmers, some of whom had declined to join the local Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association on the grounds that their interests were well represented by their own Association.⁴⁹ Under the by-laws of the articles of association, for

46. See *ibid.*, p.617, H. Tongoa, p.625, F.C. Hornbrook; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d. [1907], A1 08/2939, AA.

47. QPP II, 1906, pp.620, 625, 666; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA. See also QPP II, 1906, p.618, H. Tongoa.

48. See SJTC III, 15 Jun. 1894, p.107, letter by 'Farmer'; Register of Agreements, Harry Lifu, p.429, LPI 12/1, QSA.

49. Hornbrook to Brenan, 16 May 1906, encl. in Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; MM 18 Apr., 1 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meetings. This Association is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

example, loans (at current bank interest rates) could be made available to members who were farming.⁵⁰

These farming pursuits clearly differed from the traditional subsistence agriculture of the shifting cultivation type practised in Melanesia. Certainly in Queensland Islanders grew at least some of their own food, and kept livestock and poultry. But even those growing fruit and vegetables kept aside a portion of their crop for sale. The cane farmers had clearly embarked on cash cropping, even if on a small scale and with implements such as hoes and mattocks, which were not unlike the tools used (mostly by the women) for digging their gardens at home.⁵¹ Moreover, in Queensland the Islanders functioned as independent farmers, without the ties and obligations created by the system of group assistance which governed village life. Other Islanders may have willingly supplied their labour when needed, and the farmers may have given assistance (as in free board) to unemployed friends and widows with dependants, but the pressure or need to provide such support was greatly reduced in Queensland.⁵²

The migrants were engaging in different patterns of agriculture from those in the islands. Yet it is doubtful whether many achieved success by European standards. Most appear to have been struggling small farmers, dependent on rations or cash advances from the mill. Most of

50. Evidence of James Bookie, Rex vs Harry Tongoa, No. 19 of 1907, A/18353, QSA; Articles of Association and Bye-Laws of the Pacific Islanders' Association, encl. in ibid.

51. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, pp.215-16; L.P. Maenu'u, 'Traditional Farming in the Solomon Islands', in Winslow (ed.), The Melanesian Environment, p.140; D.E. Yen, 'Agricultural Systems and Prehistory in the Solomon Islands', in R.C. Green and M. M. Cresswell (eds), Southeast Solomon Islands Cultural History A Preliminary Survey (Wellington, 1976), p.61. See also Chapter 9, p.407.

52. See SJTC III, 15 Jun. 1894, p.107; Pacific Islanders Association Scheme, p.4, 31 Aug. 1906, A1 06/6324, AA; Elizabeth Norra, Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, ibid. For a comparison with independent farmers in Fiji, see Frazer, 'The Fijian village and the independent farmer', p.92.

their farms were smaller, usually much smaller, than the average European land-holding. They were given land which was not cleared or which could only be arduously cultivated by hoe. The area under cane and therefore their return was small. Tongoa, for example, leased fifty acres but only ten were under cane and this had yielded forty-five tons of cane in 1905.⁵³ Sage, the missionary in charge of Selwyn Mission, asserted in 1906 that the Islanders did not plant sufficient cane to pay expenses and that some had already forfeited their leaseholds.⁵⁴ There may have been some truth in this. While the Islanders were experienced in cultivation, few were literate or knowledgeable in business methods such as the proper keeping of accounts. However, it must be remembered that most of these farmers had taken up their leases very recently. There were contemporaries, such as John Smart (the manager of Palms plantation for the Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company) who considered that the Islanders were making a success as small farmers. The continued presence of such farmers in the years after 1908 was a further indication that they were not completely unsuccessful.⁵⁵

MOST ISLANDERS had achieved a standard of living in Queensland which was in material terms far above that in their original villages. Moreover, by comparison with the cost of living in countries such as England an individual or couple could live well fairly cheaply.⁵⁶ Time-expired Islanders and 'ticket-holders' had very superior living conditions over the 'new chums'. On the plantations and even on the small farms, married

53. QPP II, 1906, pp.617-18, H. Tongoa.

54. Ibid., p.853, G. Frodsham.

55. Smart to Manager, 7 May 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Co., Alexandra Plantation Letter Book (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Newspaper unknown, n.d., Captain Rason, The Coloured Labour Question, Vol.I; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.182. See also Chapter 7.

56. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.126; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.452; Agent-General for Queensland, The Sugar Industry in Queensland, p.15.

couples had their own quarters, separate from the single men. They had acquired "the household customs of civilisation", with a kitchen, livingroom, bedroom and furnishings such as beds, tables, chairs and pots and pans. Many cultivated their own vegetable gardens and rations were provided raw for the women to cook.⁵⁷ Those who lived off the plantations built or rented houses. Observers commented upon the tidiness and cleanliness of the Islanders' living habits. Great store was placed on the acquisition of possessions.⁵⁸ A further sign of their relative prosperity was provided by the horses, bicycles, buggies or spring carts which they used for transport.⁵⁹ Europeans considered that non-Europeans had lower living costs (and standards) than themselves; this was true to the extent that the latter usually had no dependants, produced much of their own food and lived in cheap housing.⁶⁰

This degree of comfort in their living conditions was both an inducement to remain in Australia and an indication of a desire to do so. Those Islanders intent on returning to their homes were more concerned to build up their savings than to acquire the trappings of a European lifestyle.

57. SJTC III, Feb. 1894, Supplement, The Times Commissioner on the Sugar Industry, p.3; QVP IV, 1889, p.110, J.D. Johnstone; Smith, 'The Kanaka As I Knew Him', p.142; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Not in Vain: What God hath Wrought Amongst the Kanakas 19th Annual Report of Queensland Kanaka Mission for 1904-5 (Bundaberg, 1905), p.30, encl. in PRE/89, QSA.

58. File for Selection No.155, LAN/AG613, QSA; Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Nielson to Kidston, 01953, encl. in Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS - PSEAH; Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 24 Mar. 1900, 02341, 448 of 1900, ibid.

59. NM 28 Mar., 14 May 1906; Newspaper cutting, BC 6 Jun. 1906 encl. in A1 06/4761, AA; Ayrshire Chronicle quoted in Herald, A White Australia, p.83.

60. PDT 2 May 1905; Bulletin 25 May 1901, The Coloured Labour Question, Vol.I; C. May, 'The Chinese in Cairns District, 1876-1920', in Reynolds (ed.), Race Relations in North Queensland, p.223.

Another development which provided an incentive to remain and bespoke such an intention was the contracting of relationships which transgressed traditional marriage rules. As will be seen, a significant proportion of those migrants with marital partners were in this category. 'Partners' is used here to cover both legal and common law relationships.

The proportion of Islanders with partners was always very low amongst the men and much higher amongst the women; in terms of the sex imbalance of this population (that is, the tiny number of women), this is easily understood. According to the Queensland census of 1901, just over four per cent of men aged over fifteen were married in contrast to sixty per cent of the women.⁶¹ In 1906, according to returns prepared by the inspectors of Pacific Islanders, nearly four per cent of Islander men in North Queensland had partners; no figures were given for the women (see Table 2.2). This percentage was noticeably higher amongst the small,

TABLE 2.2: Pacific Islanders in coastal North Queensland, 1906

DISTRICT	M	F	NO. MALES MARR.	ORIGIN OF FEMALE PARTNERS			AB. & 'HALF- CASTE'	EUR.	OTHER	NO. CHILDREN
				SAME IS.	DIFFERENT IS.					
PT DOUGLAS	400	0	13	-	6	7	-	-	23	
CAIRNS	651	0	5	-	-	4	1	-	9	
JOHNSTONE R.	375	7	21	6	1	11	-	3	19	
HERBERT R.	500	14	23	5	-	9	9	-	30	
BURDEKIN	333	7	15	4	10	1	-	-	20	
BOWEN	34	4	5	3	-	1	1	-	10	
PROSERPINE	37	3	7	-	7	-	-	-	18	
MACKAY	918	44	38	27	7	-	4	-	117	
TOTAL	3248	79	127	45	31	33	15	3	246	

Source: QPP II, 1906, p.903, Appendix XVII.

61. QPP II, 1902, p.1116.

established populations in Bowen and Proserpine, and generally lower in the districts in the far north.

As shown in Table 2.2, some sixty per cent of relationships were with Islander women, with over half of these between men and women from the same island.⁶² By no means all of these relationships, however, would have satisfied the strict marriage rules applied in Melanesian societies.⁶³ Even amongst those couples who had recruited together there were some who had eloped and for whom therefore it would have been dangerous to return. The number of women in Queensland was always very small and the women were predominantly New Hebridean.⁶⁴ Relationships were often formed in Queensland between men and women from different islands, even different island groups - many Solomon Islander men married New Hebridean women.⁶⁵ A feature which became more marked after 1907 was that of marriages between migrants and the native-born women of full or part Islander descent.⁶⁶

The proportion of partnerships which had a legal basis in European terms was probably not very high. Certainly there were many church and civil

62. In the Pacific Islanders Association petition, eleven of the fifteen couples in Mackay were both from the same island. Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA. See also Table 4.7.

63. See Woodford to Chermside, 10 Aug. 1902, encl. in Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 10 Sep. 1902, No.71, A1 03/1694, AA; K. Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland 1863-1907', in Second Women and Labour Conference Papers 1980 (Bundoora, 1980), Vol.II, pp.675-76. For an example of a marriage which would have satisfied such rules, see Luke Lowomee and Maggie Fatnahoonha, AMR, Mackay, 27 Aug. 1906; T12Bsa:1.

64. See Chapter 1, pp.10, 12.

65. In Mackay between 1878 and 1907 there are twenty-eight marriages of migrant men in the marriage registers of the Anglican church; at least fifteen of these were to women from other islands. For examples of marriages between Solomon Islander men and New Hebridean women, see QPP II, 1906, p.844, CumCum, p.845, Ferrugie; Johnny Mangway and Nellie Tayhay, AMR, Mackay, 31 Jul. 1898; David Vanolla and Elizabeth Assassoona, ibid., 15 Jan. 1899; James Corsay and Lizzie Nego, ibid., 30 Sep. 1900.

66. See Henry Mie and Hannah Mickey, ibid., 3 Mar. 1903; Andrew Bobongie and Joy Kwau, ibid., 13 Nov. 1906; Jack Ware and Ellen Load, AMR, Bowen, 23 Jan. 1897. See also Table 4.7.

marriages⁶⁷, but most couples, especially those who had recruited together, seem not to have gone through this legal formality. At the Walkerston Mission, for example, McIntyre distinguished clearly between those married "according to Island rites" and those married legally.⁶⁸

Bride-price, the custom of providing an agreed exchange to the bride's relatives, appears to have been practised in Queensland, if to a limited extent and in an attenuated form. Money replaced such currency as shell valuables. In Mackay in 1907, for instance, an Islander offered £10 to the brother of a native-born Islander girl whom he desired.⁶⁹ Partnerships which did not satisfy traditional marriage rules may sometimes have been set aside if the man or woman found a partner from the correct kin categories.⁷⁰

As shown in Table 2.2, there were also many relationships formed between Islander men and non-Melanesian women. Roughly half of these were with European women. For example, Jimmy Sura from Guadalcanal married a Scottish woman, Agnes Brown, in Mackay in the 1880s.⁷¹ There were also

67. See M.M. Bennett, Christison of Lammermoor (London, 1927), p.153; AYB, 1905-6, p.75; QPP II, 1906, p.634, J. McIntyre, p.730, J.R. Edmonds, p.750, W.P. Wilson, p.795, C.W. Tomkins, p.845, Tarrim Dooley; Statement of Johnny Lefu, Inquest No. 654 of 1934, Nellie Lefu, JUS/N987, QSA. Access to the State marriage registers was denied. Marriage registers kept by the churches up to 1907 have many gaps and are complete only in Mackay, Bowen and Cairns, where they recorded twenty-eight, six and nil marriages of Islanders, respectively. See Appendix A.

68. QPP II, 1906, p.634.

69. MM 28 Mar. 1907, MPC. For other examples see W 6 Jul. 1901; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d. [1907], A1 08/2939, AA; Herald, A White Australia, pp.36, 82. For a case in which a return on Tanna rejected the bride-price custom, see Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.62, Oct. 1908, pp.11-12. See also Chapter 4, p.169.

70. QPP II, 1906, p.499, H. Caulfeild; Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', p.676.

71. Woodford to O'Brien, 10 Apr. 1899, No.17, Western Pacific High Commission (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett). For other examples see Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d. [1907], A1 08/2939, AA; QPP II, 1906, p.669, Sigges; Harry Fraser, AMR, Bowen, 9 Mar. 1895; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.340-41.

some cases of Islander women marrying Europeans; one of these was a Solomon Islander woman, Annie Barslo, who married a Herbert River cane farmer, George Gosling.⁷² While Europeans disapproved strongly of such marriages, there were no official attempts to prevent them.⁷³ In a small number of cases, the Islanders found partners from amongst other non-European migrants such as the Chinese.⁷⁴ In many more cases, the partners were Aboriginal women. This was most common in the Herbert River and other northerly districts, where the number of Islander women was very low.⁷⁵

In view of the tiny number of Islander women, Aboriginal women were the obvious alternative for both casual and more permanent liaisons. It was not uncommon for Islander men to forcibly abduct Aboriginal women from the camps. On many occasions they made bride payments for these women. Eight Islander men in Innisfail for instance, had given a bride-price ranging from £1 to £10 to the relatives of their Aboriginal partners. Not surprisingly, European sensibilities were offended by these 'sales'.⁷⁶ It was alleged that Aboriginal women were sometimes 'sold' to other Islander men, and certainly there were cases in which Islanders forcibly dispossessed

72. Evelyn Gosling, AMR, Ingham, 31 Mar. 1912. For other examples see Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA; Table 4.7.

73. See QPP II, 1906, p.680, E. Dark; MM 5 Jan. 1904; QPD XLI, 1884, p.240; Markus, Fear and Hatred, p.224. There appear to have been no marriages between Europeans and Aborigines. Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations, p.417.

74. See Table 2.2; Table 4.7; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA.

75. This was more common in North Queensland than in Southern Queensland. See QPP II, 1906, p.903, Appendix XVII.

76. See Fussell, A Kanaka Slave, pp.58-59; Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brennan to Hunt, 26 Jun. 1907, ibid.; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.344.

fellow Islanders of their Aboriginal partners.⁷⁷ There were also claims that Pacific Islanders used these women for 'immoral purposes', that is, prostitution.⁷⁸ While at least some of these accusations appear to have been ill-founded, they reveal clearly the potential - and not only for the Islanders - for exploiting Aborigines. The Islanders, as pointed out in Chapter 1, looked down upon Aborigines and relations between the two groups were commonly marked by violence.

Yet long-term relationships between the men and Aboriginal women generally did not fit this pattern of abuse and violence. Such common law relationships, according to some knowledgeable observers, were regarded as permanent and respected by the men.⁷⁹ Many couples married after several years of living together.⁸⁰ Proof of the enduring and affectionate nature of these unions was provided during deportation in the distress occasioned by attempts to deport the men.⁸¹ As the next chapter will show, many Aboriginal women accompanied their men to the islands.

Aboriginal women living with Islander men were usually considered to have improved their situation. To Europeans, they had exchanged the unhygienic, squalid and precarious camp lifestyle for clean comfortable surroundings and steady, hard-working partners.⁸² Nevertheless, marriages

77. Fussell, *A Kanaka Slave*, p.60; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d. [1907], A1 08/2939, AA; Brenan to Hunt, telegram, 29 Aug. 1907, *ibid.*; Fraser to Brenan, 13 Jan. 1908, *ibid.*

78. See Bamford to Actg Prime Min., 8 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*; Fraser to Brenan, 30 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brenan to Hunt, 26 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*

79. Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*; Frodsham to Hunt, telegram, 13 Jul. 1907, *ibid.*; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d. [1907], *ibid.*

80. See Const. McKenna to Insp. of Police, 23 Aug. 1901, POL/J17, QSA; Statement of Johnny Lefu, Inquest No.654 of 1934, Nellie Lefu, JUS/N987, QSA; QPP II, 1906, p.750, W.P. Wilson. While the Chinese had many relationships with Aboriginal women, they did not marry them. May, *The Chinese in Cairns and District*, p.168.

81. See Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brenan to Hunt, 26 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*

82. See Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brenan to Hunt, 26 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*; Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, *ibid.*; AYB, 1905-6, p.75.

between Aborigines and Islanders were not encouraged by the authorities.⁸³

In summary, it has been shown that few of the migrant men had partners, at least during their stay in Queensland. The majority of the women, however, did have partners. Most relationships were formed with Islander men or women, although many of these would have transgressed traditional marriage rules. Other partners were drawn principally from the Aboriginal and European populations. Abuse and violence marked many of the liaisons between Islander men and Aboriginal women, but there were also cases of enduring and affectionate relationships.

IN THE treatment and position of Islander women in Queensland, there were important differences from conditions prevailing in their island societies. Social restrictions on young women and their role in village life ensured that only small numbers of women recruited. Most who did recruit went with their husbands or seized the opportunity to elope with other men, but there were also some (despite the regulations) who came unaccompanied (see Plate 2.2).⁸⁴

During the voyage to Queensland the women ran the risk of sexual attack by either the male recruits or European men on board.⁸⁵ In the colony too, they found themselves in a vulnerable position. Their small numbers increased their desirability for sexual and status purposes. Quarrels over women provoked most disputes on the plantations. Traditionally

83. See QPP II, 1906, p.883, J.M. Costin; Under Home Sec. to Police Commissioner, 10 Oct. 1901, 14811, POL/J17, QSA; Const. Cohen to Serg. Fraser, 7 Jun. 1903, 13982, *ibid*.

84. For examples, see T12Bsa:l-2; Ty2Bp.1; MM 7 Feb. 1880; CMP 22 Jul. 1897; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.82; Cromar, Jock of the Islands, p.96; J. Thomas, Cannibals and Convicts: Notes of Personal Experiences in the Western Pacific (London, 1887), pp.334-35. See also Chapter 1.

85. See Thomas, Cannibals and Convicts, pp.334-35; Cromar, Jock of the Islands, pp.82, 96-97; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question, p.15; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.52, Apr. 1906, p.18.



PLATE 2.1: John Kwailu (Fatnowna) and Orrani from Malaita, with their children Joy, Lucy, Cicily, Harry and Eva (the youngest), Mackay, c. 1906.



PLATE 2.2: Katie Marlla working as a domestic on A.E. Innes' farm at Pratolina near Mackay, c. 1900. She was brought from Aoba as a young, single girl.

Melanesian men held little respect for women from another district or island. Sexual assaults on women in Queensland were frequent and often brutal, and sometimes produced vengeful attacks by the woman's countrymen on the perpetrators.⁸⁶ In the 1890s and 1900s, the predominance of Solomon Islanders exacerbated this situation, since the great majority of the women were New Hebrideans. The incidence of assaults may have been higher in the far north, where there were large numbers of 'new chums' (and, correspondingly, Solomon Islanders), than in established districts such as Mackay.⁸⁷

The victims of sexual assault could expect little support from Europeans, either in the form of legal redress or intervention to prevent such attacks.⁸⁸ Islander women were regarded, like their European contemporaries, as the virtual property of their spouses. Women who eloped, if discovered by the Queensland authorities, faced the risk of being returned to their islands, notwithstanding the great danger this posed to their lives.⁸⁹ Even in Queensland these women were not always safe from retribution by kinfolk: two Tannese men, for instance, were sent to the

86. Forster to McDonald, 16 Nov., 26 Nov. 1885, 9527 of 1885, COL/A448, QSA; Herald, A White Australia, pp.36, 45-46; Maryborough Chronicle quoted in Rockhampton Morning Bulletin 19 Nov. 1884; War Cry 7 Nov. 1896, p.6; Saunders, 'The Black Scourge', pp.205, 216-17. See also Chapter 1, pp.34, 49.

87. For example, Davitt who visited Mackay in the late 1890s commented that the women were not molested at work or in leisure hours by the Islander men, whereas in 1901 W.T. Reay, the special commissioner for the Herald, reported that sexual assault was common in the Cairns district. Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.273; Herald, A White Australia, pp.36, 45-46.

88. See MM 23 Nov. 1886; Herald, A White Australia, p.84; Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', pp.676-77.

89. For examples of this attitude, see Woodford to Brennan, 9 Jan. 1903, O1793, 4923 of 1903, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH; Brennan to Actg Under Chief Sec., 10 Mar. 1903, ibid.; Scarr, Fragments of Empire, pp.158-59n.

colony to bring back two countrywomen on a Maryborough plantation who had recruited without the elders' permission.⁹⁰

Like the men, the women made important adjustments to the life in Queensland. Their appearance was greatly altered by the wearing of European dress, in the form of modest high-necked, long-sleeved and full-skirted dresses or blouses and skirts and heavy boots (see Plates 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3). They learnt to dress their hair in a European manner and to wear hats, jewellery and other fashionable adornments (see Plate 1.6).⁹¹

Islander women were accustomed to monotonous, constant labour in their gardens. Thus plantation work was less unfamiliar for them than for the men. Women worked in the fields, often in women's gangs, but usually at the lighter tasks such as planting. The sensibilities of European visitors were greatly offended by the sight of these women labouring in the fields.⁹² Pregnant women worked up till or very close to the birth and returned soon after, usually with their infants, who were often carried on their backs in slings.⁹³

Not all women worked in the fields. Until strict occupational restrictions for Islanders were stipulated in 1884, and even after, they were often employed as cooks, domestic servants and children's nurses (see Plate 2.2).⁹⁴ They learnt domestic skills from their female employers

90. Q 5 Jun. 1926, p.6.

91. See MM 7 Mar. 1903; BC 1 Jan. 1907; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Blake, 'The Kanaka', p.82; Photographic Album, I, Nos.19-21, 41, 43, II, Nos.36, 63.

92. Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.273; Molesworth, Kanaka Labour in Queensland, p.47; Telegraph 7 Feb. 1884; Herald, A White Australia, p.50.

93. QVP IV, 1889, p.174, W.H. Truss; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.93-94, 97; Herald, A White Australia, pp.50, 51; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 39, 44, 45; Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', p.674; T3Bsa:3; T6Bsa:1.

94. See Bernays, Queensland Politics During Sixty Years, p.65; QPD LXVII, 1885, p.1087; QVP II, 1892, p.1215; QPP II, 1902, p.1257; Caulfeild, 'Adventurous Life of Henry Caulfeild', 1 Jun. 1937, p.48; Forbes, 'The Kanaka in Queensland', p.647; Elizabeth (Lucy) and Clara, ABR, Bowen, 17 Dec. 1899.



PLATE 2.3: Sarah Lemarla from Tongoa with her daughters Rhoda and Esther (on her lap), Herbert River district, c. 1910.



PLATE 2.4: Jack Meredith, one of the few Malaitans who remained in the Herbert River district after 1908, c. 1900.

or experienced fellow Islanders, and also in mission classes.⁹⁵ In the mid-1900s, significantly, the occupations of married women (particularly those whose partners were farming) began to be given as 'domestic duties' rather than 'plantation labourers'; this trend to working only in the home became more noticeable in later years.⁹⁶

European contemporaries described Islander women as pleasant-tempered and neat in appearance. For many, the work in Queensland must have been less demanding than, and their living conditions superior to, those in their villages. On Tanna, women who had returned remembered life in Queensland thus: "'Plenty MANO (dress); plenty KI-KI (food)'"⁹⁷ In Queensland they could complain to the inspectors and bring charges if they were maltreated, even if their chances of securing convictions were slight.⁹⁸ Moreover, they gained a measure of economic freedom through the wages they earned, and a number enjoyed the independence of savings bank accounts in their own names.⁹⁹ At least three women took the further step of farming on their own account, such as Kate Suvalissie, a Malekulan widow with five daughters, who was farming on leased land near Palms in 1906.¹⁰⁰

95. Q 5 Jun. 1926, p.6; Ole Matsen, *Diary I*, n.p. (reference supplied by C.R. Moore).

96. See Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA. See also Chapter 9.

97. Thomas, Cannibals and Convicts, p.253. For descriptions of the women's temperament and appearance see Herald, A White Australia, p.50; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Davitt, Life and Progress in Australasia, p.273.

98. MS 29 Jan. 1889, MPC; Australian Christian World 3 Nov. 1892, letter to Ed. by Lizzie Donaldson; Q 5 Jun. 1926, p.6.

99. See for example Bill Bidding, p.20, Matlove (Maggie), p.37, Bara nigh gar, p.190, Coarly, p.179, Natoowon, p.258, IPI 12/L1, QSA; Topsy, p.116, Annie, p.131, Lemala, p.226, IPI 11/2, QSA.

100. QPP II, 1906, p.634, J.M. McIntyre. For the others see Fanny Nellow, Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Summary of Pacific Islanders apparently domiciled permanently in Queensland, A1 03/1694, AA.

Unlike their menfolk, the women readily made friends with other Islander women, even those from different islands.¹⁰¹ The women seem also to have more easily formed an attachment to their new country. There are several cases in which women remained in Queensland after their partners had returned to the islands. In view of their vulnerable position it is not surprising to find that these women, and also most widows, found new partners within a short space of time.¹⁰² Some women who returned were unable to re-adjust to village life and returned to Queensland: Katie Marlla, for example, took her young daughter back to Aoba but came back to Mackay after a few months and did not leave again.¹⁰³

The life in Queensland was easier and freer for Islander women, if lacking in some of the warmth and security of close communal society. It was not possible here to observe rigidly the traditional taboos, especially those relating to sexual separation. Not many couples seem to have kept up observances such as the women withdrawing during menstruation and childbirth.¹⁰⁴ Women also took a larger part in public life. This was particularly noticeable during the campaign against deportation in the 1900s, when Islander women (both migrant and native-born) were present in deputations and amongst the signatories to petitions. In Mackay in 1904 seven young native-born women presented a petition against deportation to the governor-general, Lord Northcote. There were women in attendance at

101. See Q 5 Jun. 1926, p.6; Cromar, Jock of the Islands, pp.104, 186; Forster to McDonald, 26 Nov. 1885, 9527 of 1885, COL/A448, QSA. In culture contact situations generally the women make adjustments more easily than the men, who traditionally control society. P. Grimshaw, 'Australian women in History, Black and White: A Comparative Study', in Second Women and Labour Conference Papers 1980, p.698.

102. See Maggie Fatuhoonha, AMR, Mackay, 27 Aug. 1906; W 6 Jul. 1901; T19Bsa:1; Ty2B p.1; Scarr, Fragments of Empire, pp.158-59 n; Evidence of Jessie Solomon, Rex vs Maneboro, No.44 of 1913, A/18381, QSA.

103. See Ty2B p.1; Scarr, Fragments of Empire, p.159 n.

104. Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', pp.673-74. See also Chapters 1 and 8.

at least one of the meetings in Mackay of the Pacific Islanders Association.¹⁰⁵

Pacific Islander women in Queensland were generally regarded as 'respectable' women. There is no reliable evidence of promiscuity or prostitution amongst them.¹⁰⁶ The prostitutes with Islander clients were non-Melanesian women, generally European or Japanese.¹⁰⁷ While Islander women, particularly those employed as domestic servants, were vulnerable to sexual exploitation by European men, cases of seduction (and subsequent pregnancies) appear to have been unusual¹⁰⁸ - a feature which may be accounted for partly by the low proportion of single women amongst them.

Islander couples were considered to be faithful and devoted.¹⁰⁹ In Queensland such couples were thrust much more into one another's company. The single family household which formed the basis of European society was the new principle of social organization.

IN FIGURE 4.1(a) the age and sex imbalance of the Pacific Islander population in Queensland in 1901 are illustrated.¹¹⁰ The bulge in the

105. See MM 23 Jul. 1904, 18 Apr. 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting. For similar examples see Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.126; BC 23 Mar. 1903; Photographic Album, I, No.43.

106. Bulletin Jul. 1901, Bertie Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.73; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.340; M. Cannon, Who's Master? Who's Man? Australia in the Victorian Age (Melbourne, 1971; repr. 1976), p.274.

107. See D. Jones, Trinity Phoenix. A History of Cairns and District (Cairns, 1976), pp.388, 390-91; D.C. Sissons, 'Karayuki-san': Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916', Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand Vol.17, Apr. 1977, Part I, p.324, Part II, pp.479-81.

108. See Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.342; T22Bsa:3.

109. Herald, A White Australia, p.36; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Blake, 'The Kanaka', pp.83, 84; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.218.

110. See also Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

male population was created by the predominance of young men, and the male/female ratios were grossly distorted by the tiny number of Islander women. Most of the men, it has been seen, were unmarried whereas this was true only of a minority of the women.

The number of (full or part) Islander children in the State in 1901 was said to be 748, and 252 of these were in North Queensland.¹¹¹ The only other official estimate of the number of these children was made in 1906, when there were said to be 246 in the coastal districts of North Queensland (see Table 2.2). It is clear that these official figures were a significant underenumeration. The Immigration Department, for example, did not keep records of the number of Islander children in Queensland.¹¹² However, it is possible from nominal sources to calculate total figures for the numbers of Islander children in the coastal districts of North Queensland up to 1907. The chief disadvantage of such a tally is that it does not give a measure of the population at any one time; for instance, a direct comparison cannot be made with the census figure in 1901, since some children had died, returned to the islands or had not been born by this date. Nevertheless, it is clear that the total from nominal sources is itself a very conservative figure.¹¹³

The tally from nominal sources reveals that at least 419 full and part Islander children had been or were living in coastal North Queensland up to the end of 1907. The district with by far the largest number of

111. QPP II, 1902, pp.965, 1051. These included those with an Aboriginal or European parent.

112. See QPP II, 1906, p.884, J. O'N. Brennan; Price, 'Origins of Pacific Island Labourers', pp.107-8.

113. These figures are not presented in the form of a table because they are clearly very conservative. The sources used were principally the church baptismal and marriage registers, the state school admission registers, cemetery records, funeral records, hospital records, government publications and archival sources (such as the Pacific Islanders Association petition). The local records are incomplete and the State birth registers were not available. Information is particularly incomplete for the districts in the far north.

children, 185, was Mackay (see Plates 1.4 and 2.1).¹¹⁴ Other districts with large numbers were the Herbert River and Bowen (including Proserpine), where there were at least seventy-five and sixty-six children, respectively (see Plate 2.3).¹¹⁵ In the Burdekin there were some twenty-eight Islander children.¹¹⁶ Very few Islander women were ever present in the districts north of the Herbert River, and therefore most of the children born there were the offspring of Aboriginal mothers and Islander fathers. According to the evidence from nominal sources, there were at least thirty-eight, thirteen and eight children in the Johnstone River, Cairns (including Atherton) and Port Douglas districts, respectively. However, information on all these districts is scanty and particularly on the Port Douglas district, where the 1906 return counted twenty-three children (see Table 2.2).¹¹⁷

Clearly there were considerable numbers of children amongst the Islander population in North Queensland in the years before 1908. As with farming by the Islanders, this was a feature which received belated recognition in the 1900s as a result of the threat of deportation.

114. For references to such children, see QPP II, 1906, p.615, J. Penny, p.617, H. Tongoa, p.625, F.C. Hornbrook, pp.634-35, J. McIntyre, p.635, C. Sage, p.669, N. Sabbot; MS 3 Aug. 1892, 7 Mar., 19 Sep. 1903, 28 Apr. 1906.

115. For references to Islander children in these districts, see QPP II, 1906, p.670, G. Yasserie, p.710, W.J. Taylor; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.218; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; 'Tramp', 'Sugar Land Reminiscences. Ripple Creek', Cummins and Campbell's Monthly Magazine Vol.V, No.107, Mar. 1936, p.19; QVP IV, 1889, p.221, W. McLean.

116. For references to such children, see Ayrshire Chronicle quoted in Herald, A White Australia, p.83; QPP II, 1906, p.842, T. Connell, p.844, Cum Cum, p.845, Ally Keena, Ferrugie.

117. For references to children in these districts see ibid., p.730, J.R. Edmonds, p.744, N.P. Petersen, p.754, H. Niven, p.780, Keeseree, p.782, J.D. Sullivan; Const. McKenna to Insp. of Police, 23 Aug. 1901, POL/J17, QSA; Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brenan to Hunt, 9 Jul. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Port Douglas Chronicle quoted in MM 22 Aug. 1885; Staines to Brenan, 8 Jul. 1907, Summary, p.478, CPS 12E/G2, QSA; Kerr, Northern Outpost, p.47, plate.

Children had in fact been present on the plantations for several decades. Some came to Queensland with their parents, despite the regulations prohibiting this.¹¹⁸ Most were born in North Queensland, often on the plantations.¹¹⁹ Plantation owners who objected to the presence of children seem to have been more the exception than the rule; food and clothes for children were thrown in with their parents' rations.¹²⁰

Most couples, as shown, lived in common law relationships or were married according to customary rites. Therefore it can be presumed that a high proportion of children were illegitimate, in the legal sense.¹²¹ This was made evident on a number of occasions when couples with one or more children married.¹²² Pressure to marry, at least in Mackay, may have been applied by missionaries and local clergy who were unwilling to baptise

118. See Cromar, Jock of the Islands, pp.11, 242; Ty2Bp.1; Ole Matsen, Diary II, p.86 (reference supplied by C.R. Moore). Over the years there were children accompanying their parents amongst the returns on the labour ships. See MM 7 May 1881, 27 May 1885; PDMR 12 Nov. 1902, 12 Jan. 1906; PDT 13 Apr. 1907; CMP 2 Mar. 1907; BC 19 Oct. 1901; NC 1 Jul. 1907; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.41, Jul. 1903, p.6; QPP II, 1906, p.885, J.O'N. Brenan.

119. This was from as early as 1870. See for example T3Bsa:2; MM 23 Jul. 1904; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.68, Apr. 1909, p.21; Elizabeth (Lucy), ABR, Bowen, 17 Dec. 1899; Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'; Jacob Low, Hinchinbrook CR, 19 Dec. 1904.

120. See QVP IV, 1889, p.131, T.F. Swallow, p.221, W. McLean; SJTC III, 15 Feb. 1894, Supplement, The Times Commissioner on the Sugar Industry, p.3; Port Douglas Chronicle quoted in MM 22 Aug. 1885.

121. This was probably true of the children of Aboriginal and Islander parents in particular. See for example Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.302.

122. There were thirteen cases in Mackay of children who were identifiably illegitimate, six in Bowen and two in the Herbert River. The following examples are of cases in which the families did not remain in Queensland. Nellie and William, ABR, Mackay, 26 Jun. 1892; Andrew Wesick and Sarah Larloo, AMR, 12 Jun. 1892; William and Andrew, ABR, Mackay, 31 Mar. 1894; Thomas and Topsy, AMR, Mackay, 31 Mar. 1894.

children whose parents were not legally united.¹²³ Another traditional practice which continued was that of adoption. In Melanesian societies childless couples or widowers very often adopted the children of kinsfolk, and the consent of the children's parents was not necessary. In North Queensland in the years up to 1907, eight cases of adoption - presumably without legal backing - have been discovered: five of these children, significantly, were adopted by single men. For instance, in Mackay John Mackeleo from Epi adopted a young child, Sandy, whose parents had returned home. Usually the children were illegitimate, of mixed 'race', or had been abandoned.¹²⁴

In the years after 1907, Islander families were characteristically large. Information on families in this earlier period is too incomplete for judgments on the average completed family size.¹²⁵ There were some large families (see Plate 2.1). Charles and Sarah Tallis in Bowen, for example, had a family of nine children.¹²⁶ In Mackay Jimmy Surah and his Scottish wife Agnes had seven or eight children.¹²⁷ These

123. See QPP II, 1906, p.634, J. McIntyre. As is apparent from the examples cited in the previous footnote, the children were baptised on the same day as or soon after their parents were married. Further evidence of the pressure placed on Islanders to marry is provided in the many cases in which couples were baptised and married on the same day. See for example Harry Sunga and Rose Kateer, AMR, Mackay, 7 Jan. 1894; Harry Sunga and Rose Kateer, ABR, Mackay, 7 Jan. 1894; Harry Conn and Sarah Limmally, AMR, Mackay, 16 Dec. 1894; Harry Conn and Sarah Limmally, ABR, Mackay, 16 Dec. 1894; War Cry 7 Nov. 1896, p.6.

124. See Statement of J.H. Mackeleo, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; T43Bsa:3. For other examples see Awewong, p.258, 1P1 12/L1, QSA; Berrymal (Harry), p.165, ibid.; Statement by Jack Sekrey, 9 Jan. 1907, M435, POL/J29, QSA; Intestacy No.70 of 1915, Harry Marrow, A/17919, QSA.

125. For example, younger or older children may not have been baptised and still born babies and infants were often buried without any ceremony or official recognition. See also Chapter 4.

126. Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Charles Tallis, ABUR, Bowen, 20 Jul. 1904.

127. Woodford to O'Brien, 10 Apr. 1899, No. 128, Western Pacific High Commission (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett). For other examples see QPP II, 1906, pp.634-35, J. McIntyre, p.842, T. Connell, p.845, Ferrugie; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.115.

may have been exceptional. The number of children in many families ranged from one to four: amongst Islanders attending the Selwyn Mission in Mackay in 1906, for example, there were forty children in fifteen families (or 2.7 children per family).¹²⁸

Unions between Islander men and Aboriginal women were less fertile. Very often couples were childless: in Innisfail in 1907, for example, there was only one child amongst eight Aboriginal women living with Islander men.¹²⁹ All of these women were young, but in other cases the women might have been past the age of child-rearing. However, not all Islander and Aboriginal couples were childless and some, especially in the Johnstone River and Port Douglas districts, had several children.¹³⁰

Infant mortality amongst the Islanders is another subject on which the information available is too sparse for statistical purposes. Most deaths of infants or children would not have been recorded. In the Herbert River district, for example, there were said to have been dozens of deaths of young children from the 1870s, yet in the cemetery registers less than half-a-dozen such deaths were recorded.¹³¹ In view of the staggeringly high mortality rate amongst the adult Islanders, however, it

128. QPP II, 1906, p.635, C. Sage. For other examples see *ibid.*, p.526, Maluini, *ibid.*, p.669, Sigges; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Newspaper unknown, n.d. [1907], Newspaper Cuttings Contributions by John Plummer to *The Globe*, 1903-5, London, Vol.82, p.60; Nellie, Harry and Willie Querro, Homebush SSAR, 18 Feb. 1907.

129. Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton. Statements of Islanders forw. by Brenan to Hunt, 9 Jul. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA. For similar examples see Statement of Johnny Lefu, Inquest No.654 of 1934, Nellie Lefu, JUS/N987, QSA; QPP II, 1906, p.780, Keeseree, Harry Delamo, p.844, Cum Cum; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA.

130. See QPP II, 1906, p.845, Ally Keena; Charlie Mow, AMR, Innisfail, 4 Dec. 1922; Ellen Mow, MMR, Cairns, 8 Nov. 1922; Millie Mow, *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1926; Ruth Eliza and Elizabeth May Eubi, ABR, Ingham, 9 Aug. 1908; Staines to Brenan, 8 Jul. 1907, Summary, p.478, CPS 12E/G2, QSA.

131. Shepherd, *The Herbert River Story*, pp.119, 170, 287-88; Unnamed child, Hinchinbrook CR, 19 Jan. 1890; Alice Solomon, *ibid.*, 21 Sep. 1898; Nancy Ourri, *ibid.*, 19 Jan. 1900; Jacob Low, *ibid.*, 19 Dec. 1904; Elizabeth Maralatta, *ibid.*, 6 Jul. 1906.

can be presumed that infant mortality was also very high, and certainly much higher than that amongst the European population.¹³²

In Islander families, as also in contemporary European families, it was not unusual for at least one child not to have survived infancy or childhood. In the Herbert River district, for instance, the eldest son of Tom and Annie Lammon died at the age of three.¹³³ The causes of death are not hard to discover. Childbirth was a dangerous time which either the mother or baby, or both, might not survive; very young children were also particularly at risk.¹³⁴ There is evidence that some parents did not welcome their new-born babies, and that their deaths were brought about by exposure after birth or poor maternal care.¹³⁵ There are also documented cases in which parental neglect was the fault of their employers - as, for instance, when parents were given no alternative but to leave their children all day in their quarters unattended.¹³⁶

Infectious and contagious diseases such as measles, diphtheria, pneumonia, influenza, whooping cough, dysentery and enteritis accounted

132. However, the infant mortality rate was probably comparable with or even lower than that prevailing in the islands. See McArthur and Yaxley, Condominium of the New Hebrides, pp.9, 11; Herald, A White Australia, p.27; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.63, Jan. 1909, p.14.

133. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.115. For other such examples see Surah, Mackay District Hospital Admission Register, 13 Apr. 1895 (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Charles Tallis, ABUR, Bowen, 20 Jul. 1904; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.64, Apr. 1909, p.21; QPP II, 1906, p.526, Maluini; Ruth Ambrym, ABUR, Ingham, 12 Feb. 1904.

134. See for example Unnamed, Hinchinbrook CR, 19 Jan. 1890; Roahlayer, ibid., 16 Dec. 1889; Newspaper unknown, n.d. [1892?], Newspaper cuttings relating to the Labour Trade with Queensland 1890-5, collected by the Rev. Dr. J.G. Paton, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 30; Cardwell Death Registers, 1887 (reference supplied by D. Jones).

135. Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.119; Telegraph 7 Feb. 1884.

136. Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', pp.674-75.

for most deaths of Islander children.¹³⁷ Some but not all of these diseases were also potentially fatal for European children. Like their parents, Islander children had little resistance to European diseases and were particularly susceptible to tubercular complaints.¹³⁸ The incidence of venereal disease amongst the Islanders increased from the 1880s; in Innisfail there were two cases of children who died from congenital syphilis.¹³⁹

Islander parents were said to be very affectionate towards their offspring¹⁴⁰, but otherwise information on childrearing practices is lacking. From evidence concerning the later period, however, it can be presumed that strict discipline and behavioural controls were imposed, but that this was tempered by the warmth and security of family and kinship patterns.¹⁴¹ Wife and child desertion was unknown amongst the Islanders, and marital breakdowns seem to have been uncommon.¹⁴²

137. See for examples Johnnie, Mackay CR, 3 Jan. 1884; Surah, Mackay District Hospital Admission Register, 13 Apr. 1895 (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Shepherd, *The Herbert River Story*, pp.207, 216; Cardwell Death Registers, 1887 (reference supplied by D. Jones); Nancy Ourri, Hinchinbrook CR, 19 Jan. 1900; Jacob Low, *ibid.*, 19 Dec. 1904.

138. QVP II, 1901, p.1361. See also Chapter 1, p.28. Not surprisingly, the mortality amongst children born in Queensland who returned to the islands was high, and was attributed chiefly to the change of diet and incidence of malaria. See QPP II, 1906, p.483, H.E. Young, p.488, J. Clark, p.617, H. Tongoa, p.627, F.C. Hornbrook; Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', p.248.

139. Cardwell Death Registers, 1888, 1890 (references supplied by D. Jones); Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.167.

140. Argus 23 Feb. 1884, 'The Vagabond'.

141. See Chapter 9.

142. One case of a marital breakdown has been discovered. See Crimes Committed by Kanakas and Male Whites in Queensland During Ten Years ending 31st December 1900, PRE/88, QSA; Woodford to O'Brien, 10 Apr. 1899, No.17, Western Pacific High Commission (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett); MS 23 Oct. 1891, MPC.

The proportion of parents amongst those Islanders who had improved their economic position was much higher than that amongst those who continued to labour on the plantations. This was convincingly demonstrated in the Pacific Islanders Association petition in 1906: in Mackay, eleven of the twenty-three men and the two women with dependants were farmers; in Bowen and Proserpine fifteen of the twenty men with dependants were farmers.¹⁴³

THOSE ISLANDERS who were farming on their own account and who had families had a two-fold reason for wishing to remain in Australia. Evidence of this desire can be found in their eagerness to give their children a European education.

In the Queensland census of 1901, it was stated that 159 Islander children were attending schools throughout the State and a further 5 were being taught at home. This represented slightly over half the number of school-age children.¹⁴⁴ However, this was apparently an underestimation. School admission registers, while they have not survived for all state schools in coastal North Queensland, are available for some of the schools in the Mackay, Proserpine and Burdekin districts and most in the Herbert River district. These indicate that up to 1907 at least 109 Islander children had attended school in these areas alone.¹⁴⁵ There is also evidence of children attending schools for which the registers are lost or incomplete.¹⁴⁶ In 1906 the royal commission investigating deportation

143. Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA.

144. QPP II, 1902, p.1257.

145. The Herbert River district is the only district for which almost all of the admission registers have survived, and the number of Islander children attending school here was at least 67.

146. See Woodford to O'Brien, 10 Apr. 1889, No.17, Western Pacific High Commission (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett); QPP II, 1906, p.670, N. Sabbot, p.730, J.R. Edmonds; Unknown newspaper, n.d. [1907], Newspaper Cuttings Vol.82, p.60; MM 12 Oct. 1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna.

reported that most native-born Islanders had been or were being educated in state schools.¹⁴⁷

While the State Education Act of 1875 provided for the compulsory attendance of every child at a state or provisional school, truancy by Islander children is unlikely to have greatly concerned the authorities.¹⁴⁸ Clearly not all school-age Islander children attended school. In Mossman in 1901, for example, few of the offspring of Aboriginal and Islander couples were attending school. Distance from the nearest school prevented some Islander children in the Mackay district from attending.¹⁴⁹ Some may have left school to return to the islands with their parents, while others, like European children, may have been taken or kept out of school to help their parents on their farms.¹⁵⁰

Nor were Islander children always welcome in the schools. It has been claimed that Aboriginal children generally were denied admission to Queensland schools.¹⁵¹ In North Queensland, however, up to 1907 only three cases of discrimination against Islander children have been discovered. In the Burdekin district, Eliza Epie left school because of the hostility displayed towards her by the European children.¹⁵² The other two cases involved more organized resistance. In the Herbert River district, Islander children were excluded from the Halifax State School between 1904 and 1906

147. QPP II, 1906, pp.455, 458. The commissioners estimated (obviously incorrectly) that there were fifty Islander children attending state schools in Queensland.

148. 39 Vic., No.11, ss.28, 29; Loos, *Aboriginal-European Relations*, pp.751-52.

149. See Const. McKenna to Insp. of Police, 23 Aug. 1901, POL/J17, QSA; QPP II, 1906, p.526, Maluini.

150. See ibid., p.693, R.Stubbin, pp.856-57, G.H. Frodsham; Labor in Canefields Conference, Townsville, reprinted from North Queensland Herald, 2 Mar. 1907, pp.18, 34.

151. Loos, *Aboriginal-European Relations*, p.752.

152. T20Bsa:1.

by the school committee, allegedly because of a case of leprosy amongst them. The Department of Education had supported this action and only moved to form a temporary school for these children after strong remonstrances were made by Bishop Frodsham. In Mackay in the same year the parents of European children at Homebush State School had similarly voted to ban Islander children from the school, but this appears to have lapsed by the following year.¹⁵³ As will be seen in Chapter 8, there were further attempts in the years after 1907 to prevent Islander children attending state schools.

School admission registers provide direct evidence on the length of time spent at school but are less revealing in regard to educational attainment. Yet the number of years at school usually is related to the depth of education received. Nearly one-third of the 109 children cited above attended school for less than one year, sometimes only for one or two months. Many did not progress beyond the lower grades, despite their advanced age and number of years at school - one Malekulan child who had three years of schooling, for example, was still in the first grade (at the age of nine) when he left.¹⁵⁴

Most Islander children may not have achieved even basic literacy. According to the census in 1901, just over one-half of the Islander children aged between five and fifteen could read and write or read only.¹⁵⁵ There were, however, some who acquired a good standard of education. Two of Jimmy Surah's daughters who returned to the Solomons with him had attended school in Mackay and spoke English perfectly; the oldest girl

153. AYB, 1905-6, p.77; QPP II, 1906, p.852, G.H. Frodsham, p.669, F.J. Stevens; Nellie Querro, Homebush SSAR, 18 Feb. 1907. For other such cases in central and southern Queensland, see Loos, *Aboriginal-European Relations*, p.751; BC 28 Oct. 1901, 'A Threatened Industry'.

154. Tommy Mallicola, Ingham SSAR, 22 Feb. 1898, Ripple Creek SSAR, 16 May 1898, Halifax SSAR, 23 Oct. 1900. For similar cases see Mickey Booka Booka, Ripple Creek SSAR, 7 Aug. 1905; Nellie Querro, Homebush SSAR, 18 Feb. 1907; Annie Tambo, Halifax SSAR, 23 Apr. 1894.

155. QPP II, 1902, pp.1099-1100.

was teaching the younger children. It was reported that the eldest child (aged twelve) of a Malaitan couple who left Mackay in 1906 could speak and write as well as the average schoolchild.¹⁵⁶

The presence of many Islander children in the state schools demonstrates the importance attached to a European education by their parents. An argument against deportation used by the Pacific Islanders Association expressed this well: "the children learn in Queensland, but do not at the islands".¹⁵⁷

APART from sending their children to school, Islander parents further revealed their attitude to their host country by the emphasis they placed on a Christian upbringing for their children. The number of baptisms of these children and their regular attendance at mission classes and Sunday schools well illustrate this. Their parents were themselves regular in their church attendance and often prominent in the missions.¹⁵⁸ As has been suggested, families were more susceptible to Christian teachings (as a primary means of acculturation) than were the single migrants.¹⁵⁹

Those Islanders who were long-standing residents, both couples and single men, were usually well-known and well-respected in their local communities. Under the threat of deportation in the early twentieth century, many Europeans were moved to support the right to remain of such people, whom they described as peaceful, law-abiding, hard-working and

156. Woodford to O'Brien, 10 Apr. 1899, No.17, Western Pacific High Commission (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett); Newspaper unknown, n.d. [1907], Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.82, p.60. For other examples see QPP II, 1906, p.455; T52Bsa:2-3; MM 12 Oct. 1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna.

157. QPP II, 1906, p.617, H. Tongoa. See also Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.147.

158. See Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', p.675; Petition from Pacific Island Labourers to King Edward VII, encl. in PRE/87, QSA. See also Chapter 1.

159. Saunders, 'Melanesian Women in Queensland', p.679.

staunchly Christian residents.¹⁶⁰ They also recognized that these Islanders considered themselves to be permanent residents, and evidence from the Islanders themselves corroborated this view. Those who went home for a short stay did so in the same spirit as those Europeans who visited the 'old country'; Australia had become their home.¹⁶¹

It is obvious, then, that by the early 1900s many individual migrants had broken the pattern of circular migration and were intending to live out their lives in Australia. These were still, however, only a small proportion of the total Islander population. Most were long-standing residents, even pioneers. In North Queensland such people were concentrated in the more established coastal districts of Mackay, Bowen, Proserpine and the Herbert River. Their intention to remain was manifested in various activities. Occupationally, many had extended themselves beyond wage labour in the fields in the sugar industry, usually by entering other branches of agriculture such as small-scale farming and self-employment in other areas. Some were married when they came to the colony but others found partners here, principally other Islanders or Aborigines but sometimes Europeans. Many of these couples had raised or were raising families. By the early 1900s there were in fact some native-born Islanders who had married and were raising families. The decision in 1901 to deport the Islanders jeopardized the continued existence of these groups of migrants. As Chapter 3 will show, such men and women were not prepared to leave their adopted country without a fierce struggle.

160. See AYB, 1904-5, p.82, 1905-6, p.42; MM 5 Apr. 1906; PDMR 12 Mar. 1902; BC 12 Oct. 1901; QPP II, 1906, p.615, J. Penny, p.717, R. Blair, p.778, G. White; Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun. 1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Kidston to Barton, 31 Mar. 1902, Enclosure C, Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep. 1902, A1 03/1694, AA.

161. QPP II, 1906, p.670, N. Sabbot, p.778, G. White, p.780, Keeseree; MM 28 Apr., 4 Jun. 1906; AYB, 1905-6, p.42; Daily Telegraph 13 Aug. 1892, letter by 'William Spear', Newspaper cuttings relating to the Labour Trade 1890-5; Newspaper cutting, Argus 2 May 1906, encl. in A1 06/4761, AA.

CHAPTER 3
DEPORTATION AND EXEMPTION

BY THE early 1900s, as Chapter 2 has shown, there were many men and women amongst the Pacific Island migrants who regarded Australia as their permanent home. Their continued presence was threatened by the enactment of legislation in 1901 designed to close the labour trade and deport almost all the Islanders. This chapter examines the decision to end Pacific Island immigration, the protests forthcoming from both Europeans and the Islanders themselves, and the administration of deportation. The number who gained exemption and who chose to remain in Australia is difficult to calculate precisely and there were a further number, not inconsiderable, who managed to stay behind illegally.

IN THE 1890s the process of dividing the large sugar plantations into small farms, using family labour and taking the cane to co-operative central sugar mills, gathered momentum. Whether this changeover would have produced, in time, a gradual transition to a European workforce, is a moot point. Certainly the numbers of European sugar workers had risen with the numbers of small farmers, especially during the depression of the 1890s.¹ The cost of Pacific Island labour also rose, partly because of the increasing proportion of time-expired men who commanded higher wages. The incidence of strikes, cases of arson and other manifestations of resentment against the Islanders' unequal position also increased sharply.² Yet this cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that Europeans would have eventually replaced the Islander workforce. The transition to small farms and the use of European labour was most advanced in the sugar districts of southern Queensland. In the far north, the hard work of clearing the land was not finished and dependence on Island labour had deepened rather than

1. See Chapter 2, pp.68-69; Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.82-83; Markus, Fear and Hatred, pp.190, 245.

2. See Chapter 1, p.29; V. Burgmann, 'Capital and Labour: Responses to Immigration in the Nineteenth Century', in Curthoys and Markus (eds), Who Are Our Enemies?, p.30; Markus, Fear and Hatred, pp.192-93.

lessened: it is no coincidence that wage rates for Islanders were highest in Port Douglas, the most northerly district.³ Throughout North Queensland most small farmers continued to prefer to employ Islander and Asian labour over Europeans. Concomitantly, conditions of employment in the sugar industry remained at such a low standard that it was unlikely that large numbers of Europeans could have been attracted into the canefields, especially in the more trying climatic conditions in the north.⁴

By the turn of the century, it was by no means certain that a transition to a European labour force in the sugar industry would be effected voluntarily.⁵ The labour movement throughout Australia, however, was practically unanimous in its support of legislation to prohibit the entry of non-Europeans. It claimed the Queensland results at the 1901 federal election, when seven of the nine men elected to the House of Representatives were opposed to the labour trade, was an unambiguous victory for 'White Australia'.⁶ But the abolition of the labour trade and the repatriation of Pacific Islanders was not a foregone conclusion. Certainly the vote in North Queensland in 1899, which had ensured that Queensland supported federation, did not indicate a consensus of opinion against Pacific Island labour; the cane farmers and planters had sought free entry for their sugar to Australian markets and protection against imported sugar.⁷ In the election campaign of 1900, Edmund Barton advocated an end to the labour trade but left the question of timing and implementation deliberately vague, except in a speech at Toowoomba where he referred to an adjustment period of ten years. His opponent, George Reid, refused to commit himself at all and thus attracted the support neither of those who

3. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', p.84, Table I; R. Shlomowitz, 'Melanesian Labour and the Development of the Queensland Sugar Industry, 1863-1906', to be published in Research in Economic History.

4. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.83-85.

5. For an opposite view, see Burgmann, 'Capital and Labour', pp.30-31.

6. Four of these were Labor men. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.248; Markus, Fear and Hatred, p.228.

7. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.209; D. Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas from Queensland; an early issue in Commonwealth-State relations', Queensland Heritage Vol.1, No.10, May 1969, p.10.

wanted to abolish recruiting immediately nor of those who wanted a transition period.⁸

On 2 October 1901 the second reading of the Pacific Island Labourers Bill was moved by Prime Minister Barton in the new Commonwealth parliament. Sugar growers and others with a vested interest in the industry felt betrayed. Within both the House of Representatives and the Senate a few members opposed the legislation on economic grounds, but the bill had an easy passage.⁹ The Act was short and simple. There was to be a proportional reduction in the number of Islanders introduced until recruiting ceased on 31 March 1904. All Islanders still in Australia on 31 December 1906 were to be deported and after this date no agreements with them would remain in force. Only those Islanders who held exemption certificates under the 1884 Act, the crews of ships and those with temporary certificates of exemption under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, were excluded from the operation of the Act. Those born in Australia were also exempt by virtue of their birthplace. It was argued that no hardship would be inflicted by deportation, since this had occurred since recruiting began and since it had never been intended that Pacific Islanders should become permanent residents.¹⁰

8. Ibid.; Markus, Fear and Hatred, pp.221, 231. Burgmann argues differently. Capital and Labour', p.33.

9. No.16 of 1901. See A. Jenkins, Attitudes Towards Federation in Northern Queensland (M.A. Qual. thesis, University of Queensland, 1969), p.166; Markus, Fear and Hatred, p.232; M.V. Moore, Unequal and Inferior. The White Australia Policy in the First Commonwealth Parliament (B.A. Hons thesis, University of New England, 1962), pp.14-15, 19, 102; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.11.

10. No.17 of 1901; Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep. 1902, A1 03/1694, AA. For Deakin's attitude on the 'White Australia' policy, see J.A. La Nauze, Alfred Deakin. A Biography (Melbourne, 1965), Vol.1, pp.278-79.

The Pacific Island Labourers Act provoked a flood of protests from such public figures as the premier of Queensland, Robert Philp, and the lieutenant-governor, Griffith, from sugar producers and planters, from conservative newspapers such as the Brisbane Courier, and from organizations such as the agricultural associations and chambers of commerce.¹¹ Such opposition to the legislation was most noticeable in 1901 but despite talk of secession and civil war, fell away rapidly after that, apart from pessimistic predictions of the inevitable collapse of the sugar industry after deportation.¹² This decline in protests on economic grounds was clearly related to the subsequent provision of fiscal protection and 'white' labour incentives for the sugar industry. A protective duty of £6 per ton was placed on sugar imports and, to encourage the employment of European labour, £2 of a £3 per ton excise placed on Australian-produced sugar would be refunded as a bounty on sugar manufactured from cane grown and harvested solely by Europeans. This rebate was initially to be paid only until 1906 but in this year it was extended until 1911.¹³

Where the campaign by vested interests fell away after 1901, protests on humanitarian grounds against the Pacific Island Labourers Act gained impetus in the following years. Europeans from many different spheres, from without as well as within Australia, were appalled at the decision to deport almost all Islanders in the country.¹⁴ The churches were deeply concerned at the potential cruelty and hardships which would

11. See National Agricultural and Industrial Association of Queensland, Sugar Industry (Brisbane, 1901); Sugar Question in Queensland (Brisbane, 1901) pp.10-17; T.D. Murray-Prior to Barton, 5 Oct.1901, A1 01/135/5, AA; R.A. Huttenback, Racism and Empire. White Settlers and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies 1830-1910 (Ithaca, USA, 1976); Birch, 'The Implementation of the White Australia Policy', pp.201-2.

12. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.249; The North Queensland Sugar Conference (repr. from The North Queensland Herald 29 Oct.1904).

13. Birch, 'The Implementation of the White Australia Policy', pp.204-7. The rebate was then increased to £3 and the excise duty to £4 per ton.

14. Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', p.238. During debate in the Senate, a few of the Queensland members had protested that deportation would cause hardship to those Islanders who were long-standing residents. Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.444-45.

be incurred if most Pacific Islanders, especially those who had been converted, were sent back to their 'uncivilized' homes. The Presbyterian General Assembly in 1906 passed a resolution, later forwarded to the premier and the prime minister, which urged that those who were long-standing residents or married should be allowed to stay. Both Bishops White and Frodsham, the Anglican bishops of Carpentaria and North Queensland, campaigned strongly against the return of Christian and married Islanders to villages where their lives would be in danger. Frodsham urged the formation of an agricultural community under Christian influence at Fiu on Malaita, where returning Solomon Islanders could be sent.¹⁵ Individual clergymen, such as Pritt of Gairloch and James Gillespie at Walkerston, were also vocal in pleading the Islanders' cause.¹⁶

Lay persons sympathetic to the Islanders, especially planters, newspaper editors and politicians, similarly entered strong protests against wholesale deportation.¹⁷ One of the Queenslander's correspondents reviled deportation as "a lasting blot on the Commonwealth as a nation, and a disgrace to all our teachings of Christianity and brotherly love, which we have gone out of our way to instil into the minds of this people". Pointing out that the Islanders had no sovereign to defend their interests, the Brisbane Courier argued that deportation was a question "not so much of law as of humanity, not of legal rights so much as the exercise of these rights". The governor of Queensland, Sir Herbert Chermiside, was of the opinion that the relaxation of the conditions for exemption from deportation would not contravene the principle of the Act.¹⁸

15. Kerr to Deakin, 31 May 1906, A1 06/3763, AA; BC 12 Oct.1901, interview with Bishop White, 3 May 1906, Presbyterian General Assembly; Frodsham to Kidston, 8 Mar.1906, PRE/84, QSA.

16. Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, p.218; BC 17 Sep.1906, 10 Jan.1907, letters to Ed. by Rev. Gillespie; AYB, 1904-5, p.82, 1905-6, p.41; NC 9 Oct.1905, p.4; Tomkins, Easter Letter 1906.

17. MM 5 Apr.1906; CMP 3 Jan.1902; PDMR 18 May 1906; Q 28 Jun.1902, p.1432; A.H. Young to Philp, 9 Oct.1901, 10325, PRE/88, QSA; Globe, n.d., Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.82, p.5; Kidston to Barton, 31 Mar.1902, Enclosure C in Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694. AA; Grant to Barton, 2 Apr.1902, ibid.; G. Morrison, The Commonwealth and Alien Restriction (Geelong, 1912), pp.11-15.

18. Q 1 May 1902, letter to Ed. by 'Bulleeta', Bertie Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.71; Newspaper cutting, BC 3 Oct.1906, encl. in A1 07/293, AA; Chermiside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 23 Jun.1902, Qld. No.57, A1 03/1694, AA.

Since most of these planters, politicians, newspaper editors and even churchmen were known to be supporters of the labour trade, their impartiality was somewhat suspect. Europeans with experience of life in the islands, however, were also anxious about the result of deporting large numbers of Islanders. Charles Woodford, the resident commissioner in the Solomon Islands, was concerned with the dangers of returning home for those who had recruited in order to avoid punishment for misdeeds and those whose marriages did not satisfy local marriage rules (as when a partner came from a different island of origin). Other British officials and residents in the islands were concerned that the Islanders would resist deportation and also at the prospect of Queensland-born children being brought back to 'heathen' societies.¹⁹ Some of the New Hebridean missionaries, however, did not share these anxieties; as long-standing opponents of recruiting, they welcomed deportation which would, moreover, greatly augment their 'flocks'.²⁰

As a result of such protests and of the uncertainty felt concerning the future of the sugar industry, a royal commission was belatedly appointed in April 1906 to investigate the practical application of deportation and the availability of a labour supply to replace the Islanders. The commissioners took evidence at twenty-seven centres (sixteen in North Queensland) between April and June 1906.²¹ White and Frodsham, the Anglican bishops, appealed once again for a humanitarian application of the Act. The majority of farmers and other local residents interviewed, even those who endorsed the 'White Australia' policy, were concerned for the fate of those Islanders who had settled in the State or who had valid reasons

19. Woodford to Chermiside, 10 Aug. 1902, encl. in Chermiside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 10 Sep. 1902, Qld. No. 71, *ibid.*; Q 22 Dec. 1906, p. 3; Rason to im Thurn, 15 and 16 Dec. 1905, encl. in im Thurn to Gov. of Qld., 22 Jan. 1906, 522, PRE/84, QSA; im Thurn to Lieutenant Gov. of Qld., 27 Nov. 1905, 118, *ibid.*

20. See Daily Telegraph 15 Apr. 1907, Church Newscuttings, Vol. I, 1907; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No. 35, Jan. 1902, p. 23; Repatriation of Kanakas. Interview between Sec. of Dept of External Affairs and Revs Paton and Macdonald, 15 Jun. 1906, A1 06/3763, AA.

21. In North Queensland they visited the districts of Mackay, Proserpine, Bowen, the Burdekin, Townsville, the Herbert River, the Johnstone River, Cairns and Port Douglas.

(such as farms, marriage or families) for not returning home.²²

David Coyne, a Mackay cane farmer, urged that the Islanders should be treated as human beings, and not as animals, or as creatures beneath contempt. Although they are black, they have bodies and souls the same as I have, and in days to come I would not like it to be said that the Commonwealth had not treated them with humanity.²³

EVIDENCE collected by the royal commission and letters to the newspapers and to government officials clearly demonstrated that many Europeans were cognizant of and sympathetic to the plight of the Islanders. However, those Islanders who wished to stay were also prepared to campaign for themselves. As will be seen, some made individual pleas to the royal commissioners and to the prime minister and other politicians. Others united in organized protests, through deputations, petitions and, above all, in the Pacific Islanders Association.

As early as 1901, Mrs. Robinson of Selwyn Mission received a letter from an Islander adherent, who wrote on behalf of his countrymen to ask if it was

...really true that white people want to send all boys back to islands,... We been work well in this land for white people, then why they want to turn us out?²⁴

In 1902, a group of Islanders in Rockhampton met with K.M. Grant, the local MLA, and also J.G. Drake, the MHR and cabinet minister, to plead

22. QPP II, 1906, p.778, White, pp.852-57, Frodsham. For examples of the attitudes of the farmers and planters, see *ibid.*, p.620, J. Tait, p.666, F.J. Stevens, pp.710-11, W.J. Taylor, p.717, R. Blair, p.744, N.P. Petersen, pp.825-26, D. Pearson.

23. *Ibid.*, p.660.

24. BC 12 Oct.1901, Mackay correspondent to The Times. This letter has been attributed to a Malaitan called Jack Malayta. D. Wetherall, Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea, 1891-1942 (St Lucia, 1977), pp.114-15.

their case to remain in Australia.²⁵ In this year also, a petition purportedly signed by 3,000 Islanders was forwarded by Chermiside to Joseph Chamberlain, the secretary of state for the colonies. Despite Chermiside's and Philp's assurances that the petition was genuine, it certainly bore the stamp of European involvement. Alfred Deakin, who had succeeded Barton as prime minister, believed that the petition could not be bona fide, in view of the scattered nature of the Islander population and the 'racial' differences which divided them: "they are taught to act at the bidding of their employers, and no doubt have done so in this instance".²⁶ Philp's endorsement of the petition and its direct transmission to Chamberlain no doubt also influenced Deakin's hostile reaction. Although Deakin's attitude was patronizing, there is strong evidence which indicates that the petition had been European-sponsored. Europeans appear to have couched the legalistic arguments employed in the preamble and were prominent in collecting signatures; and at Philp's direction, the inspectors of Pacific Islanders were instructed to assist those who were collecting signatures. Nevertheless, the Islanders gave their support: W. Kidston, the MLA for Rockhampton, knew of two hundred who had signed in this district alone.²⁷

While the authenticity of the 1902 petition is open to some doubt, two further petitions against deportation, which were presented to Chermiside when he visited Rockhampton in March 1903, were obviously

25. Grant to Prime Min., 2 Apr.1902, Enclosure C in Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA; Newspaper cutting, Telegraph 13 Dec.1902, encl. in ibid.; CPD XXXV, 1906, p.6446, Reid.

26. Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA; Chermiside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 23 Jun.1902, Qld. No.57, ibid.; Philp to Chermiside, encl. in ibid.; BC 18 Jun.1902; Q 21 Jun.1902, p.1392; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.12. I have not been able to locate the signatures to this petition, to check their authenticity.

27. Kidston to Barton, 31 Mar.1902, Enclosure C in Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA; Newspaper cutting, Morning Bulletin [?], n.d. [Mar.1902], encl. in PRE/87, QSA. There were obviously many Europeans who supported the petition and helped to collect signatures. Fanny Nicol to Deakin, 9 Sep.1902, Enclosure E in Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA; BC 16 Jun.1902; B. Laver, The Society of Friends in Queensland 1861-1960's (B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1967), p.151.

genuine. One was from twenty-two adults and the other was from fifty-four native-born Islanders, who were themselves exempt, but who were appealing on behalf of their parents.²⁸ When the governor-general, Lord Northcote, visited Rockhampton in 1904, he also met a deputation of Islanders who were appealing against deportation. In Mackay, Northcote was presented with two petitions, one from seventy-one adults and another from twenty-six native-born Islanders. The address from the adults was presented by Joseph Barramulla, a lay teacher in the Selwyn Mission, and the five men who accompanied him were also members of the Selwyn and Walkerston Missions. Lucy Fatnowna, the young woman who presented the other address, was accompanied by two of her sisters and four other young women.²⁹

The most sustained and articulate protests were made by the Pacific Islanders Association, which seems to have been formed in Mackay in 1904. A Tongan known as Tui Tonga, who claimed to be the son of King George Tupou I of Tonga, had been campaigning for the formation of such an association since 1901.³⁰ He became the first chairman but after his death in December 1905, Henry Tongoa was elected as chairman in the following February.³¹ Under Tongoa's leadership, the Association took on a new vitality and gained national as well as local publicity. Between

28. BC 23 Mar.1903; Copies of the Adult Islanders' Address and the Young People's Petition, PRE/87, QSA; Tennyson to Chermiside, 9 Apr.1903, 03048, ibid. Corris and Saunders made some small errors in connection with these petitions: Corris states that there were fifty-three names in the Young People's Petition and that the petitions were forwarded to the governor-general in February 1903 when in fact there were fifty-four names and they were sent on 4 Apr.1903; Saunders, who also uses the figure of fifty-three, incorrectly states that the petitions were received in 1902 and mistakenly confuses the number of years spent in Queensland given in the adults' petition with their ages. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.126; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.447.

29. MM 23 Jul.1904; MS 25 Jul.1904; Q 16 Jul.1904, p.3; Photographic Album, I, No.43. For the dates of baptism and mission involvement of the men, see NC 7 Apr.1905; AYB, 1905-6, p.25; MM 7 Jan.1907; Jimmy Corsay, ABR, Mackay, 30 Nov.1890; Sam Marra, ibid.; Frank D. Arbinsan, ibid., 14 Aug.1894.

30. MM 16 Nov.1901, 18 Jan.1906; Tui Tonga, Mackay CR, 31 Dec.1905. 'Tui' is a royal title but no evidence has been found to substantiate Tonga's claim to be of royal blood. Tonga had been in Mackay since 1879 or earlier and had assisted the police as an interpreter and an informer in 'sly grog' cases. MM 27 Mar.1880, 21 May 1884, 4 Apr.1885, MPC; MS 20 May 1889, 23 Apr. 1890, Supreme Court.

31. MM 10 Feb.1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting. Corris states incorrectly that Tongoa was chairman when the Association was formed in 1904. Passage, Port and Plantation, p.127. However, it is evident that under Tongoa's leadership the Association became virtually a new body.

February 1906 and March 1907, the Association held at least eleven meetings in Mackay at irregular intervals and different venues such as hired halls and an Islander's boarding house in town. Attendance ranged widely, from 16 to 200.³² A substantial joining fee of 5s. was charged and new members were sought enthusiastically.³³

Under Tongoa's direction, the Association also extended its influence into other districts. In May 1906 Tongoa and David Boymerrie travelled up to Proserpine, in answer to a request from local Islanders, and chaired a meeting at which a new branch was formed. A meeting was held in neighbouring Bowen on the next day, at which delegates were appointed to the committee of the Proserpine branch. Later in the year, in November, Tongoa addressed a meeting of Islanders in the Tweed district in southern Queensland and another branch was established. There were then said to be 426 members in the Association's North Queensland branches.³⁴

The benefits of unity were apparent to Association members. Tongoa spoke to the Tweed meeting on the need for a strong organization because their leaders in the islands were "kings of cocoanuts", powerless to help them. In Mackay, members referred to potential benefits not only for themselves but also for their children. Sandy Tanna explained this metaphorically:

32. See MM 10 Feb., 27 Feb., 20 Mar., 27 Mar., 18 Apr., 1 May, 14 May, 4 Jun. 1906, 5 Jan. 1907, Pacific Islanders Association meetings, 7 Mar. 1907, MPC. Corris states that monthly meetings were held at the Association's headquarters, a hired hall in Mackay, but this does not accord with the evidence I have found. Passage, Port and Plantation, p.127.

33. Jack Cora and John Bomassie who were appointed as canvassers in the district were paid a commission on each person enrolled. For reports of the numbers of new members enrolled, see MM 20 Mar., 27 Mar., 18 Apr., 1 May, 14 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meetings, 7 Mar. 1907, MPC.

34. MM 27 Feb., 14 May, 28 May, 4 Jun., 27 Jun. 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meetings; Q 1 Dec. 1906, p.17.

There might be a big log on the road. Five men can't lift that log, because it too heavy. Five more might, perhaps, ten altogether can lift that log on their shoulders and carry it away, because it no heavy then. That's the way with us, we can do something altogether; but one or two men can do nothing.³⁵

Under Tongoa's leadership, the Pacific Islanders Association wrote letters of protest to prominent public figures such as Winston Churchill, then colonial under secretary, and Kidston, now premier of Queensland.³⁶ A dramatic prelude to Tongoa's meeting with the royal commission on 17 April 1906 was made when Association members with Tongoa at the head marched in procession through the town to the courthouse, with large numbers of other Islanders following them on the footpaths. There Tongoa gave evidence on his own situation and that of others, and read a short petition from the Association which listed their reasons for desiring to stay on in Australia and ended with a plea for exemption for the small numbers who wished to remain.³⁷ Tongoa was also somewhat belligerent, disturbing the commissioners with a threat that "if the 'boys' have to leave Queensland then the white men will have to leave the islands".³⁸ Two other Association members, Noah Sabbo in Mackay and George Yasserie in Proserpine, who were both native-born Islanders, were also interviewed by the commission and stated that it was their countrymen's wish to be allowed to remain in Queensland.³⁹

35. Ibid.; MM 14 May 1906. For similar remarks, see MM 18 Apr., 14 May, 4 Jun., 27 Jun. 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meetings, 5 Jan. 1907, MPC.

36. H.D. Tongoa to Winston Churchill, 26 Mar. 1906, A1 06/4761, AA; H. Tongoa to Kidston, 17 Nov. 1906, 6181, PRE/84, QSA, also cited in Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.176 n5.

37. MM 18 Apr. 1906; QPP II, 1906, p.617. At Tongoa's suggestion many of his fellow farmers met the royal commission with him.

38. Ibid., p.618; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.129; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.455. The same threat was made at a meeting of the Association. MM 18 Apr. 1906.

39. QPP II, 1906, p.670, p.716. Sabbo consulted with other Islanders who attended the hearing.

The Association's campaign against deportation did not end with the royal commission. On 13 September 1906 Tongoa and Alick Mallicoola arrived in Melbourne to present "a largely signed petition" dated 31 August to Prime Minister Deakin. They spoke with Deakin and Atlee Hunt, the secretary of the Department of External Affairs, on 17 September and 1 October (see Plate 3.1).⁴⁰ The document which they tendered outlined an alternative scheme to forcible repatriation, in that all Islanders wishing to remain in Australia would be allowed to do so, made naturalized British subjects and placed on a reserve set aside for them in North Queensland or the Northern Territory. In such a separate settlement they would not compete with Europeans but would assist in the country's development, and "their long experience of tropical cultivation" would help them to become self-sufficient. It was also suggested that the monies held by the Queensland Government in the Pacific Islanders fund should be distributed to the relatives of any Islander who had died in the State or, where no such relatives could be found, placed in a fund which would be used to assist any Islanders who were unable to work due to infirmity or physical disabilities.⁴¹ This scheme was followed by a petition from 426 Pacific Islanders, 362 of whom were resident in Mackay and the remaining 64 in Bowen and Proserpine. Although the signatures were all in the one hand, Tongoa explained that the Islanders were unable to sign themselves but were anxious to have their names recorded.⁴²

40. MM 5 Sep.1906; Age 18 Sep.1906; Sydney Morning Herald 2 Oct.1906; Hunt to Tongoa, 15 Sep.1906, A1 06/6324, AA; Hunt to W.E. Campbell, 1 Oct.1906, ibid. At the first meeting, Tongoa and Mallicoola were accompanied by two Melbourne residents, one of whom managed the boarding house in which they were staying. The cost of the trip to Melbourne was met by the Association. MM 7 Mar.1907, MPC.

41. Pacific Islanders Association Scheme, 31 Aug.1906, A1 06/6324, AA. A similar suggestion had been expounded in the letter to Churchill. H.D. Tongoa to Winston Churchill, 26 Mar.1906, A1 06/4761, AA.

42. Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Age 15 Sep.1906.



OUR BOYS.

In a recent interview, Henry Tonge, at the head of a Kanaka deputation, told Prime Minister Deakin: "We have come down on behalf of the 'boys.'"
Chorus of "boys": "I 'ope we ain't recognised in this disguise!"

PLATE 3.1: Pacific Islander deputation to Prime Minister Deakin in September 1906. The Bulletin is highlighting the way in which the Islanders' protests served conservative interests: the man on the left is George Reid, leader of the Opposition in the Commonwealth parliament; the identity of the other three Europeans is not known.

In view of Deakin's attitude to the 1902 petition, his reception of the Mackay delegates was predictable. He was cordial but patronizing, informing reporters that he had explained to them "as simply as he could" the intentions of the Government to relax the original requirements for exemption and the alternatives open to those being repatriated who did not want to return to their original villages. The Age was similarly condescending, describing the Association as a 'kanaka' body promoted by certain politicians, planters, philanthropists and religious folk at Mackay.⁴³ Yet Tongoa had strongly discounted any suggestion of a European impulse behind the petition. While individual Europeans lent their support in occasionally attending the Association's meetings, taking the minutes, and helping to collect signatures for the petition, the reports of the meetings reveal that the Islanders themselves were in control and made the important decisions.⁴⁴

By the time Tongoa reported on Deakin's reception to an Association meeting in Mackay on 1 January 1907, he had been replaced as chairman.⁴⁵ Despite the appreciation extended to him for his work in establishing and promoting the Association, there was apparently disaffection with his leadership. Just two months later, no longer a member of the Association, he was charged with stealing membership fees to the value of £8.2s. Acting in his own defence, Tongoa claimed that the chairman was entitled to an annual salary of £100 which he had not received, but on the basis of evidence of his financial dealings given by other Association members he was committed for trial. No true bill was found, however, and he was discharged.⁴⁶

43. BC 2 Oct.1901; Age 17 Sep.1906. Hunt reiterated Deakin's remarks. Hunt to Secretary of Pacific Islanders Association, 2 Oct.1906, A1 06/6324, AA.

44. See NM 1 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting, 7 Mar.1907, MPC; QPP 11, 1906, p.666, F.J. Stevens.

45. In November Tongoa was still chairman but by January he had been replaced by the man who had stood against him when he was originally elected in February 1906, David Boymerrie (Sandwich). NM 5 Jan.1907; H.D. Tongoa to Kidston, 17 Nov.1906, 6181, PRE/84, QSA.

46. Tongoa had left his farm to work for the Association. NM 5 Mar., 7 Mar.1907, MPC; Rex vs Harry Tonga, No.19 of 1907, A/18353, QSA: Deposition Book, 26 Mar.1907, A/18356, QSA. Earlier, in April 1906, there had been suggestions of financial misappropriations in regard to the money collected by Tui Tonga's old Association: at Tongoa's instruction, A.G. Stuart the solicitor had detailed how this money had been expended. NM 18 Apr.1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting.

The trial gave unfavourable publicity to the Pacific Islanders Association, already split probably by Tongoa's fall from power.⁴⁷ With the extension of the criteria for exemption, its raison d'être was gone. The Islanders were either applying for exemption or had left or were preparing to leave the country. There is no evidence of further meetings of the Association.

Tongoa was the driving force behind the Association during its most active period. From the tiny New Hebridean island of Tongoa, a successful boarding house keeper and farmer in Mackay, he was single, thirty-two, and had been in Queensland twenty-six years in 1906. He was, as Corris comments, "perhaps the most literate and articulate Pacific Islander in Queensland at this time".⁴⁸ Such skills were evident not only in his interviews with the royal commission and Deakin and his letters to Churchill and others, but also in the utilization of European organizational methods. Thus the Association retained legal advice, had articles of association and by-laws, a receipt book for membership, a roll and certificates for members, kept minutes of each meeting which were read and confirmed at the next, and held elections for vacant positions. Tongoa himself contributed reports of meetings to the Daily Mercury, until he accepted their offer to send along a reporter.⁴⁹ Not all Association members, however, were so familiar with European proceedings; George Bargo Tonga, the treasurer, and Sandy Tanna, a committee member, admitted that they did not understand the articles and by-laws of the Association. Tongoa, perhaps to impress Europeans, had sought to build a completely Europeanized organization, but traditional skills, such as oratory, had obviously

47. See Sun quoted in PDMR 12 Apr.1907. In November 1907 Tongoa charged another Islander, Robert Hassan, with assault, but the case was dismissed; it is possible that this incident was related to Tongoa's dismissal from the Association. MN 26 Nov.1907, MPC.

48. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.127; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.447.

49. MN 14 Apr.1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.127. A copy of the articles of association and by-laws of the Pacific Islanders Association, printed in Mackay in 1906, is enclosed in Rex vs Harry Tonga, No.19 of 1907, A/18353, QSA.

remained more important to many members.⁵⁰

An important reason for the demise of the Association may have been the New Hebridean control which Tongoa had helped to build up. New Hebrideans predominated in the nominated and elected positions in the Mackay, Bowen and Proserpine branches and also amongst the signatories to the petition presented to Deakin. In February 1906, for instance, there was only one Solomon Islander, Dick McKeelar, on the four-man Mackay executive and probably none on the more numerous committee.⁵¹ Since well over half of the Islander population in Mackay was from the Solomons⁵², such a bias most probably alienated their support. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the experiences of Islanders in Queensland had fostered the growth of a strong identification by island group, and Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans tended to be mutually suspicious and antagonistic. Moreover, the Association under Tongoa's chairmanship had ambitions of extending its influence into other districts and, if a reserve for Islanders was established, of becoming the governing authority.⁵³

While such conservative journals as the Daily Mercury and Brisbane Courier reported on the Association in a respectful manner, other newspaper comment, especially in the southern press, tended to be snide and

50. MM 7 Mar.1907, MPC. Like the Maoris in New Zealand, Tongoa may have sought to present the Government with a power equal to their own, in the sense of giving the authority of written records to meetings and decisions. See M.D. Jackson, 'Literacy, Communications and Social Change: A Study of the Meaning and Effect of Literacy in Early Nineteenth Century Maori Society', in I. Kawharu (ed.), Conflict and Compromise. Essays on the Maori since Colonisation (Wellington, 1975), p.40.

51. The canvassers Cora and Bomassie were New Hebrideans and New Hebrideans were also predominant in the branches at Bowen and Proserpine. MM 27 Feb., 28 May, 27 Jun.1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, A1 06/6324, AA.

52. QPP 11, 1906, p.904, Appendix XVIII. But in Bowen and Proserpine New Hebrideans formed the great majority of the populations.

53. See Pacific Islanders Association Scheme, 31 Aug.1906, pp.2, 4, A1 06/6324, AA; H.D. Tongoa to Winston Churchill, 26 Mar.1906, A1 06/4761, AA.

patronizing (see Plate 3.1).⁵⁴ Yet the Association had made a significant contribution towards publicizing the Islanders' cause. Its letters and petitions could not be so readily dismissed as European sponsored and politically inspired as the 1902 petition had been.

Apart from the organized efforts made by the Association and individual Islanders to demonstrate the inhumanity and injustice of deportation, the chief source on how the Islanders themselves regarded deportation is the evidence taken by the royal commission in 1906. In North Queensland, twenty-one migrant and two native-born Islander men were interviewed, as well as missionaries, clergymen, inspectors of Pacific Islanders, farmers and others in close contact with the Islanders. Unfortunately no Islander women were interviewed and there was a serious imbalance in the distribution of the men interviewed: eleven, or nearly half, were in the far north and mostly in Cairns, six were in the Burdekin district and only four were in the more established districts of Mackay and Proserpine.

In view of this imbalance in favour of the more northerly districts, it is not surprising to find that fifteen of the twenty-three did not desire to remain in Australia permanently. Generally these men were living in the far north and had been in Queensland for only a few years. Soona Dabie from Malaita, for example, had been brought to Cairns five years ago and was now ready to return home.⁵⁵ There were also a few married couples, including some with Aboriginal partners, who were prepared to leave the country.⁵⁶ It is significant that many of these people, both single and married, were unemployed. As will be seen, it became increasingly difficult for the Islanders to obtain employment. European witnesses also claimed to know of many Islanders who would depart

54. See MM 5 Jan.1907; Newspaper cutting, BC 3 Oct.1906, encl. in A1 07/293, AA; Bulletin 27 Sep.1906, cited in Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.176 n5; PDMR 1 Jun.1906; Age 17 Sep.1906.

55. QPP II, 1906, p.780. For other such examples, see ibid., p.749, Assool, Tom Low, p.781, Ererow.

56. See ibid., p.782, J.D. Sullivan, p.844, Cum Cum, Tarrie, Ally Keena, p.845, Tarrim Dooley.

voluntarily: in Cairns, for instance, it was said that nearly all the Solomon Islanders were willing to return to their homes.⁵⁷

In some cases the men interviewed were ambivalent or confused. Amongst those who were unemployed, many were only prepared to leave when they had sufficient money for a box and trade goods.⁵⁸ Some wanted to stay on for as long as they wished, usually a few years: "we want to go home when we wish to". Others were more philosophically resigned, and were prepared to leave if they had to or stay if they could.⁵⁹

Roughly a quarter of the interviewees wanted to remain in Australia. Most were long-standing residents and some were married, and the four in Mackay and Proserpine were farmers.⁶⁰ European witnesses also knew of many who preferred to stay in Australia, such as a number of Islanders in Innisfail who were living with Aboriginal women.⁶¹ As was pointed out, some migrants had been so long in Australia that their relatives were dead and they had lost contact with their people; others, like certain Malaitans in the Mackay and Herbert River districts did not dare to return home because they had fled their islands to escape punishment for offences they had committed.⁶²

57. Ibid., p.750, W.P. Wilson. For other such examples see ibid., p.617, Pacific Islanders Association, p.820, E.W. Crow, p.853, G. Frodsham.

58. See for example ibid., p.529, Lumacona, p.750, Foonah, p.780, Soona Dabic, p.781, Quiramoo, Ererow, Tommy, p.832, Telly Velly Mi, p.833, Suonalea.

59. Ibid., p.735, Ackar. For other examples see ibid., p.730, J.R. Edmonds, p.735, R.O. Jones, p.801, Fred Tanna, p.853, G. Frodsham; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.55.

60. See QPP II, 1906, p.617, H. Tongoa, p.669, Sigges, pp.669-70, N. Sabbot, p.716, G. Yasserri, p.749, Assool, p.780, Keeseeree, Harry Delamo, p.801, Fred Tanna.

61. Ibid., p.782, J.D. Sullivan. See also ibid., p.710, W.J. Taylor, p.722, W.H. Buchanan, p.730, J.R. Edmonds, p.742, P.G. Grant, p.750, W.P. Wilson, p.842, T. Connell, p.853, G. Frodsham.

62. Ibid., p.735, R.A. Donnelly, p.821, E.W. Crow, p.853, G. Frodsham. See also Applic. No.838E, Mara, AGS/N102, QSA; Moore. The Forgotten People, p.26; 'Tramp', 'Sugar Land Reminiscences. Early Day Episodes', Aug.1935, p.13.

The Islanders' own evidence demonstrates that there were clear, if not rigid distinctions between those who wished to remain permanently and those who were willing to leave immediately or at a later date. The first group were composed in general of long-term residents, most of the married men and those who had special reasons against returning home. In the second group, single men who had been in Queensland only for a few years and who were experiencing difficulties in securing employment were predominant. There was also a correlation with physical location, in that those in the more northerly districts tended to be more prepared to accept repatriation.

THE CAMPAIGN against the Pacific Island Labourers Act conducted by sympathetic Europeans and the Islanders themselves, combined with the evidence collected by the royal commission, had created a groundswell of popular feeling which no government could wisely ignore. There were also wider political considerations in that Deakin had assured the British Government that deportation would be carried out with the utmost humanity.⁶³ The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 and other discriminatory legislation had been severely criticised outside Australia by the Japanese and other Asian governments. A policy of wholesale deportation of Pacific Islanders in Australia at the end of 1901 undoubtedly would have provoked further international censure, and while the Commonwealth Government was not especially concerned to avoid offending Asians or other non-Europeans, it was reluctant to cause embarrassment to the British Government.⁶⁴

In view of such considerations, Deakin may have recognized that the criteria for exemption would need to be liberalized well before the royal commission presented its report on 30 June 1906. The commissioners recommended that eligibility for exemption from deportation should be extended to the following groups: those who had been in the country for over twenty years; those whose wives were European or Aboriginal, or from

63. Deakin to Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA.

64. See Huttenback, Racism and Empire, pp.282-84; La Nauze, Alfred Deakin, Vol.I, p.283.

another island and for whom it would be dangerous to return; those who were too old or infirm to earn a living; those whose children had been educated in state schools; or those who had acquired leasehold or freehold land. Acting in accordance with the advice of Brenan and Hunt, Deakin accepted most of these recommendations.⁶⁵ An amending bill was introduced, passed and assented to in October 1906. This Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1906 provided that a general certificate of exemption was to be granted to any Islander who convinced the minister for external affairs that he or she either had been resident in Australia for at least twenty years by 31 December 1906, was too old or infirm to earn a living, had been married before 9 October 1906 to a man or woman from another island or to a woman who was not a Pacific Islander, or was the owner of registered freehold at 1 July 1906. As under the principal Act, those who held certificates of exemption under the 1884 Act were also exempt.⁶⁶

The royal commission's recommendations for exemption for those whose children had been educated in state schools and those with unexpired leases were not taken up, but Deakin promised that these would be considered in individual cases.⁶⁷ All those people who were exempted under the provisions of the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 or who obtained general certificates were free to work without an agreement and at any type of work. Special certificates which would remain in force only until 30 June 1907 were to be issued to those Islanders whom it was not possible to deport immediately after 31 December 1906.⁶⁸

65. QPP II, 1906, p.462; Brenan to Hunt, 2 Aug.1906, A1 15/19391, AA.

66. No.22 of 1906, s. 2.8A (2)(a)(i) - (vi).

67. CPD XXXV, 1906, p.6391; Newspaper cutting, Age 12 Sep.1906, encl. in A1 15/19391, AA. See also Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.129, 130; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.453; Huttenback, Racism and Empire, p.289-90; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.13.

68. s. 2. 8A (2)(b), (4); Hunt to Brenan, 3 Sep.1906, A1 15/19391, AA; Brenan to Hunt, 16 Aug.1906, ibid.

On the eve of deportation, the Commonwealth Government had legislated to modify - but not reverse - its policy in regard to Pacific Islanders, and thus remove any grounds for criticism for humanitarian reasons.⁶⁹ It will be seen that a small but considerable number of Islanders gained exemption through this amending legislation. Yet the implementation of this modified policy was not a simple exercise. During Philp's premiership, a policy of bitterly opposing the Commonwealth Government on the issue of deportation had been followed, and it was only when Kidston became premier in January 1906 that full co-operation between the State and Commonwealth Governments became possible. Kidston, who believed that it was the Commonwealth's responsibility to administer deportation, offered to provide the Commonwealth with the amount of £5 per head levied on employers to meet the cost of returning the Islanders, and the assistance of the Pacific Island Labour Branch, headed by Brennan, in carrying out deportation. Deakin accepted this offer and under Hunt's direction Brennan and the inspectors of Pacific Islanders administered the processes of exemption and deportation.⁷⁰ Before considering these in detail, it is useful to consider first the contentious issues and practical difficulties which required resolution.

One of these was the question of alternative settlements for those who could not or did not wish to return to their island homes. In the Solomon Islands, Fiu in northern Malaita was promoted by the Melanesian Mission as a colony for Christian repatriates, and the Reverend A.I. Hopkins

69. Hunt to Sec., Pacific Islanders Association, 2 Oct. 1906, A1 06/6324, AA; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.130; Huttenback, Racism and Empire, p.290.

70. QPP 11, 1906, pp.907-9; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', pp.12-13, 14; Brennan to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Circular letter, n.d., A1 15/19391, AA. Brennan, Henry St George Caulfeild and the inspectors of Pacific Islanders were appointed senior officer, assistant senior officer and officers, respectively, for the purposes of the Pacific Island Labourers Act and were empowered to bring before courts of summary jurisdiction any Islanders suspected of not being employed under an agreement. Commonwealth Government Gazette, 1906, pp.1053, 1142.

visited Queensland late in 1906 to make Solomon Islanders aware of this refuge.⁷¹ By then, however, the enthusiasm of Islander converts had diminished, and the best mission teachers had been recruited by the Anglican bishop of New Guinea, M.J. Stone-Wigg, for work in New Guinea.⁷² Another alternative offered to those who were unwilling to return home was employment on the sugar plantations in Fiji, and over 400 Pacific Islanders eventually took up this option.⁷³

The Pacific Islanders Association's scheme for a separate reserve for Islanders echoed similar suggestions made to the royal commission. George Yasserie, speaking on behalf of Islanders at Proserpine, said that they wanted land of their own at Seaforth to be set aside by the Government. Seekis in Mackay and Assool in Cairns were willing to live on a reserve if given land to farm, but other farmers in Mackay preferred to remain on their leaseholds.⁷⁴ Some Europeans supported the idea of a separate settlement on the mainland, although Frodsham pointed out that a reserve had to be regarded "as a refuge or else as a prison...".⁷⁵ The idea of a reserve was not considered seriously at this stage but it was revived in the 1930s.⁷⁶

71. Frodsham to Kidston, 8 Mar.1906, PRE/84, QSA; NC 7 Apr.1906; MM 11 Jun.1906; PDMR 11 Jan.1907; Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, pp.177,178. In the Solomons Woodford was arranging to set aside certain areas for settlements for the returning Islanders. Woodford to Chermiside, 10 Aug.1902, encl. in Chermiside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 10 Sep.1902, Qld. No.52, A1 03/1694, AA.

72. In the petition presented to the governor-general in Mackay in 1904, the Islanders had requested that if deported they might be sent to a safe place under British rule. The Selwyn Mission had planned to send most of its converts, under Sage's leadership, to Fiu. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, pp.178-79; QPP II, 1906, p.855, Frodsham; Wetherell, Reluctant Mission, p.115; MM 23 Jul.1904, 15 Mar.1906; NC 1 Dec.1906, p.6, 1 Jan.1907, p.5.

73. This offer by the Fijian Government provoked some disagreement between Deakin and Kidston. Wright states that 352 Islanders went to Fiji, but according to Corris 427 went in 1907, and there is also evidence of some leaving for Fiji in 1906. Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.13; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.132-33; Q 2 Feb.1907, p.34; MM 4 Feb., 16 Feb., 25 Feb.1906.

74. QPP II, 1906, pp.716-17, p.669, p.749, p.618, H. Tongoa, p.670, N. Sabbot; MM 12 May 1906. Islanders in Rockhampton were very keen to have land set aside for them. OPP II, 1906, p.597, A. Malezieux, p.599, P. Wienn.

75. Ibid., p.857. For other opinions see ibid., p.717, R. Blair, p.731, J.R. Edmonds, p.779, J. Campbell.

76. See Chapter 8.

It was also suggested that those Islanders who did not wish to go back could be settled on an island off the Australian coastline.⁷⁷ This idea was actually implemented. In 1907 a 'South Sea Islander' reserve was proclaimed in the village of Wag on Moa Island in the Torres Strait. In the same year the Anglican church accepted responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the new settlers, and was given an annual grant from the Queensland Government for this purpose. In 1908 Florence Buchanan was appointed as deaconess for the new reserve, known as St Paul's Mission. While the number in the reserve is not known, it was not great: by 1910 there was a total of seventy-four men, women and children, and the women were principally Torres Strait Islanders.⁷⁸

Another controversial issue was the fate of those non-Melanesian women married to or living with Pacific Islanders. Brennan and W.E. Roth, the northern protector of Aborigines, were opposed to Aboriginal women, especially those with children, being allowed to leave the country with their husbands, on the grounds that they might be maltreated or killed, but found that it was legally difficult to stop them.⁷⁹ Under the amending Act, those Islanders legally married to Aborigines were eligible for exemption and in some cases at least pressure was put on them to stay in Australia.⁸⁰ Voluntarily or otherwise, however, some Islanders left

77. QPP II, 1906, p.660, D. Coyne, p.677, J. Harrington, p.748, C.C. Smith; CPD XXXV, 1906, p.6446; Newspaper cutting, Telegraph 13 Dec. 1902, A1 03/1694, AA.

78. NQR 10 Mar.1924, p.74; QPP II, 1910, p.975; Bayton, Cross over Carpentaria, pp.107-8; G. Evans, Thursday Island. A Plural Society (B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1972), p.100; C. Lack, 'The Story of Cape York Peninsula Part II Torres Strait Saga', Royal Historical Society of Queensland. Journal Vol.VI, No.4, 1961-62, pp.148-49; J. Singe, The Torres Strait People and History (St Lucia, 1979), p.106. Corris and Saunders do not appear to have been aware of the establishment of this reserve.

79. PDMR 15 Jun.1906; PDT 12 Jun.1906; QPP II, 1906, p.885, Brennan; Brennan to Hunt, 7 Jul.1907, A1 08/2939, AA. For similar opinions, see QPP II, 1906, p.883, J.M. Costin; Q 1 May 1902, letter to Ed. by 'Bulleeta', Bertie Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.71, p.18; MM 23 Jul.1905.

80. See Argus 2 Jan.1907; QPP II, 1906, p.754, H. Niven, p.885, Brennan; Brennan to Hunt, 21 Dec.1906, PRE/84, QSA. For examples of Islanders granted exemption on the grounds of marriage to Aboriginal women, see Brennan to Hunt, 12 Feb.1908, ibid.; Watseworey, Applications for exemption, IPI 11/1, QSA; Staines to Brennan, 8 Jul.1907, Summary, Johnson Tanna and Tabbiemillie, p.478, CPS 12E/62, QSA.

without their Aboriginal wives; Jimmy Chabba, for example, was sent back to Tanna, leaving behind Polly, the woman he had married in Port Douglas.⁸¹ In mid-1907 Tomkins and Frodsham protested strongly at the separation of Anglican Islanders from the Aboriginal women they had been living with in Innisfail. To forestall criticism, Hunt decided to allow these and other Islander men to stay provided the relationships were of one year's duration at least and that the Aboriginal women agreed to marry them.⁸²

The practice of European women accompanying their Islander husbands to Melanesia was strongly discouraged by the authorities. Europeans in the islands were uncompromisingly opposed to this practice, since the presence of such women would downgrade the colonists' image. Henry St George Caulfeild, the inspector of Pacific Islanders at Bundaberg, had dissuaded at least one European woman from going back with her husband, and Hunt promised Ernest Rason, the resident deputy commissioner in the New Hebrides, that no European woman would accompany her Islander husband to the New Hebrides.⁸³ In 1905 Kokoumba and his wife Alice were intending to return to Malaita but the Queensland authorities were advised that she would not be allowed to land in the Solomon Islands protectorate; late in 1907, however, the Kokoumbas did manage to disembark in the Solomons. Alice died within a short time of their arrival. According to Woodford, this was the only case of such a couple returning to the Solomons.⁸⁴

81. CMP 4 Jun.1925, Atherton Police Court. For another example see QPP II, 1906, p.842, A. Fraser. For cases in which Aboriginal women returned with their husbands, see Hunt to Brenan, 15 Jan.1907, Extract from Govt Agent Wayland's Log, A1 07/317, AA; Brenan to Hunt, 8 Nov.1903, PRE/84, QSA; Q 15 Dec.1906, p.33; Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides No.99, Jan.1918, p.18; J. St G. Caulfeild to Woodford, 15 Mar.1907, A1 07/9881, AA.

82. Tomkins to Frodsham, 27 Jun.1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Frodsham to Hunt, telegram, 13 Jul.1907, ibid.; Hunt to Frodsham, telegram, 27 Jul.1907, ibid.; Hunt to Brenan, 25 Sep.1907, ibid., Brenan to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, n.d., IPI 3/35, QSA.

83. QPP II, 1906, p.499; Hunt to Acting Sec., External Affairs, 10 May 1907, A1 07/5457, AA. For examples of such opposition from Europeans in the islands, see Repatriation of Kanakas. Interview between Sec. of Dept of External Affairs and Revs Paton and Macdonald, A1 06/3763, AA; Macdonald to Hunt, 18 Jun. 1906, ibid.; Woodford to Chermiside, 10 Aug. 1902, encl. in Chermiside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 10 Sep. 1902, Qld No.52, A1 03/1694, AA.

84. Morgan to Reid, 15 Jun.1905, PRE/84, QSA; Reid to Morgan, 30 Jun.1905, ibid.; Under Chief Sec. to Woodford, 1 Jul.1905, ibid.; Oliphant to Under Chief Sec., 1 Jul.1905, ibid.; Woodford to im Thurn, 23 Feb.1908, Despatch No.48, Bundle 48 1/1885, CP 78/1, AA.

The cost of deportation was another problem for the parsimonious Commonwealth Government. Having failed to impose the burden of the extra cost of shipping the Islanders home on to their employers, the Government sought to make the Islanders pay any additional costs. This, not surprisingly, was deeply resented by the Islanders and many, such as Tarrie and CumCum in Ayr, refused to go back unless their passage was paid for them.⁸⁵ There were also the issues of financial compensation for property and unexpired leaseholds held in Queensland and of the return of moneys belonging to deceased Islanders in the Pacific Islanders fund. These issues had been raised in the petitions in 1902 and 1904 and also by the Pacific Islanders Association. One Islander in Mackay, Alick, argued that compensation should be given not only for their farms, crops and horses, but also for their contributions towards the mission schools.⁸⁶ Compensation for the value of crops on leaseholds had not been written into many agreements.⁸⁷ While the holding of unexpired leaseholds was not included amongst the criteria for exemption, Deakin had promised to consider individual cases and a short period of grace was granted to such farmers. In 1908 there were fifty-one Islander farmers (of whom there were twenty in Mackay and two in Proserpine) who had been granted temporary certificates of exemption, so that they could stay until after the next harvest.⁸⁸

85. QPP II, 1906, p.844. Burns, Philp and Company contracted to return Solomon Islanders at £5 a head but there were additional costs involved in bringing Islanders to the ports of exit. Smart, the Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Company's manager, successfully challenged the Government's attempt to impose these extra costs on employers. See ibid., p.845, Tarrm Dooley, p.751, W.P. Wilson; Age 15 Sep.1906; J. Forsyth to Kidston, 25 Jul.1906, PRE/84, QSA; Nilsson, History of Mackay, p.134; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.134.

86. Petition from Pacific Island labourers to King Edward VII, encl. in PRE/87, QSA; Petition from Pacific Islanders Association, Al 06/6324, AA; Tongoa to Kidston, 17 Nov.1906, 6181, PRE/84, QSA; MM 23 Jul.1904, 4 Jun. 1906, 28 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting.

87. See QPP II, 1906, p.609, J. Smart, pp.614-15, J.C. Penny, pp.621, 626, F.C. Hornbrook, p.670, N. Sabbot; Smart to Manager, 10 Apr.1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Co., Alexandra Plantation Letter Book, 1900-6 (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton, memo., n.d., Al 08/2939, AA.

88. Brenan to Hunt, 5 Jul.1907, ibid.; PDT 9 Jan.1909; Brenan to Hunt, 23 May 1908, Appended statement on repatriation, Al 08/5120, AA; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.13.

A serious problem to which the royal commission had drawn attention was the increasing unemployment amongst Islanders. As more cane farmers registered for white labour and the bounty, the number unemployed rose steeply.⁸⁹ Another disincentive to their engagement was the uncertainty as to whether the final employer might be required to pay any extra passage money necessary to repatriate them. Moreover, until the amending Act was passed, Pacific Islanders, unless they were 'ticket-holders', were unable to be legally employed after 31 December 1906. The Government's concession, in granting special certificates of exemption so that Islanders awaiting deportation could enter into engagements between 31 December 1906 and 30 June 1907, did not remove the real obstacle to their employment, which was the bounty.⁹⁰ As already noted, many of the Islanders interviewed by the royal commission were out of work and had expended their savings in supporting themselves or their friends: Assool, for example, told the commissioners that "I cannot get em [job] because they register for white cane". In Mackay, leasing land was seen as an alternative to the prospect of unemployment: "White men get job now, and they [the Islanders] take up a farm to make a living".⁹¹ There was anxiety amongst the European population concerning the social problems which such unemployment had produced.⁹²

89. MM 4 Feb.1902, 11 Jul.1903, 3 Jan.1907; PDT 12 Jan.1907; Fanny Nicol to Deakin, 9 Sep.1902, Enclosure E in Governor-General, 29 Sep.1902, A1 03/1694, AA. Brenan believed such unemployment would encourage the Islanders to go home. Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 8 Feb.1906, 00614, PRE/84, QSA.

90. CPD XXXV, p.5998, Deakin. Although Brenan contended that the press had exaggerated the problems in obtaining employment, he considered that the system of special certificates was unworkable and preferred his inspectors to give approval to short, informal agreements. Brenan to Hunt, 18 Dec. 1906, PRE/84, QSA; Brenan to Hunt, 11 Jan.1907, ibid.

91. QPP II, 1906, p.749, p.618, H. Tongoa; Hornbrook to Brenan, 16 May 1906, encl. in Brenan to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1906, 2372 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS - PSEAH. For other references to unemployment amongst the Islanders, see QPP II, 1906, p.634, J. McIntyre, p.728, R.P. Tunnie, p.736, A. Staines, p.773, T. Binnie, p.820, E.W. Crow; Brenan to Hunt, 22 Aug.1907, A1 08/2939, AA; CPP II, 1907-8, p.1141.

92. See QPP II, 1906, pp.730-31, J.R. Edmonds, pp.750,751, W.P. Wilson, pp.853,857, G. Frodsham; MM 30 Jan., 15 Mar.1906, 4 Jan.1907; Trinity Times quoted in PDT 1 May 1906; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.292.

WHILE BRENNAN and the inspectors of Pacific Islanders carried out the administrative work, the final decisions on individual cases for exemption and the method of deportation were made by Hunt. The enactment of the amending Act in October 1906 had given little time for those with strong cases for exemption to apply. However, in August, well before the amending Act was introduced, Brennan had directed the inspectors of Pacific Islanders to make complete lists of all the Islanders in their districts, with special reference to any who appeared likely to oppose deportation and whether there were any reasonable grounds for their objections. In August too, Brennan also advised the inspectors of the additional grounds for exemption which were incorporated subsequently into the amending Act, and asked them to forward the names and full histories of any Islanders who would be eligible to apply. Inspectors were further instructed, in September, to open a register of applications for exemption and to report on any exceptional cases separately.⁹³

As with any bureaucratic administration of legislation, the operation of the Pacific Island Labourers Amendment Act of 1906 was marked by inconsistency. Officially, the Commonwealth Government adopted an uncompromising stance: in one case, for instance, Hunt advised Brennan that an Islander of good character and sixteen years' residence would not be exempted unless there were special circumstances.⁹⁴ Yet on other occasions the criteria for exemption were applied in a more liberal spirit - Hunt's decision to exempt those Islanders whose common law Aboriginal partners were prepared to marry them, has already been mentioned. In other cases Islanders who were not eligible for exemption were given special consideration. Some lepers, for example, were not sent back.⁹⁵ Others

93. Brennan to Insps. of Pacific Islanders, n.d., Circular letter, AI 15/19391, AA; Brennan to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, 9 Aug. 1906, Circular No. 239, 14 Aug. 1906, Circular No. 240, 27 Sep. 1906, Circular No. 244, IPI 3/35, QSA.

94. Brennan to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, 10 May 1907, *ibid.*; also cited in Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p. 130. See also BC 8 Jan. 1907; Hunt to Kerr, 30 Jun. 1906, AI 06/3763, AA.

95. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p. 130; Toolah, No. 1018 of 1907, COL/283, QSA.

who had been in the country for less than twenty years were granted exemption on the grounds that repatriation would endanger their lives: Royce, for instance, had been in Queensland only since 1897 but secured exemption because he had seduced a young girl on Malaita and would be killed if he returned.⁹⁶

Those who pleaded their own case or who were supported by sympathetic Europeans often gained exemption. For example, Ohnonce who had come to Port Douglas from Malaita in 1900 was a coastal man whose father and brother had been killed by bushmen; his application for exemption was granted only after his employer J.G. Robbins took the step of putting his case to the acting prime minister, Sir John Forrest, who visited the district in June 1907.⁹⁷ Yet others with equally strong reasons for remaining in Australia failed to apply. Despite Hunt's optimism, the awareness amongst the Islanders of the Act's conditions was generally hazy. Not all or even most inspectors of Pacific Islanders would have been as conscientious as Caulfeild, who carefully explained to assembled Islanders at Bundaberg the qualifications for exemption and the opportunity for any with special circumstances to come forward so that he could put their claims to Brennan. Another sympathetic inspector was Arthur Staines in the Port Douglas district, who was diligent in collecting all the relevant details of particular applications and pressing for exemption in deserving cases.⁹⁸

Few Islanders fully understood the reasons for deportation or the criteria for exemption.⁹⁹ Their confusion is well illustrated in later recollections. Tom Lammon told Tom Dutton, a linguist who interviewed him

96. Application for Exemption from Pacific Island Labourers Act in Favour of Royce, memo., n.d., A1 08/2939, AA. For other such cases, see Brennan to Hunt, 10 Jan.1907, PRE/84,QSA; Janky to Brennan, Jun.1907, A1 08/1459, AA; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.130-31; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.26.

97. Brennan to Hunt, 10 Jan.1907, PRE/84, QSA; Staines to Brennan, 6 Jun.1907, p.450, CPS 12E/62, QSA. For other examples, see T16Bsa:l; T56Bsa:l; T74Bsa:3; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.129.

98. MM 10 Sep.1906; BC 11 Jan. 1907; Staines to Brennan, 19 Dec.1906, p.359, CPS 12E/G2; Staines to Brennan, 6 Jun.1907, p.454, ibid.

99. Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.131.

in Ayr in 1964, that in the Herbert River district the 'Government' told the Islanders that they could stay if they wanted to or else go home. Present day descendants of the migrants who were young children when deportation took place, believe that their parents stayed on either because of their children or because their 'bosses' would not let them go, neither of which were official reasons for exemption.¹⁰⁰ They also believe that some of the returning Islanders were put ashore in the Torres Strait and New Guinea; most probably the basis to these stories is the Pacific Islanders reserve on Moa Island, of the existence of which they were unaware.¹⁰¹ Even some of the native-born, who were exempt by reason of their birthplace, were uncertain as to their legal position. There were allegations that the authorities had not always informed them of their right to remain: in the Herbert River district, Mary Mundy would have been deported if her father had not protested to the police magistrate.¹⁰² Further evidence of their confusion over deportation is found in the various instances in which Europeans exploited the Islanders by selling them spurious exemption tickets, such as the man who was travelling around the sugar districts in 1902 and charging £1 for such 'tickets'.¹⁰³

The majority of those exempted as a result of the amending Act had been resident for over twenty years. A smaller number qualified on the grounds of age or infirmity, marriage to a woman who was from a different island of origin or who was not a Pacific Islander, or in a very few cases

100. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.55; T1Bsa:3; T7Bsa:1; T56Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.45.

101. See ibid., pp.45-46; T1Bsa:2-3; T15Bsa:1; T19Bsb:2; T41Bsa:2; T63Bsb:3.

102. T72Bsa:1; Q 22 Dec.1906, p.33; Brenan to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, 14 Sep.1904, Circular No.221, IPI 3/35, QSA.

103. CMP 21 Jan.1902. For other such attempts, see Fraser to Brenan, 26 Jun.1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Caulfeild to Brenan, 7 Oct.1907, 14924, telegram, M817, POL/J35, QSA; Police Commissioner to Insp. Meldrum, 17 Oct.1901, telegram, ibid.

through ownership of freehold land.¹⁰⁴ As described above, a few obtained exemption by pleading special circumstances. But some of those who were exempted, or who would have been eligible for exemption, subsequently decided to leave. Mostly these were children whose parents were not allowed to stay or older people who chose to return with their friends and relatives. As late as January 1909, a number who were entitled to remain in Queensland left for their islands.¹⁰⁵

The number of Pacific Island migrants (the native-born were not included in any totals) who were legally exempted from deportation and who remained in Australia is difficult to calculate precisely. Earlier historians, as Corris has shown, gave varying figures.¹⁰⁶ He himself cited 1,654 as the number of Islanders who were granted exemption.¹⁰⁷ But this figure in fact represented the number of migrants who, according to the Department of External Affairs, were still in Australia in December 1909; presumably this included the small number with special certificates of exemption (generally farmers staying on to harvest their crops) and those settled on St Paul's Mission on Moa Island. In the following years, there was a slow trickle of Islanders leaving Australia, principally those whose special certificates had expired but also including some with general exemptions.¹⁰⁸

104. For examples of the various criteria for exemption under which individual Islanders qualified, see Hunt to Brennan, 28 Sep.1907, A1 08/2939, AA; Brennan to Hunt, 2 Dec.1907, *ibid.*; Brennan to Hunt, 12 Jan.1907, PRE/84, QSA; Staines to Brennan, 3 May 1907, p.425, CPS 12E/G2, QSA; Staines to Brennan, 8 Jul.1907, Summary, pp.476, 478, 480, *ibid.*; Applications for exemption, IPI 11/1, QSA; MM 16 Apr.1920.

105. Brennan had predicted that some of the exempted would leave. See Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation*, p.131; BC cited in MM 20 Jan.1909; BC 28 Feb.1907; Q 2 Feb.1907, p.34; *Argus* 2 Jan.1907; Brennan to Hunt, 2 Aug.1906, A1 15/19391, AA.

106. See Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', pp.242-43, n25.

107. Hunt to Controller-General, Dept of Trade and Customs, 20 Dec.1909, A1 09/15453, AA, cited in Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', p.243 n26.

108. Between 1910 and 1915, 167 Pacific Islanders left Australia; after this year, the numbers leaving the country were very small. Register of Departure of Coloured Persons from the Commonwealth, A1 10/1936, AA.

'Ticket-holders' under the 1884 Act, of whom there were said to be 691 still alive and in Australia in 1906, were automatically exempt under the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 but some nevertheless applied for and received general certificates of exemption.¹⁰⁹ According to the Department of External Affairs, 1,249 general and 131 special certificates of exemption were granted altogether. Allowing for those among the 'ticket-holders' who also applied, it can be assumed that roughly 1,200 migrants had been permitted to stay permanently as a result of the relaxation in 1906 of the criteria for exemption.¹¹⁰ But, as already demonstrated, not all of those who were exempted chose to remain. Presumably this serves to account for the greater part of the difference between the total number of 'ticket-holders' and those with general and special certificates (2,071), and the smaller number said to be still in the country in December 1909 (1,654).¹¹¹

From other evidence, however, it is clear that the number of migrants who received exemption and who chose to remain did not represent the total number of Islanders who stayed on in Australia. According to nominal sources there were at least 1,096 migrants in North Queensland after 1907; extrapolating from this, it can be estimated that there were over 2,500 migrants in Australia.¹¹² Thus there may have been up to a

109. QPP II, 1906, p.903, Appendix XVII; Soppo, Application for exemption, IPI 11/I, QSA; Staines to Brennan, 8 Jul.1907, Summary, p.476, CPS 12E/62, QSA.

110. Hunt to Controller-General, Dept of Trade and Customs, 20 Dec.1909, A1 09/15453, AA; CPP III, 1912, pp.907-8. Corris mistakenly assumes the figure of 1,654 represented the total number of exemptions and that therefore (subtracting the 691 'ticket-holders') the number of certificates issued under the relaxed criteria for exemption was nearly 1,000. Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', p.243.

111. There were also those 'ticket-holders' and those with certificates who may have died between 1906 and 1909, and a slight tendency to double counting due to the fact that some 'ticket-holders' also obtained certificates of exemption.

112. This is calculated from the proportions which (according to the censuses) the Islander population in North Queensland represented of the Queensland population and which this population in turn represented of the Australian population. See Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.4.

thousand Islanders (or more) without exemption who remained in the country - a much higher number than has previously been assumed.¹¹³

As will be seen, there was a considerable number of Islanders who attempted to resist deportation, particularly in the Mackay, Burdekin and Johnstone River districts. Many runaways were discovered and deported. Yet the authorities obviously believed that there were still Islanders who had stayed on illegally and escaped detection; as late as June 1908, the Immigration Department placed advertisements in Queensland newspapers stating that any Islanders not in possession of certificates of exemption were liable to be deported.¹¹⁴

Both in the oral and written evidence there are many stories of Islanders who remained illegally in North Queensland. One Islander lived in the hills south of Cardwell for some thirty years until he was apprehended and sent to an Aboriginal reserve, and in Innisfail a European hid "a favourite servant" for weeks in the bush and supplied him with food.¹¹⁵ In the Burdekin, Charlie Pentecost was one of several Islanders who were said to have evaded deportation; Charlie Cawoot from Tanna and his wife Rosie hid him from the police on many occasions and he stayed with them until he died in 1940.¹¹⁶ In Mackay, which had the largest Islander population, present day descendants recall that their parents and grandparents helped to hide many countrymen from the authorities; the heavy scrub around the Eungella Range was particularly suited to this. When these men finally reappeared, local farmers (although aware of their illegal presence) did not turn them into the police.¹¹⁷ Islanders from

113. Corris and Bolton concluded that only a few hundred remained illegally. Corris, 'White Australia' in Action', p.243; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251.

114. PDMR 23 Jun., 2 Jul.1908.

115. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251.

116. T19Bsa:2+3; T56Bsa:3; T71Bsa:3.

117. T4Bsa:2+3; T6Bsa:1; T8Bsa:2; T27Bsa:2; Ty5Bp.1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.44.

Mackay and other districts are also said to have travelled as far north as the Atherton Tableland, and south to Rockhampton and even down to Nambour, to avoid discovery.¹¹⁸

FROM LATE 1906, with large numbers of Islanders congregating in the sugar towns to await deportation, violence was feared. The Islanders were advised by prominent Europeans such as Frodsham and Caulfeild to accept deportation quietly. In the event, however, these fears were misplaced. The amending Act of 1906 had helped to defuse hostility and the general ignorance amongst the Islanders as to who was actually responsible for deportation helped to prevent any concerted reprisals.¹¹⁹ There were only isolated displays of resentment, such as drunken outbursts and brawls in the towns.¹²⁰

That the Islanders resented their treatment, however, was clear from their behaviour towards their employers. Late in 1906 an Islander on Alexandra plantation set fire to the cane and in Cairns the conduct of Islanders employed at the Mulgrave Mill was so bad that they were being encouraged to break their agreements and return home.¹²¹ Apart from vengeful or recalcitrant behaviour, other actions clearly demonstrated the Islanders' resentment of their unequal position vis-à-vis European

118. T6Bsa:1; T19Bsb:3; T27Bsa:2.

119. MM 11 Jun.1906; PDT 15 Sep.1906; Q 13 Oct. 1906, p.3; Corris, Passage Port and Plantation, p.132. For predictions of violence, see ibid., pp.128, 131; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.454-55; QPP II, 1906, p.458, Report, pp.629, 630, F.C. Hornbrook, p.644, E. Martin; MM 4 Jan.1907; PDMR 23 Nov.1906; CMP 25 Jan.1907; Trinity Times quoted in PDT 1 May 1906; Brenan to Hunt, 24 Sep.1907, A1 07/293, AA; AYB, 1905-6, p.43.

120. CMP 10 Jul.1906, 25 Jan.1907; PDMR 28 Dec.1906; Corris, Passage Port and Plantation, pp.131, 132.

121. Smart to Manager, 21 May, 4 Jun. 1906, Melbourne and Mackay Sugar Co., Alexandra Plantation Letter Book, 1900-6 (reference supplied by C.R. Moore); Mulgrave Central Mill, Fifty Years in Retrospect, p.39.

cane-cutters. In July 1906, for example, fifty Islanders advertised in the Mossman Champion that they would be available if Europeans could not fulfil their cane-cutting contracts. In the same month, 16 Islanders at Mossman Central Mill were fined for refusing to cut cane on land which had been registered for the bounty but then withdrawn because it was badly grub eaten; this provoked over 140 Islanders employed by the mill to go on strike.¹²²

Such actions expressed the resentment of their situation felt by the Islanders, but had no impact outside each district. In late 1906 the legality of the Commonwealth Government's power to deport Pacific Islanders was finally challenged. In Queensland, Europeans who questioned the Commonwealth's power in this regard had been raising money to meet the costs of a legal challenge. At Brennan's suggestion, the Commonwealth took the initiative and paid the legal costs of an appeal to the High Court against Section 8 of the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 by an Islander, Robtelmes. In early October the case was heard and decided in the Commonwealth's favour.¹²³

With this issue settled, Brennan and Hunt pressed ahead with deportation. Deportation orders were issued from October 1906 through to mid-1908 for any Islanders whom it was believed would resist deportation, and those who showed a reluctance to leave were imprisoned pending deportation. For example, deportation orders were issued in October 1906 for sixteen Islanders at Mackay and the "more obstinate" of fifty Solomon

122. CNP 29 Jul.1906; PDNR 27 Jul.1906; Kerr, Northern Outpost, p.43; Staines to Brennan, 24 Jul.1906, 3647 of 1906, mf 167(a), RSPS-PSEAH. For other such examples, see OPP II, 1906, p.735, Ackar; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.455.

123. BC 17 Sep., letter to Ed. by Rev. Gillespie, 19 Sep, letter to Ed. by L. Stable, 22 Sep., letter to Ed. by H. Heinemann and Central Summons Court, 3 Oct.1906; Wright, 'The Expulsion of the Kanakas', p.13; Brennan to Hunt, 24 Sep.1906, A1 07/293, AA.

Islanders from Ayr were imprisoned in the Mackay gaol until their departure time.¹²⁴ While there was some resistance to deportation in Mackay, the Burdekin and other coastal North Queensland districts, the centre of intransigence was in the Johnstone River district. Sergeant Alexander Fraser was sent to this district to hasten deportation and to prevent the area from becoming a refuge for runaways from adjacent districts. There were thick patches of scrub in which the Islanders could easily evade detection and Fraser only managed with great difficulty to send off fifty-two Islanders in July 1907. Even by May of the following year there were estimated to be still some thirty-two Islanders hiding in the scrub around Innisfail.¹²⁵

By July 1908, however, deportation was regarded as officially complete and the Pacific Island Labour Branch of the Immigration Department ceased to exist. The actual process of deportation had gone relatively smoothly and Brennan and his fellow officers were commended by Deakin for their efforts.¹²⁶ Altogether it was calculated that 4,269 Islanders were deported by the Commonwealth Government under the Pacific Island Labourers Act between late 1906 and the end of 1909.¹²⁷

124. PDT 20 Oct., 30 Oct. 1906. For other such cases, see BC 11 Jan. 1907, interview with A. Hunt; PDMR 21 Dec. 1906, 1 May 1908, Mossman Police Court; Hunt to Brennan, 16 Mar. 1908, AI 08/2939, AA; Forrest to Brennan, 20 Apr. 1907, AI 07/4198, AA; Hunt to Insp. of Pacific Islanders, Bundaberg, 23 Sep. 1907, AI 07/8941, AA; Brennan to Hunt, 23 May 1908, Appended statement on repatriation, AI 08/5120, AA.

125. Ibid.; Fraser to Brennan, 22 Jun. 1907, AI 08/2939, AA; Brennan to Hunt, 6 Jul. 1907, ibid.; Brennan to Hunt, 9 Jul., 15 Oct. 1907, ibid.; PDMR 5 Jul. 1907. Several of the Islanders sought legal advice before they agreed to leave. Fraser believed that such stubbornness had been provoked by the actions of a local farmer, Ryan, who had given leases to some Islanders.

126. Deakin to Acty Premier, 16 Jun. 1908, AI 15/19391, AA; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p. 131.

127. Hunt to Controller-General, Dept of Trade and Customs, 20 Dec. 1909, AI 09/15453, AA.

In 1907, large crowds of Europeans and Islanders assembled to watch the departing men and women, laden with possessions such as bicycles, sewing machines and wheelbarrows. Personal belongings were searched carefully by officials for firearms and ammunition, often concealed ingeniously, and any discovered were confiscated. Christian Islanders usually behaved soberly, often singing hymns together. But others, often drunk, were more boisterous and were only got aboard with difficulty.¹²⁸ Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans were generally shipped from different ports, to avoid conflict. In Mackay after a row between New Hebrideans and Malaitans on the wharf, the New Hebrideans were sent off while the Malaitans were detained to be sent later.¹²⁹ There were defiant gestures from some of the deportees, such as haranguing the crowd or cheering loudly as the ship left the wharf. As the Malaita left Cairns one group of Islanders delivered its verdict on the Pacific Island Labourers Act, calling out derisively:

"Goodbye Queensland; Goodbye White Australia; Goodbye Christians."¹³⁰

128. For these wharf scenes see BC 11 Mar.1907; CMP 27 Nov.1906, 1 Mar.1907; MM 7 Jan.1907; Q 15 Dec.1906, p.34; PDMR 19 Oct.1906; Shepherd, The Herbert River Story, pp.277, 284; T4Bsa:3; T57Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.45.

129. MM 16 Feb., 21 Feb.1907, MPC; T1Bsa:3; Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, pp.133-34; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.456; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251.

130. CMP 17 Nov.1906, also cited in Wetherell, Reluctant Missions, p.115. For other such gestures, see BC 24 Jan.1907; CMP 2 Mar.1907; MM 7 Feb.1907; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.251; 'Tramp', 'Sugar Land Reminiscences', Mar.1936, p.20.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS, 1908-40

BY 1908, the Pacific Islander population in North Queensland had shrunk to a tiny fraction of its previous size. This chapter is concerned with the demographic patterns of this population between 1908 and 1940: the Islanders' numbers, locations, mobility and demographic behaviour in terms of the three primary factors of marriage, birth and death. Statistical information derived from the censuses and also from nominal sources is used where possible, but there are limitations on the availability and reliability of data for such a small population. In addition, the only statistics available for comparative purposes concern the wider population as a whole, rather than a more strictly comparable group such as Aborigines or 'poor whites'.¹

THE SURVIVAL of an Islander population was clearly unforeseen; it was assumed, in view of the small number of women, that it would disappear entirely or be absorbed into the Aboriginal population. In the early 1900s it was often asserted that relaxing the strict exemption requirements would not threaten a 'White Australia': "they [Pacific Islanders] can only be an infinitesimal portion of the population and in a generation or two will have disappeared".² In the years after deportation, observers continued to predict the Islanders' rapid disappearance and to emphasize their small numbers. Often it was claimed that all the 'kanakas' had been sent home - a

1. The censuses do not distinguish between different 'classes' in the population, and little is known about the demography of the Aboriginal population in the early twentieth century. C.D. Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia (Canberra, 1970; repr. Ringwood, Vic., 1972), p.3.

2. AYB, 1905-6, p.44. For similar comments, see Q 16 Jul. 1904, p.3; BC 4 Jul. 1906; NM 5 Apr. 1906; Herbert River Express quoted in NM 11 Feb. 1907; Chermside to Sec. of State, 23 Jun. 1902, A1 03/1694, AA.

belief which still has wide currency.³ Within North Queensland, recognition of the increasing Islander population came in the early 1930s, at much the same time as a similar trend was observed in populations throughout the Pacific.⁴

While it is clear that predictions of its disappearance were confounded, it is difficult to assess accurately the size and growth of the Islander population. The Commonwealth censuses of 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947 provide the only figures available which illustrate change over time. These are useful for highlighting broad trends, although (as will be seen) they significantly understated the number of Islanders in North Queensland. In Table 4.1, the census figures for the Pacific Islander population in Queensland and Australia are shown.⁵ Clearly the great majority of Islanders (consistently over three-quarters) continued to live in Queensland.⁶ Significantly, an even greater proportion of the women lived there.

According to the censuses, the Islander population in Queensland increased rapidly between 1911 and 1921, at a rate of 1.28 per cent per annum. Between 1921 and 1933 the population declined significantly, and between 1933 and 1947 there was a further noticeable decrease. As will

3. See NQR 15 Jul., p.36, 23 Sep. 1912, p.22; CMP 25 Jun. 1919; J.W. Gregory, The Menace of Colour a study of the difficulties due to the association of white and coloured races, with an account of measures proposed for their solution, and special reference to white colonization in the tropics (London, 1925), p.157; A. Marshall, Sunny Australia. Impressions of the Country and People (London, 1911); F. Coffee, Forty Years on the Pacific (San Francisco, 1920), p.290; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.50, 83.

4. See BC 13 Apr. 1933; Commonwealth Census, Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.122; B. McKenna, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; McArthur and Yaxley, Condominium of the New Hebrides, p.19; W.B., 'Problem of Depopulation in the Pacific Islands', Pacific Islands Monthly Vol.III, No.7, Feb. 1933, p.42.

5. Fijians and Maoris were often included as 'Polynesians', but where they were enumerated separately I have counted Fijians but not Maoris. In 1947 Torres Strait Islanders were counted as 'Polynesians', and only approximate estimates of their numbers were given.

6. Apart from New South Wales, there were tiny numbers of Islanders in the other States.

shortly be made evident, this decline in the total was due to the rapidly decreasing number of migrants, which tended to obscure the significant increase in the number of native-born Islanders.

TABLE 4.1: Numbers of Pacific Islanders⁺ in Australia, according to the census

Year of Census	Australia			Queensland				% of Aust. total in Qld	
	M	F	Total	M	% of Aust. total	F	% of Aust. total		Total
1911	1803	439	2242	1476	81.9	384	87.5	1860	83.0
1921	1819	750	2569	1482	81.5	616	82.1	2098	81.7
1933	1145	747	1892	954	83.3	628	84.1	1582	83.6
1947	999*	663*	1662*	796*	79.7	459*	69.2	1255*	75.5

⁺ including Fijians (but not Maoris)

* In 1947 Torres Strait Islanders were counted in with Pacific Islanders. This figure is obtained by subtracting approximate figures given for the number of Torres Strait Islanders from the Australian and Queensland totals.

Sources: Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.903-5, Vol.I, 1921, pp.297, 306, Vol.I, 1933, p.902.

The censuses (except in 1947) also provided figures on the number and locations of Islanders in North Queensland (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). However, the 1911 census enumerated only the migrants and not the native-born, while the 1933 census understated numbers by excluding native-born who were 'half-castes'. Despite these omissions, the North Queensland proportion of the Queensland total remained roughly constant, ranging from

TABLE 4.2: Numbers of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland, according to the census

Year of Census	No. in North Qld*			No. in Qld*			No. in North Qld as % of Qld total
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
1911	529	49	578	1075	136	1211	47.72
1921	571	218	789	1246	414	1660	47.53
1933	334	183	517	634	349	983	52.59

* Papuans and those living in the Torres Strait are excluded. There is a significant discrepancy, for which no explanation is provided, between the totals given here for Queensland and those given in other census tables (see Table 4.1).

Sources: Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.338-51, Vol.I, 1921, pp.859-67, Vol.I, 1933, pp.306-11.

TABLE 4.3: Location of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland, according to the census

District	1911 Census			1921 Census			1933 Census		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Pt Douglas	40	0	40	26	2	28	12	4	16
Cairns	103	5	108	45	18	63	8	2	10
Atherton Tab.	15	0	15	33	12	45	5	0	5
Johnstone R.	-*	-*	-*	45	5	50	11	5	16
Herbert R.	71	12	83	65	36	101	31	24	55
Townsville	27	3	30	13	3	16	6	4	10
Burdekin	-+	-+	-+	25	11	36	42	20	62
Charters Towers	6	2	8	11	6	17	3	1	4
Hughenden & west	10	0	10	13	8	21	6	4	10
Bowen	49	5	54	33	14	47	33	22	55
Proserpine	- ¹	- ¹	- ¹	28	22	50	8	4	12
Mackay	208	22	230	234	81	315	169	93	262
Total	529	49	578	571	218	789	334	183	517

* Included in Cairns total.

+ Included in Townsville total.

¹ Included in Bowen total.

Sources: Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.338-51, Vol.I, 1921, pp.859-67, Vol.I, 1933, pp.306-11.

forty-six per cent to fifty-two per cent.⁷

These tables show that Pacific Islanders were chiefly resident in Queensland and here heavily concentrated in North Queensland. Other evidence, however, indicates that the censuses considerably underenumerated the Pacific Islander population, at least in North Queensland. The background to the censuses helps to explain why such undercounting might have occurred.

The Commonwealth Government decided that the census would collect statistical information on non-European 'races'.⁸ Accordingly, from the first census in 1911 a 'race' question was included which non-Europeans only answered. Pacific Islanders were inaccurately categorized as 'Polynesians'.⁹ In 1911 this information was analysed elaborately - tables on the number of each non-European group, their residential locations, nationality and birthplace, length of residence in Australia, occupations, education, conjugal condition and age were produced. Presumably for reasons of time and interest this exercise was not repeated. Information on 'race' in subsequent censuses was generally limited to essential information.¹⁰

As the Commonwealth statistician admitted, the census data provided at best only a rough indication of the proportions and 'racial' compositions of the non-European groups in Australia. In part this related to the definitions employed. Until 1947 Aborigines were not counted in the census.

7. Pacific Islanders living in the Torres Strait were excluded from this total.

8. The collection of information on non-European races was listed as one of the "prescribed matters" under the regulations to the Census and Statistics Act of 1905 (No.15 of 1905), s12(c). See Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1911, Statistician's Report, pp.6, 62, 222, Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.118.

9. See ibid., Vol.II, 1921, Statistician's Report, p.112.

10. Such as numbers, locations, length of residence in Australia and ages. Only in 1911 was all this information provided for Islanders in North Queensland (as distinct from Islanders in Queensland).

'Half-castes' were classified according to the 'race' of which they were more than half. Since the concern was with Europeans as against non-Europeans, those with one-half European descent and one-half Aboriginal or other non-European descent, were classed as 'half-castes'. All those of Aboriginal and other non-European descent and also those whose parents were non-Europeans of different 'races' were classed as 'full-bloods' according to the 'race' of the father.¹¹ Thus children of Islander and European descent would have been counted as 'half-castes', and those with Islander mothers and non-European fathers classed under their fathers' 'race'. In both cases they would not have been counted as Islanders, irrespective of their own social or psychological identification.

Islanders in the far north of North Queensland (Innisfail and north) may have been significantly undercounted because of their association with Aborigines. Families in these districts were generally of mixed (Aboriginal and Islander) descent rather than full (both parents Islanders). Census collectors, being ethnocentric Europeans, may have mistakenly identified such people as Aborigines and therefore not counted them. A more general reason why the Islander population in North Queensland would have been undercounted was their lack of visibility. Their semi-rural and rural locations, discussed later in this chapter, made them easy to overlook. Moreover, the completion of a census schedule presupposed a basic literacy, and the migrants were predominantly illiterate.

For all these reasons, Pacific Islanders in North Queensland were a group whose numbers can be expected to have been consistently underestimated in the censuses.¹² Further evidence of this is provided through other documentary evidence.

The 1911 census can be compared with applications made by Pacific

11. Commonwealth Census, Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.117. The Commonwealth definition of an Aboriginal was a person of more than half Aboriginal descent, but Queensland had a much more wide-reaching definition. Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia, pp.38, 47.

12. As late as 1971, the number of Aborigines in North Queensland was undercounted very significantly in the census, due to the definitions used and identification problems. R.J. Pryor, 'The Aboriginal Population of North Queensland: A Demographic Profile', Oceania Vol. XLV, No.1, Sep. 1974, pp.28-29.

Islanders working in the sugar industry for exemption from a piece of discriminatory legislation, the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913. It can be estimated, and this is an overestimate rather than an underestimate, that 471 of the 529 migrant men counted in 1911 in North Queensland were in the sugar-growing districts.¹³ Two years' later, in 1913, 446 male migrants in these same districts applied for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act, and this by no means represented all the migrants working in the sugar industry.¹⁴ At least twenty migrants had died since the 1911 census.¹⁵ Moreover, the applicants represented only the majority of those presently working in the sugar industry, whereas the 1911 figure included those out of work due to ill-health, old-age or inability to find employment. Finally, it must be noted that most but not all of the migrants in these districts were sugar workers. Clearly the 1911 census had undercounted the number of migrant men - and by extension the Islander population in general - in North Queensland.

The census figures therefore represent very conservative estimates of the Islander population. Less conservative, but by no means infallible, figures can be calculated from nominal sources. As noted in the previous chapter, these sources indicate that there were at least 1,096 migrant men and women in North Queensland (see Table 4.4). A very few of these people came to North Queensland from other parts of Australia during this period; the rest had been in the region by 1908. Yet the 1911 census counted only 578 migrant men and women in North Queensland (see Table 4.2).¹⁶

Figures on the size of the total population (migrant and native-born

13. 4 Geo. V, No.4. See Table 4.3. This was calculated by totalling the number of migrant men in the Port Douglas, Cairns, Johnstone River, Herbert River, Townsville (which included the Burdekin) and Mackay districts.

14. See Table 5.1. This Act is discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

15. This was calculated from nominal sources, the methodology of which is outlined in Appendix B.

16. The 1911 census was the only census in which the migrants (as opposed to the native-born) were enumerated separately.

TABLE 4.4: Numbers, locations and islands of origin of Pacific Island migrants in North Queensland 1908-40, according to nominal sources

	Tanna	Erromanga	Aneityum & Futuna & Lamien	Efate	Emau, Emae & Makoura	Tongoa	Aoba	Ambrym	Malekula	Santo	Pentecost	Malo	Paama & Maewo	Gaua	Valua	Vanua Lava	Mota & Mera Lava	Toga	Lo	Not specified	Total New Hebrides	New Caledonian#	Fijian	Samoa	New Britain & New Ireland	Lord Howe	Malaita	Guadalcanal	Ngela	Santa Isabel	San Cristobal	Santa Cruz & Buka	Not specified	Total Solomons	Pacific Islander+	Grand Total	
Port Douglas	7	1	-	3	1	-	3	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	22	2	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	-	-	6	14	3	41	
Cairns	14	8	1	1	1	-	1	7	7	2	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	50	-	-	1	-	22	4	-	-	-	2	11	39	19 (1)	109 (1)		
Atherton Tab.	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	15	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	21		
Johnstone R.	9 (1)	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	5	-	-	2	3	2	2	-	-	-	28 (1)	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	8	22	9 (1)	59 (2)		
Herbert R.	22 (3)	9 (1)	-	15	-	-	5 (1)	5 (2)	2	2	5	2	-	1	1	-	-	7 (5)	-	-	76 (12)	3	2	3 (1)	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	10	17	22 (1)	123 (14)		
Townsville	1	1	-	-	3 (1)	1 (1)	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	12 (2)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	4	8	24 (2)		
Burdekin	5	2	-	1	-	1	2	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	21	-	-	2 (1)	-	6	-	-	-	-	1	7	3	33 (1)			
Bowen	22 (2)	-	3	2	2	-	-	4	2	2 (2)	-	-	-	-	5 (2)	2	-	-	2 (1)	-	46 (7)	-	2 (1)	2 (1)	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	3	18 (1)	71 (10)		
Proserpine	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	4	1	-	1	-	-	6 (1)	1	-	-	-	1 (1)	21 (2)	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	4	7 (1)	33 (3)		
Mackay	14 (1)	4	-	25	3	8 (1)	10 (2)	40 (4)	8 (1)	32 (1)	18 (3)	4 (1)	16 (1)	5 (1)	13 (1)	15 (1)	1 (1)	7 (1)	1 (2)	7	238 (20)	4 (1)	2	-	1 (1)	1	65 (4)	14 (2)	23	4	2	6	31 (1)	145 (7)	177 (20)	568 (48)	
Western Districts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	5			
Ab. Missions & Reserves	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5 (1)	9 (1)		
Grand Total	103 (7)	25 (1)	5	48	7 (2)	12 (4)	18 (6)	60 (6)	28 (1)	47 (1)	36 (5)	20 (1)	19 (1)	6 (1)	16 (4)	32 (4)	7 (1)	11 (1)	15 (7)	4 (1)	13 (1)	532 (44)	12 (2)	6 (1)	4 (1)	6 (2)	1	121 (4)	23 (2)	30	4	2	8	74 (1)	262 (7)	273 (26)	1096 (82)

+ Island of origin not known

#principally Loyalty Islanders

()number of women included in total

Sources: Nominal sources (see Appendices A and B)

including those of full and part Islander descent) in 1911 and 1933 can also be constructed from nominal sources for the Herbert River, Burdekin, Bowen (including Proserpine) and Mackay districts. This information is presented in Table 4.5. The number of migrants still alive in 1933 may have been slightly higher than given.¹⁷ With the exception of the Burdekin district in 1933, these totals are much higher than the census figures for both 1911 and 1933 (see Table 4.3). Presumably the Islander populations in other districts were similarly undercounted in the censuses.

TABLE 4.5: Numbers of native-born Pacific Islanders in selected North Queensland districts in 1911 and 1933, according to nominal sources

District	1911					1933				
	Migrant M	F	Native-Born M	F	Total	Migrant M	F	Native-Born M	F	Total
Herbert R.	79	12	25	20	136	25	5	38	46	114
Burdekin	32	1	8	8	49	11	1	30	19	61
Bowen (incl. Proserpine)	90	12	26	38	166	21	3	54	68	146
Mackay	509	39	94	54	696	104	9	172	123	408
Total	710	64	153	120	1047	161	18	294	256	729

Sources: Nominal sources (see Appendices A and B).

17. Information is most complete and reliable for these districts, and these years were chosen to compare with the censuses. The number of migrants in 1933 is probably an underestimation, since they were only counted if they were known to have still been alive at this period. In contrast, the number of native-born may be slightly over-estimated, since these were counted unless they were known to have died.

The censuses, however, did highlight an important trend - the decline in the Islander population in North Queensland between 1911 and 1933. As Table 4.5 shows, the numbers of migrants fell dramatically between 1911 and 1933. The rapid increase in the numbers of native-born was not sufficient to offset this, but it did indicate that the population would survive (see Plates 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Presumably in the 1940s the total population size started to show an increase, and today there are several thousand Pacific Islanders in North Queensland.¹⁸

Despite their undercounting, the censuses are also useful for highlighting the changes in the Islanders' population structure. In Figure 4.1(a)-(d), population pyramids have been drawn for the Islanders in Queensland based on the censuses of 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1933.¹⁹ In 1901 the classic imbalances created by the predominance of young, unmarried males and the tiny numbers of females is strikingly evident. By 1911 deportation had reduced these imbalances. The female population now represented 20.6 per cent of the total. There were considerably more males than females amongst the children and young adults. While there was a striking imbalance in the number of men aged 30 and over, the male population was gradually ageing - 57.6 per cent of males were aged 35 years and over.

By 1921, the further broadening of the population base is apparent. There were slightly more female than male children, but noticeably more men than women aged between 15 and 29 years. The female population had risen to 29.4 per cent of the total. In the older age groups, the imbalance was centred on men aged 40 and over. By 1933, the population pyramid was closer to a 'normal' shape. The female population had reached 39.7 per cent of the total, and males and females aged between 0 and 49 years were roughly equal in number. The bulge was focussed on men aged 60 years and over, and especially over 65.²⁰ Although the only figures available on age

18. See Epilogue.

19. The figures are taken from the Queensland census (for 1901) and the Commonwealth censuses (for later years).

20. This feature also applied to other non-European groups. Commonwealth Census, Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.122.



PLATE 4.1: Group of Islander boys and young men from the Fatnowma and Motto families, Mackay, c. 1930s. Note the cricket bat.

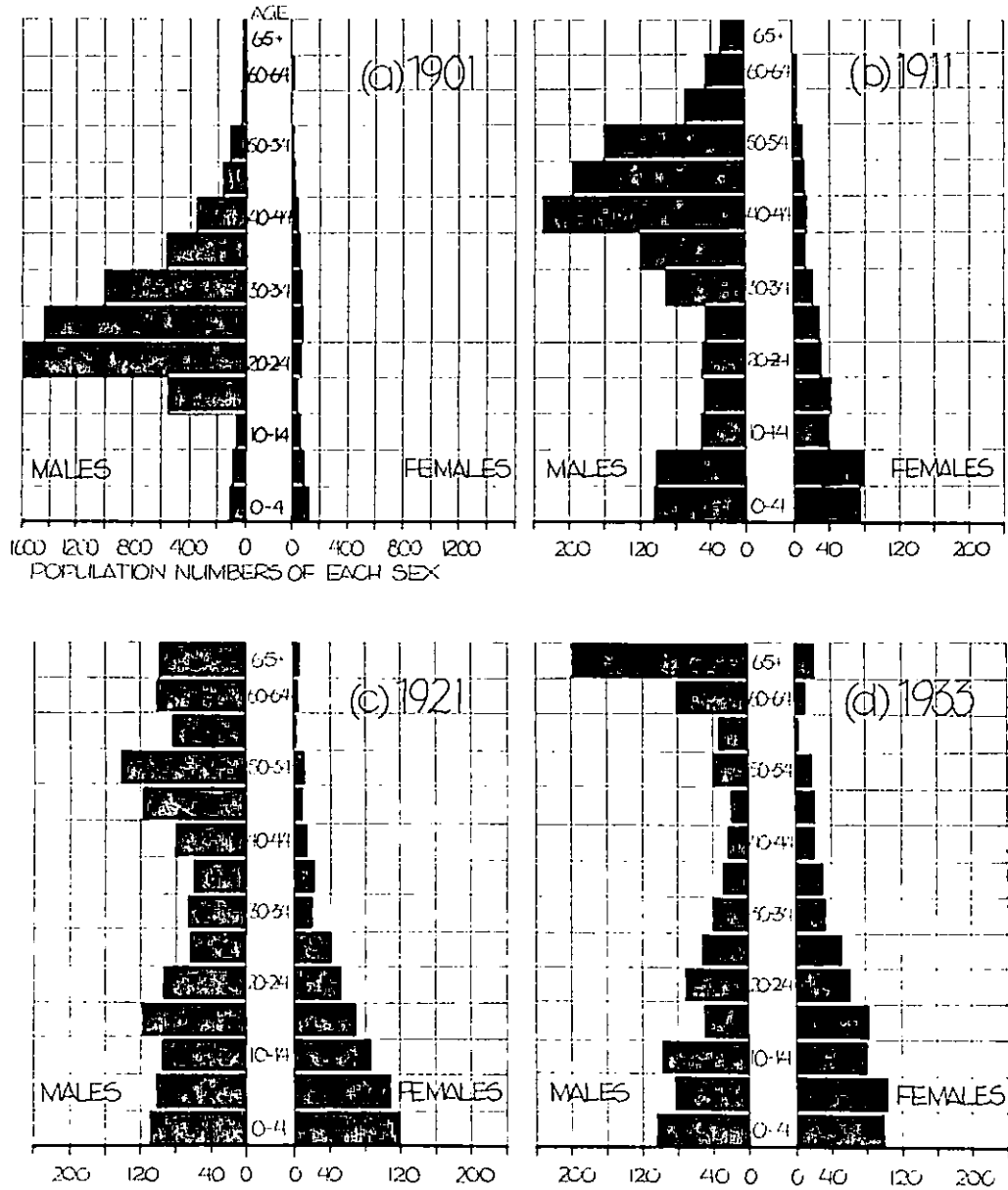


PLATE 4.2: Islander congregation (including the Cawoot, Darr, Henaway and Nahow families) with their European pastor and helpers at the newly-built Assembly of God Church in Ayr, c. 1930.



PLATE 4.3: Group of Islander men and boys (including the Boslam, Fraser and Tallis families) on Annie Taiters' farm near Bowen, c. 1913.

FIGURE 4.1 (a)-(d): AGE* AND SEX PYRAMIDS OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDER POPULATION IN QUEENSLAND, 1901 TO 1933



* NOT INCLUDING THOSE WHOSE AGES WERE NOT SPECIFIED

SOURCES —

QPP VOL. II, 1902, p. 1051 ; COMMONWEALTH CENSUS, VOL. II, 1911, pp. 918-919, VOL. I, 1921, pp. 330-331, VOL. I, 1933, p. p. 926-929.

structure in 1947 were Australia-wide and included Torres Strait Islanders, they highlighted the continuing process of normalisation.²¹

The population structure had thus gradually assumed a more normal shape, of tapering from a broad base. The bulge in the population created by the predominance of unmarried men had formed a rolling wave pushing up the proportions in each age group over time. The equalisation between the sexes had obvious demographic implications, as also did the trend to a more youthful population. This was also reflected in the increasing numbers of native-born Islanders. The proportion of native-born in the total population increased dramatically: amongst the Islander population throughout Australia, it rose from 26.2 per cent in 1911, to 44.5 per cent in 1921, 51.3 per cent in 1933 and 75.8 per cent in 1947.²² The Commonwealth statistician commented in 1933 and in 1947 that Pacific Islanders and Syrians were the groups with the largest proportions of native-born and the only non-European groups with approximate numerical equality between the sexes.²³

The population imbalance amongst the Islanders was not completely atypical. The Queensland population was also marked by an excess of males, especially in the later age groups, reflecting the influence of immigration to the State.²⁴ With the labour trade closed, the Islander population in Queensland gradually lost its severe imbalances.

21. The female population was now 46.7 per cent of the total, and men aged 45 and over represented only 13.6 per cent of the male population. Ibid., Vol.III, 1947, Statistician's Report, p.158.

22. These calculations could only be done for the Islander population in Australia as a whole. In the 1947 census, I deducted the number given for Torres Strait Islanders (whom it can be assumed were all born in Australia) from the number of native-born 'Polynesians'. Ibid., Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.121, Vol.III, 1947, Statistician's Report, p.159.

23. Ibid., Vol.III, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.120, Vol.III, 1947, Statistician's Report, p.157.

24. C.H. Wickens, 'Vitality of White Races in Low Latitudes', The Economic Record Vol.3, May 1927, p.124; P.F. McDonald, Marriage in Australia Age at First Marriage and Proportions Marrying, 1860-1971 (Canberra, 1975), p.92.

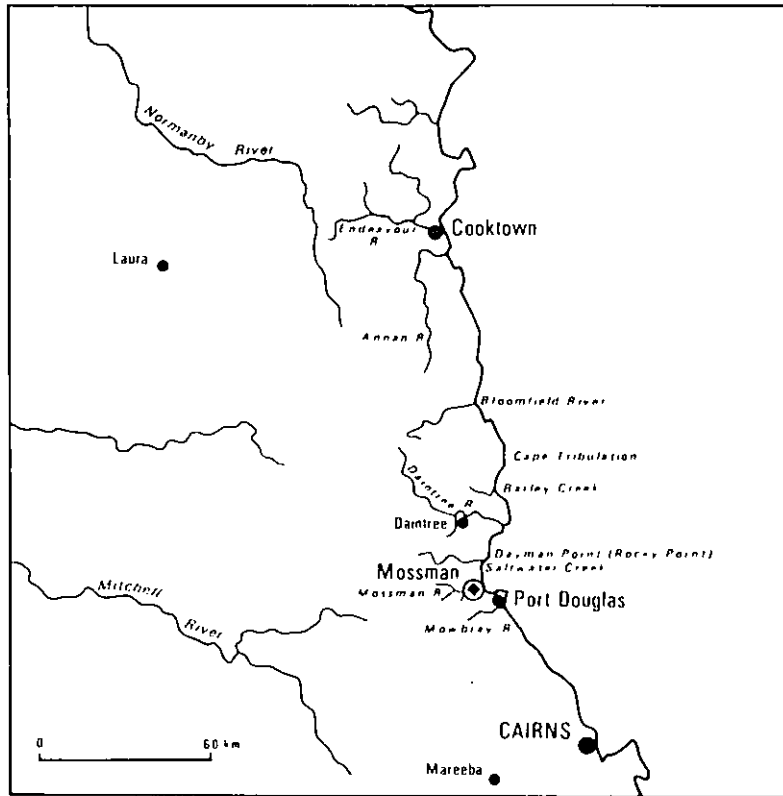
THE GEOGRAPHICAL dispersion of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940 was not substantially different from the nineteenth century pattern. As presented in Table 4.3, the censuses provide a broad outline of the distribution by districts, proceeding in rough geographical order from Cooktown to Mackay.²⁵ The clustering in the sugar-growing districts - Port Douglas, Cairns, the Johnstone River, the Herbert River, the Burdekin, Proserpine and Mackay - is obvious. There was a heavy concentration of Islanders in the Mackay district, ranging from 40 per cent of the total Islander population in 1911 and 1921 to 51 per cent in 1933. In the Bowen, Cairns and Herbert River districts and, in later years, in the Burdekin, there were sizeable populations. Women were most numerous in the Mackay, Herbert River, Bowen and Burdekin districts.

The only non sugar-growing districts with sizeable Islander populations were Bowen, and to a lesser extent, Townsville and the Atherton Tableland. Inland there were tiny numbers of Islanders, scattered from the Gulf of Carpentaria down to Cloncurry and across to the coast; these are recorded under the Charters Towers and Hughenden districts. These men and women, and their children, had been brought to work in the pastoral industry in the 1870s. There were also small numbers of Islanders who chose to work or were taken to live on the Aboriginal missions and reserves such as Yarrabah, Mapoon, Aurukun and Palm Island.²⁶

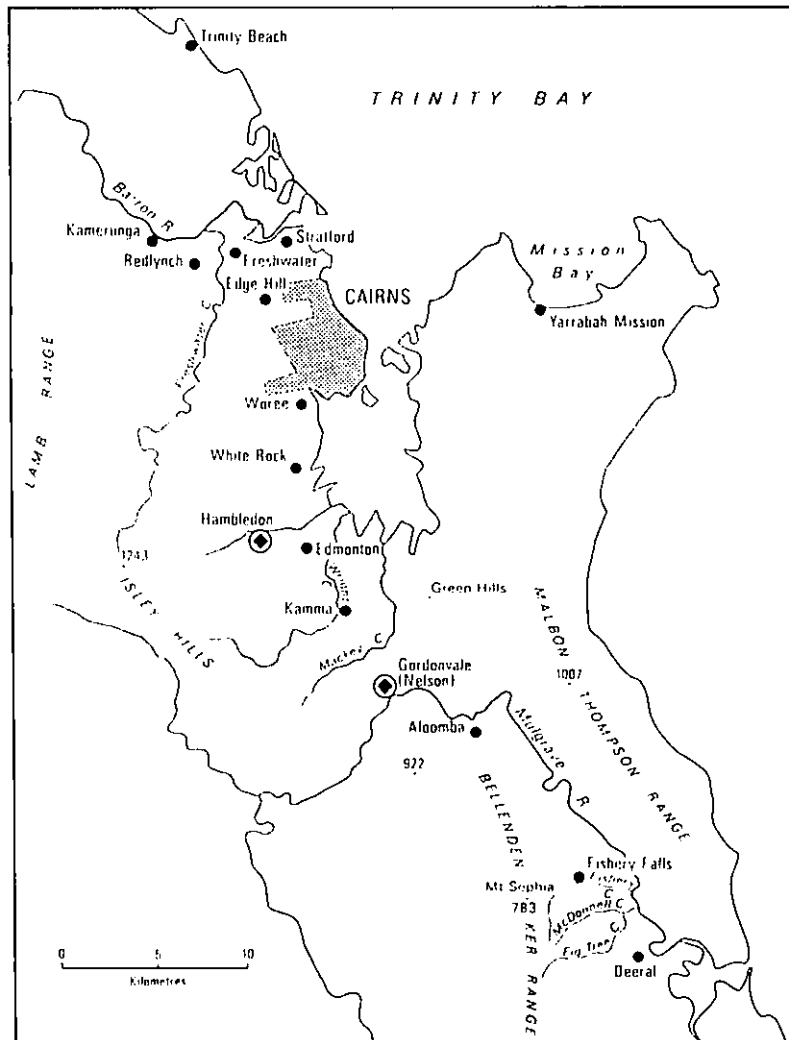
Geographically the Islanders were concentrated in the coastal sugar districts, especially in Mackay. Their principal locations in these districts (including Bowen) are illustrated in Maps 4.1 to 4.7. Another noticeable feature was the predominance of semi-rural and rural locations. This was highlighted in the censuses. A breakdown given for urban and rural residence in North Queensland stated that only 1.6 per cent of Islanders in 1921 and 2.2 per cent in 1933 were living in cities or

25. A similar distribution was shown in a list of Islanders compiled in 1913 for the police districts of North Queensland. See Returns of Coloured Residents, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA.

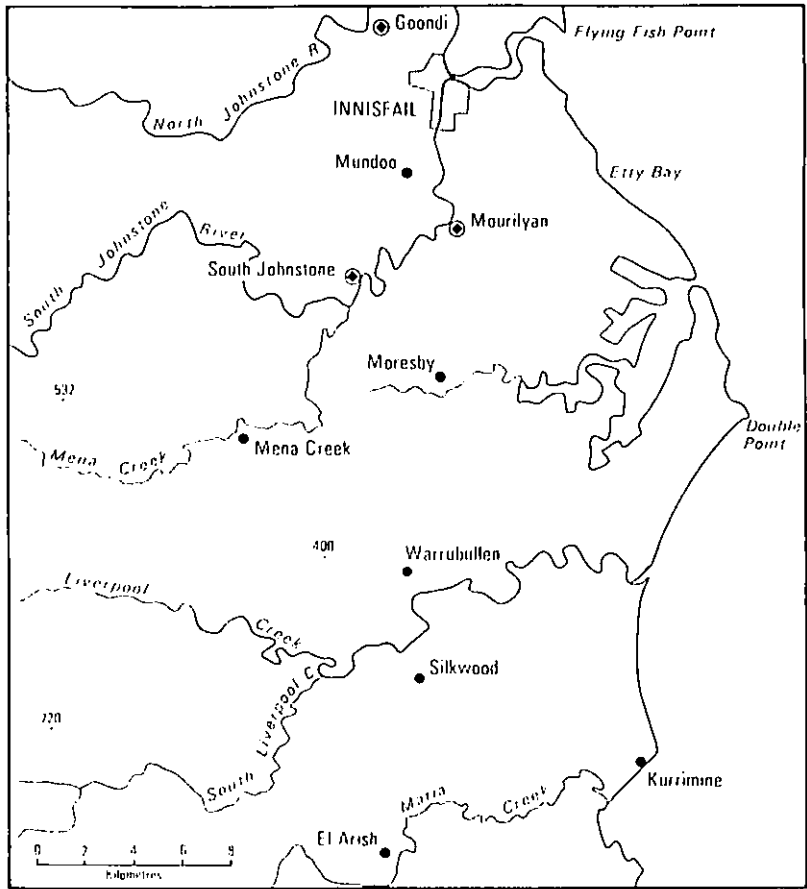
26. See Chapter 8, p. 398.



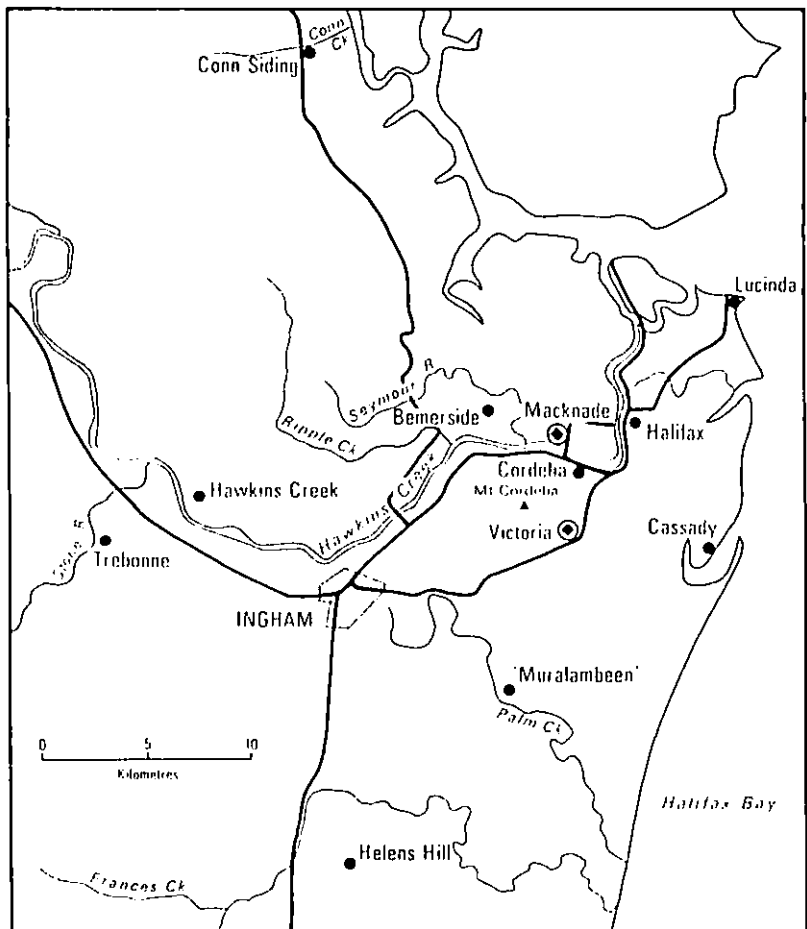
◈ Sugar Mill MAP 4.1: The Port Douglas district
 • Town



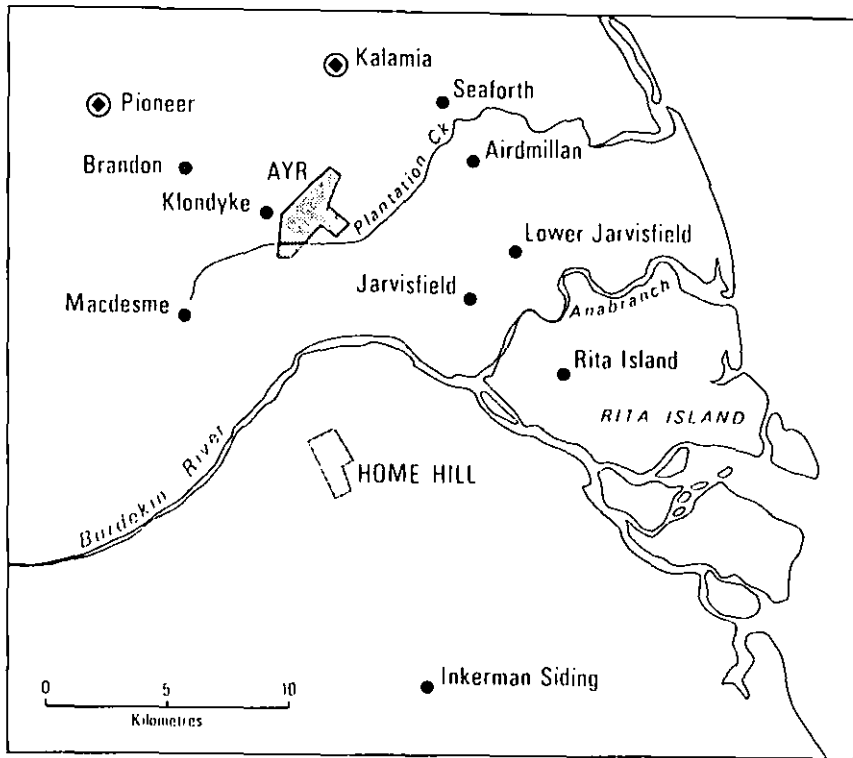
MAP 4.2: The Cairns district



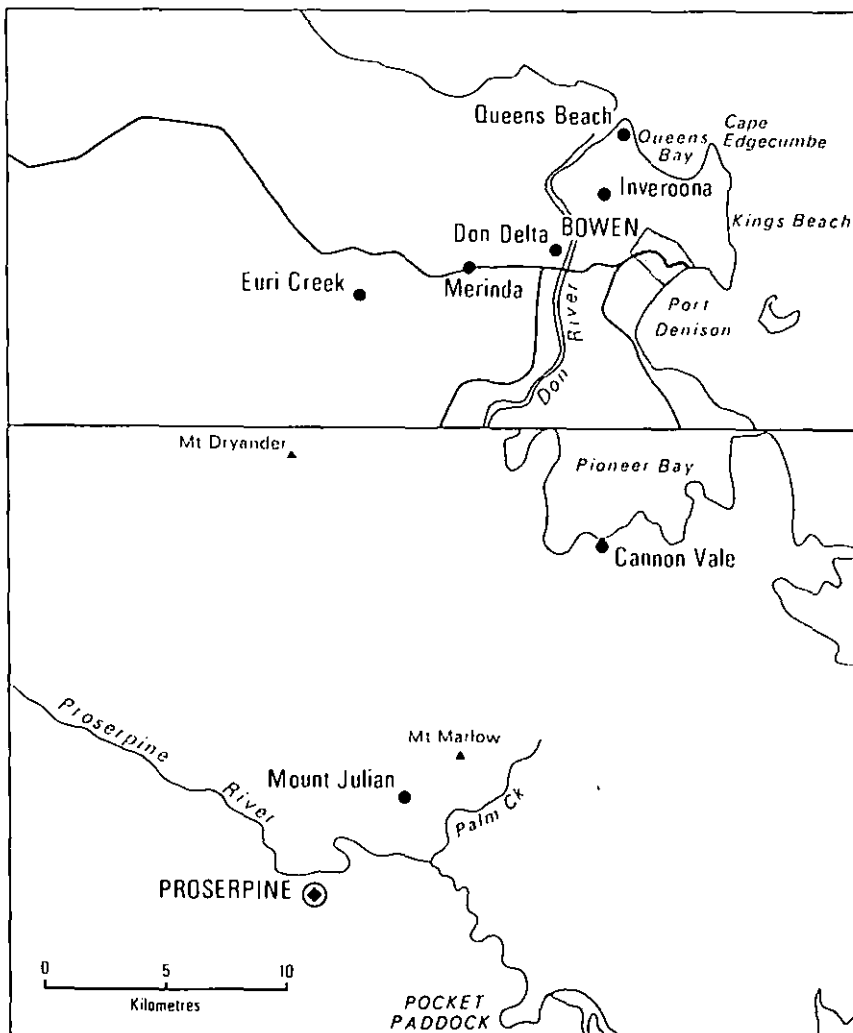
● Sugar Mill MAP 4.3: The Johnstone River district



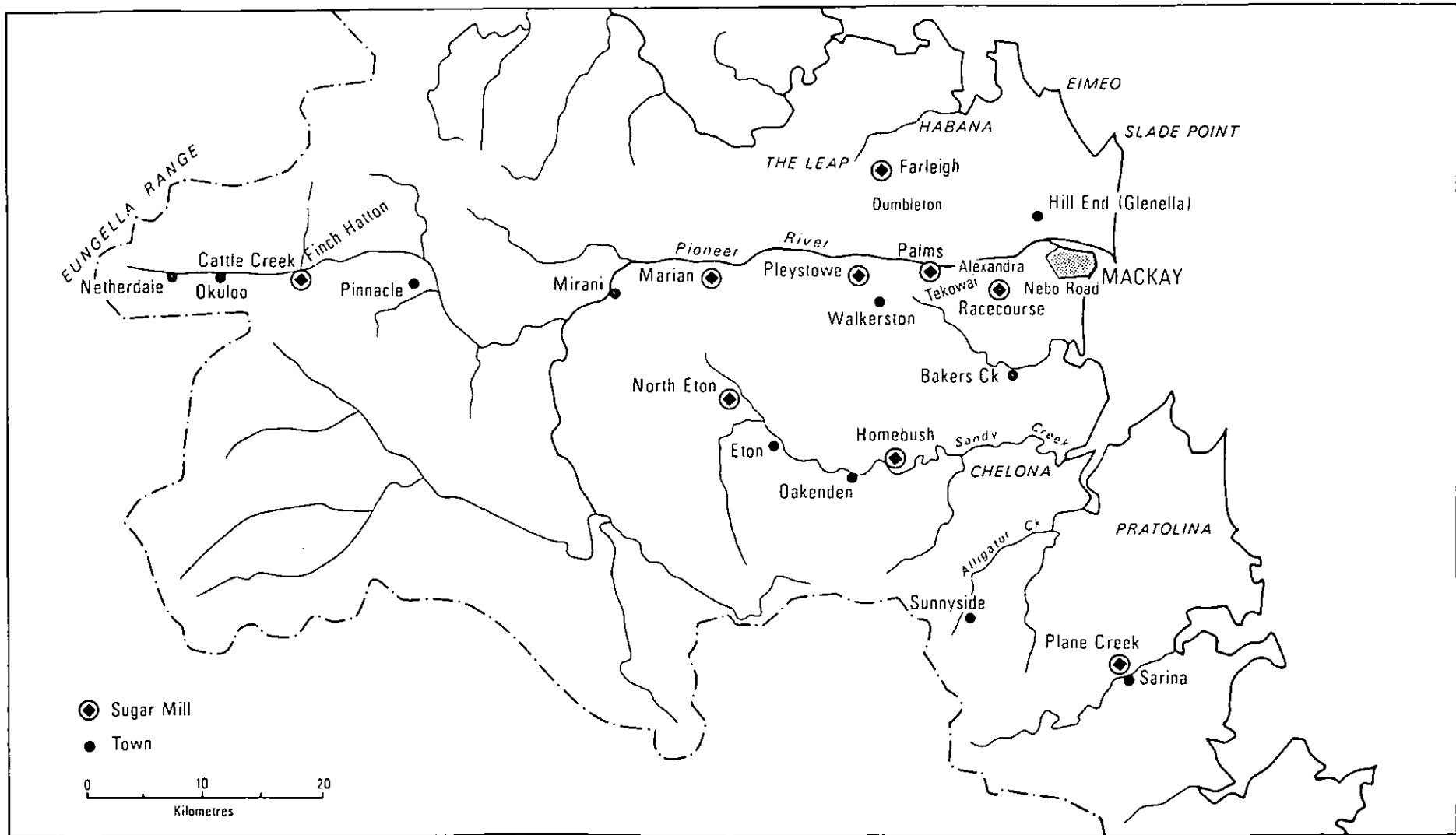
MAP 4.4: The Herbert River district



⊙ Sugar Mill MAP 4.5: The Burdekin district



MAP 4.6: The Bowen and Proserpine district



MAP 4.7: The Mackay district

towns.²⁷ Those few Islanders living in the urban centres were predominantly unmarried migrant men who ran boarding houses. Many, however, lived within walking distance of the towns or hamlets. Some led a completely rural life, often in very isolated surroundings. As will be seen, this rural and semi-rural existence was largely imposed upon the Islanders by the employment available to them and the attitudes and actions of the wider community.²⁸

Within this broad distribution, there were also internal residential patterns. Often, residence in a particular district and sometimes in a particular area within a district was correlated with island of origin. The tendency was for migrants from one island to cluster in a district. Amongst those from two particular islands of origin, Tanna and Malaita, this clannishness further extended to choosing to live in communities formed principally of their own countrymen and women.

In Table 4.4, residential location is correlated with island of origin for all migrant men and women known to have lived in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940.²⁹ Although the island of origin cannot be identified for some twenty-five per cent, this table indicates, at least in broad terms, the proportions which each island and island group formed of the total. The patterns which had characterised the nineteenth century population were

27. The proportion of Islanders who were urban residents was much higher in the rest of the State; the State average for Pacific Islanders resident in cities or towns was 8.9 per cent in 1921 and 13.3 per cent in 1933. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1921, pp.858-67, Vol.I, 1933, pp.306-11. In 1947 the urban/rural breakdown was given for the total Queensland population of 'Polynesians' only and included Torres Strait Islanders, a predominantly rural group; 15.3 per cent lived in urban centres. Ibid., Vol.I, 1947, pp.834-35.

28. See Chapter 8. This rural existence was apparent to contemporaries. See Asboe, History of Presbyterianism in Walkerston, p.3; NQR 23 Sep.1912; E. Denman to Min. for Agric., 4 Dec.1913, No.7049, 13G, AGS/N96, QSA; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.75.

29. Where Islanders lived in more than one district, they have been counted under the district in which they appear to have settled (i.e. spent the longest amount of time). The only other possible source of information on residence and island of origin is contained in the 1911 census. The drawbacks here are that the migrants in North Queensland census districts were identified only under such broad categories as 'New Hebridean', 'New Caledonian', 'Other Polynesian British Possession' (principally the Solomon Islands) and 'Other Polynesian Islands'. Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.338-51.

still evident. Nearly forty-nine per cent were from the New Hebrides. The only other major island group, the Solomons, comprised nearly twenty-four per cent of the total. Less than three per cent had come from the other island groups - New Caledonia (presumably the Loyalty Islands), Fiji, Samoa and Tonga. In relation to individual islands, the most numerous groups were the Malaitans and Tannese, representing eleven and nine per cent of the total, respectively.

This table also correlates island of origin with residential location. In the most northerly district of Port Douglas, Tannese and Solomon Islanders (from Nggela, Guadalcanal and Malaita) predominated.³⁰ Solomon Islanders (principally Malaitans) represented over a third of the population in the adjoining Cairns district, but New Hebrideans, especially Tannese, were still the majority.³¹ On the Atherton Tableland, New Hebrideans well outnumbered Solomon Islanders.³² In the final district in the far north, the Johnstone River, the proportion of Solomon Islanders (mostly Malaitans) was again over one-third of the total. Amongst the New Hebridean majority, there were concentrations of Tannese and to a lesser extent Pentecost Islanders.

By contrast, Solomon Islanders made up just over one-tenth of the Herbert River Islander population. Amongst the New Hebrideans, Islanders from Tanna, Epi and Erromango, predominated. Some of the Tannese lived in a settlement known locally as 'The Gardens', just outside Halifax on J.A. Anderssen's farm.³³ There were also small numbers from other island groups - Fiji, New Caledonia and Samoa.³⁴ In the Burdekin district, a chief element amongst the New Hebridean majority was also the Tannese³⁵, but Solomon Islanders, notably Malaitans, represented a larger proportion

30. See also *ibid.*, Census district of Cook, pp.340-41.

31. See also *ibid.*, Census district of Cairns, pp.340-41. Many of the Tannese lived in close proximity to one another. T58Bsa:2.

32. See also *Commonwealth Census*, Vol.II, 1911, Census district of Herberton, pp.344-45.

33. See also *ibid.*, Census district of Cardwell, pp.340-41. Originally there were 4 families and 1 childless widower at 'The Gardens', all of whom were Tannese in origin or descent. The last Islanders left there only in the 1970s. See T52Bsa:3; T59Bsa:3.

34. See also *Commonwealth Census*, Vol.II, 1911, pp.340-41.

35. The Tannese here also lived very close to one another. See T68Bsb:1.

(over a fifth) of the population. Further down the coast, in the Bowen district, Tannese formed nearly half of the New Hebridean majority³⁶, and Ambrymese and Valua Islanders were also numerous. In nearby Proserpine, Malekulans and Valua Islanders made up nearly half of the small, largely New Hebridean, population. There were only a few Solomon Islanders (mostly from Nggela) in Bowen and Proserpine.

Mackay, the district with the largest population, could boast men and women from all the island groups. There were Fijians, Tongans, Samoans, and Loyalty Islanders. The district was also the home of the largest number of Solomon Islanders. Over half the Solomon Islanders in North Queensland lived here, where they made up one-quarter of the district's population. New Hebrideans made up about two-fifths of the population.³⁷ The chief groups amongst the New Hebrideans were Aobans, Malekulans and Epi Islanders and there were also substantial numbers from Santo, Valua, Malo, Tanna and Gaua. Amongst the Solomon Islanders, Nggela and Guadalcanal were well-represented and some had come from islands which had supplied few recruits, such as Santa Isabel (see Plate 9.2), San Cristobal, Santa Cruz and Buka near Bougainville.³⁸ Nearly half of these Solomon Islanders, however, were Malaitans.

Within Mackay, there was a distinct although not rigid residential division between New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders. This is evident in Table 4.6 which correlates island of origin with location in the five main areas for those applicants for exemption under the previously mentioned Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 (see also Map 4.7). Solomon Islanders lived

36. Once again the Tannese lived near to one another. See T62Bsa:l.

37. In the 1911 census, only 39 of the 230 Islanders resident in the Mackay census district were given as New Hebridean, whereas there were 76 Solomon Islanders ('Other Polynesian British Possession'). However, a very large number (67) were only identified as 'South Sea Islanders', and presumably a majority of these were New Hebrideans. Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.346-47.

38. Very few recruits came from Santa Isabel Island, and there is no evidence that any other migrants from this island remained in North Queensland after 1908.

predominantly to the north of the Pioneer River, known as the north side. Malaitans especially were clustered around Farleigh and on the surrounding ridges. There were also some New Hebrideans. On the other side of the river, the south side, and in the Eungella area to the north-west of the town, there were some Solomon Islanders but more New Hebrideans. Malekulans clustered along the river on the south side. Further south, in the Homebush and Sarina areas, there were large numbers of New Hebrideans but virtually no Solomon Islanders. Around Homebush, there was a concentration of Aobans.

TABLE 4.6: Island group and location of Pacific Island migrants who applied for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913

Is. Group	Location in District							Total
	North Side	South Side	Eungella	Mackay Town	Homebush	Sarina	Not Identified	
Solomons	40+	13	7	3	-	1	23	87
New Hebrides	18	27 ¹	6	9	34 ²	6	18	118
Other*	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	5
Not Known	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	4
Total	58	41	15	12	37	8	43	214

* Fijian and New Caledonian

+ includes 20 Malaitans

1 includes 7 Malekulans

2 includes 19 Aobans

Source: AGS/N97, AGS/N100-108, AGS/N354-357, QSA.

The Islanders today are aware of this residential split which existed beyond World War II. As they see it, New Hebrideans constituted the Homebush 'mob', which included Sarina; the river people on the south side were largely made up of New Hebrideans with some Solomon Islanders; and the 'salt-water mob' on the north side was almost totally Solomon Islander.³⁹

39. See T21Bsa:1; T27Bsb:2; T29Bsa:1; T33Bsb:2; T37Bsa:2; T51Bsb:1.

The Pioneer River formed the important dividing line. As later chapters will demonstrate, this division was one reflection of important differences which continued to distinguish these two groups.

ISLAND or island group of origin was an influential factor in determining geographical mobility. Islanders in North Queensland were a geographically mobile population. This mobility can be divided into two distinct parts: long-range migration to other centres, either temporarily or permanently; and short-range mobility as expressed in movement within a district.⁴⁰ Mobility was prompted by a variety of factors, including economic necessity, the desire to visit or live near kin or friends, marriage and the urge to travel or to escape family pressures. It is important to distinguish between mobility by the migrants and by the native-born.

By 1908, most of the migrants were in the districts in which they had chosen to live permanently. Yet in the previous century there had been considerable long-range mobility. Both single men and married couples (especially when their children were young) had moved around the colony. This is well illustrated by the number of children born before 1907 in districts other than that in which their parents eventually settled. Some had been born in southern Queensland.⁴¹ More commonly, children had been born in other parts of North Queensland. For example, Joy and Lucy Fatnowna were born in the Johnstone River district whereas their three younger siblings were born on Palms plantation in the Mackay district, where their parents had settled.⁴² There was also, of course, considerable immobility;

40. This is a distinction adopted by Lawrence Stone. See The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London, 1977), pp.22, 101.

41. See Amy Sippie, AMR, Mackay, 22 Feb.1919; Tommy Eduard Yasso, ABR, Bowen, 9 Dec.1900; T60Bsa:l.

42. Joy Kwau, AMR, Mackay, 13 Nov.1906; Lucy Coquasua, ibid., 25 Feb.1911; Cicely Fatnowna, ibid., 26 Nov.1918; Harry Norman Fatnowna, ibid., 20 Feb. 1918; Eva Fatnowna, ABR, Mackay, 17 Nov.1901. For other such examples, see Benjamin Viti, AMR, Mackay, 16 Nov.1918; Annie Elizabeth Tallis, AMR, Bowen, 1 Feb.1908; Fred John Thomas and Phyllis Taiters, ibid., 3 Sep.1927; Applic. No.1203E, George Palmer, AGS/N104, QSA.

many remained in the district, sometimes even on the same plantation or station, to which they had been introduced.

The trends in mobility up to 1913 can be identified through information on previous places of residence provided by applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913.⁴³ In Mackay, many had previously resided in central and southern Queensland, but most said that they had not been outside the district. In nearby Proserpine, an overwhelming majority had recently come from other parts of Queensland, principally Mackay and centres in southern and central Queensland and to a lesser extent Bowen and other northerly coastal districts. Since the sugar industry was only established in this district in the late 1890s, this pattern is not surprising. In contrast, roughly one-third of the applicants in both the Burdekin and Herbert River districts stated that they had not lived elsewhere.

In the far north, mobility had been greater. In the Johnstone River, Cairns and Port Douglas districts, few had lived only in the district in which they were now resident. Many had lived in the Herbert River or Mackay districts, or in southern Queensland. While the majority of those who had been in the Torres Strait were now living in the more northerly districts of Port Douglas, Cairns and the Herbert River, a number were in the Mackay area.

Certain patterns in this mobility can be recognized. Throughout North Queensland, a common feature was the high proportion who had lived in Maryborough, Bundaberg and other southern Queensland districts. In Mackay and Proserpine there were also a considerable number who had come from central Queensland. Islanders in Mackay tended to move to other North Queensland districts, but the reverse flow into Mackay was very small.

43. The evidence is not sufficiently reliable for quantification purposes, since from other evidence it is clear that some of those who claimed not to have lived in other districts had in fact done so. However, those who did name previous residences seem to have given a complete list, from the evidence of other nominal sources.

In the years after 1913 few of the migrants were mobile in the long-range sense, as a list compiled in 1937 of elderly Pacific Islanders illustrates: amongst the ninety resident in North Queensland, only four had moved to another district since 1913.⁴⁴ This immobility is not surprising, since the migrants had entered the age groups when migration is both less desirable and possible. Normally young people, and particularly men, are the most mobile.⁴⁵

Highly mobile individuals can be hard to trace.⁴⁶ Where a high proportion of the migrant men went under quasi-generic names, such as 'Sam Solomon', their movements are hard to follow. This was especially so in the districts in the far north. Nevertheless, the combination of oral and written evidence indicates that between 1908 and 1940 very few of the Islanders in North Queensland, both migrants and native-born, moved further south than Mackay.⁴⁷

44. James Okamia had moved from Mackay to Cairns, Dick Tongai Maratta from Mackay to Innisfail, Tom Nehow from Ingham to Ayr and Tom Barmenas from Mackay to Bowen; none of the recipients in southern Queensland can be identified as having ever been resident in North Queensland. List of Natives of Pacific Islands in Receipt of Indigence Allowance, 28 Feb.1937, COL/71, QSA.

45. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p.266; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, p.16.

46. Tracing mobility requires following people across boundaries (for example, between regions). Oral evidence is very useful for this, as also are written records which are State-wide, such as the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, lists of those receiving the indigence allowance and inquests.

47. The following are the only cases which have come to light of migration into southern Queensland: Robert Tallis, born in Bowen in 1906, was in Childers by 1916; Lewis Lammon, his sister Norah and their mother Annie all moved to Nambour; and Frank Fewquandie was living in Nambour in 1933 but later returned to Mackay. Applic. No.2283E, Robert Tallis, AGS/N357, QSA; T65Bsa:2; T74Bsa:2; Joan Lammon, AMR, Ingham, 20 Oct.1951; Applic. by Frank Fewquandie, encl. with J. Munro to Sec. for Agric., 14 Sep.1933, memo., 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA. Corris commented that after deportation some Islanders drifted from Queensland into the Tweed River district of New South Wales. In fact, there was already a sizeable community in this district. Corris, 'White Australia' in action', p.249; Australian Board of Missions, Report to General Synod, 1905 (Sydney, 1906), p.15; Australian Board of Missions, Report to General Synod, 1910 (Sydney, 1911), p.16; BC 29 Jan.1907.

Migration into North Queensland continued after 1913, but it was generally the native-born who moved into the region, especially to Mackay, Proserpine and Bowen. Six of the forty-three native-born applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 had come from southern and central Queensland.⁴⁸ Usually, siblings or close kin migrated together or at different times. For example, James Power arrived in Bowen from Rockhampton in 1926, and was later joined by his brother Frederick and their niece Caroline.⁴⁹ Such young people tended to arrive in North Queensland without partners and subsequently marry Islanders.⁵⁰

What attracted Islanders to North Queensland? In the nineteenth century the principal factor, and one beyond their control, was the shift during the 1880s of the focus of the sugar industry from southern districts to the northern littoral. The demographic concentration of Pacific Islanders altered accordingly. However, those time-expired Islanders who voluntarily shifted to North Queensland may have been motivated by the prospect of employment in a town or on a plantation with a good reputation, higher wages or reunion with countrymen.⁵¹ Malaitans especially were drawn to Mackay, apparently because the largest numbers of their countrymen were there.

48. Applic. No.643E, Phillip Choppy, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.611E, Sandy Buka Buka, *ibid.*; Applic. No.1074E, Albert Woolwool, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.1234E, Henry Wass Miller, AGS/N104, QSA; Applic. No.1236E, George Williams, *ibid.*; Applic.No.1235E, George Walters, *ibid.* Four were in Mackay, one in Proserpine and one in the Herbert River. See also Table 5.1.

49. BI 29 May 1926; Olive Rose Power, Bowen DHAR, 3 Sep.1933; Caroline Rose Power, AMR, Bowen, 18 Mar.1936. For other such examples, see BI 29 May 1926; John Tanna, Bowen DHAR, 23 Apr.1936; Petronella Ambertel, PBR, Walkerston, 8 Aug.1929; Alfred James Corowa, No.911, Ayr Division, Mundingburra, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1935; T10Bsa:2; T60Bsb:1; Ty3Bp.2.

50. This was especially noticeable in regard to women who came from Rockhampton to Mackay. For examples, see Phillip Choppy, AMR, Mackay, 18 Sep.1909; Louie Bosso, *ibid.*, 15 Mar.1911; Cecilia Lowe, *ibid.*, 24 Nov.1923; James Power, AMR, Bowen, 6 Oct.1930; Ernest Henry Byquar, AMR, Ingham, 14 Dec.1927; Peter Tanna, AMR, Cairns, 23 Jul.1932.

51. See Chapter 1, pp.58-59.

The tropical climate may also have attracted the migrants to North Queensland. Nineteenth century observers noted the unfavourable reaction of the Islanders to cold weather and their reluctance to adapt.⁵² This may also explain the continued concentration of the Islander population in the wet, humid coastal strip rather than inland, where hot, dry days and cool nights prevailed. Yet within coastal North Queensland itself, climatic considerations apparently did not determine residential dispersion: the greatest number of Islanders were located in Mackay, where the winter is very cool compared with more northerly districts.

Apart from migration into North Queensland after 1908, there were significant shifts, principally by the native-born, within the region's coastal strip. The districts of Mackay, Cairns, Innisfail and Port Douglas lost rather than gained through this internal migration.⁵³ The Herbert River district drew Islanders from the far north, the Burdekin and Bowen districts, but mostly they came for work and then returned to their former districts.⁵⁴

The small Islander populations in the Burdekin and Bowen districts grew considerably by internal migration. By 1940, it was not unusual in these districts for one or both parents in a family to be newcomers. In the Burdekin, most had come from the Herbert River and Bowen districts. Movement from the Herbert River resembled chain migration: in 1926 Esther Backo married Alfred Henaway and returned with him to the Burdekin, and over the following years her six siblings joined her, to attend school or find work; three of them settled permanently.⁵⁵ Other Herbert River

52. See Corris, Passage, Port and Plantation, p.84; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, pp.285, 289, 304.

53. For examples of migration to these districts, see Charlie Mow, AMR, Innisfail, 4 Dec.1922; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ayr, to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Cairns, 12 May 1914, 127C, AGS/N99, QSA; Statement of Harry Cowie, Inquest No. 884 of 1932, JUS/N956, QSA; Applic. No.1253E, Harry Sippie, AGS/N104, QSA.

54. See Martha Cole, Halifax SSAR, 19 Apr.1922; T56Bsa:2; T64Bsb:3; Walter Trieve, ABR, Mackay, 25 Nov.1922; Jack Boslam, No.2395, Herbert Division, Ingham, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1930.

55. T25Bsa:2-3; T45Bsb:1; T57Bsa:1-2; T58Bsb:1; John Backo, Rita Island SSAR, 17 May 1926; Luke Tambo, Brandon SSAR, 10 Sep.1934; Esther Lammon, ibid., 17 Jun.1930; Olive Eva Backo, AMR, Ayr, 11 Nov.1937; Advocate (Ayr), 1 Apr.1966, p.15.

families also moved down to the Burdekin in the late 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁶ There were greater opportunities here for regular employment, in contrast to the more farflung and irregular nature of work in the Herbert River.⁵⁷ This may also have motivated the shift to the Burdekin, largely in the early 1920s, of many young people from Bowen.⁵⁸

Those Islanders who left Bowen were more than replaced by the number who, as described, arrived there from central and southern Queensland. There was also a gradual shift to Bowen, from the 1920s, of families and single migrants from nearby Proserpine.⁵⁹ They may have been attracted by the greater employment opportunities in Bowen, through the meatworks, saltworks and tomato industry, or by the opportunity to live amongst a larger Islander community. Some Islanders spent several years in Proserpine but eventually returned to Bowen, and there was also a temporary movement down to Proserpine in the crushing season to cut cane.⁶⁰

Mackay, the district with the largest Islander population, attracted few Islanders from the rest of the region and few of these stayed permanently.⁶¹ Two important factors apparently discouraging migration were the district's reputation for sorcery and the bellicosity of its Solomon Islander

56. The Nehows, Santos and Malaytas were other families who moved down to the Burdekin. See T24Bsa:1; T45Bsb:3; T68Bsb:1; Ted Nehow, Ayr SSAR, 28 Jan. 1929; Peter Malayta, *ibid.*, 27 Apr. 1932; Lottie Charlotte Malayta, AMR, Ayr, 3 Sep. 1932.

57. One interviewee offered this explanation. See T25Bsa:2. Certainly the Burdekin district was fast-growing in these years.

58. Family connections were not such an important influence behind this migration. For examples, see T57Bsa:2; T62Bsb:1; Andrew Poollar, AMR, Ayr, 29 Mar. 1928; Albert Taiters, Brandon SSAR, 1 Sep. 1919; Charles Tallis, Ayr SSAR, 16 Feb. 1925.

59. See Florence Paul, Bowen DHAR, 5 Jan. 1926; Johnny Waller, *ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1926; Police vs Jimmy Womal, 22 Dec. 1922, POL 11D/03, QSA; Insp. Mullally to Crown Prosecutor, 10 Feb. 1941, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No. 7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA.

60. T62Bsb:3; Birth Certificate of Alfred John Yasso, No. 97472, 9 Sep. 1912, Bowen; Applic. No. 1339E, Peter Better, AGS/N105, QSA; Peter Bato, Bowen DHAR, 6 Dec. 1932; Applic. No. 1423E, Robert Moses, AGS/N105, QSA; OGG CXXII, 1924, p. 858.

61. For examples, see Applic. No. 1173E, George Dudley, AGS/N104, QSA; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Mackay, to Under Sec. for Agric., 5 Oct. 1915, 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; Ivy Yasserie, Te Kowai SSAR, 17 Feb. 1925; Ivy Tallis, AMR, Mackay, 27 Apr. 1935.

(particularly Malaitan) population. However, as in the nineteenth century, some Malaitans from other districts were drawn to Mackay.⁶²

There was some long-range mobility of a temporary kind, for holidaying or visiting. Occasionally children were taken to visit friends or relatives in other districts. More often it was the men who made these visits within or even outside the region.⁶³ For example, a special feast held at Tweed Heads in northern New South Wales during the 1920s was attended by Erromangan and Tannese men from Cairns.⁶⁴

Short-range mobility was prompted by many of the same reasons as long-range mobility. Earning a livelihood was a very important factor. The work available in the sugar districts could involve considerable travel. In the Herbert River district, for example, many Islanders were employed during the slack season in the distant wood-cutting camps in the hills and near the beaches.⁶⁵ Throughout North Queensland, farm labourers usually lived on their employers' farms, shifting with each new job.⁶⁶ Those who were farming for themselves tended to move, either by choice or involuntarily,

62. This reputation is discussed in Chapter 9. For examples of Malaitans who came to Mackay, see T1Bsa:1, T37Bsa:1+2; T51Bsa:1; Fred Guyah, MMR, Cairns, 29 Dec.1914; Applic. No.747E, Thomas Kowmi, AGS/N102, QSA.

63. T27Bsb:1; T43Bsa:2; T60Bsb:1-2; T62Bsb:1.

64. T66Bsb:1. For other examples, see T5Bsa:1; T43Bsa:3; T66Bsb:1, 3; Insp. to Director of State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Applic. No.2249, Jimmy Thomas, AGS/N357, QSA.

65. T57Bsa:1. Many of the applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 revealed that they travelled considerable distances from their residences for work during the slack and/or crushing seasons. See Applic. No.302E, J. Noie, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.343E, Jimmy Butler, *ibid.*; Applic. No.652E, Benjamin Dorkon, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.934E, William Santo, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.1025E, David Tooroo, *ibid.*; Applic. No.2065E, Horimbo, AGS/N356, QSA; Applic. No.2248E, Blooranta, AGS/N357, QSA.

66. See T56Bsa:1; T68Bsa:1-2; T71Bsa:1; Statement of Rosie, Inquest No.681 of 1939, Anamboon, JUS/N1071, QSA; Statement of Const. Smith, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Norman Henaway, Rita Island SSAR, 17 May 1926, EDU/AA 879, QSA; Peter Killu, Bowen DHAR, 24 Jan.1935.

from one leasehold to another.⁶⁷

The importance of living close to countrymen and women also encouraged intra-district migration. In Mackay, New Hebrideans on the north side tended to shift to the south side and Homebush areas, whereas Solomon Islanders moved from these latter areas to the north side.⁶⁸ Proximity to relatives increased the feeling of security: in 1912, for instance, the brutal murder of Chinese friends influenced Katie Marlla to take her younger children from Alligator Creek to Homebush, to live near her married daughter.⁶⁹

Marriage prompted short- and long-range mobility, notably of women. As the case of Esther Backo showed, marriage took some women to another district. More commonly marriage led to a change of residence within a district. In the Herbert River district, Esther's sister Rhoda shifted from Cordelia to Victoria Estate when she married Harry Lammon in 1924.⁷⁰ In Mackay, marriage sometimes involved crossing the imaginary line separating Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans: in the late 1930s Winifred Fatnowna, of Solomon Island descent, moved from Eimeo on the north side to Sandy Creek near Homebush with her New Hebridean husband, Edward Tass.⁷¹

67. For examples, see B. Lynn to Manager, Victoria, 14 Dec.1918, encl. in V. Hayley to General Manager, 27 Feb.1919, P No.104, 142/3151, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Victoria, to General Manager, 20 Mar.1919, P No.110, *ibid.*; Statement of Mick Tanna, 25 Nov.1912, Rex vs Mick Tanna, A/18475, QSA; Applic. No. 742E, Robert Kia, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.340E, Andrew Bobongie, AGS/N100, QSA; A. Bobongie, Farm Records 1925-34, p.11, Pleystowe Mill; T4Bsa:2; T7Bsa:1.

68. For examples, see T33Bsb:2; Jack Manjack, AMR, Mackay, 17 Sep.1915; Jacob Penola, *ibid.*, 30 Aug.1920; Willie Roofie, *ibid.*, 5 Feb.1922; Applic. No. 418E, Tom Penola, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.994E, Harry Tarryango, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.1859E, Kabba Ki-Kee, AGS/N107, QSA; Willie Ruby, No.1761, Townsville, Return of Coloured Residents of the Townsville District, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA.

69. See Ty 2Bp.2; MM 21 Mar.1912; Ivy Oba, Alligator Creek SSAR, 24 May 1910; Ivy Oba, Homebush SSAR, 8 Jul.1912.

70. For this and other examples, see T51Bsa:3; T52Bsa:1; T56Bsa:1; T68Bsa:1; Esther Juanita May Lammon, ABR, Ingham, 3 Aug.1924; Norah Madeline Lammon, *ibid.*, 14 Dec.1927.

71. T40Bsa:1, 2-3. For an example of a New Hebridean man who came to the north side when he married a Solomon Island woman, see Eileen Lucy Querro, ABR, Mackay, 5 May 1922; Harry Querro, AMR, Mackay, 25 May 1935.

Between 1908 and 1940 Pacific Islanders in North Queensland, especially the native-born, were a mobile population. Migration from outside the region increased the population in many districts, especially Mackay, Proserpine and Bowen, and inter-district movement augmented the populations in the Bowen and Burdekin districts. Such mobility ensured that contacts were established or maintained between Islander groups and reduced the sense of isolation.

AGAINST this picture of the size, structure, dispersion and mobility of the Islander population in North Queensland, the chief demographic factors responsible for change - marriage, birth and death - can be discussed. In relation to the first factor, marriage, the chief issues are the proportions ever married and never married, the choice of marriage partners and age at marriage. Once again, it is important to distinguish between the migrants and the native-born.

The marriage patterns amongst the migrants up to 1907 were described in Chapter 2. As illustrated in Table 4.7, there was little change in the years after this. Most marriages were not legalized. Almost all the women but only a tiny proportion of the men were married, mostly to other Pacific Islanders. Many had recruited together but others had married in Australia. Even where couples were from the same island, many of these partnerships would not have satisfied the rules governing marriage in their village societies. Often the men and women came from different islands of origin, and also different island groups. Many Islander men had contracted relationships with Aborigines, and less commonly with other non-Europeans and, in a few cases, Europeans.

TABLE 4.7: Proportions ever married and never married of Pacific Island migrants in selected districts of North Queensland, and ethnic origin of partners, 1908-40, according to nominal sources

District	Origin of Partners							No. Marr.*	No. Never Marr.	Total	% Marr.
	Pacific Islanders				Other						
	Same Is.	Diff. Is.	Is. Unknown	Native-born	Ab.+	Eur.	Other				
Herbert R											
M	5	4	1	5	17	2	5	38	72	110	35
F	6	4	1	1	-	2	-	13	-	13	100
Total	11	8	2	6	17	4	5	51	72	123	41
Burdekin											
M	1	-	-	4	4	-	3	12	20	32	38
F	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	100
Total	2	-	-	4	4	-	3	13	20	33	39
Bowen											
M	5	5	3	11	7	3	1	32	59	91	35
F	5	5	3	-	-	-	-	13	-	13	100
Total	10	10	6	11	7	3	1	45	59	104	43
Mackay											
M	16	8	18	12	8	4	5	70	450	520	13
F	17	13	18	-	-	-	1	47	1	48	98
Total	33	21	36	12	8	4	6	117	451	568	21

+ including Torres Strait Islanders

* those who married more than once are only counted once in this total

Sources: Nominal sources (see Appendices A and B)

A striking feature of marriage patterns after 1907, was the much higher proportion of married men amongst the migrants. Table 4.7 presents the information from nominal sources on the marital status of the migrant men and women in the districts from the Herbert River to Mackay. In Mackay, slightly more than one-tenth of the migrant men were ever married. The proportion was much higher in the Bowen (including Proserpine), Burdekin and Herbert River districts, where over one-third of the men were married. Information on migrants in the more northerly districts is too incomplete to tabulate, but it would appear that the proportion who were married was much smaller, although still above that in the period before 1908. As in the nineteenth century, spinstership amongst the migrant women (in all districts) was virtually unknown.⁷²

Some migrant men married for the first time or re-married in the years after 1907. Where they married migrants, the latter were usually widows who were approaching or past the age of menopause and these unions were therefore childless, although the women often had children from their earlier marriages.⁷³ Four marriages of Islander men to European women between 1908 and 1940 have been discovered.⁷⁴ Although there were no official sanctions against such liaisons, both the European and Islander communities disapproved of them.⁷⁵

72. Only one possible case of an unmarried migrant woman has been found. See Applic. No.2063E, Mary Hoona, AGS/N356, QSA.

73. For an example, see Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.77.

74. There were two marriages to Irish women (of working-class backgrounds), and two to native-born European women. Sargoo Nago, MMR, Ingham, 15 Jan.1914; James Tongon, MMR, Cairns, 3 Jun.1909; Jack Manjack, MMR, Mackay, 7 Sep.1915; Evidence of Alice Barney, 3 Feb.1941, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA.

75. See T19Bsb:2; T42Bsb:2; T58Bsa:2; T66Bsb:1; Patterson to Director for State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director for Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr.1933, memo., ibid.; QPD CVII, 1910, p.2488.

The principal non-Melanesian group with whom the migrant men conducted relationships, however, were Aborigines (see Table 4.7). Migrant men continued to take Aboriginal women from the camps, either forcibly or with the consent of their relatives. Sometimes these liaisons were not long-lasting⁷⁶, but in most cases the men and women formed enduring relationships, even if they did not receive any legal sanction.⁷⁷ In Mackay, it was noticeable that the Nggela and Guadalcanal men tended to take Aboriginal women as their partners.⁷⁸ Pacific Islanders were regarded by the chief protector of Aborigines as good husbands for Aboriginal women, because of their clean-living and hard-working habits. Permission was readily given for such marriages until the late 1910s, when a new policy was implemented of restricting where possible marriages of 'full-blood' Aboriginal women to men of their own 'race'.⁷⁹ However, Islander men continued to form a high proportion of those who married 'half-caste' Aborigines, for which permission was still readily given.⁸⁰

76. See T36Bsa:3; T43Bsb:3; T59Bsa:1; CMP 27 Apr.1909, Circuit Court; QPP III, 1912, p.1019; Statement of William Tangawa, 8 Jun.1908, Rex vs Jimmy Chisholm, A/18476, QSA; Statement of Rosie, 8 Apr.1909, Rex vs Micky Tanna, A/18365, QSA. This had been the pattern in the nineteenth century. See Chapter 2.

77. See T43Bsa:1; T43Bsb:3; T57Bsb:2; Evidence of Maria, Inquest No. 548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA; Evidence of Johnny Lefu, Inquest No.654 of 1934, Nellie Lefu, JUS/N987, QSA; Evidence of Rosie, Inquest No. 681 of 1939, Anamboon, JUS/N1071, QSA.

78. Ty4Bp.2; T36Bsa:3; T43Bsb:3; Moses William, AMR, Mackay, 4 Mar.1910; Charley Dombeni, ibid., 17 Apr.1928.

79. QPP III, 1908, p.936, II, 1909, p.989, III, 1911-12, p.1313, III, 1914, p.1024, III, 1917, p.1003, I, 1918, p.1676.

80. See QPP II, 1919-20, p.540, II, 1921, p.559, I, 1929, p.1215.

There were also a number of migrant men in this period who married native-born women of Islander descent. Such marriages were most common in districts with established Islander populations, where native-born women were relatively numerous: in Mackay, Bowen (including Proserpine), and to a lesser extent the Burdekin and Herbert River districts (see Table 4.7). They were rare in the far north. Predictably, the men were considerably older than the women.⁸¹ Since the number of native-born women in the early twentieth century was small in proportion to the number of migrant men, the former were seldom of the same descent (that is, island of origin) as their partners.⁸²

Married men were still a minority, albeit a substantial minority, of the male migrants. In contrast, bachelors were a tiny minority amongst the native-born, while once again spinsters were virtually unknown. This is highlighted in Table 4.8.⁸³ The low proportion of bachelors and spinsters is noteworthy, since the proportions of those who never married in the total Australian population in the 1920s were higher than in Britain and the United States. Moreover, the proportion of males in Australia who did marry was directly related to occupational and social and economic status, with proportions ever marrying being highest for professionals, managers and executives and lowest for labourers and rural workers (the category in which Pacific Islander men, it will be seen, fell almost without exception).⁸⁴ Remarriage was also common for Islander widows and

81. In all the following examples, the men were much older than the women. Harold Oba and Ruby Sima, AMR, Mackay, 2 Jul.1908; Peter Bickey and Elizabeth Kia, *ibid.*, 20 Oct.1930; Paul and Agnes Bobbert, AMR, Proserpine, 22 Nov.1921; George Marty and Eliza Heepe, AMR, Bowen, 16 Oct.1915; Jimmy Abook Palmer and Eliza, AMR, Ingham, 13 Sep.1908.

82. The women were of the same descent, for example, in the following cases. Billie Sindown and Annie Sewaggy, MMR, Mackay, 24 Sep.1921; Harold Oba and Ruby Sima, AMR, Mackay, 2 Jul.1908; Stephen Quaytucker and Lucy Fatnowna, *ibid.*, 25 Feb.1911; Andrew Bobongie and Emma Fewquandie, *ibid.*, 20 Jan.1917.

83. Evidence on other districts is again too incomplete to include.

84. McDonald, Marriage in Australia, pp.133, 248.

widowers and in some cases the second spouse was a close relative (such as the brother or sister) of the deceased.⁸⁵

TABLE 4.8: Proportions ever married and never married of native-born Pacific Islanders in selected districts of North Queensland, and ethnic origin of partners, 1908-40, according to nominal sources

District	Ethnic Origin of Partners						Total marr.	No. never marr. #
	Pacific Islander		Other					
	Migr.	Native-born	+ Ab.	Eur.	Asian	Unknown		
Herbert R.								
M	1	14	3	2	-	3	23	4
F	8	18	6	2	1	-	35	-
Burdekin								
M	-	12	1	-	-	-	13	-
F	2	5	4	-	-	-	11	-
Bowen (incl. Proserpine)								
M	-	22	1	3	1	3	30	2
F	11	34	2	-	-	-	47	-
Mackay								
M	-	63	1	1	-	6	71	1
F	8	51	3	4	3	-	69	-

+ including Torres Strait Islanders

only those definitely known to have never married, are included

Sources: Nominal sources (see Appendices A and B)

85. See T36Bsa:3; T43Bsa:1+2; T68Bsb:3; Egbert Choppy and Eileen Quakawoot, AMR, Mackay, 29 Jun.1935; Stanley Choppy and Muriel Eileen Choppy, *ibid.*, 9 Dec.1939.

Table 4.8 also provides details of the ethnic origin of the men and women whom the native-born married. This highlights the degree of inmarriage, that is of marriages in which both partners were of Islander or part Islander descent, especially in Mackay. Amongst the minority who chose partners of a different ethnic origin, a small number married Europeans.⁸⁶ A further small number married Asians, principally Malays and Chinese.⁸⁷ The largest number, however, married Aborigines or Torres Strait Islanders; this was unusual in Mackay but very common in the far north.⁸⁸

Islander parents exerted considerable influence over their children's choice of marriage partners, as was customary in Melanesian societies. Marriage to Europeans was strongly opposed. So also, in some cases, was marriage to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, although the tendency was to accept such unions grudgingly.⁸⁹ Parental preference was that children should at least marry those of 'South Sea' descent and preferably those from the same island of origin: "it's better to marry your own".⁹⁰

86. See Frank Gosling, Ingham DHAR, 2 Feb.1933; Federica Garlando, *ibid.*, 15 Sep.1934; George Henry Gosling, MMR, Ingham, 2 Aug.1930; Winifred Mooney, AMR, Mackay, 20 Nov.1920; T1Bsa:2; T55Bsb:2; Swiss Davies to Crown Prosecutor of Townsville, 10 Feb.1941, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA.

87. These were mostly native-born Asians. See T44Bsb:1; T47Bsa:1; T61Bsa:1; Charles Ah Kee and Elizabeth Mow, MMR, Cairns, Dec.1927; John Hemmett and Evelyn Gosling, AMR, Ingham, 31 Mar.1912.

88. See Robert Richard Pitt and Martha Kawoot, AMR, Bowen, 15 Sep.1931; Henry Williams and May Nahow, AMR, Ayr, 24 Jan.1922; James Oliver and Lottie Charlotte Malayta, *ibid.*, 3 Sep.1932; Peter Tanna and Margaret Chrissie Simpson, AMR, Cairns, 23 Jul.1932; Henry Cuthill and Elaine Obah, MMR, Cairns, 14 Jul.1928.

89. See T1Bsa:1; T16Bsa:1; T21Bsa:1; T41Bsb:1; T60Bsb:1; T70Bsb:3.

90. T15Bsb:1. See also T11Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T22Bsb:1; T68Bsa:2; T72Bsa:1-2. For a comparison with marriage rules amongst 'detrribalised' Aborigines, see Barwick, 'The Aboriginal Family in South-Eastern Australia', p.158; M.J.C. Calley, 'Family and kinship in Aboriginal Australia', in H. Throssell (ed.), Ethnic Minorities in Australia. The Welfare of Aborigines and Migrants (Sydney, 1969), p.16.

This tenet was most strongly held by the more clannish groups, notably the Malaitans, Tannese and Epi Islanders.⁹¹

Occasionally parents 'arranged' marriages for their children⁹², but more often the actual choice was left to the children. There were some cases in which couples eloped to marry, or married despite parental opposition.⁹³ Yet the incidence of marriages which incurred parental disapproval was low, since parental approbation was highly valued and the native-born, through geographical propinquity and close community interaction, were usually well-acquainted with their future marriage partners.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, marriage to a partner from the same island of origin was not always possible. Many, if not most, of the native-born had parents who were themselves from different islands of origin, even different island groups. By the second and third generations, descent for all but a few 'pure' families could be traced back to several islands of origin. The choice of marital partners was also closely restricted by the small size of the communities and their geographical isolation. Men and women of marriageable age had to look to other areas of a district or even to other districts for eligible members of the opposite sex. While few families in the early twentieth century were interrelated by marriage, this situation changed rapidly in the following decades and by 1940 (and since) the avoidance of marriage with close kin was a very real problem, especially in the smaller communities outside Mackay. Marriage between first cousins drew

91. See T1Bsa:1; T10Bsb:1; T15Bsb:1; T40Bsb:1; T47Bsa:1; T60Bsa:3.

92. See T27Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1; T49Bsa:1; T72Bsa:2. This was common in the islands. Allen, *The Nduindui*, p.152; Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides*, pp.48, 141; Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula*, p.192.

93. See T49Bsa:1; T65Bsa:1; T80Bsa:2; T80Bsb:3; George Hunter, 20 Feb. 1923, POL 12E/Q8, QSA.

94. See T10Bsb:1; T15Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T31Bsa:2; T52Bsb:1.

strong community disapproval.⁹⁵

These factors ensured that most of the native-born chose partners of Islander descent but who were from a different island or islands of origin and sometimes from a different island group.⁹⁶ Another marriage custom, bride-price, was not commonly practised, although in some cases there were reciprocal exchanges of food and gifts between families who wished their children to marry.⁹⁷ In general, marriages were conducted in church, although there were some civil ceremonies; defacto relationships were uncommon.⁹⁸

Age at marriage is a demographic feature which is related to the supply of persons of the opposite sex and to community customs dictating the 'proper time to marry'. Amongst Europeans in this period, the marriage pattern was one of a slow decline in age at marriage, with women marrying perhaps six, seven or more years after puberty. By contrast, the marriage pattern in Melanesian societies was for women to marry at or very soon after puberty.⁹⁹ In North Queensland between 1908 and 1940, men (migrants and native-born) always considerably outnumbered women in the marriageable age groups (see Figure 4.1(b)-(d)). Together with the custom of young marriage, this could have been expected to produce a lower age at marriage for Islander women than that for their European contemporaries.

95. See T15Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T27Bsa:2; T41Bsb:1; T70Bsb:3. This aversion was strong in the islands, and also amongst Australian Aborigines. Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol. I, pp.47-48; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.130, 141; Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, p.66; Barwick, 'The Aboriginal Family in South-Eastern Australia', p.158.

96. For examples, see T1Bsa:1; T2Bsa:3; T40Bsa:3; T50Bsa:3.

97. T27Bsb:2; T60Bsa:3. See also Chapter 2, pp.80, 81.

98. In 1932 it was contended that defacto relationships were common amongst Islanders in Mackay, but the evidence from marriage registers demonstrates the reverse. See McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr.1933. memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA.

99. McDonald, Marriage in Australia, pp.1, 3, 247, 249; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.50, 141; Layard, Stone Men of Malekula, p.192; Keesing, 'Elota's Story, p.44.

Some Islander women married very young, at ages ranging from fourteen to sixteen.¹⁰⁰ Men were usually older than their brides. The median age at marriage for thirty-six native-born women and twenty-eight native-born men who were married in the Mackay district between 1908 and 1940 was 20 for the females and 24 for the males. This was considerably lower than the median age at marriage in Queensland in 1911 and 1921 which was, respectively, 23.6 and 24.0 for women and 27.3 and 27.6 for men.¹⁰¹ A comparison can also be made with an investigation of tropically-born women in the Cairns and Townsville districts carried out by Cilento for the Commonwealth Department of Health in 1925: the average age at marriage of 77 such women in Cairns and 153 in Townsville was 21 years and 9 months and 21 years and 5 months, respectively.¹⁰² This was slightly higher than the average (not the median) age at marriage for the thirty-six Islander women in the Mackay district which was 20.9 years. It would appear that while Islander women did marry at a younger age than their European contemporaries, they had also been influenced by the European custom of postponing marriage.

THE NEXT population factor is the birth rate. A high birth rate characterised the Pacific Islander population between 1908 and 1940. The size of families will be considered before the factors which promoted a high birth rate are discussed.

100. For examples, see Ruby Sima, AMR, Mackay, 2 Jul.1908; Helen Williams, *ibid.*, 20 Nov.1924; Molly Rebecca Backo, AMR, Ingham, 18 Nov.1926; Hannah Bluebell Palmer, MMR, Ingham, 31 Jan.1933; Rebecca Blooranta, AMR, Innisfail, 17 Jul.1936.

101. McDonald, Marriage in Australia, p.140. The sources for my calculations were the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist marriage registers; ages were only given in years. Access to State marriage registers was denied, and there would have been many more from the 1920s who were married in the Assembly of God and Seventh-day Adventist churches, for which evidence is not available. See Appendix A.

102. R.W. Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Health Vol.IV, No.1, Jan.1926, pp.12, 14.

A sophisticated demographic analysis of family size is precluded by the small size of the population and the flawed nature of the data. Nominal sources, both oral and written, are invaluable but nevertheless deficient in some important respects. For instance, when questioned about the size of a family, people will generally neglect to mention stillborn children or those who died shortly after birth or in early infancy.¹⁰³ Nor do written records such as cemetery registers provide full information on such children, since they were often buried without official knowledge.¹⁰⁴ Illegitimate children can also be hard to identify, as often they were adopted by the mother's parents. Therefore information on family size is necessarily incomplete, and the figures for this should be regarded as a conservative estimate.

In Table 4.9, the evidence on family size compiled from nominal sources for the Herbert River, Burdekin, Bowen (including Proserpine) and Mackay districts is presented.¹⁰⁵ Once again, the evidence for districts in the far north where the Islanders tended to intermarry with the Aboriginal population, is too incomplete to use. To highlight the changes in family size over time, there is a division into five different groups. First, there are those cases where both partners were migrants, while the second group encompasses those migrants who married non-Melanesian women (principally Aborigines but also Torres Strait Islanders and Europeans). Both these groups had largely completed their families

103. For example, in 1932 Harry Fatnowna said he had six children, but did not mention a further five children who had died. MM 12 Oct. 1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna.

104. For an example, see H. Fatnowna, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 2 Sep. 1926.

105. Only those families for whom information is reasonably reliable and complete are included. Where a woman re-married and bore children, this was treated as a second family. Illegitimate children were only included where their parents lived together or were married.

by the early twentieth century. Thirdly, there are those migrant men who married native-born women; most of these couples were still completing their families in the first two decades of this century. The last two groups cover the native-born (including those of full and part Islander descent) exclusively. The fourth group includes those people born by 1907, and the fifth group comprises those born after 1907 (in some cases being the children of those in the fourth group) who had largely completed their families by 1940.¹⁰⁶ While there is some overlap between these two groups, most in the fourth group had completed their families by the late 1920s. Roughly speaking, these five groups can be divided into three chronological periods: the first and second groups had largely completed their families by the early 1900s, the third and fourth groups by the late 1920s and the fifth by 1940.

TABLE 4.9: Average completed family size amongst Pacific Islanders in selected districts of North Queensland 1908-40, according to nominal sources

	Ethnic Origin of Partners				
	Migr. (M) Migr. (F)	Migr. (M) Non- Melanesian (F)+	Mig. (M) Native- Born (F)	Native- Born to 1907#	Native- Born after 1907*
No. of couples	77	41	34	70	23
No. of children	141	66	136	321	151
Average completed family size	1.83	1.61	4.0	4.59	6.56

+ Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders and Europeans

those of full or part Islander descent who were born by 1907

* those of full or part Islander descent who were born after 1907 and had largely completed their families by 1940

Sources: Nominal sources (see Appendices A and B)

106. Those born after the late 1910s tended to have most or all of their children after 1940. In some cases the native-born married non-Melanesians, but in most cases they married other native-born (of full or part Islander descent).

Table 4.9 thus provides a crude indication of completed family size. Amongst the first and second groups, family size was noticeably small (less than two children), although this was partly skewed by the large number of childless couples.¹⁰⁷ Where migrants married native-born, in the third group, family size was much larger, with about four children in each family. It was slightly larger (over four children) amongst the fourth group, those of Islander descent born by 1907, and noticeably larger amongst the fifth group, who were born after 1907. It can be presumed that family size was larger still in the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁰⁸ The family size of the native-born was larger than the European average, as a comparison with the survey conducted by Cilento in 1925 shows. The average number of children born to tropically-born European women was 4.2 for 139 women in Cairns and 3.8 for 215 women in Townsville. The average issue for women in Queensland as a whole, according to the censuses, was 3.78 in 1921 and 2.56 in 1947.¹⁰⁹

The overall Australian birth rate declined sharply between 1911 and 1921 and only gradually rose in the 1930s.¹¹⁰ This decline was certainly not reflected amongst the Islanders. Moreover, in contrast to the pattern in other European countries, the average size of Australian families was greater amongst non-manual workers than amongst manual workers. There was

107. If childless couples are excluded, the average family size was 3.06 for the first, and 2.87 for the second group.

108. See Epilogue. There is a trend for the children of migrants to have larger families than their parents. See A.G. Price, 'The White Man in the Tropics', The Medical Journal of Australia Vol.I, No.4, Jan.1935, p.109.

109. Average issue was not given in the 1933 census. Aborigines also had larger families than the Australian average. Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', pp.12, 13; Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1921, Statistician's Report, p.350, Vol.III, 1947, Statistician's Report, p.328; D.E. Barwick, 'Changes in the Aboriginal Population of Victoria, 1863-1966', in D.J. Mulvaney and J. Golson (eds), Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia (Canberra, 1971), p.312. The fertility of women born in Queensland was at least as high as that for Australian women as a whole in 1921. Wickens, 'Vitality of White Races in Low Latitudes', p.121.

110. A.V. Zodgekar, 'Evidence of Long Swings in the Growth of Australian Population and Related Economic Variables, 1861-1965', Pacific Viewpoint Vol.15, No.2, Sep.1974, pp.144-45.

also a marked reduction in average family size between 1911 and 1940.¹¹¹ Again, the Islanders, who were almost exclusively manual workers, were atypical.

There was considerable variation in the size of families within the Islander population. Some marriages in all five groups were childless, and this was particularly common where the migrant men married Aboriginal women.¹¹² Many childless couples adopted children of Islander or Aboriginal descent.¹¹³ At the other extreme there were very large families: by 1940, and even more so in the 1940s and 1950s, families of ten or more children were not unusual (see Plate 4.4).¹¹⁴

The Commonwealth statistician noted in 1921 and again in 1947 that Pacific Islanders were more than able to reproduce themselves. This is convincingly demonstrated by examining one family: in Mackay the Malaitan migrants, John Kwailu and Orrani, had five children (see Plate 2.1); their only son, Harry Fatnowma, married Grace Kwasi, also native-born; they had fifteen children and the ten who survived produced altogether sixty-nine children.¹¹⁵

111. See W.E. Agar, 'Some Eugenic Aspects of Australian Population Problems', in P.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood (eds), The Peopling of Australia (Melbourne, 1928), pp.134-35; W.D. Borrie, 'Australian Family Structure: Demographic Observations', in A.P. Elkin (ed.), Marriage and the Family in Australia (Sydney, 1957), pp.9-10.

112. See T19Bsb:3; T43Bsa:1; T69Bsa:1; T80Bsa:2; Johnny Veelee, Bowen DHAR, 18 Mar.1927; Thomas Quetta, Ingham DHAR, 30 Nov.1927; Evidence of Johnny Lefu, Inquest No.654 of 1934, Nellie Lefu, JUS/N987, QSA. This had been the pattern in the nineteenth century also. See Chapter 2.

113. See Chapter 9, p.427.

114. For examples, see Tyl2B; T52Bsa:2; T58Bsa:1; T68Bsa:3.

115. One of their ten children was childless. Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1921, Statistician's Report, p.122, Vol.III, 1947, Statistician's Report, p.158; Tyl2B. For another example, see E. Hill, 'The Old Kanaka Days', Walkabout Vol.23, No.6, Jun.1957, p.18.



PLATE 4.4: Alfred and Esther Henaway with their eleven children (Shirlin, Shirma, Shiradeen, Shireen, Shirelle, Shirley, Brian, Shiradelle, Shirvanne, Michael and John), Ayr, late 1950s.

This high birth rate can be related to such factors as the proportion ever married, age at menarche, at first child and at menopause, illegitimacy, re-marriage and family planning techniques. It has been shown that the proportion of those ever married was very high amongst the native-born and that widows and widowers usually re-married. A high birth rate was also promoted by the youthfulness of the female population. There was always a very high proportion within the fertile age range (15 to 49), who were thus able to reproduce (see Figure 4.1(b)-(d)).

Information on the age at menarche is not available. According to Cilento's survey in 1925, the average age for the onset of menstruation amongst European girls in North Queensland was 13 years and 9 months.¹¹⁶ Certainly the age at first child was often young for Islander girls, being as early as 15.¹¹⁷

Where age at first child is young, there is often a connection with illegitimacy or prenuptial conception. There were certainly many cases of illegitimacy amongst the Islander population.¹¹⁸ However, in

116. R.W. Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Health Vol.IV, No.2, Mar.1926, p.42.

117. See T52Bsa:2. For the connection between age at marriage (and at first child) and family size, see D.V. Glass, 'Introduction', in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (eds), Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography (London, 1965), p.14; E.A. Wrigley, 'Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England', Economic History Review Second series, Vol.XIX, No.1, 1966, pp.88, 98.

118. Altogether fifty-seven cases of illegitimate children have been discovered, and this is obviously only part of the real total, since to discover cases of illegitimacy or conception out of wedlock it is necessary to know if and when the parents married. Church registers, court cases for maintenance claims and oral sources provide evidence on this, but (as noted earlier) records for the Assembly of God and Seventh-day Adventist churches were not available and access was denied to the State marriage registers. No precise references are given, in order to protect present-day descendants. It was not considered unusual for Aboriginal women and the migrant men to live together and have children before they married. See QPP III, 1915-16, p.1684.

nearly half the cases discovered, the mother later married the father of her child or children. Generally these were young women in their late teens and early twenties, and the fathers were also young and usually, but not always, of Islander descent. Conception out of wedlock was also relatively common amongst Islander women.¹¹⁹

Such ex-nuptial and prenuptial conception is not evidence of promiscuity. Despite some assertions to the contrary, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the Islanders had a strict sense of Christian morality and disapproved strongly of intercourse outside marriage. Chastity was emphasized as a virtue to pubescent girls and their relationships with the opposite sex were closely regulated.¹²⁰ Ex-nuptial and prenuptial intercourse and pregnancy did occur but was usually followed by marriage, as the virtual absence of long-term unmarried mothers and the number of cases in which women subsequently married the fathers of their illegitimate children demonstrates.¹²¹

Family size is directly related to the length of the childrearing span. The age at menopause is important here, but there is no direct evidence available for Islander women. However, the survey in 1925 found that the age at menopause amongst tropically-born European women was forty-five in Cairns and forty-four in Townsville.¹²² Certainly there is evidence to demonstrate

119. At least fifteen children were conceived outside marriage, and this would only have represented a proportion of the full number, as discussed above. For an example, see BI 14 Jul.1914, Bowen Police Court.

120. See T1Bsb:2; T2Bsa:2; T9Bsa:1; T15Bsb:2; T23Bsa:2; T51Bsa:3; T68Bsa:2.

121. For parallels with Maoris and American Negroes, see Cutman, The Black Family, pp.60-66; D.I. Pool, 'The Onset of the New Zealand Maori Fertility Decline, 1961-1966', Pacific Viewpoint Vol.15, No.1, May 1974, p.84. In Australia in this period, illegitimacy was low but pre-nuptial conception was common amongst the general population. Sir George Knibbs, 'Protogenesis and Ex-Nuptial Mortality in Australia', Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales Vol.LXI, 1927, p.113; K.G. Basavarajappa, 'Pre-Marital Pregnancies and Ex-Nuptial Births in Australia, 1911-66', The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology Vol.4, No.2, Oct.1968, p.132.

122. Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Jan.1926, pp.12, 14.

that the childrearing span for Islander women was long. For example, Grace Fatnowna was married in 1918 at the age of twenty and was forty-one when the last of her fifteen children was born in 1939.¹²³ In more than one case, a mother had not completed her family before her oldest daughter bore her first child.¹²⁴

The techniques of birth control, including contraception and abortion, also have an important bearing on the birth rate. Here there was an important difference between the migrant women and the native-born. The former clearly knew of methods to prevent pregnancy and to produce miscarriages and abortions.¹²⁵ The extent to which they practised these is a matter for conjecture, but clearly they did not pass on these techniques to their children. Moreover, the fundamentalist religious sects which attracted the native-born women in particular were strongly opposed to family limitation practices.¹²⁶

The rapid increase in the size of the native-born Pacific Islander population (as shown in Table 4.5) was promoted by a high birth rate. The native-born women tended to have large families, with the first child born at an early age and the last when the woman was at or approaching menopause. These families were larger than both the Queensland average and the average in Melanesia. In Melanesia, the practice of contraception, abortion, infanticide and taboos on intercourse during the post-partum period and at other times effectively reduced the size of families.¹²⁷

123. Grace Kwasi, AMR, Mackay, 20 Feb.1918; Tyl2B.

124. See Winnie Naomi Miller, ABR, Walkerston, 28 Mar.1936; Elizabeth Rebecca Bickey, *ibid.*, 15 Oct.1936; Ernest Tanna, Halifax SSAR, 6 Feb.1928; Bethyl Tanna, *ibid.*, 25 Aug.1936; Raymond Nulla Oliver, ABR, Ayr, 4 Nov.1934; Rosie Gloria Malayta, Jarvisfield SSAR, 2 Feb. 1939.

125. See T19Bsa:3; T22Bsa:2; T47Bsa:3; T67Bsa:2.

126. See T26Bsa:1. One case has been found of an abortion performed on a native-born Islander woman; the source is not given to preserve confidentiality.

127. See Deacon, Malekula, pp.155-56, 232-33; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, p.170; Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.42; Ross, Baegu, pp.121, 208; Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, p.93.

A HIGH birth rate does not in itself assure a population of rapid natural growth. It must be matched by a reduction in death rates, especially in relation to mortality in infancy and early childhood. The last primary demographic factor to be considered is the death rate. This will include a general discussion of death and sickness amongst the Islander population.

Statistics on the age at and cause of death cannot be constructed for the Pacific Islander population. To tabulate cause of death requires a scientific and consistent system of classification, with a clear distinction between main and subsidiary causes. Cause of death was seldom given for Pacific Islanders, or death was attributed to such vague causes as 'senility' and 'senile decay'.¹²⁸ Statistics on age at death are not valid, since the ages given for the migrants were only approximate - there were often glaring discrepancies between the ages claimed for individuals at different times.¹²⁹

A quantitative approach to mortality rates is therefore not possible. Mortality and sickness will be considered in terms of first, environmental influences affecting health, secondly, the Islanders' attitudes to physical and mental illness and thirdly, four broad categories: infectious and other diseases, accidents, the general wearing out of the body and infant and maternal mortality.

Before federation Queensland had the highest mortality rate amongst the Australian colonies. Yet by the 1920s and 1930s the State had one of the lowest death rates in Australia.¹³⁰ Nor was North Queensland left

128. F.R. Cox, Demography (Aberdeen, 1970), pp.130, 132. Cause of death was recorded at inquests, in hospital records and occasionally in the cemetery registers, and oral sources also provide some evidence.

129. Interviewees also say that it was hard to tell the ages of the migrants, and that they themselves did not know their ages. T56Bsa:2; T58Bsa:3; T60Bsa:1; T63Bsa:1. This has also been noted in the Pacific. Ross, Baegu, p.104; Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.55; N. McArthur, Introducing Population Statistics (Melbourne, 1961), p.24.

130. Gregory, The Menace of Colour, pp.173-74, 202-5; Wickens, 'Vitality of White Races in Low Latitudes', pp.119-20.

behind in this rapid improvement in health. During the first three decades of this century, there was a concerted campaign to gather evidence to demonstrate that Europeans could not only live and work in the tropical north but also produce healthy offspring.¹³¹ With the establishment of the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine in Townsville in 1909, North Queensland became a centre for research into tropical diseases. Dr Anton Breinl, the Institute's first director, and Cilento of the Commonwealth Department of Health, were foremost in presenting medical evidence demonstrating that the birth rate was higher and mortality and infant mortality rates lower in the tropics than in the rest of Australia and in many European countries.¹³²

As the following discussion will highlight, it can be expected that the mortality rate for Pacific Islanders would not have been as low as that for Europeans, but it was presumably below that amongst the Aboriginal population, whose numbers only began to increase again in the 1930s.¹³³ The rate would also have been considerably lower than that in Melanesia, where mortality for all age groups remained high.¹³⁴

131. For examples of those who were confident that this tropical experiment would succeed, see NQR 29 Apr.1912, p.1, 27 Aug.1923, p.15, 12 Apr.1926, p.62; Wickens, 'Vitality of White Races in Low Latitudes', pp.117-26; Price, 'The White Man in the Tropics', pp.106-10.

132. See A. Breinl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry into the Prevalence of Diseases, Death Rates, Infantile Mortality and Birth Rates in Queensland', The Medical Journal of Australia Vol.II, No.10, Sep.1921, pp.183-84; Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Mar.1926, p.44; Sir James Barrett, 'Tropical Australia', The Australian Quarterly No.21, Mar.1934, p.66.

133. The small Pacific Islander population on Moa Island in the Torres Strait had a mortality rate above the Queensland average, but the mortality rate amongst Torres Strait Islanders was much higher. Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for financial year ending March 31st, 1913 (Sydney, 1913), pp.22-23.

134. W.B., 'Problem of Depopulation in the Pacific Islands', p.35.

European medical knowledge in these years was focussed on prevention rather than cure. Climatically, however, North Queensland was a relatively healthy region, and well-serviced in terms of hospital, ambulance and medical research facilities.¹³⁵ According to contemporary medical evidence, the healthiest people in North Queensland were those who performed hard manual work¹³⁶ - the chief occupation of Islander men. Drinking to excess, however, was a serious problem amongst Europeans (especially the migratory sugar workers) in North Queensland, and mortality due to alcoholism was higher in the north than in the rest of the State. Both smoking and drinking (sometimes to excess) were regular habits amongst the Islander men but were almost unknown amongst the women.¹³⁷

Other important environmental factors are diet, housing standards and hygiene. Leading a rural and semi-rural lifestyle, Pacific Islanders were able to produce their own fruit and vegetables, keep livestock and catch fish. Their diet appears to have been reasonably nutritious, if heavily starchy and lacking in protein.¹³⁸ European housing standards in North Queensland, including adjustments for climate, improved noticeably in the twentieth century. Yet there were still many, particularly manual workers and small farmers, who lived in hot, poorly ventilated wood and iron humpies. Nor were the Islanders' housing standards high: the typical house was made of grass and wood, poorly ventilated, small and made additionally unhealthy by the practice of burning woodfires inside both

135. Hospital admission rates were much higher in coastal North Queensland than in the rest of the State. Breinl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry', p.182.

136. Price, 'The White Man in the Tropics', p.109.

137. CPP IV, 1913, p.1236, Dr P.S. Clarke, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.358, Dr A. Breinl; Price, 'The White Man in the Tropics', p.107; Brienl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry', p.182.

138. In the islands, the diet had a heavy starchy vegetable content. Ross, Baegu, p.78; W.B., 'Problem of Depopulation in the Pacific Islands', p.38. See also Chapter 9.

for heating and to destroy insects.¹³⁹ There were noticeable improvements in European sanitation facilities in the 1920s. While the sanitation standards of the Islanders are not known, their homes both inside and out were generally kept scrupulously clean.¹⁴⁰

Social and psychological factors, embracing the Islanders' own methods of preventing or curing sickness and disease and also their attitudes towards illness and European medical techniques, were also important. In their village societies, there were both commonly known and secret remedies for different illnesses, using a wide variety of plants (some localised, others pan-tropical).¹⁴¹ In Queensland the migrants presumably discovered or learnt from friendly Aborigines about plants with similar medicinal properties, and they shared this knowledge with others.¹⁴² Medicinal plants were used for a wide variety of complaints, including coughs, colds, fevers, gastric and digestive complaints, burns, itches, bad cuts, sores and rheumatism: for example, one family in the Herbert River district would treat a fever by bathing the patient in water in which the tops of saltbush had been boiled.¹⁴³ These remedies for relatively minor ailments were used extensively by the migrants and also by some of their children.

139. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.300; M.H. Brydon, 'Women's Life in North Queensland', Health Vol.I, No.6, Jun.1923, p.167; Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Jan.1926, pp.12-13. For the Islanders' housing standards, see Chapter 9.

140. MM 17 Apr.1920, 14 Sep.1932, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl; QPP III, 1910, p.960, III, 1911-12, p.1300; Patterson to Director, State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA; T40Bsa:3; T43Bsb:1; T51Bsa:2.

141. D. Bourret, 'The Evolution of Traditional Medicine in New Caledonia', in Winslow (ed.), The Melanesian Environment, pp.463, 465; I. Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society The Kaoka Speakers (New York, 1964), p.51; Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.280; Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, pp.18-19.

142. Apparently particular remedies were localised; for example, informants in Mackay, Bowen and the Herbert River each gave different cures for diarrhoea. See T8Bsa:1; T10Bsa:1; T16Bsa:3.

143. T19Bsb:3. For other examples, see T7Bsa:3; T10Bsa:1; T11Bsa:2; T16Bsa:3; T24Bsa:2; T47Bsa:3; T67Bsa:2; T70Bsa:1.

For more serious illnesses, there were treatments (often secret) known to and practised by a few specialists amongst the migrants. For example, there were cures for venereal diseases and methods to induce abortions.¹⁴⁴ These specialists, both men and women, were also consulted if it was believed that illness had been caused by sorcery.¹⁴⁵

Standard European treatments such as castor oil doses and hot lemon drinks were also employed, and the Islanders consulted local pharmacists for medicines such as cough preparations.¹⁴⁶ When necessary, they were attended by European doctors either in their own homes or in surgeries or hospitals.¹⁴⁷ The records of local hospitals indicate that the Islanders, particularly the native-born, readily used these facilities.¹⁴⁸ Many of the elderly migrant men died in hospital.¹⁴⁹

Yet, like many contemporary Europeans, the Islanders and especially the migrants, consulted medical practitioners only for major complaints. Some of the migrants rejected European medicine altogether.¹⁵⁰ Most, as in the plantation period, had a strong aversion to being admitted to hospital. For example, Sam Solomon who died of tuberculosis at Hawkins Creek

144. T41Bsa:3.

145. See Chapter 9.

146. See T70Bsa:1; T72Bsb:1; T74Bsb:2; Evidence of George Siy Mow, Inquest No.799 of 1938, Tom Obah, JUS/N1054, QSA.

147. See T40Bsa:2+3; T58Bsa:3; MM 28 Jan.1929, 12 Apr.1933; PDNR 2 Mar.1910; Registrar of Pensions, Halifax, to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar.1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA.

148. The records of the district hospitals at Bowen and Ingham clearly show this. Access was denied to the records of the Mackay district hospital, but regular reports in the Daily Mercury on the hospital committee's meetings indicate that there were Islander patients.

149. For examples, see MM 21 Feb.1912, 22 Oct.1913; NQR 19 Jan.1925, p.51; NC 1 Dec.1929; John Bomassing, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 24 Sep.1924; Dick Malayta, ibid., 11 Aug.1926.

150. See T6Bsa:2; T47Bsa:2; T72Bsa:2; Evidence of Georgina Kawoot, Inquest No.310 of 1936, Carmen Mary Kawoot, JUS/N1011, QSA; Evidence of Frank Bong, Inquest No.377 of 1938, David Roy Bong, JUS/N1046, QSA.

near Ingham in 1916, had refused to be taken to hospital because he could not pay and because, in his own words, "more better me die here where me stop".¹⁵¹ Europeans continued to believe that the Islanders readily succumbed to sickness. Canon James Norman, for instance, considered that Luke Logomier's death in the influenza epidemic of 1919 in Mackay was partly attributable to the loss of his dearly loved step-daughter some three years earlier.¹⁵²

There is little information about the mental health of the Islanders, but the obvious manifestations of such ill-health are suicides and insanity. Where suicides had been common on the plantations, this was an insignificant cause of death between 1908 and 1940: only two suicides and one attempted suicide amongst Pacific Islanders in North Queensland have come to light.¹⁵³ There were also very few cases of insanity amongst Islanders in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940. Some Islanders brought before the courts on suspicion of being of unsound mind, were discharged after medical examination.¹⁵⁴ Only four instances of Islanders being committed to mental asylums have been discovered; and there was also a case in which an Islander who committed murder was alleged to have been insane.¹⁵⁵ The infrequency of suicides and insanity suggests that mental ill-health amongst the Islander population was not pronounced.

151. Evidence of Tom Solomon, Inquest No.548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA. For other examples, see MM 10 Sep.1919; Interview with Mr E. Denman, Mackay, 12 Jul.1979; Daisy Wake, Bowen DHAR, 6 Aug.1921. Aborigines were similarly averse to hospitalization. M. Reay, 'A Half-Caste Aboriginal Community', pp.316-17.

152. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.77. For similar assertions, see NQR 16 Jun.1919, p.15, 15 Sep.1919, p.36; Interview with Mr E. Denman, Mackay, 12 Jul.1979.

153. In one case, an Islander was in ill-health and dependent on the support of other Islanders; in the second, an Islander shot himself after shooting a European woman. Another Islander attempted to drown and also hang himself, because of a bad marital relationship. Evidence of Johnny Massing, Inquest No.138 of 1914, Jack Tully, JUS/N584, QSA; Evidence of Amy Webber, Inquest No.430 of 1915, Harry Tanna, JUS/N588, QSA; Evidence of Const. Parker, 17 Jun.1913, Rex vs Maneboro, No.44 of 1913, A/18381, QSA.

154. See MM 31 Jul.1912, 25 Jul.1918. MPC: Peter, 1 Jun.1910, POL 12E/Q5, QSA; Annie Davey, 4 Apr.1912, ibid.

155. QPP II, 1915-16, p.428; MM 16 Jun.1913, MPC; Applic. No.1276E, Tommy Sarako, AGS/N104, QSA; Jack Maratta, 11 Jul.1921, POL 12E/Q8, QSA; NQR 1 Jun.1925, p.80.

The first of the four broad categories of mortality and sickness concerns infectious and other diseases, which were responsible for the greatest part of illness and death amongst the Islander population. By the twentieth century the Islanders had largely adjusted to the different diet, conditions of work and environment of Australia. They had built up resistance to the big killer diseases of the plantation era such as smallpox and measles. However, deficiencies in their diet and housing, as mentioned previously, rendered them susceptible to such complaints as scabies, sores and rashes. Some of these were highly contagious and despite careful hygiene spread rapidly through the Islander population, particularly amongst the children.¹⁵⁶

Two debilitating diseases from which the Islanders suffered were filariasis (often manifested in elephantiasis) and hookworm, whose prevalence in nineteenth century tropical Queensland had been blamed on the 'kanakas' and other non-European groups.¹⁵⁷ The incidence of filariasis, which is transmitted by mosquitoes, declined significantly in the twentieth century.¹⁵⁸ Hookworm was still endemic, with the commonest symptom being anaemia. Children were particularly susceptible due to their habits of playing, and going to and from school, barefooted.¹⁵⁹ Its prevalence in tropical Australia prompted a vigorous eradication campaign in the late 1910s and 1920s.¹⁶⁰ Aborigines, and to a lesser extent other non-European

156. See McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr.1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; Patterson to Director for State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director for Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, ibid.; Rachel Boslam, Bowen DHAR, 6 Oct.1932; Edna Thomas, ibid., 30 Oct.1933; Gladys Addo, Ingham DHAR, 12 Jun.1934.

157. Sir Raphael Cilento (compiler), Tropical Diseases in Australasia (Brisbane, 1940), pp.58, 224; Cilento, Triumph in the Tropics, pp.293 n141, 434.

158. Cilento, Tropical Diseases in Australasia, pp.58-59, 124.

159. The hookworm larvae can enter by penetrating unbroken skin. Ibid., pp.226-27; CPP IV, 1913, p.1236, Dr P.S. Clarke; Patterson to Director for State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director for Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

160. This was conducted by the Rockefeller Institute in conjunction with the Commonwealth and Queensland Governments, and was part of a world-wide campaign against hookworm. Q 30 Aug.1919, p.12; NOR 27 Jan.1919, p.33.

groups and Italians, were most heavily infected¹⁶¹ and, to reduce the number of carriers, a major focus in this and later campaigns was the treatment of Aborigines and also Islanders. Overall, the extent of hookworm infestation declined dramatically and the general health of the community improved correspondingly.¹⁶²

The incidence of leprosy in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was also attributed falsely to the presence of the Islanders and other non-Europeans.¹⁶³ Between 1908 and 1940, at least fourteen (including three native-born) Islanders in North Queensland were diagnosed as lepers and shipped off to lazarets.¹⁶⁴ It is possible that in some cases ringworm or yaws (framboesia), which were very prevalent in Melanesia, were wrongly interpreted as leprosy.¹⁶⁵

Islanders often suffered from dysentery and diarrhoea, both in the mild and more virulent forms. On the plantations these had produced heavy mortality. With outdoor sanitation facilities, they continued, predictably, to be prevalent amongst the Islanders¹⁶⁶, and it is significant to note that there were many indigenous cures for dysentery and diarrhoea.

161. Of those people examined, 76 per cent of Aborigines and 44 per cent of Italians, in contrast to only 19 per cent of those of British origin, were infected. ibid.

162. Islanders in the Herbert River district recall the unpleasant hookworm treatment administered yearly. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.319, S.M. Lambert; BC 14 Apr.1919, encl. in CP 78/22 1919/152, AA; Queensland Hookworm Campaign, M1516, POL/J50, QSA; BC 13 Apr.1933; OPP II, 1919-20, p.151, I, 1920, p.623; T72Bsb:1.

163. NQR 8 Mar.1915, p.27; Cilento, Triumph in the Tropics, p.434; W 18 May 1895; The Coloured Labour Question, Vol.I, unknown newspaper, n.d.

164. See MM 29 Mar.1912; Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA; Jimmy Lally, No. 9095 of 1923, COL/279, QSA; Bob Maratta, No.3532 of 1911, COL/280, QSA; Johnny Multana, No.2572 of 1925, ibid.; Charles Oba, No.7756 of 1930, COL/281, QSA; Jackie Solomon, No.8246 of 1922, COL/282, QSA; Sam, No.1272 of 1914, ibid.; Jimmie Tattoo, No.8465 of 1922, COL/283, QSA; Jimmy Thoran, No.6502 of 1911, ibid.; Albert Toloa, No.370 of 1922, ibid.; David Treloar, No.1654 of 1915, ibid.

165. Guppy, the Solomon Islands, p.171; Cilento, Tropical Diseases in Australasia, p.275. For examples of what was probably yaws, see T63Bsb:1; Interview with Mr E. Denman, Mackay, 12 Jul.1979; Evidence of Const. Davis, Inquest No.83 of 1934, Bessie Uba, JUS/N975, QSA.

166. T10Bsa:1; Cilento, Tropical Diseases in Australasia, p.187. See also Chapter 1.

Measles had also caused many deaths on the plantations. By the twentieth century, the migrants were immune and their children do not appear to have been more severely affected by this disease than their European contemporaries. Other diseases such as whooping cough and chicken pox were also now restricted to children and were therefore less dangerous.¹⁶⁷

Pacific Islanders seem very susceptible to respiratory diseases.¹⁶⁸ In North Queensland, their conditions of housing, notably the crowding, poor ventilation and indoor fires, increased their susceptibility to such diseases and promoted their spread. Colds and catarrhal conditions were very widespread, especially amongst the Islanders in Mackay.¹⁶⁹ Serious respiratory complaints such as bronchitis and asthma were common: in the Herbert River district, for example, Jack and Mary Tanna and three of their children suffered from asthmatic and bronchial attacks.¹⁷⁰

Tuberculosis (also known as phthisis and consumption) had been prevalent on the plantations. In the twentieth century, this serious respiratory disease was on the decline amongst Europeans, but continued to affect the Islanders severely. Their housing standards and the degree of community interaction promoted the spread of such a communicable disease

167. See Henry Edward Gosling, Ingham DHAR, 5 Jul.1927; Julius Cassidy, *ibid.*, 5 Jan.1934; Rennie Cassidy, *ibid.*, 1 Sep.1934; Annual Return of the Polynesian School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA; Evidence of Frank Bong, Inquest No.377 of 1938, David Roy Bong, JUS/N1046, QSA. See also Chapter 1.

168. Ross, *Baegu*, p.42; Guppy, *The Solomon Islands*, p.176. See also Chapter 1.

169. These were promoted in Mackay by the humidity and low-lying nature of the coastal flat country. CPP IV, 1913, p.1569, Dr W.W. Hoare; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr.1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA.

170. T59Bsa:3; T69Bsb:2; Mary Tanna, Ingham DHAR, 1 May 1928, 11 Jan.1931, 1 Jan.1932; Jack Tanna, *ibid.*, 20 Dec.1930; Ada Tanna, *ibid.*, 2 Feb.1932; Ernest Tanna, *ibid.* For other cases, see Tim, *ibid.*, 11 Oct.1930; Rody Cassidy, *ibid.*, 5 Feb.1932; Jimmy Coconut, Bowen DHAR, 6 May 1925; Myra Thomas, *ibid.*, 8 Nov.1932.

amongst the population.¹⁷¹ According to the government medical officer in Mackay, Dr Stuart Kay, the incidence of tuberculosis was very high amongst Islanders in the district, producing as many cases each year as amongst the rest of the community.¹⁷² In one family, six members were said to have died from tuberculosis.¹⁷³

Pleurisy and pneumonia were also serious illnesses, from which the very young and the very old Islanders especially suffered.¹⁷⁴ Often pleurisy or pneumonia was the actual cause of death for asthmatic bronchial or tubercular persons, and also during influenza epidemics. Influenza was the other serious respiratory disease to which the Islanders were especially vulnerable. The most serious influenza epidemic was the pandemic of 1918-19, popularly known as the 'Spanish 'flu'.

The Spanish 'flu was brought to Australia by soldiers returning from the Great War in 1918-19. Throughout Australia, New Zealand and especially in the Pacific Islands, this extremely virulent form of pneumonic influenza wreaked a heavy toll.¹⁷⁵ But while whole populations were susceptible to infection, not all outbreaks of the disease were of equal severity. This was certainly the case in North Queensland, where the worst

171. MM 10 Sep.1919; QPP T, 1920, p.621; B. Gandevia, Tears Often Shed Child Health and Welfare in Australia from 1788 (Sydney, 1978), pp.89-90. See also Chapter 1.

172. MM 10 Sep.1919. Moreover, the death rate from tuberculosis was higher in North Queensland than in the rest of the State. Breinl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry', p.182.

173. T47Bsa:2; T54Bsa:3. For other cases of tuberculosis amongst the Islanders, see T36Bsa:3; T63Bsa:1; T71Bsa:1; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA; Claude Fraser, Ingham DHAR, 5 Aug.1933; George Palmer, Ingham CR, 24 Oct.1928.

174. For example, see T1Bsb:1; T59Bsa:1; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.328 of 1931, Johnny Lammon, JUS/N927, QSA; Certificate of Death, Charlie Tass, Ecclesiastical File No.3 of 1914, A/16887, QSA; Ronie Booka Booka, Ingham CR, 16 Jul.1923; NOR 3 Oct.1921, p.71; Charles Tallis, Bowen DHAR, 6 Oct.1920; Gladys Addo, Ingham DHAR, 22 Sep.1933.

175. See Cilento, Triumph in the Tropics, p.437; McArthur and Yaxley, Condominium of the New Hebrides, pp.13, 19; D.I. Pool, The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971 (Auckland, 1977), pp.127-28.

outbreak was in Mackay¹⁷⁶ - unfortunately the district with the largest Islander population.

The first wave of Spanish 'flu struck Mackay between May and July of 1919. In June, regulations were gazetted for the isolation of the district: schools were closed and temporary isolation hospitals set up in some of them. By late July the temporary hospitals had been closed; mortality had been relatively light and the epidemic had spread from the city to country areas.¹⁷⁷ This second wave hit the Islander population severely. In August and September 1919, nineteen deaths of Islanders were reported, mainly of elderly and middle-aged men and women. The real total was undoubtedly much higher, since this only represented the deaths of those who had been hospitalised.¹⁷⁸ The epidemic's centre was in the Farleigh area, where large numbers of Islanders were resident.¹⁷⁹ Aborigines in the area were also very severely affected.¹⁸⁰

176. For general descriptions of the epidemic in North Queensland, see OPP II, 1919-20, p.149, I, 1920, p.621; J. Norman, John Oliver North Queensland (Melbourne, n.d.), p.83; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, pp.441-43.

177. NOR 6 Jun., pp.6, 60, 16 Jun.1919, p.15; MM 3 Jun., 16 Jun., 9 Jul., 30 Jul.1919, 16 Apr.1920.

178. NOR 15 Sep.1919, p.36. There were, for instance, no reported deaths of infants or children. Of this nineteen, thirteen were married and eleven had families; in three cases, both parents died and in one of these cases two young children were orphaned. The women ranged in age from twenty-six to seventy and the men from forty to seventy. The sources for this were the Daily Mercury, the cemetery registers for Mackay and Walkerston, oral sources and the church burial registers. Oral sources indicate that at least one other person died. See T37Bsa:1.

179. Solomon Islanders (and especially Malaitans) comprised the great majority of the recorded deaths. They had been resident either in Farleigh or in the surrounding areas of Habana, Wallingford and Nindaroo. For examples, see MM 25 Aug., 1 Sep., 13 Sep., 28 Sep.1919. The epidemic's impact is vividly recalled by interviewees. T1Bsa:1; T12Bsa:1; T33Bsb:1; T37Bsa:1.

180. NOR 11 Aug., p.8, 15 Sep.1919, p.36, 27 Dec.1920, p.31; MM 26 Jun., 18 Aug., 25 Aug.1919.

It was claimed that the Islanders and Aborigines tended to contract the most virulent form of the disease, because they had not been inoculated; yet even today the protection provided by 'flu injections is suspect.¹⁸¹ The real reason for the epidemic's severity became evident, in August, during several inspections by Dr Kay of the homes of affected Islanders at Farleigh. Kay reported that the lack of ventilation and most importantly the Islanders' habit of visiting sick countrymen had contributed to the disease's sudden spread, while their generally poorer health produced more deaths than amongst the European population. The sick were cared for by their relatives or countrymen and no preventive measures were observed. There was also a lack of nourishing food for invalids. Despite their objections, some of the Islanders at Farleigh were taken to hospital.¹⁸²

Other districts suffered under the epidemic, but much less severely. In Bowen, influenza raged in the town and district between June and July, and there were many deaths, especially amongst the Aboriginal population.¹⁸³ Many Islanders were 'flu victims, and at least three elderly and middle-aged Islanders died.¹⁸⁴ Captain John Hof of the Salvation Army cared for his stricken Islander 'comrades' by visiting them and bringing them scented tea.¹⁸⁵ In the Burdekin district, the influenza epidemic also raged during July, and mortality amongst Aborigines was very high. At an isolation hospital set up in the Ayr State School, 'coloured' patients were housed in

181. A free inoculation campaign had been conducted in Mackay on the eve of the epidemic, but few of the Islanders and Aborigines were inoculated. MM 16 May, 17 May, 18 Aug., 27 Aug., 10 Sep.1919; NQR 15 Sep.1919, p.36.

182. MM 10 Sep.1919; NQR 15 Sep.1919, p.36.

183. The influenza regulations were extended to Bowen. BI 25 Jun., 12 Jul., 19 Jul., 22 Jul. 1919; NQR 16 Jun., p.80, 21 Jul. 1919, p.17; T61Bsa:3.

184. BI 12 Jul.1919; War Cry 20 Sep.1919, p.7; Fanny Barney, Bowen CR, 29 Jun.1919; Harry Darr, ibid., 9 Jul.1919; Jemima Wallah, ibid., 15 Jul.1919. According to the Islanders, there were more who died. T60Bsa:3; T61Bsa:3; T62Bsa:2.

185. Hof reported that practically all of his flock were stricken at the same time. War Cry 20 Sep.1919, p.7; BI 25 Jun.1919; T62Bsa:2.

the playsheds which had been covered with hessian.¹⁸⁶ Some of the Islanders were stricken and at least one, and possibly two, died.¹⁸⁷

In the Herbert River district, the epidemic was severe in the town and its immediate vicinity, and mortality was high amongst Aborigines in this area.¹⁸⁸ However, Halifax and Cordelia, where most Islanders lived, were not hard-hit and the Islanders tended to contract only the mild form of influenza. The only known death was that of an elderly Islander who lived near Ingham.¹⁸⁹ In the far north, the influenza epidemic was relatively mild.¹⁹⁰ The heavy death toll occurred, once again, amongst Aborigines.¹⁹¹ Since the Islanders were closely involved with the Aboriginal communities, it is possible that there were Islanders amongst these victims.

Influenza periodically re-visited North Queensland but never again with such severity. In Cairns there was a second outbreak, mainly amongst the 'coloured' population, in January 1920. Both in Mackay and the Herbert River district in late 1933, there was a minor influenza epidemic amongst the Islanders.¹⁹²

186. NOR 14 Jul., p.35, 28 Jul.1919, pp.8, 50; T71Bsa:1.

187. NOR 28 Jul.1919, p.50; T68Bsb:1; T71Bsa:1+2.

188. This district was also closed by regulation. NOR 21 Jul., p.17, 28 Jul., p.19, 4 Aug., pp. 3, 49, 11 Aug., p.78, 25 Aug.1919, p.7.

189. Bob, Ingham CR, 6 Jul.1919; T72Bsb:1; NOR 28 Jul., p.19, 11 Aug.1919, p.78.

190. NOR 16 Jun., p.15, 23 Jun., pp.15, 16, 32, 21 Jul., p.17, 1 Sep., p.76, 22 Sep.1919, p.48; CMP 20 Jun., 8 Jul., 28 Jul.1919.

191. OPP 11, 1920, pp.229, 231-32; CMP 11 Aug., 30 Aug.1919; MM 19 Aug. 1919. I was unable to locate cemetery registers for Cairns for 1919, to check this possibility.

192. See Monthly Returns of Polynesian Provisional School for Jul. and Sep. 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA; Robert Samoa, Ingham DHAR, 28 Oct.1933; Tom Solomon, ibid., 11 Nov.1933; Annie Gosling, ibid., 25 Nov.1933.

Apart from infectious diseases, there was a miscellany of other diseases from which the Islanders suffered.¹⁹³ Amongst the men, there were a few cases of gonorrhoea. In 1933 it was alleged that venereal disease was common amongst Islanders in the Cairns and Innisfail districts, but the presence of large Islander families would tend to discount this.¹⁹⁴ Cases of heart disease (such as myocarditis and pericarditis) and cardiac failure were not uncommon amongst the middle-aged and elderly.¹⁹⁵

While infectious and other diseases were the major cause of sickness and death amongst the Islanders, another important cause was accidents. One common cause of accidents was falls from or kicks by horses, which resulted in concussion, fractures and even death. Snake bites were another perennial hazard, but no fatalities amongst the Islander population have been discovered.¹⁹⁶ There were some cases of accidental drowning: for instance, an Islander woman and two boys were drowned during a record flood in the Herbert River district in 1927.¹⁹⁷

There were a few accidental shootings, sometimes fatal. Dynamiting for fish was a dangerous exercise, in which some Islanders lost limbs or

193. Such as Bright's Disease (nephritis), Hodgkin's Disease (lymphoma), peritonitis, cancer and gall stones. For examples, see Nattoo, Ingham CR, 17 Jul.1908; Frances Lammon, *ibid.*, 24 Feb.1923; Harry Tonga, *ibid.*, 31 Oct.1924; Johnny Veeley, Bowen DHAR, 10 Jun.1927.

194. Jimmy Malacola, *ibid.*, 28 Aug.1914; Tommy Solomon, *ibid.*, 28 Mar. 1928; T41Bsa:3; CMP 13 Apr.1933.

195. There were also two cases of young native-born men dying from heart disease. Alfred Cole, Ayr CR, 5 Nov.1916; MM 24 Feb.1925; PDMR 19 Apr.1910; Harry Arramanga, Halifax CR, 16 Aug.1922; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA.

196. See NOR 15 Jun.1925, p.20, 27 Aug.1928, p.83, 20 Sep.1930, p.30; MM 26 May 1924, 25 Mar.1935; Rody Cassidy, Ingham DHAR, 21 Sep.1930; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.714 of 1940, Eddie Yatta, JUS/N1090, QSA.

197. T69Bsb:3; NOR 21 Feb.1927, pp.86-87. For other cases, see Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.410 of 1938, Harry Pentecost, JUS/N669, QSA; NOR 27 Feb.1928, p.94.

suffered other injuries.¹⁹⁸ Violence, in the form of fights, assaults and attacks, was a more frequent cause of injuries and even death, notably among the Islander men. Yet the incidence of violence amongst the Islanders was certainly not as high as that amongst the general population.¹⁹⁹

The third category of sickness and death concerns the general wearing out of the body. Longevity is related to resistance to infections and accidents, the rate of decay and to some extent biological inheritance. Age at death cannot be quantified for the migrants because of the unreliability in the estimates of their age. As Table 4.5 showed, the migrant population had declined very significantly by 1933. Many, however, lived to a 'good old age': the last of the 'kanakas' died only in the 1960s.²⁰⁰

Certain specific illnesses and degenerative diseases are associated with old age. For instance, the older Islanders suffered from hernias, blindness and rheumatism.²⁰¹ Injuries from accidents could precipitate death amongst the elderly.²⁰² General infirmity and poor health was to be expected, and very often 'infirmity', 'senile decay' or 'senility' was given as the cause of death.²⁰³

198. Evidence of Joseph Sydney, Inquest No.689 of 1938, Maurice Obah, JUS/N1052, QSA; Evidence of Tommy Samuels, Inquest No.710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/N1053, QSA; NOR 8 Nov.1915, p.9; CMP 3 Sep.1912; PDMR 19 Apr.1910.

199. See Breinl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry', p.182. See also Chapter 8.

200. Alick Solomon, Mackay CR, 19 Dec.1963; Peter Santo, Ayr CR, 26 Mar.1966; T63Bsa:l. For examples of longevity, see NOR 20 Jan.1934, p.611(reference supplied by L. Henderson); List of Natives of Pacific Islands in Receipt of Indigence Allowance, 28 Feb.1937, COL/71, QSA.

201. See Charlie Wonam, Bowen DHAR, 27 Nov.1928; Jimmie Halliday, ibid., 8 Nov.1929; Willie Toby, ibid., 24 Jun.1933; John Tanna, Ingham DHAR, 7 Jul.1934; Registrar of Pensions, Halifax, to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar.1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; T49Bsa:l; T59Bsa:l.

202. See Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/N1053, QSA.

203. See NM 22 Oct.1935; Tom Watooon Lammon. Ingham CR, 18 Jan.1922; Tommy Unsen, Bowen DHAR, 7 Jan.1932; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.175 of 1934, Peter Motlop, JUS/N977, QSA.

The fourth and final category is infant and maternal mortality, which is crucial in determining the size of the new generation. Infant mortality is defined as the rate of death of children aged under two years. In North Queensland, infant mortality rates had decreased steadily from the 1880s and compared favourably with those throughout Queensland and in other States.²⁰⁴ The evidence available is too flawed to calculate a rate for infant mortality for the Islander population. Of 286 recorded deaths of Islanders in the Mackay district between 1908 and 1940, 12 per cent were of children aged under two years²⁰⁵, but this probably significantly underestimates infant mortality, since the deaths of children under two often went unrecorded. Evidence suggesting that the infant mortality rate was above the North Queensland average can be found in the fact that it continued to be quite common for one or more children in a family to die in early infancy.²⁰⁶ The living conditions of the Islanders, their large families and low income would have contributed to a high mortality rate. Many new-born infants were stillborn or died shortly after birth.²⁰⁷ Pneumonia was the most common cause of death in children aged under two.²⁰⁸

204. Barrett, 'Tropical Australia', p.66; Breinl, 'A Comparative Statistical Inquiry', pp.183-84; Gandevia, Tears Often Shed, pp.129-32. Infant mortality was still very high in Melanesia. G.B. Wyatt, 'Health in Melanesia', in Winslow (ed.), The Melanesian Environment, p.460.

205. The sources were the cemetery registers, church burial records and the records of the local undertaker, Mackay Funerals. Similar calculations were not performed for other districts because such a full range of sources without gaps was not available.

206. For examples, see Daisy Wake, Bowen DHAR, 6 Aug.1921; Lizzie Womal, ibid., 15 Jan.1938; MM 18 Nov.1926; Peggy Yasserie, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 18 Dec.1925; T47Bsa:2; T56Bsa:1. This was becoming less common amongst European households. Gandevia, Tears Often Shed, p.93.

207. See T61Bsa:1; Geo. Fatnowna, Mackay CR, 25 Apr.1926; Ethel and Edith Youse, ibid., 11 Jan.1937; R. Cole, Ayr CR, 4 Apr.1928.

208. See Raymond Yow Yeh, Bowen DHAR, 12 Dec.1936; Certificate of Particulars. Inquest No.310 of 1936, Carmen Mary Kawoot, JUS/N1011, QSA; Certificate of Particulars, Inquest No.377 of 1938, David Ray Bong, JUS/N1046, QSA.

According to one Islander woman, it was rare for Islander women to miscarry.²⁰⁹ However, the risks of both infant and maternal mortality were increased through children being born at home. Three cases have been found where both Islander women and their young infants died.²¹⁰ As was common in the wider society, local midwives, usually other Islander women, and relatives or friends, assisted at the birth.²¹¹ In the 1930s, Islander women began to attend their local hospitals or nursing homes for parturition; this was no doubt related to an Australia-wide campaign from the 1920s to increase the number of maternity hospitals and wards and thereby reduce maternal and infant mortality.²¹²

Childbirth can impair a woman's health permanently, and with large families this probability increases. Amongst the deaths recorded in the Mackay district, there were twenty-six women or nine per cent who died in the prime of their life (between sixteen and thirty-five years); in contrast, there were only twenty-one men in this age group (or seven per cent) who died, despite the greater risks to life faced by men through their occupations and habits.²¹³

209. T22Bsa:1.

210. See Rosie Manaway, Mackay CR, 1 Sep.1915; George Manaway, *ibid.*, 21 Jul.1916; Edith Fewquandie, *ibid.*, 7 Aug.1930; Edward Fewquandie, *ibid.*, 5 Nov.1930; May Ambertel, *ibid.*, 27 Jul.1932; Thomas Ambertel, *ibid.*, 12 Oct.1932. An Islander woman at Halifax who gave birth at home, was admitted to hospital suffering from sepsis. Rose Elizabeth Garlando, Ingham DHAR, 12 May 1929.

211. See T22Bsa:1; T43Bsa:1; T62Bsa:2; T67Bsa:1; Birth Certificate of Alfred John Yasso, No.97472, 9 Sep.1912, Bowen.

212. K. Daniels and M. Murnane (compilers), Uphill All The Way. A Documentary History of Women in Australia (Brisbane, 1980), pp.90-92; T37Bsa:1; T58Bsb:1; T72Bsa:2; Ruby Yow Yeh, Bowen DHAR, 8 Dec.1932; Elsie Martie, *ibid.*, 5 Sep.1934.

213. For examples from other districts of women who died young, see Ada Boslem, Bowen CR, 15 Aug.1909; Nancy Leo, Ayr CR, 20 Nov.1936; Doris Romelo, ABR, Innisfail, 26 Oct.1929.

In summary, the evidence on sickness and mortality suggests that both adult and infant mortality amongst Pacific Islanders in North Queensland was higher than that amongst the European community, but considerably lower than that in their native islands and also in comparison with mortality on the plantations. The population continued to be susceptible to many of the same diseases which had affected Islanders on the plantations, chiefly dysentery, tuberculosis and influenza. However, as in the European population, death came mainly to the old. It was not usual for young adults to die in the prime of life.

Greater life expectation contributed to the growth of the Islander population in two ways. First, it increased the number of infants and children who survived to adulthood, and secondly it added to the number of fertile years through which women lived.²¹⁴

THIS CHAPTER has presented a picture of the Islander population in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940 - its size, structure, residential dispersion, physical mobility and the chief demographic factors promoting change. At the beginning of this period, predictions were made that this population would rapidly disappear; by its conclusion, it was clear even to Europeans that these prophecies had not been and would not be fulfilled.

Demographic factors have been discussed in terms of marriage, birth and death. These indicate that Pacific Islanders, like most minority groups, did not share the demographic patterns of the wider community.²¹⁵ In Australia this was a period of declining fertility in which the growth

214. The mortality rate declined in this period amongst groups such as the Maoris in New Zealand and Indians in Fiji who were also experiencing population growth. W.D. Borrie, 'Some Economic and Social Implications of Maori Population Growth in New Zealand', The Journal of the Polynesian Society Vol.LXX, No.4, Dec.1961, p.411; M. Mohan, 'Population Problems in Fiji', Race Vol.11, No.2, May 1961, p.72.

215. For parallels, see ibid., pp.72-73; Pool, The Maori Population, pp.197-98.

rate was only maintained by immigration. Pacific Islanders, in contrast, were a closed population whose survival was dependent on a high rate of natural increase. The prerequisites for such an increase were all present: a high degree of inmarriage, a very high rate of marriage and re-marriage, a relatively young age at marriage and a narrow gap in this age between spouses, conception before or soon after marriage for all but the unfecund, the absence of family planning practices, strong social pressure to bear and raise large families, a long child-rearing span and declining mortality and infant mortality rates. By 1940 the population, through the growth of the native-born element, was assured of physical survival. In the final three chapters, the concomitant issues of economic, social and cultural survival are examined. The next two chapters, however, are concerned with the discrimination practised against Pacific Islanders and other non-Europeans, and serve to provide a wider perspective on the attitudes and actions of Europeans towards those non-Europeans who remained in 'White Australia'.

CHAPTER 5

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NON-EUROPEANS IN QUEENSLAND, 1901-14

PACIFIC Islanders who remained in Queensland after 1908 were no longer subject to special legislation governing their activities. Henceforth there was little distinction between them and other non-Europeans, but the distinctions between non-Europeans and Europeans were intensified. In 1906 Premier Kidston had declared that those Islanders exempted from deportation "must be allowed to work for a living in any honest way they choose ...".¹ This chapter, and the next, will demonstrate that the reality over the next three decades was very different. The 'White Australia' policy involved not only closing the doors to non-European immigration but also conserving the advantages of living within the Commonwealth to people of 'our own race'. Non-European residents, as in the nineteenth century, were subjected to numerous legislative restrictions and to various unofficial discriminatory practices. Australia was not unique in this regard; such legislation and practices were present to a greater or lesser degree in virtually every English-speaking country with non-indigenous minorities.²

In this chapter both legislative and non-legislative discriminatory actions against non-Europeans are discussed. First, prohibitive legislation enacted by the Commonwealth and the other States is discussed briefly. Then the discriminatory attitudes and actions of European farmers and unionists are considered. Thirdly, prohibitive legislation placed on the Queensland statute-books is examined. Finally, the Sugar Cultivation Act, the most important piece of discriminatory legislation from the perspective of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland, is looked at more closely, in terms of its conception, administration and critical reception.

1. Kidston to Prime Min., 22 Aug. 1906, A1 15/19391, AA.

2. See Huttenback, Racism and Empire, Ch.5; A.B. Keith, Responsible Government in the Dominions 2nd ed. (rewritten and revised to 1927, Oxford 1928), Vol. II, Ch.4; H.F. MacNair, The Chinese Abroad Their Position and Protection A Study in International Law and Relations (Shanghai, 1933; repr. Taipei, 1971); N. MacKenzie, The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries An international survey of law and practice concerning immigration, naturalization and deportation of aliens and their legal rights and disabilities (London, 1937; repr., New York, 1975).

UNDER the constitution, the Commonwealth's legislative powers were limited, being confined to such areas as foreign affairs, migration, defence, posts, pensions and the settlement of inter-state industrial disputes by arbitration or conciliation. The new Commonwealth Government was well aware that legislation discriminating overtly against non-Europeans was unpalatable to the British Government: while the rights of nationals of China could be ignored, those of British Indians could not, and neither could the feelings of Britain's important ally in the east, Japan.³ At the colonial conference in 1897 Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies, had objected to nominatim discrimination - legislation which imposed disabilities on groups specified by place of origin, race or colour. A solution he proposed by which the colonies could control immigration, was the 'Natal formula' of an educational test. This subterfuge, adopted in the Commonwealth of Australia's Immigration Restriction Acts 1901 to 1905, effectively served the purpose of preventing non-European immigration: any immigrant could be subjected to a dictation test of writing not less than fifty words in any prescribed language.⁴

In Commonwealth statutes affecting residents in Australia, however, the dictation test was not employed (see Appendix D).⁵ Non-Europeans were excluded specifically from such privileges as eligibility for naturalization, voting⁶, invalid and old-age pensions, and the maternity

3. Keith, Responsible Government, Vol.II, pp.809, 813.

4. In the original Act this test was to be taken in a European language, but in 1905 this was amended to any prescribed language, thus at one stroke removing any obvious discrimination while making the operation of the Act even more effective. Huttenback, Racism and Empire, pp.308-9; A.H. Charteris, 'Australian Immigration Laws and their Working', in MacKenzie, The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, pp.21-24.

5. The numbers and titles of Acts are cited in Appendix D.

6. Unless such persons were entitled to vote under Section 41 of the Australian constitution, by which any person eligible to vote at elections for the more numerous house of parliament of a state could not be prevented from voting at elections for either house of parliament of the Commonwealth.

allowance. Only 'white' labour could be employed on mail boats subsidized by the Commonwealth, and only British subjects could be employed on Australian ships registered in Australia or the United Kingdom. Non-Europeans born in the country were natural-born British subjects and were therefore not subject to most of these restrictions. Together with their parents, however, they were specifically exempted from wartime service and peacetime training in the naval and military forces (see Appendix D).

In such prohibitive legislation, the Commonwealth exercised greater moderation than the State governments, who held the undefined residue of power to make laws. As will be seen later in this chapter and also in Chapter 6, the Commonwealth was concerned with the international ramifications of domestic discriminatory policies. All of the States imposed legal restrictions on non-European residents, but without consistency and in different degrees. The Western Australian parliament was especially vigorous in passing measures such as the Factories and Shops Act of 1920, under which an 'Asiatic' could not be registered as the owner or occupier of a factory or be employed there, and all furniture imported or manufactured in the State was to be stamped 'European labour' or 'Asiatic labour'.⁷ But it was Queensland which led the way in such exclusivist measures: according to one observer, Queensland's experience with coloured labour had made her "more fanatically devoted to the White Australia ideal than any other State of the Commonwealth".⁸

BEFORE discussing Queensland's discriminatory legislation, the discriminatory attitudes and actions of North Queensland's farmers and unionists towards non-Europeans need to be considered. In the early twentieth century the region was well advanced towards becoming a community of

7. See Keith, Responsible Government, Vol.II, pp.817-18; Huttenback, Racism and Empire, pp.290-92; Huang Tsen-Ming, The Legal Status of the Chinese Abroad (Taipei, 1954), pp.193-95, 239-44, 267-70; Willard, A History of the White Australia Policy, pp.132-33; J.A. Burke, 'Australia's Laws Against Asiatics', The New York Times Current History Mar.1921, pp.459-60; K.H. Bailey, 'The Legal Position of Foreigners in Australia', in MacKenzie, The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, pp.34-44.

8. Newspaper cutting, J. Edmond, 'White Australia. Racial and Economic Evils. The Asiatic Danger No.1', encl. in A1 08/11532, AA.

farmers, principally cane growers. Two important exceptions were the Atherton Tableland (maize and dairying) and the Bowen district (fruit and vegetable growing).⁹ Local farmers' associations remained strong, but a new organization formed in Townsville in 1907, the Australian Sugar Producers' Association (ASPA), took a prominent role in matters relating to the sugar industry.¹⁰

Prominent Chinese farmers, such as See Chin in Cairns and Ching Do in the Burdekin, were members of the local farmers' associations. In 1927 a Melanesian farmer, Willy Api, was present at a meeting of the Mossman Cane Suppliers' Association and was nominated (unsuccessfully) as a delegate to attend a conference in Innisfail.¹¹ But in other districts non-Europeans were ineligible for membership of such associations. In Bowen in 1907 the Pastoral, Agricultural and Mining Association decided that 'coloured aliens' should not be eligible for membership. In February 1914 in Mackay, some non-European farmers applied to join the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association. A motion to allow them to do so was carried by a large majority, after an amendment to establish a separate branch for 'coloured' growers, was not seconded.¹² But at the executive's next monthly meeting, it was reported that this decision had not been endorsed by the branches, and a resolution to rescind the motion was strongly supported.¹³ The issue was raised again in September 1918, when

9. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.299, 300, 303.

10. Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.43.

11. NQR 17 Jan.1927, p.72.

12. PDT 15 Jan., 2 Feb.1907; MM 16 Feb.1914. In 1906 at least three Islander farmers in the district had received printed circulars from the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association inviting them to join, but it would seem that this was an oversight. MM 1 May 1906, Pacific Islanders Association meeting.

13. I found no evidence of a vote being taken on the motion to rescind the resolution at this meeting or the next monthly meeting. MM 16 Mar., 17 Mar., 1 May 1914.

the question of extending membership to Pacific Islanders and Malays was discussed, but apparently no decision was reached before the Association disbanded early in the following year.¹⁴

Opposition to Chinese and Islander farmers was particularly vocal in Bowen, probably because this was a district of small farmers who had never relied on non-European labour.¹⁵ Objections were taken to such farmers on two principal grounds. First, it was claimed that they endangered Bowen's reputation, by growing their produce under insanitary conditions, by packing it carelessly, and by sending away inferior quality fruit and vegetables. No convincing evidence was presented to corroborate these charges.¹⁶ Secondly, it was argued that non-Europeans competed unfairly with European farmers, whose standard of living, if they were to rear their families respectably, was much higher: "the white farmer cannot live down to the Chinese or Kanaka farmer's level." Such an argument was by no means confined to Bowen.¹⁷

In requests to local members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and deputations to visiting Government ministers, Bowen farmers repeatedly called for severe restrictions on non-European farmers, such as legislation to prevent the leasing of land to 'coloured aliens' or to provide that their produce be marked 'alien grown'.¹⁸ In other districts, hostility

14. MM 16 Sep.1918, 24 Feb., 26 Mar.1919.

15. In contrast, the Chinese in the Cairns district were tolerated by the Europeans, who left the heavy work of clearing the land to them. C. May, 'Chinese-European Relations in Cairns during the Eighteen Nineties', Lectures on North Queensland History, Third series, p.158.

16. See PDT 13 May 1905, 2 May 1907; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Colonial Sec., 1 Jun.1905, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; BI 7 Oct., 18 Oct., 8 Nov.1913; NQR 5 Apr.1915, p.15.

17. PDT 2 May 1905. For similar assertions, see P. Dunworth, Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association, 20 Mar.1914, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; A. Smith, Bowen Farmers' Association, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 22 Sep.1913, 4G, AGS/N96, QSA; BI 18 Oct.1913; NQR 20 Jul.1925, p.97.

18. See PDT 25 Apr., 2 May 1905, 5 Jan., 27 Aug.1907; Under Sec. of Agriculture to Under Colonial Sec., 1 Jun.1905, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; BI 15 Nov.1913; NQR 8 Dec.1913, p.66.

to non-European farmers was similarly evident, if less sustained. For instance, Chinese and Indian leaseholders on the Atherton Tableland were strongly resented, and European cane growers at Hambleton near Cairns were antagonistic to the policy of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), of increasing the number of Chinese growers for the mill.¹⁹

Attitudes to non-European labour, especially amongst small cane farmers, had begun to change by the second decade of the twentieth century. Many farmers, particularly large growers north of Ingham, had sought to retain the services of Pacific Islanders for as long as possible. Asians often took the Islanders' place: in 1905, according to Dr Walter Maxwell, director of Queensland Sugar Experiment Stations, there were some 5,600 Asians in North Queensland, 4,000 of whom were living north of Townsville. By 1910 92.8 per cent of Queensland sugar cane was grown and harvested by European labour, but in the districts from Ingham to Mossman this was reduced to 82.5 per cent.²⁰

Several factors assisted the gradual changeover to a European workforce.²¹ Misgivings about the quantity and quality of European sugar workers were reduced as the proportion of cane grown and harvested by such labour steadily increased.²² The slump in the North Queensland mining industry in this period forced many miners to take seasonal work in the coastal sugar districts. Better working conditions were promoted by the Shearers' and Sugar Workers' Accommodation Act of 1905, which specified minimum standards of diet and accommodation, and by the fixing of minimum wages for field labourers by the Commonwealth Government in 1907.²³

19. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.301; May, 'The Chinese Community', p.33. For other examples, see CPP IV, 1913, p.1517, R.O. Powell; Drysdale to Lower Burdekin Farmers' Association, 23 Mar.1910, Pioneer Mill Letter Book, 1909-10, p.172.

20. Birch, 'The Implementation of the White Australia Policy', p.203; Maxwell to Prime Min., 22 Jun.1905, 00992, PRE/84, QSA; Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.88, 92, Table II.

21. Ibid., pp.86-87, 91.

22. See MM 11 Jan., 4 Feb., 16 Aug.1902; CMP 24 Jan., 28 Apr.1900; Report on the Operations of the White Cane-Cutters at Mossman during the 1902 season (Port Douglas, 1903), p.7.

23. 5 Edw. VII, No.9. The rates were fixed at 22s.6d. per week and found in the slack and 25s. per week and found in the crushing season.

Such improvements lessened the psychological dislike for 'nigger's work', a prejudice deriving more from the presence of a 'coloured' workforce than from the actual work. The incentive to employ European labour was maintained by the extension in 1905, and increase in 1906, of the bounty and excise on sugar: the excise on Australian-produced sugar was raised to £4 per ton and the bounty (or refund) on sugar manufactured from cane grown and harvested solely by Europeans was increased to £4 per ton; the protective duty on sugar imports was maintained.²⁴

The emergence of a satisfactory European labour force was not the only reason behind the willingness of most cane farmers to employ Europeans. They recognized that the Commonwealth had provided fiscal protection for the sugar industry only in order that more highly paid 'white' labour would become its mainstay, and tropical settlement in Australia would be assured. If non-Europeans represented a significant proportion of sugar workers, the southern States might seek the withdrawal of financial protection.²⁵ With such pragmatic reasons for supporting European labour, it is not surprising to find that most small farmers in the 1910s were opposed to the continuation of 'coloured' labour in the sugar industry.²⁶ In 1910 the ASPA at its annual conference unanimously resolved to press for legislation to prohibit non-Europeans from participating in the sugar industry as growers or employees, and petitioned the prime minister accordingly. Again in 1913 the ASPA called for such legislation, and the platform of the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association contained a similar proposal.²⁷ But the large companies did not support this policy:

24. These increases had been recommended by Maxwell. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', p.91.

25. As was recognized. See QPD CXIV, 1913, p.522, Gillies; CMP 4 Dec.1913, letter to Ed. by 'A Sugar Worker'; MM 29 Oct.1913, letter to Ed. by P. Kirwan; QGG CII, 1914, p.1583; Groom to White, 12 Feb.1914, 66G, AGS/N96, QSA.

26. See QPD CXIV, 1913, p.307, E. Swayne; ASJ VI, 9 Apr.1914, p.10; CPP IV, 1913, p.1258, A.J. Draper, p.1361, C.E. Jodrell, p.1497, A.J. Gibson.

27. ASJ V, 7 Nov.1912, p.545; BC 8 Dec.1913; MM 15 Apr.1913; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.189, W.H. Doherty. The ASPA had obtained legal advice as to the constitutionality of excluding non-Europeans from the sugar industry. ASJ VII, 12 Aug.1915, p.316, XI, 12 Jun.1919, p.183.

since 1911, CSR had had a policy of giving preference to Europeans, yet the Company was still a major employer of non-Europeans, especially in its five northern mills and on the construction of tramways. Non-Europeans were hard-working and tractable, performed work Europeans found distasteful and, moreover, could be used as strike-breakers.²⁸

The trade union movement was unequivocally opposed to the employment of non-Europeans. In the sugar industry the growth of unionisation was concomitant with the transition to a European workforce. Sugar workers' unions, formed initially in Mackay and Cairns in 1905, had united in 1907 in a loose confederation, the Australian Sugar Workers' Union. But their influence numerically and otherwise remained weak until they amalgamated in 1910 with the Amalgamated Workers' Association - 'the fighting A.W.A.' of Edward Theodore and William McCormack. The union's successful management of the 1911 sugar workers' strike ensured its growth and inaugurated a new deal for European sugar workers.²⁹ In 1913 the Amalgamated Workers' Association and the AWU united to form a new and stronger AWU.

To many European sugar workers, it appeared that the farmers were attempting to treat them as they had their 'kanakas'. The fight for better conditions and wages was thus integrally linked with the fight against the employment of non-Europeans; as the Europeans' numerical dominance consolidated, so also did their opposition harden to the residue of 'coloured' labour.³⁰ The Mackay Sugar Workers' Union had from its

28. CPP IV, 1913, p.1272, B.R. Riley; Aliens, handwritten note, 142/3479, RSSS-ANUA; Knox to Forrest, 12 Jun.1913, p.155, 142/1058, RSSS-ANUA; K. Saunders, 'Masters and Servants: The Queensland Sugar Workers' Strike 1911', in Curthoys and Markus (eds), Who Are Our Enemies?, pp.103-4. For other examples of non-Europeans employed in private mills, see QPD XCIII, 1904, p.869; CPP IV, 1913, pp.1345, 1389, 1426, 1470, 1571; CMP 21 Mar.1914, evidence given to Industrial Court; MM 29 May 1919, evidence given to Industrial Court; QPP III, 1916-17, p.908.

29. Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.89, 93; V.G. Childe, How Labour Governs. A Study of Workers' Representation in Australia (London, 1923), p.128; Worker. The Golden Jubilee of 'The Worker' Australia's Pioneer Co-operative Labor Journal Souvenir Number 1890-1940 (Brisbane, 1940), p.36.

30. See MM 24 Nov.1903, letter to Ed. by S. Hanley; White Labour Conference held at Townsville, Monday February 20th, 1905, p.4; PDI 22 Jan. 1907; QPD CVIII, 1911-12, p.75, CXTV, 1913, pp.289, 523; D.G. Thatcher, The Master-Servant Relationship in Queensland 1860-1890 (B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, (penultimate year), 1960), p.49; Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', pp.90-91, 93-95.

inception demanded the employment of 'white' labour only, and this was also a plank in the Amalgamated Workers' Association's platform. Membership in the Australian Sugar Workers' Union was denied to "Asiatics, South Sea Islanders, Kaffirs, Chinese or other coloured aliens", and all 'coloured aliens', with the exception of Maoris and American Negroes, were debarred from joining the AWU and the Amalgamated Workers' Association.³¹

Having prevented non-Europeans from joining, the unions then engaged in the circular argument of decrying 'coloured' labourers as potential strike-breakers. The Cairns branch of the Waterside Workers Federation, which banned its members from working with non-unionist Asian seamen, rejected an application for membership from an Indian in 1908. In the 1911 sugar strike, there were both non-European and European strike-breakers; the employment of the former by CSR was an especial source of irritation. Yet in Mossman, a group of Pacific Islanders who had gone out with the Europeans were denied entry to the strike camp.³²

Such contradictions mostly went unchallenged. One exception was M.P. Hynes, an AWU organizer for Mackay who in 1919 favoured including 'coloured aliens' in the union in order to protect them against farmers who exploited their ignorance.³³ The definition of a 'coloured alien' was imprecise: usually Maoris and sometimes Aborigines and American Negroes were not included. At the annual conference of the AWA in 1909, it was

31. Hunt, *A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland*, p.71; *Amalgamated Workers' Association of Queensland, Official Report. Inaugural Conference, Townsville, December 5 to 12, 1910* (Brisbane, 1911), p.3; Kennedy, *The Public Life of William McCormack*, p.28 n5, p.400; Childe, *How Labour Governs*, p.129. By comparison, American Negroes were generally excluded from trade unions in the USA until the mid-1930s. E.F. Bacon, 'Race Relations in an Industrial Society', *Race The Journal of the Institute of Race Relations* Vol.IV, No.2, May 1963, p.32.

32. Hunt, *A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland*, p.105; *QPD* CXIV, 1913, p.289; Saunders, 'Masters and Servants', pp.103-4, 105; *NQR* 22 Sep.1913, p.56.

33. *MM* 29 May 1919, evidence given to Industrial Court. In Darwin in 1921 the president of the Northern Australian Industrial Union was criticized for issuing a ticket to a Malay laundryman who had given valuable assistance in an earlier strike. *NQR* 21 Nov.1921, p.53.

discovered that some branches had rejected Syrians as members: unable to agree on a uniform policy, the conference left the decision to individual branches.³⁴

Outside the sugar industry, agitation against the employment of non-Europeans was also one of the first collective actions taken by unionists. Publicans who employed Asians as cooks or domestics faced hostility and even boycotts by members of local unions. In 1909, for example, the conference of the Australian Sugar Workers' Union resolved that branches should take action against the employment of 'aliens' in hotels and other businesses, while at the AWU conference, members were encouraged to give preference to business places employing Europeans only.³⁵

THE NEAR-CONSENSUS against non-European residents was also reflected in the debates and legislation of the lower house of the Queensland parliament (see Appendix E). Discrimination against non-Europeans was not a departure, and as in the nineteenth century the withholding of royal assent was the only obstacle.³⁶ Anticipating protests from Asian powers such as Japan, the British Government was reluctant to countenance legislation containing disqualifications based on race, colour or country of origin (nominatim discrimination). Royal assent was not given to the Sugar Works Guarantee Bill of 1900, since clause 5 specifically prohibited the employment in such works of Asians, Africans and Pacific Islanders. The offending clause was withdrawn in the Sugar Works Guarantee Act of 1908, although other overtly discriminatory legislation already on the statute books was not repealed.³⁷

34. Hunt, *A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland*, p.73.

35. See Ibid., pp.72-73; Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', p.94; W 6 Feb., 20 Feb.1909, 9 Sep.1915; North Queensland Herald 13 Feb.1909, p.47; NQR 10 Dec.1913, p.112; CMP 29 Aug.1913; New Pioneer 11 Jan.1913 (reference supplied by D. Hunt).

36. Markus, Fear and Hatred, pp.73, 140. See also Chapter 1. The numbers of Acts cited in the text are given in Appendix E.

37. O'Sullivan to Premier, 11 Dec.1911. 11129, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; QPD LXXXVIII, 1900, 2347; Huttenback, Racism and Empire, pp.292-93.

The Agricultural Bank Act Amendment Act of 1904 similarly refused any advance under the Act to an aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands, but on the advice of Alfred Lyttelton, the secretary of state for the colonies, this was amended in 1905 to a general prohibition on advances to any 'aliens'.³⁸

In other discriminatory legislation the Queensland Government took the Commonwealth's lead in employing the more acceptable restriction of the educational test.³⁹ In the Dairy Produce Act of 1904 and the Margarine Act of 1910, employment was refused to any person who was not of European descent nor an Aboriginal of Australia, unless he had first obtained a certificate of being able to read and write from dictation words in the English language. In most subsequent legislation, for example the Land Act of 1910 and the Agricultural Bank Act Amendment Act of 1911, this requirement of first passing the dictation test was extended to all 'aliens', and the dictation test could be given in any prescribed language. In an additional refinement adopted in 1912, which had been suggested earlier by the secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Elgin, a provision was inserted empowering the Governor-in-Council to make regulations for the automatic exemption of any persons or classes of persons (that is, Europeans) whom it was not considered necessary to examine.⁴⁰ Certain earlier statutes were amended to include this provision and it was incorporated in subsequent legislation.⁴¹ In this way a

38. Morgan to Nelson, 18 May 1905, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Nelson to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 22 May 1905, Despatch No.33, Bundle 28 1/969, CP 78/1, AA.

39. The British Government had advised this. Chamberlain to Gov. of Qld, 14 May 1901, quoted in O'Sullivan to Premier 11 Dec.1911, 11129, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA. The necessity for adopting this approach was recognised by many MLAs. QPD CLX, 1911-12, p.2106, CX, 1911-12, p.2527, CXIV, 1913, p.284.

40. Elgin to Gov. of Qld, quoted in O'Sullivan to Premier, 11 Dec.1911, 11129, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Bailey, 'The Legal Position of Foreigners in Australia', p.42.

41. Such as the Local Authorities Act Amendment Act of 1910, the Sugar Works Guarantee Act Amendment Act of 1911, the Leases to Aliens Restriction Act of 1912, the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 and the Pearl-Shell and Bêche-de-Mer Fishery Acts Amendment Act of 1913. See Appendix E.

standard clause was evolved, which met the requirements of both the British and Queensland Governments.⁴²

Between 1900 and 1940 there were at least forty pieces of legislation discriminating against non-Europeans on the Queensland statute-books (see Appendix E). Restrictions on civic rights such as voting and occupational restraints in areas such as mining and railway construction had been carried over from the nineteenth century. The new spheres of discrimination were principally in agricultural pursuits, the manufacture of agricultural products and government assistance to farmers and agricultural workers. By 1914, non-Europeans (usually but not always including the native-born) were excluded totally, or unless they obtained certificates by passing a dictation test, from such activities as owning land or leasing over five acres, fishing for pearl-shell or bêche-de-mer, securing advances from the Agricultural Bank or the Government Savings Bank, or working in any margarine or butter factory, sugar works or tramway or omnibus service of a local authority. Since Queensland was less industrialized than most of the other States, it was the engagement of non-Europeans in agricultural rather than industrial pursuits which attracted most attention.

Pacific Islanders, both migrant and native-born, were also subjected to some of the restrictions imposed on Aborigines. Under Section 71 of the Liquor Act of 1912, it was an offence to supply alcohol to Pacific Islanders (including those born in Queensland) as well as to Aborigines. Under the Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897, those with Aboriginal mothers and Pacific Islander fathers could be brought under the repressive controls of this legislation and its later amendments.⁴³ For instance, under the amending Act in 1901, women required the chief protector of Aborigines' permission to marry non-Aboriginal men;

42. As recognized in the Legislative Assembly. See QPD CVI, 1910, p.1514, CVII, 1910, p.2315, CX, 1911-12, pp.2773, 2776.

43. s.3. See Appendix E. For a discussion of the harsh discrimination imposed by such legislation, see Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia, pp.13-14, 21-23.

some women of Islander descent were refused such permission.⁴⁴ In 1933 Cilento, a leading health expert, submitted a report to the home secretary on Aboriginal health in North Queensland, which recommended that 'coloured' persons such as Pacific Islanders who lived under 'native' conditions or in circumstances detrimental to community health, should be brought under the control of the chief protector of Aborigines. Accordingly, the Act was amended in 1934 to include under the definition of a 'half-caste' any person of Pacific Islander descent who lived or associated with Aborigines or was in the chief protector's opinion in need of control or the protection of the Act.⁴⁵ Those most affected by this legislation would have been Islanders in the far north, who were closely associated with and often married to Aborigines, together with their offspring.

The imposition of restrictions on non-Europeans was not a partisan issue and was rarely opposed. But the Parliamentary Labor Party was instrumental in moving the inclusion of discriminatory clauses in a number of bills before the Assembly, and was always ready to charge its political opponents with insufficient commitment to the 'White Australia' ideal.⁴⁶ Only a few non-Labor MLAs protested ineffectually against such discriminatory measures, claiming they were unjust.⁴⁷

There were two principal areas of curtailment of the activities of non-Europeans by the Queensland legislature. The first of these concerned the right to own or to lease land. Under the Aliens Act of 1867, only 'aliens' with certificates of naturalization could hold real property, while under the Commonwealth's Naturalization Act of 1903 no aboriginal of

44. 2 Edw. VII, No.1, s.9; Robert John Sikkema and Millie Mow, MMR, Cairns, 4 Dec.1926; Charles Ah Kee and Elizabeth Mow, *ibid.*, 22 Dec.1927.

45. BC 13 Apr.1933; Q 20 Apr.1933, p.3; Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia, pp.4, 28; s.4 (see Appendix E). Pacific Islanders in the Torres Strait thus were also brought under the Act's control. J.R. Beckett, *Politics in the Torres Strait Islands* (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1963), pp.93, 95.

46. See QPD CVI, 1910, p.1964, CVII, 1910, pp.1514, 2315, 2934, CIX, 1911-12, pp.2106-7.

47. See *ibid.*, CX, 1911-12, pp.2527, 2531, 2532, 2538.

Africa, Asia or the Pacific Islands could apply for naturalization (see Appendices D and E). In 1907 additional regulations issued under the Land Act of 1897 stipulated that any 'alien' desiring to select or acquire land must first obtain a certificate of having passed a dictation test. The Land Act of 1910 disqualified any 'alien' without such a certificate, from leasing crown land.⁴⁸

Private individuals, however, could lease land to whom they pleased. In the first decade of the new century, there was considerable agitation, principally from farmers, and especially from Bowen farmers, to prevent the leasing of land to 'coloured aliens'.⁴⁹ In the Legislative Assembly there were several attempts by private members to have legislation introduced to prohibit the leasing of land by private owners to non-Europeans.⁵⁰ Although a draft bill for this purpose was prepared in 1905⁵¹, it was not until 1912 that legislation was enacted: the Leases to Aliens Restriction Act of 1912 prohibited the granting of leases of five or more acres to 'aliens' who had not first passed the dictation test.⁵² But this Act was not enforced strictly.⁵³

The other area in which the presence of non-Europeans was considered most dangerous, was in the sugar industry. As shown, the ASPA, most cane growers' associations and the AWU agreed on the need for their exclusion. In the Legislative Assembly many members, especially Labor men, expressed

48. QGG XXXVIII, 1907, p.465; ss. 59, 62.

49. See, for example, White Labour Conference, 1905, pp.3, 8; Mann to Kidston, 27 Feb.1908, 01633, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Blair to Premier, 14 Jun.1905, 03168, ibid.; QPD XCIII, 1904, pp.904, 962; MM 2 Mar.1905; CMP 22 Aug.1906; PDT 13 May 1905, 27 Aug.1907.

50. See QPD LXXXV, 1900, p.1538, LXXXVI, 1900, p.2617, LXXXVIII, 1901, p.2677, XCIII, 1904, pp.159, 161, XCLX, 1907, p.498; PDT 5 Jan., 27 Aug.1907.

51. Blair to Premier, 14 Jun.1905, 03168, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

52. ss.3(a), (2), (3). Under Section 5, this was not applicable to any lease or agreement made before 1 December 1911. An amendment to reduce the area which might be leased without a certificate from five to three acres, was only narrowly defeated. QPD CX, 1911-12, p.2539.

53. This is made evident in Chapter 7 by the number of Islanders leasing land after 1912, of whom many if not most would not have been farming under leases or agreements made after 1 December 1911.

similar sentiments.⁵⁴ In the Local Authorities Act Amendment Act of 1910, a clause prohibited the employment of 'aliens', unless they had first passed a dictation test, in the construction, maintenance or working of any tramway or omnibus service of a local authority. This was designed to prevent CSR from employing 'alien' labour on tramways in the sugar districts. In 1911 a clause added to the Sugar Works Guarantee Act Amendment Act prevented the purchase of cane from 'aliens' who had not first passed the dictation test.⁵⁵

By virtue of the excise and bounty legislation, however, effective control of the sugar industry was vested in the Commonwealth. Certain conditions would have to be met before the excise and bounty were removed and control transferred back to the state. Maxwell in his final report in 1910 had warned that the abolition of the excise and bounty would result in a reversion to 'coloured' labour, and that legislation to prevent the production of sugar by non-Europeans would be necessary to complete the Commonwealth's purpose of placing the industry on a 'white' basis.⁵⁶ In 1911 a royal commission was appointed by the Commonwealth Government to inquire into the state of the sugar industry. Its report, finally presented on 2 December 1912, endorsed Maxwell's suggestion by recommending:

that the bounty and excise be abolished provided that the Commonwealth government, by co-operation with the States or otherwise, take whatever steps may be necessary to promote the white labour policy and to ensure the maintenance of a living wage generally.⁵⁷

By then, the Labor Government of Andrew Fisher had already announced its intention to repeal the Sugar Excise and Bounty Acts on the condition

54. See QPD XCIII, 1904, p.869, XCIX, 1907, p.468, CIII, 1909, p.32, CV, 1910, p.21, CX, 1911-12, p.2531.

55. s.137; QPD CIX, 1911-12, p.2106; s.9 (4).

56. CPP III, 1912, pp.1023, 1030. See also Birch, 'The Implementation of the White Australia Policy', pp.208-9.

57. CPP III, 1912, pp.1052, 1070. Many witnesses suggested the same. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1240, F.W. Martyn, p.1371, R. Brett, p.1537, R. Adams, p.1658, H.T. Easterby.

that a European labour force was retained in the sugar industry. In Queensland the Liberal Government of Digby Denham was offered the choice of empowering the Commonwealth to legislate to prevent the employment of 'coloured aliens' and to regulate wages and conditions of labour in the sugar industry, or of enacting these measures itself. Denham predictably chose the latter and his decision was warmly received in Queensland.⁵⁸

In fulfillment of the first part of Fisher's requirements, the Sugar Cultivation Bill was introduced in the Queensland Legislative Assembly in June 1913. During the recess, the ASPA and local growers' associations such as the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association had stressed the urgent need for this legislation.⁵⁹ The bill passed all stages easily, although the Labor Opposition argued that there were more effective means of securing the abolition of 'coloured' labour in the sugar industry.⁶⁰ T.J. Ryan, MLA for Barcoo, successfully moved an amendment to clause 8 to remove the provision that proceedings against the Act could only be instituted at the direction of the attorney-general, solicitor-general or minister for justice, but the original clause was reinstated by the Legislative Council.⁶¹ Some Liberal MLAs, such as Philp, Denham and John White, expressed concern that non-Europeans now employed in the industry should not be unjustly treated, but it is debatable whether their protests were motivated by humanitarian feelings or by more self-interested considerations.⁶²

58. QPD CXIII, 1912, p.2996; QPP III, 1912, p.401; Denham to Fisher, 5 Sep.1912, A2 1916/279, Part I, AA; Denham to Fisher, 6 Jan.1913, ibid. For public reaction, see MM 12 Sep., 11 Nov.1912; BC 11 Sep., 11 Oct.1912; Q 16 Nov.1912, p.38; CMP 6 Jan.1913; ASJ V, 5 Jun.1913, p.137.

59. BC 8 Dec.1913; MM 10 Mar.1913; NQR 10 Mar.1913, p.106.

60. For example, through the establishment of sugar cane prices boards with the power to fix the price of cane. QPD CXIV, 1913, pp.285, 286.

61. Ibid., pp.296, 519, 539.

62. Ibid., pp.292-93, 295, 521.

After Denham's compact with Fisher, the secretary of state for the colonies, L. Harcourt, had reminded the governor of Queensland, Sir William MacGregor, of British objections to the imposition of discrimination nominatim.⁶³ The Sugar Cultivation Bill prevented such criticism by making it unlawful for any person who had not first passed a dictation test to engage in or carry on the cultivation or manufacture of sugar cane in Queensland. The Governor-in-Council was empowered to make regulations for the exemption of persons and classes of persons whom it was not deemed necessary to bring under the operation of the Act. Even so, royal assent was delayed slightly, being finally received on 29 July 1913.⁶⁴

In general the Act, particularly in the sugar towns, was received favourably.⁶⁵ But the Brisbane Labor newspaper, the Worker, considered that the bill left open a back door through which 'coloured' labourers could be smuggled in. Nor was the Brisbane Courier enthusiastic, arguing that when non-Europeans were pushed out of the sugar industry they would merely enter other industries. Bowen farmers shared these feelings, protesting that those who were driven out of sugar would compete with farmers (such as themselves) in other branches of agriculture.⁶⁶

In contrast, CSR was concerned that the Act would disrupt their operations, since there were sixty-seven non-Europeans working in their five northern mills. The general manager, E.W. Knox, had believed the bill would be blocked by the Legislative Council or else would not receive royal assent. However, he had arranged for CSR's views to be put to Denham through a third party, including his concern that a Labor Government could

63. Harcourt to MacGregor, 6 Dec.1912, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA. See also Denham to MacGregor, 9 Jan.1913, ibid.

64. See Denham to Prime Min., 18 Jul.1913, A2 1916/279, Part 1, AA; Harcourt to Gov. of Qld., 23 Oct.1913, Qld. No.116, CP 78/22, 28/1912, AA.

65. See NOR 26 May 1913, p.7; MM 26 Jun., 26 Jul.1913; CMP 10 Jul., 17 Oct.1913; Q 28 Jun., p.3, 25 Oct.1913, p.39; PDNR 3 Jun., 15 Jul., 12 Aug. 1913.

66. W 24 Jul.1913; BC 27 Jun.1913; BI 8 Jul., 7 Oct., 18 Oct.1913; A. Smith, Bowen Farmers' Association, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 22 Sep.1913, 4G, AGS/N96, QSA.

use such legislation to prevent the employment of non-Britishers (such as Italians).⁶⁷

There were immediate but cautious reactions from countries concerned for the welfare of their nationals - India, Japan and China. Pacific Islanders, together with the Malays, Cinghalese and Javanese, had no diplomatic protests made on their behalf. The Government of India was satisfied with the absence of overt discrimination and the assurance of tact and consideration in the Act's administration. After protracted correspondence between August and December 1913 with the Queensland Government, the acting Japanese consul-general was confident that Japanese would receive preferential treatment. The acting Chinese consul-general forwarded, with his endorsement, a petition from eleven Chinese cane growers in North Queensland, appealing for a reasonable period of time to realize their holdings.⁶⁸

AS DENHAM unambiguously stated, the object of the Sugar Cultivation Act was "to restrict work in the field and in the mill to white labour".⁶⁹ But the operation of the Act would depend upon the regulations framed by the Governor-in-Council. The British Government in not exercising its power of disallowance had acted in the belief that the Act would be administered "in a generous spirit"; this advice was heeded by Denham and, more significantly, by White, empowered as minister for agriculture to decide on applications for exemption under the Act.⁷⁰

67. The third parties employed were G.H. Pritchard, secretary of the ASPA, and E.B. Forrest, member of the Legislative Council. Knox to Manager, 29 May 1913, pp.122-23, 142/1058, RSSS-ANUA; Knox to Forrest, 7 Jun., 12 Jun.1913, pp.140-41, pp.154-55, ibid; Knox to Manager, 14 Jul.1914, p.193, 142/1059, RSSS-ANUA.

68. Harding of Penshurst et al to Sec. of State for India, 2 Oct.1913, Despatch No.65 of 1913, forw. to MacGregor, 02136, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Actg Japanese Consul-General to Denham, 11 Aug.1913, 07818, 2 Oct.1913, 09223, 17 Oct.1913, 09601, ibid.; Notes of an interview between the Japanese Consul-General and the Actg Chief Sec., 9 May 1914, ibid.; Actg Chinese Consul-General to Denham, 16 Sep.1913, ibid.

69. QPD CXIV, 1913, p.287.

70. Harcourt to MacGregor, 23 Oct.1913, Despatch No.116, A1 14/3421, AA; Denham to White, 30 Jul.1913, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; CMP 4 May 1914.

The regulations were proclaimed on 16 October 1913.⁷¹ Persons of European descent were automatically exempted from the Act's operation.⁷² A certificate of exemption could also be granted without examination to any person not otherwise entitled to exemption, on the grounds of treaties between his country and the United Kingdom, long residence within Queensland, the presence of a lawful wife and/or family domiciled in Queensland, or any other circumstances satisfactory to the minister for agriculture. Applications for exemption on these grounds were to be made to a clerk of petty sessions, and were to include a statutory declaration witnessed by a justice of the peace who personally knew the applicant. Certificates of exemption would be fingerprinted by the applicant at the time of issue, and the duplicate copy returned to the Department of Agriculture. Those who had planted cane could apply for certificates of authority to cultivate and harvest the crop for an interval of up to three years. Any other person cultivating sugar cane on his own behalf, or employed in the cultivation or manufacture of sugar, could be exempted only by first successfully passing the dictation test. The clerks of petty sessions would conduct these examinations, consisting of the transcribing from oral dictation of between 50 and 150 words in a language selected by the minister.

The Act was to be rushed into operation at the end of the current harvesting season.⁷³ A comprehensive picture of the State's non-indigenous, non-European population was required. Accordingly, the police commissioner at Denham's request had already obtained detailed information from police

71. QGG LI, 1913, pp.989-92.

72. Under Section 3, the Act and Regulations did not apply to all native-born residents of Australia who were of European descent, all residents of Australia who were of European parentage or descended from any resident of North America other than American Indians, Negroes or Asiatics, and subjects of the Kingdom of Italy and Empire of Russia and citizens of the Republic of Colombia.

73. See Denham to White, 30 Jul.1913, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

officers of 'coloured' residents in their districts.⁷⁴ In August the managers of sugar mills were asked by the Department of Agriculture to forward information on the numbers of 'coloured' freeholders, leaseholders, and employees in the mills, fields or tramways.⁷⁵

Such foresight and planning were not characteristic of the Act's subsequent administration, in which ad hoc expediency was the governing principle. Under an additional regulation proclaimed on 29 November, the closing date for applications without examination was 31 December 1913. Advertisements to this effect were inserted in appropriate newspapers and the clerks of petty sessions were instructed to draw the attention of those concerned to the regulations.⁷⁶ The burden placed on these men in administering the Act locally was apparently not anticipated: they were charged with registering and forwarding all the applications for exemption, obtaining affidavits as to the nature of the applicants' employment in 1913, fingerprinting and issuing certificates, returning the duplicates, conducting dictation tests and issuing certificates to successful candidates.⁷⁷ Occasionally they were not even supplied with such essentials as the different application forms.⁷⁸

74. This information had been collected between March and July in the twelve police districts. Under Chief Sec. to Police Commissioner, 04793, MI073, POL/J37, QSA; Police Commissioner to Insp. of Police, 3 Mar.1913, Circular No.76, Confidential, ibid.

75. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Managers of Sugar Mills, 8 Aug.1913, Circular letter, 161G, AGS/N359, QSA.

76. QGC LI, 1913, p.1521; Scrivens to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 2 Dec.1913, Circular letter, 161G, AGS/N359, QSA; CMP 1 Dec.1913; MM 14 Nov., 28 Nov.1913.

77. Not only the clerks of petty sessions but also White found it a very trying business. NOR 2 Mar.1914, p.15, CMP 4 May 1914; Cooney to Scrivens, 13 Jun.1914, 130C, AGS/N99, QSA.

78. See Scrivens to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 12 Nov.1913, Circular letter, 161G, AGS/N359, QSA; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ingham, to Scrivens, 9 Dec.1913, urgent telegram, 61C, AGS/N99, QSA; Cooney to Scrivens, 14 Nov.1913, 74C, ibid.

Such inadequate preparation resulted in late decisions on important questions and inconsistency in judging applications. One example of this tardiness occurred with regard to the claim for exemption without examination on the grounds of long residence. Applicants were left ignorant as to what period of time would constitute 'long residence'. White initially decided on a period of thirteen years but, after protests by the acting Japanese consul-general, cabinet on 9 December reduced this to ten years preceding 25 July 1913.⁷⁹ Inconsistency was evident in the treatment of non-Europeans born in Australia. Clearly, under the regulations, such persons, except possibly those with a European parent, were not automatically exempted.⁸⁰ Yet contradictory answers were given to native-born Islanders who asked about their position: several were informed that they did not need certificates of exemption; others were told that they did. As late as 1918, legal opinion was sought by Ernest Scrivens, under secretary in the Department of Agriculture, as to whether certificates were necessary for such people.⁸¹ The general community was also confused as to who were required to obtain certificates. Many applications were received from Italians, Russians and even British people, and cane farmers and mills were unsure as to whom they could legally employ.⁸²

79. Yatabe to Premier, 11 Aug. 1913, 27 Oct. 1913, A457 0108/6, AA; Barnes to Shimizu, 23 Dec. 1913, *ibid.*; Scrivens to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 12 Dec. 1913, Circular letter, 160G, AGS/N359, QSA; Min. for Agriculture, 27 Feb. 1914, memo., 170G, AGS/N361, QSA. This was ridiculed by the ASPA, on the grounds that the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 meant that any non-European must have been over ten years in the country. MM 3 Mar. 1914.

80. All native-born residents of Australia of European parentage were exempted from the operation of the Act. Yet two brothers with an Irish mother and a Chinese father were required to obtain certificates. Applic. No. 2110E, AGS/N356, QSA. For a similar case, see Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ingham, to Scrivens, 30 Dec. 1913, 60C, AGS/N98, QSA.

81. Actg Crown Solicitor to Scrivens, 7 Jan. 1919, 0612, 147G, AGS/N358, QSA. For cases where native-born Islanders were told they did or did not require certificates, see Clerk of Petty Sessions, Mackay, to Scrivens, 15 Aug. 1914, 144C, AGS/N99, QSA; Under Sec. for Justice to Scrivens, 20 Mar. 1916, 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; Scrivens to Ashton, 26 Nov. 1915, *ibid.*; Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, to Actg Serg., Sarina, 30 May 1919, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA; Applic. No. 2049E, David Toloa, AGS/N356, QSA; Scrivens to P.A. Laurison, 7 Apr. 1916, 82G, AGS/N96, QSA.

82. See Applics. Nos. 1113E to 1121E, AGS/N104, QSA; 83C, *passim*, AGS/N99, QSA; A.P. Perkins, Proserpine Farmers and Canegrowers Association, to White, 10 Mar. 1914, 19G, AGS/N96, QSA; Scrivens to A. Cameron, 14 Oct. 1914, 52G, *ibid.*; NOR 18 May 1914, p.97.

All of the thirty-two 'A' applications for authority to cultivate and harvest the existing crop were granted.⁸³ These certificates would expire on 31 December 1915. Six went to Islander farmers in North Queensland, as shown in Table 5.1, which presents the numbers of the different types of applications (and the outcome) from Pacific Islanders in North Queensland in 1913-14. Between 1913 and 1921 there were fifty-three 'D' applications for examination and twenty-eight successfully passed the dictation test. The language used for what one newspaper appropriately described as the 'coloured test' was English; according to Scrivens, it was a simple examination which any candidate with a state school education could pass.⁸⁴ In North Queensland seven Pacific Islanders, all native-born, were successful (see Table 5.1).

There were 2,308 'E' applications for exemption without examination.⁸⁵ Most claimed exemption on the grounds of long residence, while some also gave a lawful wife and family as a further reason. Applicants were also required to be employed in the sugar industry within the meaning of the Act, that is, in the cultivation or manufacture of sugar. Even though it was the slack season, engagement in such activities as chipping grass on a cane farm or cutting wood for a sugar mill, was not held to be sufficient (see Table 5.1).⁸⁶ This was intended to prevent non-Europeans not presently engaged in sugar from entering (or re-entering) the industry.

83. Applies. Nos. 1A-32A, AGS/N97, QSA; List of Aliens to whom Certificates of Exemption have been granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act, 159G, AGS/N359, QSA.

84. Although there are fifty-three numbers, there are only fifty-two applications. Applies. Nos. 1D-53D, AGS/N97, QSA; List of Aliens to whom Certificates of Exemption have been granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act, 159G, AGS/N359, QSA; CMP 24 Feb.1914; Scrivens to Insp. Watt, Innisfail, 24 Apr.1917, 147G, AGS/N358, QSA.

85. These applications are contained in thirteen bundles. See AGS/N100-108, AGS/N354-357, QSA.

86. Min. for Agriculture, 27 Feb.1914, memo., 170G, AGS/N361, QSA.

TABLE 5.1: Applications for exemption under the Sugar Cultivation Act, from Pacific Islanders in North Queensland, in 1913-14

District	Total no. applications	Certificates 'A'+*Granted	Certificates 'D'+*Granted	Certificates 'E' # Granted			Certificates 'E' Refused			Certificates 'E' Returned	Certificates 'E' Cancelled*1
				Farmers open-dated	Farmers to 1915	Labourers	Late	Not in sugar	Other		
Mackay	243 (25)	4 ^{*2}	6	78	2	133	7	3	1	5	4
Proserpine	22 (2)	-	-	1	17	-	-	1	-	3	-
Burdekin	18 (3)	-	1	-	-	8	1	1	1	6	-
Herbert R.	48 (9)	-	-	1	-	42	-	2	-	3	-
Johnstone R.	31 (0)	-	-	-	-	13	1	9	-	6	2
Atherton	3 (0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Cairns	60 (4)	-	-	-	-	44	3	-	1	11	1
Pt Douglas	27 (0)	2	-	-	1	21	1	1	-	1	-
Grand Total	452 (43)	6	7	80	20	261	13	20	3	35	7

- Key: * Certificates of Authority to cultivate and harvest the existing crop;
 + Certificates of having passed the dictation test (all native-born);
 # Certificates of Exemption without examination;
 *1 Not including those cancelled in the years after 1914 because their holders had died;
 *2 Includes one also granted an 'E' certificate;
 () Number of total born in Queensland.

Sources: AGS/N97, AGS/N100-108. AGS/N354-357, QSA.

Some early certificates had been issued without inquiry into the applicants' occupations, but by February 1914 certificates were not issued until applicants had signed declarations or affidavits stating that they had been continuously engaged in the sugar industry.⁸⁷ A number of certificates, some of which had even been fingerprinted and issued, were cancelled when it was discovered that the recipients were not bona fide sugar workers (see Table 5.1).

Cane growers were amongst those who applied for exemption without examination. Many were given certificates expiring on 31 December 1915, similar to the 'A' certificates of authority to cultivate and harvest the existing crop (see Table 5.1). Yet once again this was a decision only reached when the consideration of applications was well underway. Farmers who had made early application, as in Mackay, were issued with open-dated certificates, while those whose applications were received later, as in Proserpine, received certificates to expire at the end of 1915 (see Table 5.1).⁸⁸ There was confusion as to whether certificates so endorsed, and also the certificates of authority, entitled their holders to take off crops in the 1916 season. Finally it was announced that all certificates to farmers covered three seasons including 1913, the object being to provide adequate compensation while ensuring that after 1915 no 'coloured aliens' would be growing cane.⁸⁹

Applications were refused if received after 31 December 1913 or if there were insufficient grounds for exemption - that is, if the period of residence was less than 10 years, or if the applicant had not been

87. See Newspaper cutting, BC 23 Mar.1914, encl. in 37C, AGS/N98, QSA; CMP 24 Feb.1914; MM 7 Feb.1914; Scrivens to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Apr. 13 May 1914, Circular letter, 14C, AGS/N98, QSA; Scrivens to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 2 Feb.1914, Circular No.1591, AGS/N16, QSA; Min. for Agriculture. 27 Feb.1914, memo., 170G, AGS/N361, QSA.

88. See MM 4 Apr.1914; Q 11 Apr.1914, p.38.

89. Barlow to Groom, 16 Apr.1914, telegram, A457 0108/6, AA; BC 2 Mar.1914; MM 28 Feb.1914; NOR 9 Mar.1914, p.41; CMP 4 May 1914; Scrivens to Comptroller General of Customs, Melbourne, 28 Feb.1914, 66G, AGS/N96, QSA.

continuously and directly engaged in the sugar industry. It was failure to meet this second criteria which accounted for most of the refusals of applications received before the closing date (see Table 5.1).

Three Melanesians in the Johnstone River district, John Santo, Massya and Charlie Merlap, were not given certificates of exemption due to the fact that in 1913 they had only cut firewood for Goondi Mill.⁹⁰

Occasionally the rules were bent. Late applications with good excuses were sometimes accepted: five Islanders living in the Daintree and isolated by flooded rivers were allowed to lodge late applications.⁹¹

In a few exceptional cases certificates were granted to applicants who had not been engaged in the sugar industry in 1913: for instance, in Mossman to Ohnonee, who had cut cane for ten years but had not worked in 1913 as a result of an accident in which he had lost his right hand.⁹²

Where applicants or their solicitors were persistent, especially in Cairns and Mackay, early refusals were often re-considered and exemptions granted.⁹³ Applicants supported by sympathetic Europeans, sometimes the clerks of petty sessions, were usually awarded certificates of exemption. Managers in CSR's northern mills were instructed in November 1913 to assist non-European employees to obtain certificates of exemption.⁹⁴

90. Applics. Nos. 2019E, 2008E and 2069E, AGS/N356, QSA. According to A.H. Barlow, the acting premier, many non-Europeans working in the mills and on the tramways had been refused exemption. Barlow to Prime Min., 16 Apr. 1914, telegram, AGS/N360, QSA.

91. Clerk of Petty Sessions, Mossman, to Scrivens, 14 Jan. 1914, 99G, AGS/N99, QSA. For cases where late applications were refused, despite qualifying circumstances, see Applic. No. 2060E, Chilar, AGS/N356, QSA; Applic. No. 477E, Body Santo, AGS/N100, QSA.

92. Applic. No. 2045E, AGS/N356, QSA.

93. Many Islanders in Mackay, especially the farmers, and some in other districts, went through solicitors. See Applic. Nos. 390E, George Bio, 340E, Andrew Bobongie, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No. 650E, Tom Daveney, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. Nos. 1848E, Billy Bilday, 1854E, Sam Grandoor, AGS/N107, QSA; Newspaper cutting, unknown, n.d., 1G, AGS/N96, QSA; ASJ V, 5 Mar. 1914, p. 778.

94. Rothe to Managers, Macknade, Homebush, Hambleton, Victoria and Goondi, 13 Nov. 1913, P No. 29, 36, 40, 44 and 51, p. 367, 142/1058, RSSS-ANUA.

A deputation of Mackay residents waited on White in May 1914 to ask that William Seekis be exempted not only from the Sugar Cultivation Act but also from other disabilities incumbent on non-Europeans. On investigation, White found that Seekis had already been granted an exemption certificate, and that no additional privileges could be given to him.⁹⁵

The Japanese as a group received preferential treatment. White in February 1914 refused exemption to Japanese in Mackay who had not been working in the sugar industry in 1913, and in April to Japanese working for CSR in the Herbert River district, as part of a policy not to exempt mill workers. The Japanese consul-general, S. Shimizu, sought a reversal of these decisions through several letters to and interviews with W.H. Barnes, the acting premier, and CSR also protested.⁹⁶ When Barnes supported White's decision, Shimizu protested strongly to the Commonwealth Government. In May, Joseph Cook, now prime minister, asked Barnes to give special consideration to the Japanese and in consequence the Queensland cabinet capitulated and fresh applications were called for from the Japanese affected.⁹⁷ But to avoid public criticism the Queensland Government sought (and received) an assurance from CSR that exempted non-Europeans would be employed as far as possible in work outside the mills.⁹⁸

95. Applic. No. 948E, AGS/N103, QSA; MM 8 May 1914. For other examples, see Applic. No. 2248E, Blooranta, AGS/N357, QSA; E. Denman to White, 4 Dec. 1913, 13G, AGS/N96, QSA; Applic. No. 1872E, James Motlap, AGS/N107, QSA.

96. Shimizu to Barnes, 30 Apr. 1914, telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Notes on interviews between the Japanese Consul-General and the Actg Chief Sec., 7-9 May 1914, ibid.; Barnes to General Manager, CSR, 20 Apr. 1915, ibid.; Barnes to Shimizu, 28 Apr. 1914, A457 0108/6, AA.

97. Shimizu to Min. for External Affairs, 1 May 1914, 0681, ibid.; Shimizu, 16 Apr. 1914, memo., ibid.; Shimizu to Premier, 25 Feb. 1914, ibid.; Cook to Premier, 14 May 1914, ibid.; Barlow to Cook, 20 May 1914, ibid.; Barnes to Shimizu, 25 May 1914, telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

98. Rothe to Manager, 22 May 1914, pp.115-16, 142/1059, RSSS-ANUA; Rothe to Manager, Homebush, 21 May 1914, No.799, p.44, 142/1246, RSSS-ANUA.

For every case given special approval, another with similar grounds was rejected.⁹⁹ In Ayr and Ingham applications refused in the early stages were later re-considered and granted.¹⁰⁰ Yet certificates not collected promptly from the clerks of petty sessions were returned to the Department of Agriculture and usually cancelled. Applicants who asked for the return of certificates which had been sent back were not always successful.¹⁰¹ Inconsistency was the hallmark of the administration of the Act.

An exact total for the number of certificates granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act is not available. By 7 April 1914, 1,331 certificates had been issued.¹⁰² But at least six conflicting figures are provided in official sources for the final total. The most reliable would seem to be a figure of 1,558, which was cited on at least five separate occasions, one of these being a list giving the names of certificate-holders.¹⁰³

99. See Applic. No. 757E, Johnny Lena, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No. 2118E, C.D. Silvenny, AGS/N356, QSA; Applic. No. 2249E, Jimmy Thomas, AGS/N357, QSA.

100. See Scrivens to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ayr, 23 May 1914, AGS/N98, QSA; Scrivens to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ingham, 23 May 1914, *ibid.*

101. See Applic. No. 589E, Mamoo Assie, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No. 1854E, Sam Grandoor, AGS/N107, QSA; Applic. No. 2284E, Alex Solomon, AGS/N357, QSA.

102. NQR 19 Dec.1913; Scrivens to Senator Mullan, 7 Apr.1914, 24G, AGS/N96, QSA.

103. These figures were: 1,735, 1,659, 1,640, 1,582, 1,570 and 1,558. The first two were not dated, the third was given in November 1917, the fourth in June 1915, the fifth in May 1929 and the last in September 1927. The sources for these, respectively, are: List showing numbers of different Nationalities, 159G, AGS/N359, QSA; Lists giving particulars of applications approved, List showing length of residence of applicants granted Certificates of Exemption, and List showing ages of applicants granted Certificates of Exemption, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Sec. for Public Works, 23 Nov.1917, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA; List showing occupations of applicants granted Certificates of Exemption, 159G, and Scrivens to E.J. Barton, 21 Jun.1915, 63G, AGS/N359, QSA; Certification of Aliens engaged and employed in the cultivation of sugar in Queensland, 64G, AGS/N96, QSA; List of Aliens to whom Certificates of Exemption have been granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, and List showing the number of different nationalities to whom Certificates of Exemption have been granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, 159G, AGS/N359, QSA, Minister's Questions, Dept of Agriculture, 5 Sep.1927, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA, J. Munro to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 27 Jul.1933, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA, and CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.195, F.W. Martyn.

The number of certificates sent out to the clerks of petty sessions was said to have been 1,750, but the number issued was 1,558 since 192 of these were returned as not being claimed. The numbers of different nationalities, broken down only for the figure of 1,750, were: Chinese 506, Pacific Islanders ('Polynesians') 466, Japanese 357, Indians 161, Javanese 107, Malays 71, native-born (sons of Pacific Islanders and Indians) 46, others 36. As shown in Table 5.1, 374 of 452 applications from Pacific Islanders in North Queensland were granted.

If 1,558 certificates were granted and issued, then 67.5 per cent of applicants had been successful. Exemptions were certainly "most generous",¹⁰⁴ although the number of applicants did not necessarily equal the number of non-Europeans engaged in the sugar industry. Amongst the Pacific Islanders, for example, some were not aware of the Act, at least until after 31 December 1913, and did not apply.¹⁰⁵

The actual number of non-European farmers and workers in the sugar industry in 1913 is not known.¹⁰⁶ In 1910 Maxwell gave approximate figures of 1,305 and 360 for the number of 'coloured' field and mill workers, respectively - a total of 1,665. This can be compared with the number of exemptions granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act. The only occupational breakdown given was for a figure of 1,659 certificates, probably an over-estimation by some 100 of the number actually issued: according to this, 1,429 were field and mill workers.¹⁰⁷ Using these figures, it can be calculated that over eighty per cent of non-European sugar workers had been exempted. Even if the figure for certificates was an over-estimate and Maxwell's figure an under-estimate, it is clear that a very high proportion of non-European sugar workers had been allowed to continue in their current employment.

104. Denham to White, 30 Jul.1913, 161G, AGS/N359, QSA.

105. See Chapter 7, p.283.

106. The Department of Agriculture only calculated percentages of the number of tons of cane grown and harvested by European and non-European labour. See Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', p.92, Table II.

107. CPP III, 1912, p.1055; List showing occupations of applicants granted Certificates of Exemption, 159G, AGS/N359, QSA.

UNDENIABLY, the Denham Government had not fulfilled its contract with Fisher to remove 'coloured' labour from the sugar industry. The Government's stated policy had been to act humanely, by dealing liberally with those long-term residents whose means of livelihood was threatened. In the sugar districts, interest in the Act was initially restricted to the necessity for such legislation in order that the excise and bounty legislation could be repealed. The plight of non-Europeans in the sugar industry did not attract much concern, although the Daily Mercury applauded the Government's generous attitude, since it would be "barbarous" to throw out those who had been in the industry for many years.¹⁰⁸ But early in 1914, when it became obvious that large numbers of exemptions were being granted, criticism began to be voiced. By mid-1914, small cane farmers, the ASPA, the Labor Party and the AWU were united in condemning the Government's administration of the Act.

The Parliamentary Labor Party had begun its attack even before the regulations under the Act were proclaimed; questions were asked in the Assembly as to the cause of the "excessive" delay in publishing these regulations, and as to whether the Government was aware of the flagrant flouting of the Act in northern districts.¹⁰⁹ But it was the ASPA which took the lead, if only to forestall opposition from the labour movement, in questioning the number of exemptions being granted. Since 1910, ASPA policy had been to demand the complete exclusion of non-Europeans from the sugar industry. After receiving a letter from the Johnstone River branch, the ASPA executive became concerned that exemptions were being granted too liberally. In January 1914 G.H. Pritchard, the secretary, spoke to White. Anticipating protests from the AWU, he advised him to announce that the Government, in consequence of the ASPA's protest, had issued instructions that no certificate was to be issued without an affidavit that the applicant

108. MM 26 Jul.1913. For a similar comment, see G. Markwell to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Innisfail, 7 Nov.1913, 66C, AGS/N99, QSA.

109. QPD CXV, 1913, p.1505, W. Lennon, p.1864, J.A. Fihelly, CXVI, p.2742, J.A. Fihelly.

had been engaged in the sugar industry; this advice was taken up.¹¹⁰

This late attempt to forestall criticism failed. Late in January at the first annual delegate meeting of the Queensland branch of the AWU, a motion proposed by F.W. Martyn was carried, which strongly protested against the excessive number of exemptions being granted and instructed the executive to consult with both State and Federal Parliamentary Labor Parties regarding appropriate action. At the AWU's annual convention in Sydney in February, McCormack, now the Labor MLA for Cairns, moved a resolution (which Martyn seconded) to the effect that by indiscriminately granting such certificates the Queensland Government had broken its agreement with Fisher.¹¹¹ In the Queensland Legislative Assembly, McCormack and William Lennon, the Labor member for Herbert, continued the attack, questioning White on the numbers of exemptions issued and evasions of the Act. In April, Ryan further publicized the issue through a newspaper interview in which he claimed that there had been no checks on the authenticity of applicants' grounds for exemption, and that the number of certificates issued endangered the 'White Australia' policy.¹¹²

Additional criticism came from the ASPA and from local farmers' associations. At the ASPA's annual conference in late February, a resolution expressing strong disapproval of the large number of certificates granted under the Act was carried unanimously and subsequently presented to Barnes.¹¹³

110. ASJ V, 8 Jan.1914, pp.20-21, 5 Feb.1914, p.694, 5 Mar.1914, pp.777-79, VI, 9 Apr.1914, p.10; Pritchard to White, 26 Jan.1914, 6G, AGS/N96, QSA. In February the ASPA were provided with confidential information on the number of exemptions granted in each district. Scrivens to Pritchard, 25 Feb.1914, 5G, ibid.

111. W 29 Jan., 5 Mar., 19 Mar.1914; MM 25 Feb.1914; Australian Workers' Union, First Annual Delegate Meeting, Brisbane, January 1914 (Brisbane, 1914), pp. 34, 52.

112. QPD CXVII, 1914, p.168, CXVIII, 1914, p.1871; Newspaper cutting, Daily Standard 3 Apr.1914, encl. in M5, POL/JI, QSA. See also Finlayson quoted in Truth 9 Apr.1914, ibid.

113. A committee had been appointed specifically to draw up this resolution. MM 28 Feb.1914; ASJ V, 5 Mar.1914, pp.777-79, 781, 787, 803.

Angus Gibson expressed the reason for their concern:

No one sympathised more with colored labour than he (Mr. Gibson) did, but ... if it was retained in this State, the sugar growers would soon be thrown on the scrap heap also. They were dependent entirely on duties granted to the sugar industry by the goodwill of the community in the southern states.¹¹⁴

The ASPA's attitude was endorsed by the farmers. In Mackay, Proserpine, Inkerman, Cairns, and Port Douglas, cane growers' associations and meetings of cane growers condemned the excessive number of exemptions granted.¹¹⁵ In Cairns in February the Northern Sugar Field Workers Industrial Board announced its award, which included a provision that all persons holding certificates of exemption under the Sugar Cultivation Act were permitted to be employed only on lands worked by 'coloured' labour before 1 January 1913. Farmers in Cairns were urged to adopt this ruling. In April, however, A.W. MacNaughton, the president of the Industrial Court of Queensland, expressed grave doubts that such matters were within the court's jurisdiction, and the provision was abandoned.¹¹⁶

In the Commonwealth parliament also, opposition was expressed to the number of exemptions, particularly by the Labor Party. As a result of charges by F.W. Bamford, member of the House of Representatives (MHR) for Herbert, L.E. Groom, the minister for trade and customs, advised White in February 1914 that the protection given to the sugar industry could be

114. MM 3 Mar.1914. For similar sentiments, see NQR 2 Feb.1914, p.77; CMP 2 Mar.1914.

115. See NQR 9 Feb., p.66, 16 Feb., p.29, 9 Mar.1914, p.26; MM 16 Mar.1914; MS quoted in W 5 Mar.1914; CMP 2 Mar, 19 Mar.1914; A. Perkins, Proserpine Farmers and Cane Growers Association, to White, 10 Mar.1914, 19C, AGS/N96, QSA; P. Dunworth, Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association, to Barnes, 20 Mar.1914, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; ASJ V, 5 Mar.1914, pp.778-79.

116. QCC CII, 1914, pp.703,1592; NQR 16 Feb.1914, pp.20, 29; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.298, A. Murray; ASJ VI, 9 Apr.1914, p.48, 7 May 1914, p.184.

challenged if non-Europeans not previously engaged in sugar had been granted certificates of exemption, as the AWU and the ASPA claimed.¹¹⁷ After protests against the indiscriminate granting of such certificates were made in the House on 16 April by Fisher (and later in the Senate on 8 May by Myles Ferricks and John Mullan, senators for Queensland), Cook urgently requested information from Denham on the number of exemptions granted and the policy in issuing them.¹¹⁸ But Cook, who led the anti-Labor parties, was less concerned with the number of exemptions granted than with international complications; as already shown, in May he asked the Queensland Government to give special consideration to the Japanese.

In mid-1914 the Denham Government decided that further exemptions would be granted only to those who passed the dictation test. An additional regulation was proclaimed under the Act in April 1915, empowering the minister for agriculture to grant a certificate of exemption for any period of time he considered fit and to cancel any certificate already granted.¹¹⁹ Such late measures did not placate the Government's critics and in the campaign preceding the Queensland election on 22 May 1915 their opponents made political capital of the Liberals' administration of the Act.

In March 1915, opening the Labor Party's election campaign in a speech at Barcaldine, Ryan charged the Liberals with breaking faith with the Commonwealth Government by indiscriminately issuing exemptions under the Sugar Cultivation Act. Three of the twenty-seven election pamphlets produced by Theodore and J.A. Fihelly also pursued this attack.¹²⁰ Other Labor candidates, especially in North Queensland, expressed similar strong

117. Groom to White, 12 Feb.1914, 66G, AGS/N96, QSA.

118. CPD LXXIII, 1914, pp.85, 778, 779; Scrivens to Senator Mullan, 7 Apr.1914, 24G, AGS/N96, QSA; Cook to Denham, 16 Apr.1914, urgent telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

119. Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, 16 Feb.1924, memo., *ibid.*: QGG CIV, 1915, p.1074.

120. W 1 Apr.1915; D.J. Murphy, 'Edward Granville Theodore: Ideal and Reality', in D.J. Murphy and R.B. Joyce (eds), Queensland Political Portraits 1859-1952 (St Lucia, 1978), p.303.

opposition to the continued presence of non-Europeans in the sugar industry.¹²¹ The AWU also kept the issue alive. In March, in response to a resolution from the far northern district committee of the AWU, the Trades Hall Council in Melbourne protested to the Price of Goods Board against any rise in the price of sugar on the grounds that, amongst other reasons, the industry had abused the protection given it by continuing to employ non-Europeans. W.J. Dunstan, secretary of the AWU, and D. Bowman, Labor MLA for Fortitude Valley, waited on Barnes (still acting premier) in April to complain about the excessive number of exemptions granted and also the employment of non-Europeans in preference to Europeans by Pioneer Sugar Mills in the Burdekin district.¹²² In defending the Government against these charges, Barnes and White could only repeat their earlier arguments that a humanitarian application of the Act had necessitated liberal exemptions and that non-European growers would not be allowed to grow cane after 1915.

In the general election on 22 May 1915 the Labor Party won a commanding majority in the new Assembly. No less than six ministers of the Liberal Government, Denham, White and Barnes among them, lost their seats.¹²³ An important factor in Labor's electoral success was the support secured in previously non-Labor sugar seats. But while many small farmers voted Labor and most endorsed their policy of making the sugar industry completely 'white', larger growers and the private mills such as CSR remained intransigent. As the next chapter will demonstrate, in the following years they continued to employ non-Europeans (if in reduced numbers), despite strong opposition from the AWU and the Labor Government.

121. Innisfail Democrat quoted in ASJ VII, 6 May 1915, p.106-7; W 29 Apr. 1915; Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 4 Jun. 1915, P No. 33, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA. There was some defence of the Denham Government's administration of the Sugar Cultivation Act. See NQR 3 May 1915, p.5; NM quoted in ASJ VII, 6 May 1915, p.106.

122. BC 13 Apr. 1915; W 25 Mar., 18 Apr. 1915; NQR 5 Apr., p.10, 19 Apr. 1915, p.28; Newspaper cutting, unknown, n.d., 1G, AGS/N96, QSA.

123. D.J. Murphy, 'Thomas Joseph Ryan: Big and Broadminded', in Murphy and Joyce (eds), Queensland Political Portraits, pp.271-72. Labor won forty-five seats to the Liberals' twenty-one.

If the Denham Government had anticipated the strength of opposition to their Liberal administration of the Sugar Cultivation Act, they might have been less generous in granting exemptions. Yet their position was invidious. In addition to their promise to the British Government to administer the Act humanely, pressure from the Japanese consul-general, CSR and the Commonwealth Government forced them to retract earlier, tougher decisions. But their Queensland critics simultaneously forced them to take a harder line. The decisions to obtain affidavits before issuing certificates, to revoke certificates if the holders were not bona fide sugar workers and to cancel all certificates to farmers after 1915, were all provoked by protests from the ASPA and the AWU. Recalling certificates which were not promptly claimed, was another belated attempt to reduce the number of exemptions. The Labor Government, as the next chapter will show, very quickly found itself in the same difficult situation of placating internal critics while yielding to external pressure.

BOTH COMMONWEALTH and State Governments in the first three decades of the twentieth century imposed wide-ranging restrictions on non-European residents. As Cook remarked to Denham in reference to the Sugar Cultivation Act, the object in such legislation was "to conserve as far as possible the advantages of this industry to people of our own race ...".¹²⁴ The need to avoid overt discrimination in order to obtain royal assent led to ridiculous situations as in Queensland where a non-European, before engaging in unskilled work in constructing and maintaining railways and tramways, was obliged to demonstrate that he was literate by passing a dictation test and obtaining a certificate. An early historian of the 'White Australia' policy, Myra Willard, claimed that discriminatory legislation was mostly enacted between 1888 and 1908. In common with A.B. Keith and other contemporaries, she believed that racial prejudice was disappearing in the 1920s.¹²⁵ In fact, discriminatory legislation continued to be enacted after 1908, as Appendices

124. Cook to Denham, 14 May 1914, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA: MacNair, The Chinese Abroad, pp.207-8.

125. Willard, A History of the White Australia Policy, pp.133-34; Keith, Responsible Government, p.838; Burke, 'Australia's Laws Against Asiatics', pp.460-61; Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, p.171.

D and E highlight. In Queensland, the Sugar Cultivation Act and its onerous administration was a convincing example of this, but it has received little historical attention.¹²⁶ In the years after 1914 the campaign to exclude non-Europeans from the sugar industry reached new peaks.

126. See S. Adamson, *The Queensland Sugar Industry 1860 to 1917* (B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1953), p.83; Keith, Responsible Government. Vol.II, pp.817, 837; Nilsson, *History of Mackay*, Appendix XI, n.p.

CHAPTER 6

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST NON-EUROPEANS IN QUEENSLAND, 1915-40

THIS CHAPTER is concerned with the discrimination practised against non-Europeans between 1915 and 1940, inspired principally by successive Labor Governments and the AWU in regard to employment in the sugar industry. The extent of this discrimination has not been appreciated: after 1915, the issue of 'coloured' labour in the sugar industry received little press coverage and was not important in subsequent elections. The picture presented here of the vigorous and sustained campaign to remove non-European sugar workers, has been pieced together from many different sources. Together with the preceding chapter, it provides a wider perspective on the experiences of those Pacific Islanders who remained behind in 'White Australia'. In the next chapter, the specific effects on the Islanders' employment will be discussed.

From 1915 to mid-1929, Labor held power in Queensland - first under Ryan (to October 1919), then under Theodore (to February 1925), followed briefly by W.N. Gillies (to October 1925) and finally by McCormack (to May 1929). A brief term of Country National Progressive Government under A.E. Moore ended in June 1932, when the Labor Party led by W. Forgan Smith again took office.

The Labor Party had strongly criticized the Denham Government's administration of the Sugar Cultivation Act. But Labor in power discovered that the 'coloured alien' problem did not lend itself to swift or simple solution. In 1915 the Labor Government failed in its attempt to satisfy AWU demands by legislating to disadvantage those who employed 'coloured' labour. In the following years the Government and the AWU turned to the newly formed Arbitration Court of Queensland to restrain the employment of non-Europeans in the sugar industry. A pattern of events can be discerned: AWU opposition to 'coloured' labour would lead to action by the Arbitration Court or the Government, which in turn would provoke protests from the non-Europeans affected and their representatives, and sometimes result in a modification of the earlier decision.

From the 1920s the AWU's attention was diverted increasingly to a greater evil - 'alien penetration' in the sugar industry. After a brief consideration of this, the discrimination practised against non-Europeans

in other occupations is discussed. Finally, the motivation for this campaign by the AWU against non-European employment in certain occupations, is analysed.

FINDING solutions to the problems of the sugar industry was one of the most difficult tasks confronting the Ryan Government when it took office in 1915. The war years were characterised by low prices for sugar and rising labour costs; the enlistment of men in the sugar districts was amongst the highest in the country.¹ With low prices for sugar and an anticipated labour shortage, non-European sugar workers were an attractive proposition.² But with a Labor Government, the AWU was determined to prevent such employment. On 7 June, J.A. Moir, secretary of the far northern district committee of the AWU, notified cane growers and sugar mills in the Cairns district that members would be requested to refuse to work with 'coloured aliens', except in extenuating circumstances.³ In Innisfail an industrial crisis over the engagement of non-Europeans was also feared.⁴

1. Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, pp.52-53, 142.

2. For justifications on these grounds of the use of 'coloured' labour, see ASJ VII, 12 Aug.1915, p.346; CMP 10 Aug.1915, 21 Jun.1919; Swayne to Lennon, 17 Feb.1916, 90G, AGS/N358, QSA; Laurisen to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 12 Oct.1916, 100G, QSA; Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 21 Jun.1916, P No.56, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA.

3. Sugar workers in Cairns had threatened in late May to strike if non-Europeans cut cane. W 10 Jun.1915; Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 29 May 1915, P No.32, 11 Jun.1915, P No.34, 11 Jun.1915, telegrams exchanged, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA; Moir to Manager, Hambledon, 7 Jun.1915, ibid.; Fisher to Ryan, 14 Jun.1915, 05926, telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA. The managers of Victoria and Macknade also received complaints from the AWU against the employment of non-Europeans. Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 17 Jun.1915, No.962, 142/1499, RSSS-ANUA.

4. Hebbel to Lennon, 7 Jun.1915, 2580, telegram, 62G, AGS/N96, QSA; McKenna to Lennon, 7 Jun.1915, 2580, telegram, ibid. See also NQR 3 May 1915, p.85; W 29 Apr.1915.

Ryan had been considering the issue of the exemptions granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act. A draft regulation had been prepared which would cancel all exemptions (except to farmers) under the Sugar Cultivation Act. On 14 June he telegraphed the prime minister, Fisher, for his reaction to a proposal to revoke all exemptions and allow only those 'coloured aliens' who could pass a dictation test to work in sugar.⁵ On the same day, the anticipated industrial trouble at Innisfail broke out: AWU members decided to strike unless the employment of non-Europeans was discontinued. A meeting of cane suppliers telegraphed Ryan and Lennon, the minister for agriculture, urging them to introduce legislation immediately to remove 'coloured aliens' from the sugar industry. Ryan and Lennon, in reply, assured them that the matter was being carefully considered.⁶ Satisfied by Ryan's reply, cane-cutters agreed to resume harvesting.⁷ But on this same day, Fisher replied to Ryan, recommending that in view of "the international situation" exemptions should not be revoked: the Japanese consul-general had already protested to Fisher concerning the AWU's actions and the British Government was very reluctant to antagonize an important war-time ally.⁸

5. Ryan was waiting on the assistance of the crown solicitor, T. McCawley. BC 12 Jun.1915; W 17 Jun.1915; Dept of Agriculture to McKenna, 10 Jun.1915, 2580, telegram, 62G, AGS/N96, QSA; Ryan to Fisher, 14 Jun.1915, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA, also in CRS A2 1916/279 Pt.1, AA; Draft Regulation, Sub-clause 7, Clause 3, Regulations under the Sugar Cultivation Act 16 October 1913 repealed, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; D.J. Murphy, T.J. Ryan A Political Biography (St Lucia, 1975), p.114.

6. W 17 Jun.1915; ASJ VII, 8 Jul.1915, p.253; Wilcox to Ryan, 15 Jun.1915, 05937, telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Moir to Ryan, 16 Jun.1915, 07475, ibid.; Wilcox to Lennon, 15 Jun.1915, 2580, telegram, 62G, AGS/N96, QSA; Lennon to Wilcox, n.d. [15 or 16 Jun.1915], telegram, ibid. According to the Goondi manager, farmers who dissented from the motion sent a telegram to Pritchard, secretary of the ASPA, asking him to inform Ryan and Lennon that the 'coloured' labour situation had been grossly exaggerated. Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 17 Jun.1915, Private, 142/3087, RSSS-ANUA.

7. W 24 Jun.1915; Moir to Ryan, 16 Jun.1915, 07475, telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Sub Insp., Cairns, to Police Commissioner, 17 Jun.1915, 06075, ibid.; ASJ VII, 8 Jul.1915, p.253; Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 24 Jun.1915, No.45, 142/1449, RSSS-ANUA. In Brisbane on 18 June Ryan promised a deputation of northern sugar workers that the Government would act justly on the 'coloured' labour question. Murphy, T.J. Ryan, p.114.

8. Fisher to Ryan, 17 Jun.1915, 06098, confidential telegram, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Fisher to Ryan, 14 Jun.1915, 05926, telegram, ibid.

Ryan publicized the threatened strike in Innisfail, blaming it on the number of exemptions granted by the Denham Government.⁹ His accusations provoked criticism from conservative quarters. The Cairns Post felt that the strike or even the threat to strike had been unnecessary, in view of the Government's willingness to legislate. The Australian Sugar Journal, mouthpiece of the ASPA, refuted claims that the ASPA was pro-'coloured' labour by carefully detailing its policy and actions. The former Liberal minister, Barnes, also defended the number of exemptions granted and stressed the influence of international considerations - which, he accurately predicted, would soon become apparent to Ryan.¹⁰

Since the Commonwealth was reluctant to antagonize the Japanese, Ryan on 15 July gave Fisher two alternatives: either all certificates could be cancelled, and those to Japanese re-issued, or a lower price for sugar could be paid to employers of 'coloured' labour. When Fisher (not surprisingly) indicated his preference for the latter proposal, Ryan went ahead.¹¹ Under an agreement between Fisher and Ryan signed on 26 June, the Queensland Government would acquire the entire 1915 sugar crop which the Commonwealth would then purchase at cost price and sell to the community. The acquisition of the crop by proclamation was ratified in the Sugar Acquisition Act (see Appendix E).¹² On 19 July Ryan announced that, in taking over the sugar crop, the Government had the power to pay less for sugar grown by non-European labour.¹³ Under clause 6 of the Sugar Acquisition Bill, the price of raw sugar could be determined by the

9. BC 17 Jun.1915; Q 26 Jun.1915, p.39; ASJ VII, 8 Jul.1915, p.238; Newspaper cuttings, Daily Telegraph 14 Jun.1915, p.28, and BC 19 Jun.1915, p.42, 142/3584, RSSS-ANUA.

10. CMP 21 Jun.1915; ASJ VII, 8 Jul.1915, p.238, 12 Aug.1915, p.316; BC 19 Jun.1915; MM 8 Jul.1915. M. Rothe, the general manager of CSR, mistakenly believed that the Government was already aware of the international protests which would be provoked if the Japanese were prevented from working in the sugar industry. Rothe to Manager, Goondi, 24 Jun.1915, P No.56, p.431, 142/1060, RSSS-ANUA; Rothe to Manager, Hambleton, 24 Jun.1915, P No.48, p.430, ibid.

11. Ryan to Fisher, 15 Jul.1915, 3812/43, A457 0108/6, AA; Fisher to Ryan, 16 Jul.1915, 3812/44, ibid.

12. QPP II, 1915-16, p.853; QGG CIV, 1915, p.1787.

13. BC 20 Jul.1915; Newspaper cutting, Daily Telegraph 20 Jul.1915, p.59, 142/3584, RSSS-ANUA.

circumstances or conditions of production or manufacture. When E.H. Macartney, leader of the Opposition, asked whether there would be different prices for sugar grown by European and non-European labour, Theodore, the treasurer, would say only that the Government's action would not be retrospective.¹⁴ On 5 August a further proclamation was gazetted; the price of raw sugar was to range from £13 to £18 a ton, depending on its production and manufacture by labour and under conditions satisfactory to the treasurer. Certain sugar mills (principally those in North Queensland) were to supply monthly returns showing the names and nationalities of employees, and after a period of grace (to 15 September), those still employing 'coloureds' would receive a reduced price for their sugar. Theodore justified this provision against the employment of 'coloured aliens' on the grounds of industrial trouble at Cairns and Innisfail.¹⁵

The Sugar Acquisition Act generally was received favourably by the press.¹⁶ However, the Brisbane Courier felt that this was a blatant use of legislation for political objectives, and the Cairns Post thought that with the Japanese and Indians fighting on the Allied side, it would have been more tactful to have temporarily sacrificed principle to expediency.¹⁷ But the Post was out of step with the feeling amongst small growers. The ASPA at its annual conference in July reaffirmed its support for the total exclusion of non-Europeans from the industry, and this was acclaimed in the northern sugar districts. In Mackay the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers'

14. QPD CXX, 1915-16, pp.241, 242. See also ibid., pp.414, 436-37, 462-63.

15. QCG CV, 1915, p.451; BC 6 Aug.1915; W 12 Aug.1915. There were rumours in Cairns in late July that there would be a strike against the employment of non-Europeans. Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 24 Jul.1915, P No.37, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA; QPD CXX, 1915-16, p.367.

16. See MM 20 Jul.1915; BC 29 Jul.1915; ASJ VII, 12 Aug.1915, pp.319-21; W 12 Aug.1915; Newspaper cuttings, Daily Standard 19 Jul.1915, p.60, and Daily Telegraph 20 Jul.1915, p.61, 142/3584, RSSS-ANUA.

17. BC 27 Jul.1915; CNP 10 Aug.1915. For another critical reaction, see letter by 'Sugar' to Age (Melbourne), quoted in BC 19 Aug.1915.

Association reassured an AWU deputation that they were opposed to the employment of non-Europeans.¹⁸

While farmers were prepared not to employ non-Europeans, the mills were more reluctant. Following Ryan's announcement that mills employing 'coloured' labour might receive a lower price for their sugar, Knox protested to W.M. Hughes (then attorney-general) that this would contravene the terms of the agreement between the Commonwealth Government and CSR. Hughes, while pointing out that the Commonwealth could not control the actions of the Queensland Government, made representations to Ryan.¹⁹

'Coloured' mill employees had been dealt with in the Sugar Acquisition Act, but there were still the field workers. On 14 August, Lennon announced that the proposed Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Bill would likewise provide for discrimination in prices for sugar paid to growers (see Appendix E).²⁰ Under clause 12, subclause 2, different prices for raw sugar could be fixed by award, taking into consideration different labour conditions under which the cane was grown, harvested and delivered to the mill; and under subclause 6 regulations could be issued so that a lower price than that specified in the award could be paid to growers in cases where such labour conditions were in any respect unsatisfactory to the minister.²¹

18. ASJ VII, 12 Aug. 1915, pp. 316, 339, 345, 346; CMP 22 Jul., 26 Jul. 1915; NQR 23 Aug. 1915, p. 58; W 8 Apr., 22 Apr. 1915; Newspaper cutting, BC 16 Aug. 1915, p. 73, 142/3584, RSSS-ANUA.

19. Knox to Hughes, 20 Jul. 1915, urgent telegram, p. 487, 21 Jul. 1915, pp. 492-93, 142/1060, RSSS-ANUA; CPP V, 1914-17, p. 1068. Mulgrave Mill sent a telegram to the Japanese consul-general in September, encouraging him to protest against the refusal by AWU members to work with Japanese cane-cutters. Copy of telegram, Mulgrave Mill to Japanese Consul-General, n.d. [Sep. 1915], 142/3446, RSSS-ANUA.

20. BC 16 Aug. 1915; MM 16 Aug. 1915. See also Under Sec. for Treasury to Neilson, 16 Aug. 1915, telegram, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA. Such a means of preventing the employment of 'coloured' labour had been suggested by Ryan in 1913 during debate on the Sugar Cultivation Bill. QPD CXIV, 1913, pp. 285, 286.

21. Murphy mistakenly concluded that there was no indication that this clause had been included to differentiate unfavourably against 'coloured' workers. Murphy, T.J. Ryan, p. 120.

During the bill's second reading, Macartney asked for clarification of the object of clause 12, but Ryan and Lennon would not confirm that it would be used against employers of non-European labour. The Government had already been embarrassed by the accusations of C.D.W. Rankin (member for Burrum and leader of the Queensland Farmers' Union), that the Sugar Acquisition Act would be used to penalise the Empire's ally, the Japanese.²² In fact, to placate the Commonwealth and British Governments, the Government had already decided that the Sugar Acquisition Act would not be applied to Japanese presently employed in Queensland sugar mills.²³ To the Government's further embarrassment, this agreement became public knowledge when the Japanese Society in Mackay made an announcement to this effect.²⁴ Following these disclosures, Theodore explained that the Government had relaxed conditions for this season in deference to the Commonwealth Government's belief that it was a matter of international policy.²⁵

In the reception of this legislation, there was little criticism of Section 12. The Cairns Post was angry that such special treatment had been given to Japanese but not to Indians; it concluded that the Government had "under pressure from a small section of their followers, made a hasty proclamation in the belief that by threatening to pay less for sugar manufactured other than by white labour, they would force the farmer to take the step which they were afraid to publicly take themselves."²⁶ But

22. QPD CXX, 1915-16, pp.436-37, 462-63; BC 26 Aug.1915.

23. This decision had been communicated to the Japanese consul-general. Under Sec. for Treasury to Neilson, 16 Aug.1915, telegram, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, 16 Feb.1924, memo., 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Fowles to Managers, Australian Sugar Co., Australian Estates, Drysdale Bros, Broom and Co. and Waterloo Ltd., 23 Sep.1915, TRE/A315, QSA.

24. QPD CXX, 1915-16, p.597. This arrangement was given considerable publicity and was criticized by the Opposition. See ibid., pp.592-97; MM 2 Sep.1915; BC 3 Sep, 8 Sep.1915; NQR 13 Sep.1915, p.64; CMP 9 Sep.1915; W 9 Sep.1915; ASJ VII, 9 Sep.1915, p.453.

25. BC 4 Sep.1915; W 9 Sep.1915. Yet Theodore in 1913 had described a suggestion to exempt Japanese mill workers from the Sugar Cultivation Act as "manifestly unfair ...". QPD CXIV, 1913, p.294.

26. CMP 9 Sep.1915. For favourable reactions, see W 9 Sep.1915; MM 9 Sep.1915; ASJ VII, 7 Oct.1915, pp.481-82.

Hambledon growers were not loath to take this step: the Cairns Canegrowers Association urged CSR not to employ labour other than that approved by the Government or to act in any way which might jeopardise growers' prospects of receiving the full price for raw sugar.²⁷

CSR in fact was preparing to dismiss all non-Europeans except Japanese and replace them with Europeans. Since November 1911, the number of non-European employees in their North Queensland mills had been progressively reduced from 321 in 1912 to 227 in mid-1915, and by August 1915 this number had been further reduced to 188.²⁸ Mill managers were instructed in July that only non-Europeans who were 'old hands' were to be retained, since their employment could be justified if necessary. In August they were told that Japanese could work in the mills this season but that all other 'coloured aliens' would have to be replaced. While they were not to be dismissed as yet, Japanese were to be placed in the jobs of other non-Europeans outside the mills and mill work was to be reserved as far as possible for Europeans.²⁹

The Japanese, through their consul-general, had already objected to the proposed discrimination under this sugar legislation. The Indians were also active. Pooran Dabee Singh, a very articulate Indian resident, expressed his resentment, both face-to-face with Ryan and in several letters, that Indians, who were fighting with the Allies, were to be excluded from

27. MM 6 Sep.1915; BC 6 Sep.1915.

28. Aliens. Points. Exemption Acts, and Aliens. Telegraphed Figures from Mills, handwritten notes, 142/3479, RSSS-ANUA. In June 1915 the Macknade manager was reprovved for employing too many non-Europeans in positions which were filled by Europeans at other mills. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 24 Jun.1915, No.984, pp.396-98, and 8 Jul.1915, No.994, p.415, 142/1522, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 1 Jul.1915, No.967, 142/1499, RSSS-ANUA. See also Chapter 5, p.204.

29. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 22 Jul.1915, No.2, p.433, 142/1522, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Homebush, 22 Jul.1915, No.3 142/1246, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 19 Aug.1915, P No.36, and also sent to Homebush, Victoria, Goondi and Hambledon, 142/1061, RSSS-ANUA.

the canefields while such enemy subjects as Germans were not.³⁰ The governor of Queensland, Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams, received a petition from eighty-three Indian residents of Cairns, and Fisher received a protest from sixty Indian residents of North Queensland. Ryan remained adamant that the Government intended to prohibit the employment of all 'coloured' labour in the sugar industry, with the exception, for this season, of the Japanese.³¹

In these twin pieces of legislation, the Labor Government had apparently secured an ingenious and flexible method of preventing the employment of non-Europeans in the canefields and mills. Nor would it have been as administratively burdensome as the Sugar Cultivation Act had proved to be. This intention might have been realized but for the strong opposition from non-European groups and CSR, and consequent pressure from the Commonwealth and British Governments to stop the implementation of such discriminatory powers.

Between September 1915 and January 1916 further petitions against these two measures were received from a number of different 'races' - Malays in Cairns, Chinese in Cairns, Innisfail and Ingham, Pacific Islanders in Cairns and Mackay, and Indians (including Dabee Singh) in Cairns and southern Queensland.³² The Malays and Pacific Islanders had no consul-general to press their claims, and protests by the Chinese and their consul-general were not regarded as important. However, the British

30. Singh to Ryan, 21 Jul.1915, 08046, 31 Jul.1915, 08340, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, 16 Feb.1924, memo., *ibid.*: BC 30 Aug., 4 Sep.1915. His protests were reported widely, and generally sympathetically, by the press. See MM 4 Sep.1915; W 9 Sep.1915, CMP 9 Sep.1915; BC 30 Aug. 1915; NQR 13 Sep.1915, p.64.

31. MacDonnell and Hannam to Under Chief Sec., 1 Sep.1915, 10203, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Under Sec. for Treasury to Under Chief Sec., 2 Sep.1915, 10072, *ibid.*; Ryan to Fisher, 7 Sep.1915, 100737, *ibid.*; Atlee Hunt to Sec. for Prime Min., 8 Nov.1915, 15836, and Handwritten Note, 5 Nov.1915, A1 20/5592, AA; Fisher to Ryan, 27 Aug.1915, 3812/52, A457 0108/6, AA.

32. See, for example, Scrivens to Min. for Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 5 Jan.1916, memo., 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; Dept of Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 27 Mar.1918, memo., *ibid.*; Chinese Consul-General to Ryan, 24 Sep.1915, 11175, 28 Sep.1915, 02226, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Chinese Consul-General to Ryan, 8 Oct.1915, 92G, *ibid.*; MacDonnell and Hannam to Ryan, 11 Oct.1915, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay districts, forw. by Luke Logmier to Premier, n.d. [Dec.1915], *ibid.*; Bella Singh and Kharum Chan to Prime Min., 23 Aug.1915, 3812/51, A457 0108/6, AA.

Government was very sensitive to the question of the Indians. According to Ryan's biographer, D.J. Murphy, Goold-Adams was requested to reserve assent to the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Bill because it discriminated against Indians, and assent was only given (on 6 October) on the understanding that it would not be used against Indians. In February 1916 Goold-Adams was able to reassure A. Bonar Law, secretary of state for the colonies, that Japanese and Indians would be treated similarly in regard to employment in the sugar mills.³³

The Government's intentions were not clear to those connected with the sugar industry. In August 1915, CSR telegraphed the Government for details of its policy and advised mill managers in the meantime not to make advances to non-European growers.³⁴ The United Cane Growers' Association (UCCA) was attempting to discover what the actual penalty for employing non-Europeans in the field or mill would be, and other farmers' associations and individual growers asked for similar information.³⁵

CSR were acting on the assumption that the Queensland Government would inform them, on receipt of the returns under the Sugar Acquisition Act, of that labour to which objection would be taken. When sending in these returns, mill managers were instructed to show all non-European

33. The under secretary of state for India was concerned that the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act would be used against Indian farmers. Ryan assured Goold-Adams that there was no such intention, but this meant nothing since the Act was aimed at employees rather than farmers. Murphy, T.J. Ryan, p.121; Goold-Adams to Sec. of State for Colonies, 3 Feb.1916, Qld.No.4, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Under Sec. of State for India to Under Sec. of State, 9 Nov.1915, forw. by Bonar Law to Goold-Adams, 00062, ibid.; Ryan to Goold-Adams, 7 Jan.1916, ibid.; Bonar Law to Goold-Adams, 7 Jun.1916, Qld.No.36, forw. by Actg Under Chief Sec. to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 26 July 1916, ibid.

34. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 19 Aug.1915, No.17, p.468, 142/1522, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Homebush, 19 Aug.1915, No.22, p.473, 142/1246, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Homebush, 30 Sep.1915, No.51, 142/1247, RSSS-ANUA. The Pleystowe Central Mill was also anxious to discover the Government's intentions, because of the question of advances to 'coloured' growers. Smith to Under Sec. for Treasury, 9 Dec.1915, 12336, 10 Jan.1916, 15 Feb.1916, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA.

35. See CMP 9 Sep.1915; Mrs Burke to Lennon, 20 Apr.1916, 6 May 1916, 88G, AGS/N358, QSA; P.D. Dunworth to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 24 Jun.1916, 91G, ibid.; Swayne to Lennon, 17 Feb.1916, 90G, ibid.; Under Sec. for Treasury to Manager Pioneer, 16 Sep.1915, 142/3446, RSSS-ANUA; Under Sec. for Treasury to Manager Kalamia Estate, 16 Sep.1915, ibid.

employees connected with the factory but not those engaged in domestic work or in the cutting or transport of firewood to the mill.³⁶ In September 1915, CSR's mill managers were directed to suspend all non-Europeans except Japanese until the Company concluded its negotiations with the Commonwealth Government on the issue. These negotiations were still in progress in October, when the suspended labour was transferred to outside work not connected with sugar manufacture, such as firewood cutting, in order that they would not be included in the returns under the Sugar Acquisition Act.³⁷

By September, the Japanese Government had also made strong representations to the British and Commonwealth Governments on this subject.³⁸ In February 1916, after consulting with the Commonwealth, the Ryan Government decided not to impose penalties on cane grown with 'coloured' labour.³⁹ This policy was not announced but an answer to a Mackay cane farmer's query was given publicity in the press. Other requests concerning the operation of the Act received the same information.⁴⁰ Neither the Ryan Government nor future Labor administrations made any further attempt to use the Sugar Acquisition Act or the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices

36. This was the Company's interpretation of paragraph 3 of the proclamation. Managers were to advise head office of the numbers of non-Europeans on the lists, and the number of additional Europeans who could be accommodated in existing buildings. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 12 Aug. 1915, No. 13, pp. 459-60, 142/1522, RSSS-ANUA.

37. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, telegram, 27 Sep. 1915, p. 17, and also sent to Homebush, Victoria, Goondi and Hambledon, 142/1523, RSSS-ANUA. For a sample of the managers' replies, see Manager, Homebush, to General Manager, 4 Oct. 1915, No. 137, 142/3479, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 7 Oct. 1915, No. 994, *ibid.*; List of Suspended Alien Labour (Hambledon No. 68), *ibid.*; Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 7 Oct. 1915 No. 73, *ibid.*

38. Caucus Minutes, State Parliamentary Labor Party, 9 Sep. 1915, p. 242.

39. On 5 February cabinet held over the decision on whether or not to penalise those whose cane was grown with 'coloured' labour until the Commonwealth Government had been consulted; the pressure which the latter applied to prevent discrimination under the legislation was deeply resented. Sugar Cultivation Act, 27 Mar. 1918, memo., 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; Newspaper cutting, Daily Mail 19 Nov. 1919, A457 0108/6, AA.

40. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Swayne, 23 Feb. 1916, 90G, AGS/N358, QSA; Ryan to Chinese Consul-General, 14 Feb. 1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; MM 4 Mar. 1916; ASJ VII, 9 Mar. 1916, p. 907.

Act in a discriminatory manner. In April the requirement that the mills forward monthly returns of labour was dropped.⁴¹

Another issue requiring decision concerned the certificates issued to non-European cane farmers under the Sugar Cultivation Act, due to expire on 31 December 1915.⁴² Early in 1915 there was considerable anxiety amongst non-European farmers (including Pacific Islanders) in Mackay regarding their position, and the local clerk of petty sessions, W.G. Ashton, was informed in April that they were not entitled to plant or cultivate cane after the end of 1915.⁴³ But once again sensitivity concerning the Japanese prevented this policy being implemented by the Labor Government. Lennon sought legal opinion and was advised that the cancellation of certificates held by Japanese farmers might contravene the understanding arrived at with the Japanese consul-general, and that the regulation issued on 9 April 1915, empowering the minister for agriculture to cancel any certificate granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act, had doubtful legal validity.⁴⁴ Scrivens, the under secretary for agriculture, suggested that the extension of such certificates could be limited to the Japanese and to British subjects such as Indians, Cinghalese and Pacific Islanders. But in February 1916 Lennon ruled that all growers with certificates could continue to cultivate leasehold or freehold, provided it was the same land on which they had been working at the time they obtained exemption. Once again, this policy was not publicly announced, but those who asked for information were advised of the decision.⁴⁵

41. The Treasurer could still direct millowners to furnish such returns, if dissatisfied with the labour or conditions under which the sugar was manufactured. QGG CVI, 1916, p.1479; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 15 Jun.1916, No.173, p.325, 142/1523, RSSS-ANUA.

42. See Chapter 5, p.220.

43. Dept of Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 19 Dec.1924, memo., 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

44. Ashton to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 16 Feb.1915, 02580, 8 Mar., 19 Aug., 4 Sep.1915, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Ashton, 5 Mar., 21 Apr.1915, 02580, *ibid.*; Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, 14 Sep.1915, memo., 147G, AGS/N358, QSA.

45. Dept of Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 27 Mar.1918, memo., *ibid.*; Scrivens to Min. for Agriculture, 4 Jan., 5 Jan.1916, memo., *ibid.*; Pearce to Forgan Smith, 15 Jan.1916, 66G, AGS/N96, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Forgan Smith, 10 Feb.1916, *ibid.*

Lennon also ruled that no further certificates of exemption under the Sugar Cultivation Act would be issued unless applicants were prepared to pass a dictation test in the English language. This only reaffirmed the policy of the Denham Government.⁴⁶ Protests from Indians who did not hold certificates of exemption, in August and September 1916, were ignored.⁴⁷

IN THESE first months of office the Labor Party had been thwarted in their efforts to solve the 'coloured' labour problem.⁴⁸ In future years Labor governments did not attempt to legislate directly on the matter.

Keeping the labour movement on side and under control on the issue of 'coloured' labour was a difficult task. As Goold-Adams commented, the cabinet "would rather allow their supporters to remain in blissful ignorance of what they are doing".⁴⁹ The AWU raised the question of non-European sugar workers on more than one occasion in 1915.⁵⁰ In caucus too, the Government had to defend its policy. First, on 9 September, H.C. McMinn (Labor member for Bulimba) had criticized the decision to allow Japanese to work in the sugar mills. Theodore had explained the reasons which had compelled the Government to make this exception. Secondly, in caucus on 24 February 1916, Theodore himself raised the issue of Japanese and Indian sugar workers: he stressed the need for State and Federal Labor politicians

46. See Chapter 5, p.228. For examples of the application of this ruling, see Applic.No.2284E, Alex Solomon, AGS/N357, QSA; Applic.No.2300E, Stephen Malayta, ibid.; Applic.No.2308E, Aleck Gomerin, ibid.; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Dunstan, 29 May 1916, 92G, AGS/N358, QSA; Scrivens to Manager, Pioneer, 30 Jul.1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

47. Lieutenant-Colonel G. McColl to Chief of General Staff, 15 Aug.1916, O.A.10137, memo., forw. by Sec. for External Affairs to Sec. for Prime Min., 21 Aug.1916, 21543, A1 20/5592, AA; P.D. Singh to Goold-Adams, 8 Sep.1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Theodore to Goold-Adams, 18 Sep.1916, ibid.

48. As at least one member of the Opposition, E.B. Swayne, recognized. QPD CXX, 1915-16, p.593.

49. Murphy, T.J. Ryan, p.121.

50. See W 5 Aug.1915; Mortison to Collins, 19 Dec.1915, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA; Scrivens to Collins, 22 Feb.1916, ibid.

to visit the sugar centres and impress on AWU members the importance of acting cautiously and diplomatically in this matter, because of the pressure being exerted on the British and Commonwealth Governments by Japan. J.H. Coyne (Labor member for Warrego) suggested calling a conference of AWU members to solicit their assistance, but it was resolved to leave the matter with cabinet.⁵¹

That the AWU would heed such urgings seemed doubtful; even if AWU officials gave their support, sugar workers frequently took direct action against official directions. At the annual delegate meeting of the Queensland branch in January 1916, it was stated in the far northern district report that the 'coloured' labour question in the sugar industry would have to be settled. In March Dunstan protested to Lennon that there were rumours in Cairns that the Government intended to grant further exemptions to Indians; Lennon denied this.⁵² In Cairns in June, the Labor Senator, T. Givens, addressed a meeting of growers and millers from Mossman, Cairns, Mourilyan and Innisfail. He said he had impressed upon the AWU the need to avoid actions against 'coloured' labour which would embarrass the British or Commonwealth Governments and he advised employers that trouble would be avoided if they employed only those 'coloured aliens' with certificates of exemption and only in positions in which they had previously been employed.⁵³

51. Caucus Minutes, State Parliamentary Labor Party, 9 Sep.1915, p.242, 24 Feb.1916, pp.344-45.

52. Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, p.417; Australian Workers' Union, Official Report of Third Annual Delegate Meeting, Brisbane, January 1916 (Brisbane, 1916), p.22; Dunstan to Lennon, 15 Mar.1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Lennon to Dunstan, 16 Mar.1916, ibid.; Scrivens to Steele, telegram, 94G, AGS/N358, QSA; Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 23 Mar.1916, No.114, 142/1449, RSSS-ANUA.

53. Rothe, the general manager of CSR, informed the mill managers that Senators Givens and Mullan would be visiting Queensland to address meetings on the need to avoid industrial disputes over 'coloured' labour; the newspapers had been instructed by the censor not to publish anything on the issue. BC 22 Jun.1916; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 15 Jun.1916, No.174, p.326, 142/1523, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 21 Jun.1916, P No.56, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 29 Jun.1916, No.135, 142/1449, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 1 Jul.1916, No.182, 142/963, RSSS-ANUA; Givens to Prime Min., 20 Jun.1915, telegram, A2 16/3673, AA; Givens to Actg Prime Min., 19 Jun.1916, ibid.; Actg Premier to Prime Min., 20 Jun.1916, de-code of telegram, ibid.

Between June and July, confidential negotiations took place between Dunstan, the AWU secretary, and G.F. Pearce, the acting prime minister, during which Pearce disclosed information "of such a nature that we [the AWU] decided to hold our hands".⁵⁴

The Ryan Government could not legislate to remove 'coloured' labour from the sugar industry, but a more indirect method which would not antagonize the Indian or Japanese Governments might be successful. The preference for non-European labour, it was reasoned, was based on a desire for cheap labour: if all sugar workers received the same wages and worked the same hours, then this preference would disappear. The schedule published under the Sugar Growers' Employees Act of 1913 had stipulated a minimum wage and scale of rations for sugar workers. Therefore it could be, and was, argued that non-Europeans received the same wages as Europeans.⁵⁵ The AWU, however, believed that this requirement was generally evaded, through secret agreements between employers and employees whereby the latter accepted less than award wages.⁵⁶ No machinery had been provided to superintend the provisions of the Sugar Growers' Employees and Sugar Cultivation Acts. The duty devolved upon the police, who were already over-worked. From May 1916, the inspectors of factories and shops in the sugar districts were

54. Martyn told the royal commission in 1920 that this meeting had taken place in 1915, but clearly it was in 1916: he told the AWU conference in Sydney in March 1916 that with Senator Givens he had recently waited on Pearce and learnt of the present complications surrounding the 'coloured' labour question; Pearce was acting prime minister only between January and July 1916, during Hughes' absence in London. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.183; W 23 Mar.1916; P. Heydon, Quiet Decision. A Study of G. Foster Pearce (Melbourne, 1965), p.73.

55. 4 Geo.V, No.13; QGC CI, 1913, pp.289-90; Newspaper cutting, not identified, n.d. [1915?], IG, AGS/N96, QSA; QPD CXX, 1915-16, pp.462, 596; ASJ VI, 4 Jun.1914, p.171, VII, 8 Jul.1915, p.238; CPP IV, 1913, p.1272, B.R. Riley, Misc.Vol., 1920-21, p.311, A.J. West.

56. Newspaper cutting, not identified, n.d. [1915?], IG, AGS/N96, QSA; W 15 Apr.1915; Actg Under Chief Sec. to Under Sec. for Public Works, 06663, T8 May 1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Actg Under Chief Sec. to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 18 May 1916, 80G, AGS/N96, QSA; CPP Misc.Vol., 1920-21, p.293, T. Quilty; ASJ XI, 12 Jun.1919, pp.137, 139.

instructed when on patrol to check that 'coloured' workers held certificates of exemption and to report if they did not.⁵⁷

To secure closer supervision of non-European sugar workers, it was decided to intervene in the case then being heard in the Arbitration Court by acting judge F.W. Dickson. The Government requested that the following be included in the award: first, that all aboriginal natives of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands and persons substantially of such origin employed as sugar field workers, should be paid their wages in the presence of a government officer; and secondly, that a special scale of rations should be prescribed applicable to all cases where such field and mill workers were supplied with food as part of their remuneration. The justification for these requests recalled those given for the Pacific Island Labourers Acts of the previous century: "... where persons are and can be thought by the Legislature of a State to be foreign or unacquainted with our language, they should be protected in their dealings with persons requiring their services, ...".⁵⁸ This was hardly applicable to non-Europeans born in Australia, to whom these special provisions would also apply. Both suggestions, however, were incorporated in the Dickson award, handed down on 15 September 1916 - an award which aroused great controversy and bitter industrial disputes due to the substantial wage increases granted to sugar workers.⁵⁹

57. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Insp. under Workers Accommodation Act, 20 May 1916, memo., 07869, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA; Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops to Insp., 25 May 1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Scrivens to Under Chief Sec., 23 May 1916, *ibid.*; Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops to Scrivens, 6 Feb. 1918, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA.

58. QGG CVII, 1916, p.810. It was already stipulated under regulations proclaimed under the Sugar Acquisition Act in April 1916, that the treasurer could order that mill employees be paid their wages by a government officer or in his presence. Actg Under Chief Sec. to Under Sec. for Public Works, 06663, 18 May 1916, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; QGG CVII, 1916, p.794; QGG CVI, 1916, p.1479. See also Theodore's justification of the crown's intervention. QPD CXXIII, 1916-17, p.129.

59. QGG CVII, 1916, pp.615-16, 619-20; QPD CXXIII, 1916-17, pp.125-48; Murphy, T.J. Ryan, pp.178-81; Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, pp.273-83.

In mid-1916 also, a state board of inquiry into the sugar industry was collecting evidence. Martyn, representing the AWU, claimed that 'coloured' labour was increasing, and that there were nearly 2,000 such workers in northern canefields and sugar mills, chiefly in the Babinda, Johnstone, Herbert River and Burdekin districts: "...British labour is being largely shoved out of the industry by coloured people in the first instance, and secondly, by Southern Europeans...". In the Herbert River and Johnstone River districts, at least, it was in fact the second rather than the first category who were supplanting British sugar workers: 621 out of 790 cane cutters were non-British but three-quarters and more of these were southern Europeans.⁶⁰ In the 1920s, as will be seen, the presence of large numbers of southern Europeans became a source of intense industrial conflict.

OVER THE next decade there was a discernible pattern in regard to actions against the employment of non-Europeans in the sugar industry. The Labor Government could not legislate to satisfy AWU demands for the total exclusion of such labour. But the AWU continued its campaign against non-European sugar workers, with local organizers protesting that 'coloured aliens' were employed without certificates of exemption or in contravention of the award. The police and inspectors of factories and shops investigated such complaints and also collected information on the employment of 'coloured aliens'. Such information was often used in the hearing of the sugar awards in the Arbitration Court, where the AWU repeatedly pressed for the granting of preference in employment to its members principally on the grounds that this would effectively preclude the employment of non-Europeans (who were ineligible for union membership).

In May 1916, at the request of the acting premier, Theodore, police inspectors were instructed to keep a watch on the number of non-Europeans employed and to make periodic inspections for breaches of the Sugar

60. QPP II, 1916-17, pp.837, 838, 907, 908.

Cultivation Act.⁶¹ There were, however, complaints from the AWU in 1917 that the police would not act to stop 'coloured aliens' without certificates working in the sugar industry.⁶² In the Johnstone River district, the inspector of factories and shops, W. Watt, consistently checked on 'coloured' sugar workers and likewise felt that the police could do more to stop illegal employment.⁶³

Watt had suggested that the police could do more if authorised to demand certificates of exemption for inspection. This was taken up in a further regulation under the Sugar Cultivation Act issued on 22 September 1917: every holder of a certificate under the Act was to produce it for inspection, on demand, to members of the police force, police magistrates, clerks of petty sessions, or any persons authorized by the Department of Agriculture.⁶⁴

61. In this month they were also requested to report on the number of 'coloured' aliens employed, and these reports were sent in by August. Police Commissioner to Under Chief Sec., 24 May 1916, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Police Commissioner to Insp., 22 Aug. 1916, *ibid.*; Police Commissioner to Under Chief Sec., 11 Aug. 1916, *ibid.*; Police Commissioner to Under Chief Sec., 21 Aug. 1916, 1116, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

62. See Dunstan to Lennon, 3 Aug. 1917, forw. by Under Sec. for Agriculture to Police Commissioner, 21 Jul. 1917, 118G, AGS/N358, QSA; Smith to Police Insp., Townsville, 8 Aug. 1917, forw. to Police Commissioner, 23 Aug. 1917, *ibid.*; Quilty to Dunstan, 31 Oct. 1917, forw. by Dunstan to Theodore, 8 Nov. 1917, 123G, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Public Works to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 12 Jul. 1917, 80G, AGS/N96, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Police Commissioner, 16 Jul. 1917, *ibid.*

63. Watt prosecuted for several breaches of the Sugar Cultivation Act; he believed that the employers, who pleaded ignorance, were well aware of the illegality of their actions. Watt to Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops, 26 Jul. 1917, *ibid.*; Watt, Report to Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops, 2 Aug., 16 Aug. 1917, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA; Watt to Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops, 2 Aug., 10 Nov. 1917, *ibid.*; Breaches under the Sugar Cultivation Act, CSR/378(a), QSA.

64. Watt to Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops, 26 Jul. 1917, 80G, AGS/N96, QSA; Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 16 Aug. 1917, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Sec. for Public Works, 29 Aug. 1917, *ibid.*; QCG CIX, 1917, p.958. In 1918 Watt suggested that the inspectors of factories and shops should have the power to engage lawyers and prosecute cases as soon as possible, but this suggestion was rejected by the minister for agriculture on the grounds that the power to prosecute must remain with his department. Watt to Chief Insp. of Factories and Shops, 9 Jan. 1918, forw. by Chief Insp. to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 6 Feb. 1918, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Sec. for Public Works, 9 Feb. 1918, *ibid.*

Although in July the Government had reputedly been considering acting against growers who employed non-Europeans to harvest their cane⁶⁵, this was, in fact, the last Government-initiated action on the matter until 1924.

In May 1918, at a compulsory conference heard in Cairns by Mr Justice Thomas McCawley of the Industrial Court, complaints of victimisation against European workers and preference to Indian cane-cutters by the suppliers to the Mulgrave Mill, were settled by an agreement under which the mill would urge its suppliers to dismiss Indian cane-cutters and give preference to AWU members who had been refused work.⁶⁶ Indignant at this treatment, the Indians protested to the Commonwealth Government. The matter was discussed in the Queensland cabinet on 2 July but no action was taken. Yet Ryan later instructed that no notice was to be taken of unexempted Japanese working in the sugar industry.⁶⁷ McCawley also presided over a conference held in Innisfail in September, between cane-cutters and representatives of the Goondi, South Johnstone and Mourilyan Mills. Dunstan, for the AWU, requested that growers should employ only those 'coloured aliens' already engaged for harvesting. The manager at Goondi, F. Gillan, agreed to do so provided satisfactory other labour was available, and the other representatives promised to recommend this to their growers.⁶⁸

65. See Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 27 Jul.1917, P No.95, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA. The large growers such as G.R. Mayers, S.H. Warner and Dr Reed, were expecting to be served with writs, and intended to fight the Government through the courts.

66. W 27 Jun.1918. The Babinda and Mulgrave AWU local centres criticized the far northern district committee on the grounds that this agreement was not firm enough. Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, p.341.

67. Dept of Agriculture, Scrivens for Cabinet, 28 Jun.1918, memo., 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Dept of Agriculture, Scrivens for Cabinet, 4 Oct.1918, memo., ibid.

68. Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 12 Sep.1918, P No.85, 142/3086, RSSS-ANUA; CMP 5 May 1919. A meeting of unionists voted not to accept McCawley's recommendations (and end the strike) but a week later they resumed work.

In this same year appeals were launched against the legality of the Sugar Cultivation Act. In the Cairns police court on 16 August, a prosecution under the Sugar Cultivation Act became a test case when an Edmonton farmer, C. Butler, was fined £3 for employing three Indians without certificates; the Indians, Addar Khan, Nebbe Bucleish and Kar Deen, were each fined £1. Other such cases were adjourned when appeals were lodged against these convictions. Growers and Indian harvesters were preparing, if the appeals were dismissed, to collect separate funds for further legal action.⁶⁹ Their applications for quashing orders against the convictions were refused by the High Court of Queensland on 8 October but on 5 December they were granted the right to appeal to the Privy Council. CSR subscribed £100 to support Butler's appeal, on the grounds that the issue was not merely the employment of non-Europeans but that of the right to work of a British subject. The Company refused to be associated directly with the campaign. Chinese and Japanese residents in Cairns also donated generously to the appeal and in Mackay the Japanese sought the best legal advice on the constitutionality of the Sugar Cultivation Act. However, on 2 December 1919, Addar Khan's appeal was dismissed with costs by the Privy Council, and the validity of prosecutions under the Sugar Cultivation Act thereby confirmed.⁷⁰

69. NQR 26 Aug. 1915, pp. 3, 17; CMP 17 Aug. 1918. At Atlee Hunt's direction, an investigation was carried out into the length of residence in Australia of Butler's Indian employees, but all were found to be long-term residents. Hunt to Collector of Customs, 25 Sep. 1918, 11871, A1 18/14556, AA; Const. to Police Insp., Cairns, 16 Oct. 1918, ibid.

70. NQR 9 Dec. 1918, p. 13; BC 9 Oct., 5 Dec., 6 Dec. 1918; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p. 195, F.W. Martyn; General Manager to Manager, Hambledon, 31 Oct. 1918, P No. 24, p. 487, 142/1065, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Hambledon, 29 Nov. 1918, P No. 260, p. 113, 142/1066, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 14 Dec. 1918, P No. 64, 22 Mar. 1919, P No. 178, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Homebush, to General Manager, 27 Oct. 1919, P No. 18, 142/3101, RSSS-ANUA; Privy Council Appeal No. 78 of 1919, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA. According to Scrivens, the appeal was dismissed principally because the appellants did not support their case with evidence. Scrivens to Under Chief Sec., 23 Nov. 1920, ibid.

According to H.K.N. Macdonnell, a Cairns lawyer, Cairns farmers deliberately inaugurated these appeals as a means of delaying the general application of the legislation and of providing them with a period of grace in which to recruit suitable 'white' labour. Such labour had been procured by the time the Privy Council made their decision.⁷¹ Presumably the Indians, Chinese and Japanese who helped to fund the appeal were unaware of this opportunistic motivation.

During this period, Pooran Dabee Singh again protested against the discriminatory treatment afforded to the Indians. He wrote to Ryan and met with Ryan and also Lennon. Lennon again refused to issue additional certificates of exemption and cabinet on 23 September 1919 reaffirmed this policy, despite further protests from the Indians and Japanese.⁷²

Not only would no more exemptions be granted. In this same year, the Arbitration Court imposed close restrictions on the employment of 'coloured aliens' who held certificates. In late 1918 and 1919 unemployment was high in Queensland and very high in North Queensland; the post-war period was marked by great social upheaval and tense industrial relations.⁷³ In this climate, the AWU believed that urgent steps were necessary to remove 'coloured' labour; T. Quilty, on behalf of the far northern district committee, complained to Lennon in February 1919 that

71. H.K.N. MacDonnell, 'Early Days In and Around Cairns - Sugar Industry', Historical Society Cairns, North Queensland Bulletin No.196, Mar.1976.

72. MM 29 Jan.1919; BC 24 Jan., 25 Jan.1919; Notes in connection with a deputation of Indians to the Minister for Agriculture, 22 Jan.1919, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Chief Sec. 29 Mar.1921, 161G, ibid. In February CSR were assisting Singh, but not directly, to obtain information on the number of Indians without exemption who had been refused work, and also the number of Germans employed in the sugar industry. Manager, Brisbane, to General Manager, 7 Feb.1919, 142/3049, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Brisbane, 13 Feb.1919, 142/1066, RSSS-ANUA.

73. Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, pp.411, 413-14.

...the menace seems to be becoming greater each year, and areas that were practically all white previously, are employing a number of coloured aliens...The situation is a very serious one for us, and unless something can be done it will only be a matter of time till the sugar industry is a coloured one again.⁷⁴

Lennon, in reply, pointed out that the Government could not legislate to solve the problem since an agreement with the Commonwealth Government in 1917 prevented any alteration in sugar legislation until the end of 1920.⁷⁵

But the Arbitration Court was not so bound.⁷⁶ During May and June ^{Mr Justice} McCawley heard evidence in the sugar award, first at Cairns, and then at the other sugar centres and in Brisbane. Information on the number of 'coloured aliens' employed in the sugar districts, the number with exemption certificates and the circumstances of the payment of wages to them, was collected by the police in early May, as the result of an urgent request by Martyn (appearing for the AWU).⁷⁷ Part of this information is presented in Appendix F. The AWU argued strongly for preference to AWU members as a solution to the 'coloured' labour question. Martyn contended

74. Quilty to Lennon, 19 Feb. 1919, 3483, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA. The number of disputes caused by 'coloured' labour had also been mentioned at the annual delegate meeting of the AWU in January, and in May the northern district secretary complained about the employment of non-Europeans to the manager of the Macknade Mill. W 16 Jan. 1919; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 22 May 1919, No. 365, 142/1502, RSSS-ANUA.

75. Scrivens to Quilty, 27 Feb. 1919, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA. For the terms of the agreement see QPP I, 1918, pp. 1160-63; Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, p. 282.

76. The Government may have had some influence on the Arbitration Court's decision to restrict 'coloured' labour. See Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 31 May 1919, P No. 134a, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA.

77. Dunstan to Huxham, 2 May 1919, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Police Commissioner to Insp., Cairns, Townsville and Maryborough, 3 May 1919, telegram, *ibid.*; Insp., Cairns, to Police Commissioner, 6 May 1919, telegram, 6 May 1919, urgent telegram, 7 May 1919, telegrams, *ibid.*; Insp., Townsville, to Police Commissioner, 12 May 1919, telegram, *ibid.*

that "the coloured aliens are working utterly in disregard of the award, and against the whole spirit of the legislation on the matter", and much of the evidence collected was in the same vein: non-Europeans were increasing in number, working longer hours and for lower wages, and being employed during the slack season in preference to Europeans. The situation was exacerbated by the presence of many unemployed returned soldiers.⁷⁸

The new sugar award was handed down on 27 June 1919. In his judgment McCawley concluded that many larger employers did indeed give preference to 'coloured aliens', especially in the Cairns district; while it had not been proven that these men worked longer hours for less remuneration, it was clear that they were not paid their wages in the presence of a government officer. This trend, "unless altered, is bound sooner or later to lead to a serious industrial upheaval focussing the attention of Australia on the extent to which coloured labour is still employed in the industry". Preference to the AWU was not granted, but a new provision stipulated that no 'coloured' labour was to be employed in cane-cutting or, from 1 January 1920, in connection with sugar cultivation on any farm planted with more than seventy-five acres of cane. The owner of a cane farm, however, could employ his own countrymen.⁷⁹

Before leaving Cairns, McCawley urged farmers and the CSR manager not to take on 'coloured' gangs during the crushing season, and his advice

78. CMP 2 May, 3 May 1919; ASJ XI, 12 Jun. 1919, pp.132, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141; Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 5 May 1919, P No.181, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Victoria, to General Manager, 15 May 1919, P No.121, 142/3151, RSSS-ANUA; QCG CXIII, 1919, p.31. The ASPA and the UCGA declared themselves against the employment of non-Europeans but were not in favour of preference.

79. The provisions stipulating that non-Europeans must receive special rations and be paid their wages in the presence of a government officer, were maintained. QIG IV, 1919, pp.518, 519, 521; NQR 12 May 1919, p.81. This award is referred to briefly in Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.309; Bailey, 'The Legal Position of Foreigners in Australia', p.42.

was largely heeded.⁸⁰ CSR directed that no new 'coloured aliens' should be taken on but continued to employ old hands.⁸¹ While disappointed by the refusal to grant preference, the AWU welcomed the prohibition on 'coloured' labour, which was described at the annual delegate meeting in January 1920 as "the only bright spot" in the award.⁸²

In May and June 1919, a royal commission on the sugar industry appointed by the Commonwealth Government was also collecting evidence in Queensland. The AWU vigorously protested against the growing menace of non-European labour. In Cairns the Japanese society tendered evidence, claiming that all the Japanese in the district were long-standing, legal residents, and their arguments were supported by Shimizu, the consul-general. He wrote not only to the commission but also to the Commonwealth Government. His letter was forwarded to Ryan, and the Commonwealth briefly considered legislation to nullify the new award.⁸³ While evidence on the 'coloured alien' question was taken, the issue was not considered

80. See Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 5 May 1919, P No.181, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA; Actg Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 14 May 1919, No.577, 142/965, RSSS-ANUA; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, pp.183, F.W. Martyn, p. 277, F.C.P. Curlewis; NQR 12 May 1919, p.81; CMP 21 Jun.1919. Some of the large growers had argued that 'coloured' labour was more dependable and necessary in the newer sugar districts such as Babinda. ASJ XI, 12 Jun.1919, p.144, 8 Aug.1919, pp.305-6; CMP 5 May, 20 Jun.1919.

81. Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 3 Jul.1919, P No.120, 142/3086, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Hambleton, 5 Jun.1919, P No.295, p.149, 142/1067, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 5 Jun.1919, P No.197, p.150, ibid.; General Manager to Manager, Victoria, 5 Jun.1919, P No.238, and also sent to Manager, Goondi, P No.266, p.151, ibid.; General Manager to Actg Manager, Homebush, 9 Jul.1919, P No.243, p.197, ibid. The Hambleton suppliers committee were pressuring growers to harvest with 'white' labour. Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 10 Jun.1919, P No.184, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA.

82. A motion was carried that AWU organizers should be given the power to demand information from responsible officials (such as police officers) on the employment of 'coloured aliens' in sugar districts, so that the AWU could assist in ensuring that the award was observed. NQR 28 Jul. 1919, p.55; Australian Workers' Union, Official Report of the Seventh Annual Delegate Meeting, Brisbane, January 1920 (Brisbane 1920), pp.10, 13, 42.

83. Shimizu to Sec. for Home and Territories, 6 Jun.1919, telegram, A457 0108/6, AA; Actg Prime Min. to Actg Premier of Qld., 10 Jun.1919, ibid.; Hunt to Shepherd, 29 Jul.1919, ibid.; Piesse to Sec. for Prime Min., 14 Aug.1919, ibid.; Commonwealth Government Gazette II, 1919, pp.497-98.

to be within the scope of the commission's enquiry, and the McCawley award was gazetted before the commission had finished taking evidence.⁸⁴

The restrictions on cane-cutting and cultivation in the McCawley award elicited protests not only from the Japanese. In March 1920, a petition from sixty-two Pacific Islanders in the Mackay district was sent to E.B. Swayne, member for Mirani, to be presented to the Queensland Parliament. The Government was asked

to reparate [sic] us to our homes or Find some
place and Establish us so as we can live and Give
us a genuine Market for our Goods as we are
debarred [sic] by act from working in sugar Farms
Grown by white labor or white Farmers...

James Pearce, a local farmer, who forwarded this petition to Swayne, also raised the matter at a meeting of the Mackay branch of the UCGA but was given no support.⁸⁵ The Indians also protested. In 1920 a petition from Indian residents was sent to the governor of Queensland. Theodore met delegations of Indians in March and December and memorandums on the subject were drawn up.⁸⁶ Later in the year, a protest concerning the disabilities suffered by Indian residents in Queensland was received from the Indians

84. CPP IV, 1920-21, p.916, Misc.Vol., 1920-21, pp.183, 184, 195, F.W. Martyn, pp.297-98, A. Murray; A1 19/13433, passim, AA.

85. Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, 3 Mar.1920, Mackay, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; J. Pearce to Swayne, 8 Feb.1920, *ibid.*; Newspaper cutting, *MM* 18 Apr.1920, *ibid.*; *MM* 20 Apr.1920. For the response to this appeal, see Chapter 7, p.286-87.

86. The secretary of state for India was concerned that no more exemptions would be issued under the Sugar Cultivation Act, and that the Act was not being administered in a generous spirit. Dept of Agriculture, Employment of Indians and Japanese in Sugar cane fields, 13 Feb.1920[?], memo., 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Scrivens for Cabinet. Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, 2 Mar. 1920, memo., *ibid.*; Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, 16 Feb.1924, memo., *ibid.*; Dept of Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 19 Dec.1924, memo., *ibid.*; Milner to Goold-Adams. Qld.No.51, 22 Oct.1919, forw. by Goold-Adams to Theodore, 19 Dec.1919, 13436, *ibid.*

Overseas Association.⁸⁷

Such protests had no effect. Over the next few years the impact of the McCawley award was to reduce substantially the employment of non-Europeans in the sugar industry. But it did not supply a final solution to the problem, since 'coloured aliens' could still be employed in the cultivation of sugar cane on farms owned by their countrymen or on small farms. Only total prohibition would satisfy the AWU and its members, and in future sugar award hearings, the AWU continued to argue for preference to unionists as the most effective method of removing 'coloured' labour from the industry.

IN MAY 1920 police inspectors in Townsville, Cairns and Maryborough again collected information on the number of 'coloured aliens' working in sugar, the number with certificates of exemption and the names of the principal employers (see Appendix F).⁸⁸ These returns were intended for the use of Judge MacNaughton, who was hearing the current Sugar Field and Mill Workers Award, but were not received till after his judgment was delivered on 3 June. MacNaughton commented that the question of 'coloured' labour was important only in the far north, where large growers continued to prefer such labour. Although the AWU claim for preference was again rejected, MacNaughton sought to tighten further the restrictions on 'coloured' labour by amending two provisions of the 1919 award. The maximum acreage of cane planted on farms employing 'coloured' labour for cultivation was reduced from seventy-five to forty acres. Since the clause requiring their wages to be paid in the presence of a government officer was a dead letter, it was stipulated that

87. Since this was a matter with possible international consequences, Hughes requested a copy of Theodore's reply. H.S.L. Polak to Under Sec. for State, 9 Jan.1920, forw. by Sec. of State to Prime Min., No.7, 26 Jan.1920, forw. by Prime Min. to Premier, 30 Aug.1920, ibid., also in A1 20/5592, AA; Dept of Agriculture, Employment of Indians and Japanese in Sugar cane fields, 13 Feb.1920, [?], memo., 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Under Chief Sec., 23 Nov.1920, ibid.

88. Police Commissioner to Insp., Townsville, Cairns and Maryborough, 24 May 1920, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Insp., Cairns, to Police Commissioner, 27 May, 28 May, 29 May 1920, telegrams, ibid.; Insp., Townsville, to Police Commissioner, 27 May 1920, ibid. This information was forwarded to the home secretary, who had requested the information.

non-observation of this provision would constitute a breach of the award - thus placing the onus on the employer to comply with this requirement.⁸⁹

MacNaughton repeated a warning given by McCawley in 1919, that legislation might be necessary to preserve the industry for 'white' labour. The Government, however, was again bound - perhaps conveniently - by the new sugar agreement with the Commonwealth Government concluded on 18 March 1920, against any legislative or administrative act inconsistent with the agreement.⁹⁰

In 1921 the AWU continued its efforts to remove 'coloured' labour from the sugar industry. In Cairns in February about 200 Japanese were evicted from their regular work in Babinda and other sugar areas. It was rumoured that they would protest strongly to their consul-general, but there is no evidence that they did so. Later in the same month the local AWU branch warned the Babinda Farmers' Association that there would be severe industrial trouble if the sugar award's provisions concerning the employment of 'coloured aliens' continued to be breached. The Association expressed its opposition to such employment and asked to be informed of any such contravention of the award.⁹¹

A new sugar award was handed down by Judge MacNaughton on 4 July 1921. Pritchard, for the ASPA, had argued that the award already met every reasonable demand against the employment of 'coloured' labour and that these men were chiefly employed by their own countrymen. Nevertheless, preference was granted to AWU members on farms with over forty acres of sugar cane, though this still allowed small farmers to employ non-union labour. In the case of mill workers, the preference clause did not apply to those persons employed at the mills last season who were unable to join the AWU, and

89. The special dietary requirements for non-Europeans were maintained. QIG V, 1920, pp.579, 580, 582, 586, 588.

90. QIG IV, 1919, p.518, V, 1920, p.579; CPP IV, 1920-21, p.903.

91. NOR 21 Feb.1921, p.17; CMP 22 Feb.1921. In January AWU members were requested to report any breaches of the prohibition of the employment of non-Europeans on farms with over forty acres of cane. W 20 Jan.1921.

therefore non-Europeans could be kept on in such employment. MacNaughton granted preference largely to prevent the employment of 'coloured' labour, which, he considered, some employers still used to an undesirable extent.⁹²

The combination of the Sugar Cultivation Act and the sugar awards handed down in 1919, 1920 and 1921 had a marked impact on the employment of non-Europeans. The very significant reduction between May 1919 and May 1920 in the number of non-Europeans employed, particularly in the far north, is highlighted in Appendix F. Since 1915, CSR's policy had been to retain the services of long-term non-European employees but not to engage any others.⁹³ In October 1919 in Mackay Pacific Islanders were put off by farmers on the advice of the local constable; one Islander, Jimmy Tanna, told the police magistrate that he was unemployed because he was debarred from cane-cutting by the award. The petition from Pacific Islanders in Mackay in 1920, which has been quoted, is further evidence of the award's effect.⁹⁴ Other groups were similarly affected. In January 1921, for instance, three Indians put off by an Innisfail farmer after he had been warned that he was contravening the award, applied to the Government for relief rations.⁹⁵

92. In March, police inspectors once again were instructed to forward urgently returns on 'coloured aliens' in the sugar industry, but this information (which had been requested by the ASPA) was not used during the hearings for the award. ASJ XIII, 10 Jun.1921, p.187; QIG VI, 1921, pp.531, 532, 536, 537, 538; General Manager to Manager, Victoria, 14 Jun., telegram, 16 Jun.1921, No.869, pp.329, 333, 142/1572, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 15 Jun., telegram, 16 Jun.1921, No.924, pp.17, 19, 142/1527, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Hambleton, to General Manager, 24 Jun.1921, No.772, 142/966, RSSS-ANUA.

93. General Manager to Manager, Homebush, 18 May 1916, No.161, 142/1247, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Hambleton, 20 Jul.1916, P No.66, p.466, 142/1061, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 5 Jun.1919, P No.197, p.150, 142/1067, RSSS-ANUA. Even Martyn admitted that CSR did not employ 'coloured' labour to any great extent. CPP Misc.Vol., 1920-21, p.199.

94. Manager, Homebush, to General Manager, 6 Oct.1919, P No.114, 142/3101, RSSS-ANUA; MM 14 Oct.1919. As a result of this petition, a suggestion to establish a reserve for Pacific Islanders was investigated in 1921. See Chapter 7.

95. NQR 31 Jan.1921, p.27. For other examples, see NOR 14 Nov.1921, p.49, 26 May 1924, p.31; Manager, Goondi, to General Manager, 3 Jul.1919, P No.120, 142/3086, RSSS-ANUA.

The Sugar Cultivation Act and the sugar award were being applied stringently. In the last quarter of 1921, in Cairns, Ayr, Ingham and Mackay, there were numerous prosecutions for such breaches of the award as employing 'coloured aliens' on farms with over forty acres of cane, or failing to pay wages in the presence of a government officer. In October, for example, an Ayr farmer was fined for employing two Islanders on a farm planted with more than forty acres of cane. In this same month, clerks of petty sessions were advised that no dictation tests were to be given to any 'coloured aliens' until their applications had first been considered by the Department of Agriculture.⁹⁶

There was also considerable agitation, in these post-war years, to ensure that preference was given to returned soldiers in employment in the sugar industry, especially over non-Europeans and especially in the mills. In May 1919, the Ryan Government asked local authorities to give preference to returned soldiers over unnaturalised aliens.⁹⁷ The Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia was rapidly becoming a powerful pressure group, to which mill owners and growers were eager to demonstrate their patriotism. Both CSR and Pioneer Sugar Mills had policies of employing returned soldiers wherever possible.⁹⁸ In 1921 at the annual conference of the Townsville district branch of the League, opposition was expressed to the employment of Japanese at the Pioneer and Inkerman Mills, but the

96. NQR 31 Oct., p.17, 14 Nov., p.49, 21 Nov., p.10, 5 Dec., p.36, 12 Dec.1921, p.5; MM 17 Nov.1921; CMP 5 Nov.1921; W 2 Feb.1922; W. Watt vs. G. Rubagotti, 21 Oct.1921, CPS 12H/S4, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 20 Oct.1921, Circular No.799, 164G, AGS/N361, QSA.

97. NQR 19 May 1919, p.9. See also BC 15 Mar.1920; QPD CXXXIV, 1919-20, pp.2703, 2970; Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, pp.335-36.

98. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 5 Jun.1919, P No.197, p.150, 142/1067, RSSS-ANUA; Smith to Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia, Charters Towers, 18 Sep.1919, p.91, and Smith to J. Leahy, Ayr, 28 May 1920, p.463, Pioneer Mill Letter Book, 1919-20.

meeting was assured that when their contracts expired they would be replaced by returned soldiers. The League's attitude to all unnaturalized aliens (including Europeans) was revealed at the state annual conferences in 1920 and 1921: on both occasions motions were carried to deport all such people.⁹⁹

The preference granted to AWU members by Judge MacNaughton did not remove all 'coloured' sugar workers, who could still cultivate cane for small farmers. In Cairns in December 1921, James Larcombe, the minister for railways, was asked by an AWU deputation to request the Government to legislate to exclude all 'coloured' labour from the industry; as promised, he referred the matter to Gillies, the minister for agriculture.¹⁰⁰

Further protests were made at the annual delegate meeting of the Queensland branch of the AWU in January 1922, and two resolutions received from the Cairns branch were carried, and passed on to the executive for immediate action. These urged the Government to amend the Sugar Cultivation Act so that all 'coloured aliens' were entirely eliminated from the sugar industry and also, as an immediate precaution against illegal employment, to call in all certificates of exemption and cancel those not received by a certain date.¹⁰¹ The Theodore Government was not prepared to legislate, but in later years an examination of certificates of exemption was undertaken.

99. NQR 31 Jan.1921, p.33, 15 Mar.1920, p.73, 8 Aug.1921, p.82. For other instances of the League's opposition to 'coloured aliens', see QIG IV, 1919, p.518; NQR 31 Jan.1921, p.33, 26 Jun.1922, p.20; Sec. of ASPA to Prime Min., 1 Aug.1922, A457 0108/6, AA.

100. NQR 19 Dec.1921, p.37. On 9 September 1919, Lennon was appointed speaker of the House and Gillies became minister for agriculture.

101. It was claimed that many farmers had subdivided their farms amongst family members in order to meet the forty acre restriction on the employment of 'coloured' labour, and that many non-European farmers employed countrymen who were not exempted. W 2 Feb.1922.

The Government did advise local authorities to be vigilant in detecting evasions of the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar award, and to press for heavy penalties in prosecuting such breaches. The AWU had complained that there had been no prosecution of See Chin, a wealthy Chinese farmer in the Cairns district, although police were aware that most of his thirty employees did not hold certificates of exemption. In May 1922 See Chin was finally fined for employing an unexempted 'coloured alien'. Further charges were adjourned when his solicitor appealed against the conviction, on the grounds that Section 4 of the Sugar Cultivation Act was inconsistent with and replaced by Clause 4 of the present Sugar Field and Mill Workers Award. The Crown gave in and filed a consent.¹⁰² When the other cases against See Chin were heard in December, only a nominal fine was imposed.¹⁰³

Strict enforcement of the Sugar Cultivation Act and the sugar award was continued in 1923 and 1924. In Babinda, farmers put off 'coloured' employees when AWU members threatened to place an embargo on their cane. But by early 1924 farmers were again employing non-Europeans, and further embargoes by AWU members were expected. In February 1924 the far northern district committee again called on the Government to legislate to prevent the employment of 'coloured aliens'.¹⁰⁴ The matter was raised in caucus on

102. Section 4 of the Sugar Cultivation Act prohibited the employment of any person not exempted from the Act's operation; Clause 4 of the sugar award prohibited the employment of 'coloured' labour in cane-cutting, or in the cultivation of cane on farms with over forty acres. Ibid.; CMP 5 May 1922; NQR 15 May 1922, p.10. In the previous year an Innisfail farmer had sought legal advice on whether he could fight against the prohibition on 'coloured' labour, but apparently decided against it. NQR 31 Jan.1921, p.27.

103. Cairns Times cited in NQR 1 Jan.1923, p.29; Insp., Cairns, to Police Commissioner, 13 Mar.1923, 08183, 1336M, POL/J40, QSA. For other prosecutions under the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar award, see W 27 Apr.1922; NQR 15 May 1922, p.10; QPP II, 1922, pp.455, 457.

104. See Chief Insp. to Police Commissioner, 5 Dec.1923, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Campbell to Dunstan, 7 Feb.1924, forw. by Dunstan to Gillies, 14 Feb.1924, 05577, ibid.; Under Chief Sec. to Dunstan, 20 Feb.1924, 1306, ibid.; Under Home Sec. to Police Commissioner, 20 Feb.1924, 05692, ibid.; Police Commissioner to Insp., 29 Feb.1924, Circular No.1250, ibid.; D. Brophy to Insp., Cairns, 2 Jan.1924, 170G, AGS/N361, QSA; Const. to Actg Serg., Gordonvale, 1 Feb.1924, ibid.

4 March and 30 April, and a resolution was submitted to cabinet that immediate action should be taken to examine all certificates issued under the Sugar Cultivation Act and to prosecute, and cancel the certificates of, all those who presented certificates which had not been issued to them originally.¹⁰⁵ Such action (and even then without prosecutions or cancellations) was not carried out effectively until 1933.

In May 1924 in Townsville, Judge J. Douglas began taking evidence for the new sugar award. AWU members continued to complain of the competition from non-European sugar workers, claiming that their numbers were not decreasing and the provisions in the award were disregarded. A return given in of 'coloured' mill employees in Queensland, however, revealed that there were only 129 thus employed. In handing down the award on 4 July, Douglas stated that such evasions of the award could not be prevented unless some sort of registration was made of every 'coloured' sugar worker. As long as the Government permitted the employment of such people, it was not within the province of the Arbitration Court to prohibit it absolutely.¹⁰⁶

The Government was not prepared to enact such legislation, and similarly chose to ignore protests in December 1924 against the (legitimate) employment of exempted Japanese by Pioneer Sugar Mills.¹⁰⁷ However, Gillies attempted to deal with one of the AWU's complaints. On 24 May 1924, a further regulation was gazetted under the Sugar Cultivation Act, requiring all those with certificates to submit them, between 1 January and 31 March in each year, to the nearest clerk of petty sessions for comparison of the fingerprints on the certificate with those of the holder; any unsatisfactory certificates would be impounded. This regulation was designed to

105. Scrivens prepared a memorandum for Gillies on the subject of exemptions under and prosecutions for breaches of the Sugar Cultivation Act, advising him that the alternatives were to continue with the present policy of not granting any further exemptions and prosecuting all offenders, or to rescind the earlier decision and issue more certificates of exemption. Sugar Cultivation Act 1913, Scrivens to Gillies, 16 Feb. 1924, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA; Caucus Minutes, Parliamentary Labor Party, 4 Mar. 1924, p. 164, 30 Apr. 1924, p. 169.

106. W 29 May, 5 Jun., 12 Jun., 19 Jun. 1924; BC 13 Jun. 1924; QIG IX, 1924, pp. 610, 619. See also ASJ XVI, 8 Aug. 1924, p. 296; W 10 Jul. 1924.

107. Dept of Agriculture, Sugar Cultivation Act, 19 Dec. 1924, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

prevent trafficking in certificates.¹⁰⁸

It was claimed that the certificates of dead 'coloured aliens' were taken and used by countrymen; in order to prevent this, the police and clerks of petty sessions often reclaimed the certificates when their holders died, and returned them to the Department of Agriculture. In cases where certificates were lost, rigorous checks were made before duplicates were issued.¹⁰⁹ The new regulation would mean more stringent checks. In July 1924, for example, the certificate produced by George Anafun, a Malaitan in Mackay, was impounded when it was discovered that his fingerprints did not match those on the certificate. An extensive investigation was finally closed when Anafun produced his own certificate which he had confused with that of Taromai's, a deceased Solomon Islander.¹¹⁰

Throughout North Queensland in 1924 and 1925, there were many prosecutions for breaches of the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar award, with police magistrates threatening to impose the maximum penalty on future offenders.¹¹¹ Such prosecutions continued throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s but in gradually decreasing numbers. The Arbitration Court's

108. QPP II, 1924, p.347; ASJ XVI, 6 Jun.1924, p.189; BI 3 Jun.1924. Since 1913 there had been intermittent complaints that certificates were being used by persons other than their original holders. See Applic. No. 325E, Charley Aban, AGS/N100, QSA; Extract from A.E. Carling to Dunstan, forw. by Dunstan to Lennon, 3 Aug.1917, 118G, AGS/N358, QSA; W 9 Feb.1922, 29 May 1924.

109. For some examples, see Applic. No.899E, Alec Ondoo, 861E, Walter Mylung, 827E, Mathew Malachi, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.980E, Taromai, 994E, Harry Tarryango, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.390E, Luke Logomier, AGS/N100, QSA.

110. The certificate had been issued under the name of Hanfin, which added to the confusion. Applic. No.360E, Hanfin, ibid. For other such examples, see Applic.No.813E, Charley Maui, AGS/N102, QSA; NQR 2 Feb.1925, p.63; GMP 26 Jan.1925.

111. See NQR 26 May, p.88, 4 Aug., p.98, 15 Dec.1924, p.103, 9 Feb., p.33, 20 Jul., p.97, 23 Nov.1925, p.40; W 29 May 1924, 29 Jan.1925; GMP 11 Mar.1925; FM 26 Feb.1925; Senior Serg. to Insp., Cairns, 26 May 1925, M1336, POL/J40, QSA.

restrictions had effectively reduced if not eliminated the employment of non-Europeans. By 1929 W.H. Doherty, secretary of the Queensland Cane Growers' Council, could claim that to all intents and purposes there was no 'coloured' labour in the sugar industry.¹¹² In future sugar awards there were no further provisions aimed specifically at limiting the employment of non-Europeans.

Protests against the employment of non-Europeans continued intermittently, as also did attempts by the Government to tighten up the operation of the Sugar Cultivation Act. In 1927 the issue of the Japanese working for Pioneer Sugar Mills was again raised, when the Ayr branch of the Labor Party protested that unexempted Japanese were using the certificates of countrymen who had died or left Australia. The under secretary for agriculture, J. Munro, pointed out that this was not possible under the regulation gazetted in 1924, which required certificates to be presented annually to the nearest clerk of petty sessions for inspection and comparison of the fingerprints of the holder with those on the certificate.¹¹³ In fact, as Munro later admitted, this regulation had been a dead letter. Under a new regulation gazetted on 27 July 1929, employers of 'coloured aliens' were required to furnish yearly returns concerning such employees.¹¹⁴

112. Doherty to G.F. Hudson, 7 Aug.1929, 8955, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA. See, for examples of prosecutions, NQR 17 Jan., p.38, 7 Feb.1927, p.8, 29 Oct.1928, p.31; MM 5 Nov.1932; QPP I, 1927, pp.1105-7. By the late 1930s, breaches of the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar award by non-Europeans do not seem to have been prosecuted, as two examples of Pacific Islanders in cane-cutting gangs illustrate. Compulsory Conference, Industrial Magistrate's Court, 7 Sep.1937, A/20620, QSA; Industrial Inspector vs Edward Tass, 16 Oct.1940, CPS 10B/S27, QSA.

113. NQR 21 Mar.1927, p.87; Minister's Questions, Dept of Agriculture, 6 Sep.1927, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA. In 1928 this ALP branch was again concerned at the employment of non-Europeans. See NQR 19 Mar.1928, p.11.

114. Apart from the Japanese in Ayr, very few non-Europeans had presented their certificates for inspection. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Doherty, 28 Nov.1929, 8955, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; Munro to Sec. for Agriculture, 30 Apr.1929, ibid.; QGG CXXXIII, 1929, p.223; Dept of Agriculture, The Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, 24 May 1929, 8955, memo., 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA. For the response of CSR, see General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 31 Jul.1929, No.45, p.139, 142/1532, RSSS-ANUA.

While the mills forwarded such returns, these were not forthcoming from the farmers. In 1931 in an attempt to enforce compliance with the regulations, clerks of petty sessions were asked to supply the names of those who had produced their certificates for inspection, and also the names and addresses of growers who had employed non-Europeans in 1930.¹¹⁵

This latest regulation had failed to provide the Department of Agriculture with a complete record of these 'coloured aliens' still employed in the sugar industry. In 1929 Munro had suggested that an officer of the Department should be sent to the largest centres to check on certificates of exemption, so that those who did not produce them for annual inspection could be prosecuted. This proposal was finally taken up in 1933. In March 1933, F.W. Bulcock, the minister for agriculture, received a deputation from the Cairns AWU branch, protesting against the employment contrary to the award of Indian cane-cutters by Indian farmers. When cabinet discussed the matter in early April, it was decided to hold a 'muster' of all non-Europeans who came under the operation of the Sugar Cultivation Act, in order to ascertain their total number and the proportion who were illegally employed in the industry.¹¹⁶

Police inspectors were advised that Munro would be conducting this 'census' in sugar centres from Bundaberg north, and that they were to ensure that those persons involved presented themselves. Just before the 'census' began, the threatened industrial dispute broke out in Cairns over the Indian cane-cutters. It was finally resolved when the Indian farmers agreed to replace their countrymen with European gangs.¹¹⁷

115. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Clerks of Petty Sessions, 1 Apr. 1931, Circular, 1019, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA. The Department then asked the growers to explain why they had failed to comply with the regulation. See Under Sec. for Agriculture to Y. Endo, Homebush, 23 Apr. 1931, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Agriculture to G. Okada, 23 Apr. 1931, *ibid.*

116. A recent meeting of cane-cutters at Freshwater had resolved that these Indians should not be employed in the present season if they themselves were unemployed. Notes of a Deputation from J. Campbell, District Sec., AWU, Cairns, to Min. for Agriculture, 20 Mar. 1933, *ibid.*; Newspaper cutting, *Daily Mail* 13 Mar. 1933, *ibid.*

117. Under Sec. for Agriculture to Police Commissioner, 6 Apr. 1933, 09970, M1336, POL/J40, also in 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872. OSA: Police Commissioner to Insps., Cairns, Townsville, Rockhampton and Maryborough, 24 Apr. 1933, memo., M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Advertisement for Census, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; Sec. of Freshwater ALP to Min. for Agriculture, 12 May 1933, *ibid.*; *CMP* 29 May, 30 May, 31 May, 1 Jun. 1933.

The 'census' was held in late May and early June. In late July Munro reported that only 208 (including 74 Pacific Islanders) of the original 1,558 non-Europeans issued with certificates, had presented themselves, either with their certificates or to say that they had lost these in cyclones or floods. An additional twelve (including three Islanders) claimed to have been issued with certificates which could not be found under those names. A 'large number' without certificates had also attended to ascertain their position in regard to future employment in the sugar industry. Many were born in Australia and had believed themselves to be exempt from the Sugar Cultivation Act's operation; others claimed that through ignorance they had failed to apply for certificates, although eligible as long-standing residents. There were also some cane growers who had only recently discovered that they were contravening the Act.¹¹⁸ No action was taken against these people in the following years. As Bulcock commented in forwarding the 'census' results to the AWU secretary, C. Fallon, large numbers of those originally issued with certificates had died, left the industry or the State, and most of the remainder would soon be too old to work.¹¹⁹

CLEARLY the declining numbers of non-European sugar workers, due both to the effect of the restrictions imposed on their employment and the loss of many through death, departure or retirement, contributed to the lessening of agitation against them by the labour movement. An equally significant factor was that from the mid-1920s the AWU turned its attention to what was perceived as a greater threat to its achievements in the sugar

118. There were twenty-six Pacific Islanders amongst thirty-six 'Uncertificated Persons Born in Australia' and four Islanders amongst twenty-three 'Uncertificated Growers'. Munro to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 27 Jul.1933, and encl. lists, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; Dept of Agriculture, 14 Sep.1933, memo., ibid.

119. Sec. for Agriculture to Fallon, 24 Jul.1933, ibid. Since only five non-Europeans had been examined and had passed the dictation test between 1928 and 1933, it was very unlikely that large numbers without certificates would have been able to gain exemption. Dept of Agriculture, 14 Sep.1933, ibid.

industry - the increasingly high proportions of southern Europeans, principally Italians, in the sugar districts of North Queensland. While there was antagonism to their purchase of cane farms, it was their engagement as sugar workers which most concerned the union. Although the reaction to Italian migrants can only be briefly described, it is integral to an understanding of the labour movement's campaign against non-Europeans.

Italian immigration to North Queensland had begun in 1891, and even then the small number of indentured labourers had drawn opposition from British workers.¹²⁰ Large-scale Italian immigration to Queensland only began in 1922, but quickly drew opposition from not only the AWU but also the cane growers' associations and patriotic groups such as the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia. The League and the Australian Natives Association were opposed to aliens acquiring land, and concerned that the British element in the sugar industry would be swamped.¹²¹ However, the canegrowers' associations took a more conciliatory line, emphasizing that those of British descent remained the majority of farmers, cane-cutters and mill workers except in certain centres, such as Babinda, Goondi, Mourilyan and the Herbert River.¹²²

Some unionists had displayed hostility to southern Europeans before the 'invasion'.¹²³ As with reactions to non-Europeans, the hostility to

120. See Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.202-3; Mercer, Racial Attitudes towards Melanesians in Queensland, pp.193-94.

121. See NQR 27 Jul.1925, p.59; ASJ XIV, 4 Aug.1922, p.241; M.A. Gurdon, Australian Attitudes to Italy and Italians, 1922-36 With special reference to Queensland (B.A. Hons, University of Queensland, 1970), pp.93-94; Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, p.271.

122. ASJ XV, 6 Apr.1923, p.71, 8 Feb.1924, p.637, XXI, 4 Apr.1929, pp.7-8, XXII, 5 Jun., pp.131-33, 3 Jul.1930, p.251; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, pp.168-70; L.D. Henderson, 'Economic or Racist - Australia's Reactions to Italians in North Queensland, 1921-1939', in Reynolds (ed.), Race Relations in North Queensland, p.346.

123. See OPP II, 1916-17, pp.837, 908-9; ASJ VIII, 8 Feb.1917, p.778; NQR 12 May 1919, p.29.

southern Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s was more marked in the Innisfail, Cairns and Burdekin districts than in the long-established areas of the Herbert River and Mackay.¹²⁴ The southern European 'problem' became a recurring feature in the far northern district reports presented to the AWU's annual delegate meetings, and several strikes occurred over the proportion of southern Europeans in cane-cutting gangs. In 1925, for example, Babinda, South Johnstone and El Arish AWU members demanded that seventy-five per cent British cane-cutters be employed during the crushing, and southern Europeans were refused union tickets.¹²⁵ At the annual delegate meeting in 1926, a motion was passed to instruct the executive to lift this embargo on the issuing of tickets to southern Europeans. Yet later in the year the AWU branch at Mossman was still refusing to issue tickets to Italians.¹²⁶

In 1925 the Arbitration Court had included in the sugar award, at the AWU's request, a clause giving first preference during the crushing season to cane-cutters, irrespective of nationality, who had cut cane in the area and held AWU tickets during the last season, and second preference to those who had held AWU tickets in the last season. This provision, maintained in subsequent awards, applied to the Johnstone River district only and was intended to cut out recently arrived migrants. It was also

124. See Henderson, *Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire*, pp.265, 267, 270; Jones, *Hurricane Lamps*, pp.353-55; Jones, *Trinity Phoenix*, p.463.

125. *W* 29 Jan.1925, 21 Jan., 28 Jan.1926, 18 Jan.1928, 18 Jan.1933; *QIG* X, 1925, p.579; *ASJ* XVII, 9 Apr.1925, p.58; Gurdon, *Australian Attitudes to Italians*, p.72; Henderson, *Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire*, p.265. There was also trouble in Mackay in 1925. See *ASJ* XVII, 10 Sep.1925, p.382; *QIG* X, 1925, p.578.

126. The representatives of the far northern district supported the motion on the grounds that non-unionised southern Europeans were a threat to class solidarity. *W* 28 Jan.1926; *NQR* 4 Oct.1926, p.104.

stipulated in the 1926 award that employers could be required to pay wages fortnightly to employees in the presence of a government officer; the AWU wanted this to ensure that southern Europeans unable to read the award would be paid award wages.¹²⁷

The Queensland Government was not prepared to legislate to reduce the number of southern European sugar workers, since such legislation would contravene the treaty existing between the British and Italian Governments. In 1925, to appease the AWU, a royal commission was appointed to investigate the social and economic effects of southern European immigration to the State. Known as the Ferry Commission, after its commissioner, T.A. Ferry, it was a superficial and prejudiced investigation but it served the purpose of deflecting criticism of the Government's inaction.¹²⁸ Senator Crawford, former President of the ASPA, suggested that the Queensland Government could use the Sugar Cultivation Act to stop 'foreigners' growing cane, but in fact Europeans were exempted from the Act's operation.¹²⁹ However, the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act was amended in 1933 so that the Central Board's permission was required before the sale or lease of any assigned land; this was seen by some as an attempt to prevent Italians from buying or leasing cane farms.¹³⁰

The Commonwealth Government in 1925 had acted to limit the flow of southern European immigration¹³¹, but was not ready to interfere with their

127. ASJ XVII, 5 Jun.1925, p.125; QIG X, 1925, p.446, XI, 1926, p.485; BC 24 Aug.1926; NQR 30 Aug.1926, p.89. Gurdon, Australian Attitudes to Italians, pp.72-73; Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, p.265 n17.

128. See ASJ XXII, 3 Jul.1930, p.252; QIG X, 1925, p.578; QPP III, 1925, pp.25-52; Henderson, 'Economic or Racist', pp.345, 357 n10. For different views of the Ferry Commission, see ibid., pp.335-37; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.333.

129. The minister for agriculture, Forgan Smith, pointed out that an alien wishing to purchase a farm, could be subjected to the dictation test under the Land Act of 1910. BC 22 Oct.1925; NQR 26 Oct.1925, p.3; Henderson, 'Economic or Racist'. pp.328, 350 n9.

130. 24 Geo. V, No.27, s.3; Henderson, 'Economic or Racist', pp.328, 350 n8. This Act was passed in 1933, and not 1934 as Henderson states.

131. The Immigration Act Amendment Act of 1925 empowered the governor-general by proclamation to prohibit or limit the entry of aliens of any race or nationality, but it was seldom used after the excitement over Italian immigration died down. No.7 of 1925, s7; C.A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia (Melbourne, 1963), pp.86-92.

employment within Australia. The 1930 Commonwealth sugar inquiry, set up to investigate the necessity or otherwise of the embargo on imported sugar, took evidence on the question of the 'alien penetration' of the industry. But its report only gave statistics for 'alien' sugar workers in each of the three sugar districts and not for each mill area, thus successfully disguising their preponderance in the Herbert River and Innisfail districts.¹³²

Neither the Commonwealth nor the Queensland Government was prepared to establish a British quota for sugar workers, and the Arbitration Court was similarly reluctant. In February 1930 in Ayr the British Preference League was formed and within a year there were ten branches in centres from Proserpine to Cairns. The League, which demanded that all labouring and skilled work in the sugar industry should be restricted immediately to ninety per cent British and increased to one hundred per cent within three years, was at least partly responsible for the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. Signed on 24 June 1930 by representatives of the ASPA, the Queensland Cane Growers Council and the AWU, this agreement provided that seventy-five per cent of cane-cutters would be British with the exception of the Victoria, Macknade and Mourilyan mill areas where there was already a high proportion of Italians.¹³³ Europeans who were naturalized British subjects were not included in the British quota, and the AWU resisted attempts by the ASPA to include them; but in the local operation of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement', northern Europeans (of whom there were not large numbers) were often classed as British cutters. Thus Germans, against whom public opinion had been so bitter during the war, received preference over Italians and other southern Europeans. In the years after 1930, notwithstanding some disputes

132. By this total, only twenty per cent of sugar workers were 'foreigners', and ten per cent of these were naturalized. Henderson, 'Economic or Racist', p.346.

133. QIG XV, 1930, p.406; ASJ XXII, 3 Jul.1930, pp.251-52; W 25 Jun.1930; Henderson, 'Economic or Racist', pp.330-31, 342, 347. Hambleton had till 1932 and Goondi till 1933 to achieve the seventy-five per cent British quota; the exempted areas were required to employ as many British as possible. For examples of the agitation early in 1930, see NQR 5 Mar., p.44. 29 Mar., p.22, 3 May, p.16, 17 May 1930, pp.62, 72-73.

over contraventions, this agreement helped to keep industrial peace. While not a party to the 'Gentlemen's Agreement', CSR accepted the quotas, presumably to avoid confrontation with the AWU and also to deflect southern criticism of the presence of non-Britishers (meaning for all practical purposes southern Europeans) in a protected industry.¹³⁴

Like 'coloured aliens', southern Europeans were accused of breaking the award by working for longer hours, lower wages and under poor conditions.¹³⁵ But there were some important differences in their treatment. The refusal to issue union tickets to southern Europeans was a response to a crisis situation, and not a long-term policy. While southern Europeans may have been regarded as second-class unionists, they were, after all, 'whites'. Union officials stressed that their opposition to southern Europeans was economically motivated, and not a racist response. They were prepared to admit that southern Europeans, once educated in union matters, made very reliable unionists and the AWU made some attempts, such as printing the sugar award in Italian, to provide this education. Whereas the union objected to the employment of non-Europeans in any capacity, they were prepared to allow southern Europeans to undertake the less lucrative and unskilled farm labouring work.¹³⁶

THE FOREGOING discussion has detailed the campaign mounted by the AWU with the support of the Labor Party against non-European labour. This issue assumed less importance from the mid-1920s, when attention switched to the question of 'alien penetration'. There were also attempts to discriminate against

134. Newspaper cutting, Daily Mail 20 Apr.1933, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; Serg. to Insp., Cairns, 12 Aug.1941, 567, POL/J40, QSA; W 18 Jan.1933; Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, p.131.

135. Ibid., pp.181-85, 189-91; Hunt, 'Exclusivism and Unionism', p.94.

136. Ibid.: CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, pp.291, 292; Henderson, 'Economic or Racist', p.332, 343, 344, 346; W 19 Mar.1925, 25 Jun.1930; ASJ VIII, 8 Feb. 1917, p.778; Gurdon, Australian Attitudes to Italians, pp.74-75; Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, pp.185, 191.

non-Europeans in other occupations. Two main targets for the AWU were pastoral work and hotel employment. In 1915 AWU members in Charleville refused to shear for any pastoralist who employed Chinese at scrub-cutting. Finally, in the 1921 award for station hands, the employment of 'coloured aliens' was prohibited except in cooking, gardening or prickly-pear cutting; even in these jobs preference was to be given to European workers.¹³⁷

Employment of non-Europeans in hotels also drew strong opposition from the AWU. At the annual delegate meeting in 1915 (and also in later years), a resolution was carried recommending that the Licensing Act be amended to prohibit the employment of 'coloured aliens' on licensed premises. The Government did not take up the recommendation. Nor would the Arbitration Court: in 1923 Judge McCawley rejected an application by the AWU to prohibit the employment of non-Europeans under the hotel, cafe and restaurant employees award, on the grounds that it would be unjust to debar such people from this livelihood.¹³⁸

The Labor Government did not amend the Licensing Act but it did enact other discriminatory measures (see Appendix E). The Elections Act of 1915, since hailed as an important reform measure, disqualified all aboriginals of Australia, Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands from voting, and the Jury Act of 1929, disqualified those who were not naturalized and those who could not read or write English from jury service. Under the Factories and Shops Act Amendment Act of 1916 all furniture manufactured in factories was to be stamped according to the labour used - 'European labour only', 'Chinese labour', or 'European and other labour'.¹³⁹ In this same year, the State Advances

137. BC 10 Sep.1915; W 9 Sep.1915, 27 Jan.1921; QIG VI, 1921, p.527.

138. W 4 Feb.1915, 23 Mar.1916, 10 Feb.1921; Australian Workers Union, Official Report of the Fourth Annual Delegate Meeting, Brisbane, January 1917 (Brisbane, 1917), p.26; CMP 5 Nov., 10 Nov.1923.

139. In the Factories and Shops Bill Theodore rejected an amendment to substitute 'Asiatic' for 'Chinese', on the grounds that this might endanger assent. QPD CXXIV, 1916-17, pp.1438, 1483-84.

Act disqualified all 'aliens' who had not first passed the dictation test from obtaining advances. Further measures such as the Government Savings Bank Act of 1916, the Dairy Produce Act of 1920, the Agricultural Bank Act of 1923, the Sugar Workers' Selection Act of 1923 and the Petroleum Act of 1923, similarly required that specified 'aliens' first pass the dictation test.

The Banana Industry Preservation Act of 1921 was modelled on the Sugar Cultivation Act. To protect local growers against imported bananas, the House of Representatives in May 1921 increased the duty on these, but there was resistance to this increase in the Senate, principally on the grounds that increased protection could not be justified while there were non-Europeans growing bananas in Australia.¹⁴⁰ The Banana Industry Preservation Bill was introduced in the Queensland parliament in September to counter such accusations, but it was a piece of political window-dressing rather than a serious attempt to remove the few non-Europeans in the industry. As Gillies stated, and as the large number of exemptions demonstrated, the intention was to prevent non-Europeans from entering the industry but not to force out those already so engaged.¹⁴¹

The Commonwealth Government, concerned at international repercussions, paid close attention to disabilities imposed by State governments on 'aliens'.¹⁴² During these years, some important concessions were made in

140. CPD XCV, 1921, pp.8512-28, XCVII, 1921, pp.10682-711, 11951-67, CXVIII, 1921, pp.13711, 13911.

141. As with the Sugar Cultivation Act, regulations were issued exempting Europeans from the Act's operation and empowering the minister for agriculture to grant exemptions. QPP I, 1922, pp.1107-9; CPD XCVII, 1921, p.11955; QPD CXXXVII, 1921, pp.472, 644; The Banana Industry Preservation Act of 1921, 64G, AGS/N96, QSA. There were 329 certificates of exemption granted, mostly to Chinese; all the Chinese already engaged in the banana industry in the Cairns district were exempted. See AGS/N87-88, QSA; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.57, 468.

142. Disabilities of Aliens and Coloured Persons within the Commonwealth and its Territories, 1920-21, A1 21/13034, AA; Aliens. Possession of Freehold Property, 11 Nov.1917, A2 17/4122, also in A2 17/13223, AA; Bailey, 'The Legal Position of Foreigners in Australia', p.46.

regard to discrimination against the nationals of India and Japan. The Nationality Act of 1920 did not specifically exclude non-Europeans from acquiring naturalization, providing instead that the governor-general could grant certificates of naturalization to aliens at his discretion. At the imperial conferences in 1921 and 1923, Australia accepted the need to remove legal disabilities on Indian residents. In fulfilment of this promise, the Electoral Act Amendment Act of 1925 enfranchised natives of British India who had been resident in Australia for at least six months. The Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Act Amendment Act of 1926 extended eligibility for pension benefits to British Indians, and the Maternity Allowance Act Amendment Act of 1926 made naturalized women eligible for the maternity allowance.¹⁴³ In 1930 Queensland belatedly followed the Commonwealth's lead and enfranchised natives of British India.¹⁴⁴

BOTH THE Commonwealth and the Queensland Governments actively discriminated against non-European residents in the years up to 1940. Yet neither government took an uncompromising stance: under pressure, they yielded and gave special treatment to groups such as the Japanese and Indians. Moreover, most of the legislative restrictions imposed applied only to non-Europeans migrants, and not to the native-born - the latter were regarded, if reluctantly, as Australians and accorded most of the rights and privileges of citizens.

The AWU, which spearheaded the campaign against the employment of non-Europeans in certain occupations, was also prepared (very grudgingly) to compromise. In 1916 AWU members were persuaded to modify their opposition to 'coloured' labour, on the grounds of international policy. In subsequent years the AWU renewed its attack and through the Arbitration Court secured close restrictions on the employment of 'coloured' labour. At the same

143. There was some Commonwealth legislation such as the Apple Bounty Act of 1918 and the Navigation Act of 1921, which discriminated against non-Europeans. See Appendix D.

144. Keith, Responsible Government, Vol.II, pp.815, 819 n2, 1203-4, 1208-9; Appendix E. See also QPD CXXXIX, 1922, p.889, CXLVII, 1925, pp.306, 946.

time, they accepted, if reluctantly, the inability of the Queensland Government to legislate on the issue and the need to give special consideration to the Japanese.

As well as being prepared under pressure to compromise, the AWU were inconsistent in their attitudes to 'coloured' labour. Under rule 6 of the AWU constitution, most but not all non-Europeans were disqualified from membership - the exceptions were Australian Aborigines, Maoris, American Negroes, and those native-born with a European parent. The special treatment for American Negroes and Maoris was justified (presumably because of their small numbers) on the grounds that they were not a 'menace'.¹⁴⁵ Attitudes to Aborigines were more equivocal. While Aborigines could join the AWU, union members resented their employment in the pastoral industry. In Queensland from 1919, after an agreement between the AWU, pastoralists and the chief protector of Aborigines, the minimum wage for Aboriginal workers was fixed at about two-thirds of the wage specified in the award.¹⁴⁶ Outside the pastoral industry, however, Aborigines were not the focus of discrimination by the AWU and most of the legislative restrictions were imposed on 'aliens' (and therefore did not apply to Aborigines).

Under rule 6 of the AWU constitution, native-born non-Europeans were ineligible for membership. In 1927 this rule was amended to the extent that any person could be admitted to membership by resolution of the union's executive council. Two years later, four native-born Pacific Islanders in Mackay were allowed to join under this provision. The AWU (and the general community) regarded such native-born people as in a different category to the migrants.¹⁴⁷

145. See ASJ XI, 12 Jun.1919, p.134.

146. Markus, 'Aborigines and the Labour Movement', p.143. For examples of the opposition to Aboriginal pastoral workers, see Caucus Minutes, State Parliamentary Labor Party, 18 Sep.1918, pp.217-18, 13 Aug.1919, pp.273-74; W 11 Jul.1918, 30 Jan.1919; NQR 14 Jan.1918, p.14.

147. Otherwise rule 6 remained unaltered until the mid-1970s. Markus, 'Aborigines and the Labour Movement', p.141; W 6 Feb.1929; MM 26 Jan.1929. See Chapter 7, pp.289-90.

While the AWU's attitudes were inconsistent, the focus of its campaign was clearly against 'coloured aliens' (and therefore not the native-born or Aborigines). That its stance was racist is demonstrated by comparing attitudes to and treatment of 'coloured aliens' and southern Europeans, but first the AWU's own rationalization of its opposition to 'coloured' labour needs to be considered.

Compared with the number of southern Europeans in North Queensland in the mid- and late 1920s, non-Europeans were not a numerical threat. But since non-Europeans were permanently disqualified from membership of the union, their small numbers assumed a greater significance. Also the proportion of non-Europeans in the far north was much higher: in 1921 non-European men constituted 11.84 per cent of the male population in coastal North Queensland but 20.75 per cent in the coastal districts of the far north.¹⁴⁸ In the far north especially, AWU members regarded 'coloured aliens' as an important obstacle in the struggle to improve conditions for sugar workers. In the union's view, employers were still seeking to reintroduce cheap indentured labour, and to subvert the union's efforts to establish decent wages and conditions for sugar workers: "the coloured alien ... is more or less a submissive slave who can be used to stay the progress of unionism in the sugar industry."¹⁴⁹

The attitudes of employers in the sugar industry lent credence to this belief. Certainly the farmers' associations opposed the employment of non-Europeans, but only the UCGA instructed its members not to employ them. The AWU believed that the ASPA only gave verbal support to a 'white' labour policy. In the far north particularly, many farmers continued to employ 'coloured aliens', even including some who had publicly spoken against such employment, and the large growers continued to argue that 'coloured' labour

148. Calculated from census. Commonwealth Census, Vol. I, 1921, pp.858-63.

149. W 15 Apr. 1915, Con Ryan. See W 2 Mar. 1922, 1 May 1924, 19 Mar. 1925, 28 Jan. 1926; CPD XCI, 1920, pp.567, 580; Mackay Sentinel 23 Feb. 1930 (reference supplied by D. Hunt).

was necessary in the newer sugar areas.¹⁵⁰ The privately owned mills were also eager to maintain a proportion of non-Europeans on the grounds that they were reliable and could be used in jobs for which Europeans were unsatisfactory or hard to obtain. Japanese were retained in mill work by Pioneer Sugar Mills and CSR, and CSR kept on other non-Europeans in outside work.¹⁵¹ The Company would not relinquish non-Europeans altogether unless forced to do so.

Non-Europeans were thus associated not only with the past but also the present struggle to improve the conditions of European sugar workers. The labour movement's reaction was to press for the complete removal of 'coloured' labour from the sugar industry. The union movement seldom contemplated incorporating non-Europeans and thereby strengthening class solidarity.¹⁵² Attempts by non-Europeans to increase their wages or improve their conditions, or to join with their European co-workers in strikes¹⁵³, were ignored or derided. Yet by denying 'coloured aliens' the protection of the union, the AWU made them easy targets for exploitation by employers. When they then resorted to such 'horrible' practices as putting up deposits with growers to secure cane-cutting contracts, the AWU roundly condemned them.

150. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.189; W 29 May 1924: Campbell to Dunstan, 7 Feb.1924, forw. by Dunstan to Gillies, 14 Feb.1924, 05577, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; QIG IV, 1919, p.518. Curlewis, Draper, Mayer and Wilcox had for example spoken against the employment of 'coloured' labour but were themselves employing such labour in 1919. CMP 19 Mar.1914, 21 Jun.1919; NQR 16 Feb.1914, p.29; ASJ VII, 8 Jul., p.253, 12 Aug.1915, p.346; Appendix F.

151. See Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 21 Jun.1916, P No.56, 27 Jul.1917, P No.95, 142/3088, RSSS-ANUA; Manager, Victoria, to General Manager, 15 May 1919, P No.121, 142/3151, RSSS-ANUA; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.284, B.R. Riley, p.299, W.J. Henry.

152. The Communist Party was an exception, but it lost support in North Queensland over its opposition to the British Preference League and the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. A.E. Jones, Electoral Support for the Communist Party in North Queensland: A Study of F.W. Paterson's Victory in Bowen, 1944 (B.A. Hons, University of Queensland, 1972), p.97.

153. See CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, pp.260, 311, 325; Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 31 Aug.1918, P No.146, 26 Jul.1918, P No.141, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA. See also Chapter 1, p.31; Chapter 5, p.205.

The importance attached by the AWU to the 'coloured' labour question was demonstrated in 1920 and 1922 during interstate negotiations on the One Big Union scheme. Some of the other unions objected to rule 6 of the AWU constitution, disqualifying from membership all non-Europeans (with the exceptions previously noted). At the AWU's annual convention in 1920 the Queensland representatives strongly defended this ban. According to Dunstan, "there was not one white man working in the cane-cutting districts who would vote for the elimination of that rule, which would allow kanakas and all kinds of Asiatics to come into the sugar industry".¹⁵⁴ At the inaugural convention on the One Big Union scheme in 1922, this issue was again raised, but the AWU's Queensland delegates were adamant that the scheme would never be endorsed by their members if there was any clause admitting 'coloured aliens' to membership.¹⁵⁵ The scheme floundered despite the fact that this controversial subject was not raised again.

The campaign against the employment of non-Europeans in the sugar industry was most fierce from the mid-1910s to the mid-1920s. Not coincidentally, this was a decade of great social turbulence and industrial friction in North Queensland. Wage levels were low and unemployment was high. Industrial relations in the sugar industry were especially bitter and discordant. The use of 'coloured' labour took on major proportions under this atmosphere. Rank and file militants were ready to take direct action on this issue, with or without the backing of AWU officials.¹⁵⁶ From the mid-1920s, a new scapegoat had been found in the southern European.

154. Australian Workers' Union, Official Report of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, Sydney, 1920 (Sydney, 1920), pp.106-16. An amendment to delete this sub-clause of rule 6 was soundly defeated.

155. The motion was withdrawn on condition that it would be brought before the next convention but it was not re-introduced. Australian Workers Union, Report of Inaugural Convention, Sydney, 1922 (Sydney, 1922) pp.10-13; Australian Workers' Union, Report of Second Annual Convention, Sydney, 1923 (Sydney, 1923). See also the constitution of the One Big Union, printed in W 16 Mar.1922. In 1922 also at the AWU annual convention, a motion to link up with the red international was overwhelmingly defeated, with speakers concentrating on the fact that the international included 'coloured' workers. W 6 Apr.1922.

156. See Hunt, A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland, pp.341, 411, 413-14; P.G. Macarthy, 'Wages in Australia, 1891 to 1914', Australian Economic History Review Vol.X, Mar.1970, p.76.

Yet the AWU's attitudes to southern Europeans never assumed the same intensity as those towards non-Europeans. Like non-Europeans, southern Europeans were viewed as tools used by the employers against the union. But southern Europeans were always eligible for AWU membership, even if local branches at times refused to issue them tickets. Unlike non-Europeans, the employment of southern Europeans in any capacity was not opposed - their employment as poorly paid farm labourers, for example, drew no criticism. Clearly there was a fundamental difference in the treatment of southern Europeans and 'coloured aliens'; treatment of the latter was based on their perceived racial differences.

Labour historians have paid little or no attention to the energetic campaign which the AWU, with the Labor Party's support, directed against the employment of non-Europeans in the first four decades of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁷ Yet AWU members portrayed it as an integral part of their efforts to improve working conditions. Economic motives were important but there was an underlying element of racism. As Martyn commented, the presence of non-European sugar workers was "the greatest curse with which the Labor Movement could be afflicted".¹⁵⁸ The next chapter details the impact of this campaign on the economic activities of Pacific Islanders.

157. For example, Kennedy only makes a passing reference to the Sugar Cultivation Act and Birrell does the same with the Sugar Acquisition Act, while Murphy briefly discusses the Indian protests against these Acts and the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act. Only Hunt recognizes that the 'coloured' labour question was a vexed one for industrial relations in the sugar industry. Kennedy, *The Public Life of William McCormack*, p.88; M. Birrell, *T.J. Ryan and the Queensland Labour Party* (B.A., University of Queensland, 1951), p.49; Murphy, *T.J. Ryan*, pp.114, 120-21; Hunt, *A History of the Labour Movement in North Queensland*, pp.43, 341.

158. Australian Workers' Union, Official Report of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, p.110.

CHAPTER 7
LIVELIHOODS 1908-40

THE EXTENT to which Europeans, and particularly the labour movement, sought to exclude non-Europeans from all favoured occupations and civic privileges has been discussed in the two preceding chapters. This campaign's impact on the means of livelihood of those affected is taken up in this chapter, which examines the economic condition of Islanders in North Queensland from 1908 to 1940. As will be seen, the majority earned their livelihood through the sugar industry - as labourers, cane-cutters or farmers. The remainder were chiefly employed in other agricultural pursuits or in the pastoral industry, while some eked out a bare subsistence living, growing fruit and vegetables on a few acres of land. Most Islander women were not employed outside their own homes. The Islanders' economic condition varied to a certain extent, but the trend throughout these years was for the more comfortable to be reduced to the ranks of the relatively impoverished. By the early 1930s, many of the migrants were living out their old age in penury, with a small government allowance their only source of income. Yet the depression of the 1930s did not cause special hardship for the Islander community overall, accustomed as it was to supplying many of its own physical wants.

THE COMMONWEALTH censuses have limited value for studying the occupational range amongst Pacific Islanders. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, they significantly underenumerated the number of Islanders, at least in North Queensland. The first census in 1911 tabulated occupation by order and sub-order of industry for Islander men and women resident in Queensland, but did not distinguish between the self-employed and wage earners, nor between the sugar industry and other agricultural industries. The only conclusions which can be drawn therefore are that over seventy-five per cent of the breadwinners were engaged in primary industries, and nearly nine per cent of these were engaged in pastoral pursuits. Small numbers

were to be found in other occupations such as domestic and industrial work. By comparison, Europeans and the two other main non-European groups, the Chinese and the Japanese, had significant numbers in commercial and industrial pursuits, as well as in primary production.¹ Aborigines were not counted in the censuses until 1947.

An assessment of any occupational changes over the period is prevented by the absence of detailed information in subsequent censuses. In 1921 the only occupational breakdown given for Pacific Islanders in Queensland was that of grade of occupation (such as employer or wage earner), and this breakdown was given in 1933 only for Islanders in the country. In 1921 sixty-eight per cent, and in 1933 fifty-eight per cent, of the male Islander breadwinners in Australia were wage or salary earners; these are only slightly higher than the proportions amongst European males.²

The majority of those engaged in agricultural pursuits were involved in the sugar industry. Before considering other occupations, this majority will be discussed, considering first, those who were engaged as sugar workers, and then those who were farming on their own account. In both cases the impact of the campaign to exclude non-Europeans from the sugar industry must be assessed.

Farm labouring, cane-cutting and outside work for the mills represented the employment offering in the sugar industry for those Islanders who were not farming. This presumes an open market, in which the Islanders could compete equally with other sugar workers for employment. In fact, as the previous two chapters have shown, non-

1. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1911, p.351, Vol.II, 1911, pp.1050-53. Those engaged in fisheries were obviously in the Torres Strait, and are not included in my calculations. The statistician noted that most of the Pacific Islanders in the country were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Ibid., Vol.I, 1911, p.325.

2. Amongst Europeans the proportions were 66 per cent in 1921 and 55 per cent in 1933. Ibid., Vol.II, 1921, p.200, Vol.I, 1933, Statistician's Report, p.275. There was a significant decrease in the number of Islander breadwinners (calculated by subtracting from the total those stated as 'not applicable', which included pensioners, students and dependants) between 1921 and 1933, according to the censuses. Ibid., Vol.I, 1921, pp.330-33, Vol.I, 1933, pp.948-49. There was no correlation between occupations and race in the next census, held in 1947.

European sugar workers bore the brunt of the campaign to preserve all occupations for Europeans, and it is important to consider its impact on the Islanders' occupational opportunities and their reactions to these restrictions.

From 1903 to 1913, the bounty on sugar grown by 'white' labour served to discourage European farmers from employing non-Europeans. The effect of the rebate was to increase greatly the employment of Islanders by Islander and other non-European farmers³, as the later discussion of the employers of those Islanders who applied for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 (the year in which the bounty was abolished) will highlight.

The majority of those who applied for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act were sugar workers. There were 452 applications (including 2 from women) received from Pacific Islanders resident in North Queensland in 1913-14, 54 per cent of these being from Islanders in Mackay. Certificates were granted to 374 or 83 per cent of these applicants, and 92 per cent of the Islanders in Mackay were successful (see Table 5.1). Most of those who did not obtain certificates were refused because of late applications, or had their certificates returned to the Department of Agriculture before they could collect them. Only in Innisfail was there a significant number rejected on the grounds that they were employed outside the sugar industry. Overall these applicants constituted the majority who were farming or working in the sugar industry, although over the years some only belatedly became aware of the need for certificates of exemption or were discovered working in the industry without such certificates.⁴ Those with certificates, however, were well aware of the need to put them away safely and to apply for duplicates if the originals

3. For the impact of the rebate on the Islanders' employment, see CPP IV, 1913, p.1557, T.J. Whitcomb; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.75; Saunders, Uncertain Bondage, p.459.

4. For examples, see Applic. No.477E, Body Santo, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.2060E, Chilar, AGS/N356, QSA; Applic. No.2300E, Stephen Malayta, AGS/N357, QSA; J. Munro to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 27 Jul. 1933, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; QPP II, 1917, p.481; Insp., Sugar Workers Accomodation Act, Cairns, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 5 Aug. 1916, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA; Insp. of Factories and Shops, Innisfail, to Chief Insp., Report, 2 Aug. 1917, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA.

were lost or destroyed.⁵ Native-born Islanders were included in the Act's operation and theoretically those reaching working age after 1913 could obtain certificates of exemption by passing a dictation test in English. After 1921, however, such applications were sent on to the Department of Agriculture, and very few certificates were issued.⁶ In 1913 and 1914 individual Islanders protested against the refusal to grant them certificates.⁷ A request for repatriation (apparently unsuccessful) was made in December 1913 by about twenty Islanders in Mackay, who may have been concerned that the Sugar Cultivation Act would remove their means of livelihood.⁸

The Sugar Cultivation Act was intended to remove the remnant of 'coloured' labour from the industry, but the liberality in exemptions ensured that few were pushed out, while the removal of the bounty (and therefore any financial incentive to employ Europeans) in fact attracted non-Europeans back into the industry. The growers' associations opposed the liberal issue of exemptions and some farmers refused to employ non-Europeans, but others did, especially as the labour shortage created by the war increased. After the Labor Government's unsuccessful attempts in 1915-16 to force employers to give up non-European employees, the Arbitration Court took up the issue in 1919, prohibiting 'coloured' labourers from cutting cane and restricting them to cultivation on small farms and the farms of their countrymen. Preference

5. See Applic. No. 390E, Luke Logomier, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No. 822E, Matthew Malachi, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No. 11D, Dickson Manaway, AGS/N97, QSA; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Mackay, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 13 Jun. 1914, 130C, AGS/N99, QSA.

6. See Clerk of Petty Sessions, Proserpine, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 6 Mar. 1916, 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to Clerks of Petty Sessions, Circular No. 799, 20 Oct. 1921, 164G, AGS/N361, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture, 14 Sep. 1933, memo., 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA.

7. See Applic. No. 757E, Johnny Lena, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No. 948E, William Seekis, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No. 2118E, C.D. Silvenny, AGS/N356, QSA. See also Chapter 5, pp. 221-23.

8. MM 12, 17 Dec. 1913. The clerk of petty sessions passed on their request to the immigration agent but presumably it was unsuccessful, since other such requests were refused. See below, p. 287.

in employment in the sugar industry to members of the AWU, granted by the Arbitration Court in 1921, was a further obstacle to the employment of non-Europeans.

Present day Islanders do not know of the Sugar Cultivation Act and none of the certificates of exemption held by their fathers or grandfathers appear to have survived. Their memories of harassment and discrimination refer to the vigilance of the AWU in the years before World War II and the operation of the sugar awards, since these had the most impact on the Islanders' employment. The first petitions from Pacific Islanders were received in 1915 - one from 50 Cairns residents and the other from 111 Mackay residents.⁹ These petitions were protests, not against the Sugar Cultivation Act, but rather against the Labor Government's attempt to use the Sugar Acquisition and Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Acts of 1915 to penalise employers of non-European labour and mills receiving cane grown or harvested by non-Europeans. Due to outside pressure, the discriminatory powers under these Acts were never implemented.

In the 1910s and 1920s, the private mills, particularly CSR, reluctantly acceded to pressure from the Government and the AWU, and progressively reduced the number of non-European employees. CSR engaged only Japanese in the actual mill work, and Pioneer Sugar Mills in the Burdekin apparently had a similar policy.¹⁰ Other non-European employees were deployed in outside work such as tramway maintenance, cane loading, wood-cutting, sanitary work and gardening. In 1913, sixteen Islanders were employed by CSR's Homebush Mill at firewood-cutting, tramway line maintenance, yard work, sanitary work, in the crushing mill, and in one case as a fireman; by August 1915, only one Islander, employed as a sanitary worker since 1911, was still engaged by the mill.¹¹ In October 1915, CSR

9. Petition from residents of the Cairns district, forw. by MacDonnell and Hannam to Premier, 11 Oct.1915, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, forw. by Luke Logomier to Premier, n.d. [Dec.1915], *ibid*.

10. See Chapter 5, p.204; Pioneer Mill, Cash Book, 1916-22; Sec., Pioneer Sugar Mills to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 29 Mar.1932, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA.

11. The number employed in 1913 was calculated from applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act. Particulars of Aliens Employed at Homebush Mill, 14 Aug.1915, 142/3446, RSSS-ANUA. See also Saunders, 'Masters and Servants', p.103, table.

suspended all 'coloured' mill employees, except Japanese, and only employed them subsequently in work classed as outside the sugar industry, such as firewood-cutting. In the Herbert River, Peter Backo was amongst those suspended from the Macknade Mill, and his children remember how he and fellow Islanders were put off, while the Japanese were kept on.¹² By the following year, only four Islanders (out of a total of eighty-six non-Europeans) were employed in CSR mills in North Queensland; this did not include those cutting firewood. In 1915, the Australian Sugar Company at Mourilyan Mill dismissed all their non-European employees, except for two elderly Islanders who performed tasks (the sanitary work and bread delivery) which no one else would undertake.¹³

The Sugar Cultivation Act was largely superseded by the prohibitions on 'coloured' labour contained in the sugar awards of 1919 and 1920. The Islanders together with other non-Europeans, found it much more difficult to obtain employment in the sugar industry as a result of these awards. In October 1919, for example, Islanders employed by farmers in Mackay were put off on the advice of the local constable. This direct threat to their employment provoked a petition from sixty-two Islanders in Mackay early in 1920. Pearce, the Mackay farmer, had inquired on behalf of Islander farmers in 1916 to ascertain if they would be permitted to continue to cultivate their land, and also raised the question of their employment at the annual meeting of the Mackay UCGA in April 1920, but little interest was shown.¹⁴

12. T45Bsa:2; T57Bsa:1; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 7 Oct.1915, No.994, 142/3479, RSSS-ANUA.

13. Aliens at Queensland Mills 1916, *ibid.*; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 22 May 1919, No.365, 142/1499, *ibid.*; Secretary, Australian Sugar Co., to Under Sec. for Treasury, 19 Aug.1915, 7716 of 1915, TRE/A315, QSA; Insp., Workers' Accommodation Act, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 29 Jun.1916, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA.

14. Pearce to Forgan Smith, 15 Jan.1916, 66G, AGS/N96, QSA; Manager, Homebush, to General Manager, 6 Oct.1919, P No.114, 142/3101, RSSS-ANUA; *MM* 14 Oct.1919, 20 Apr.1920; Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, 3 Mar.1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Pearce to Swayne, 8 Feb.1920, *ibid.*; Newspaper cutting, *MM* 15 Apr.1920, encl. in *ibid.* See also Chapter 6.

The petitioners asked for repatriation or resettlement in a place where they could work and farm freely. Their request was forwarded to the prime minister, who replied that the offer of repatriation was no longer open and that employment was a state matter.¹⁵

Undaunted, Pearce wrote to Forgan Smith, his local member, in 1921, suggesting that certain Islanders in the district should be granted land at the foot of Bull Mountain near Netherdale. The crown lands ranger, W.H. Gatfield, inspected the area and interviewed Pearce and some of the Islanders. He reported that the area was dense scrub land, with good quality soil suitable for gardening and banana growing, but that the Islanders, who were in poor circumstances, would expect the Government to provide them with houses and equipment and to place them on equal terms with Europeans in disposing of their produce.¹⁶ Gatfield also pointed out that Pearce was not a disinterested advocate: the proposed land adjoined his selection at Okuloo, and as a Seventh-day Adventist he was hoping to convert the Islanders to his faith. His opinion was that a settlement at this site would be contentious and unsuccessful, whereas an area of land along the coast or a small island would be much more suitable. It was decided, not surprisingly, to take no further action in the matter.¹⁷ When the idea of a

15. Actg Premier to Prime Min., 8 May 1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Under Sec. for Prime Min. to Premier of Queensland, 2 Jun.1920, *ibid.*; Under Chief Sec. to Swayne, 2 Jul.1920, *ibid.* This correspondence is also in the Australian Archives. See A1 20/8193, AA.

16. Pearce's letter was forwarded to Coyne, the minister for lands, who directed the land commissioner to report on the matter. Forgan Smith to Min. for Lands, 10 May 1921, 14945, RES 01/198, Lands Dept ; Min. for Lands to Forgan Smith, 19 May 1921, *ibid.*; Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, *ibid.* Gatfield's enquiries gained some publicity. See *NQR* 27 Jun.1921, p.26; *ASJ* XIII, 8 Jul.1921, p.236.

17. Pearce told Gatfield that the Islanders would be happy for him to superintend them. Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept ; Pearce to Gatfield, 19 Jun.1921, forw. by Deputy Land Commissioner to Under Sec. for Lands, 7 Jul.1921, 22318, *ibid.*; Under Sec. for Land to Forgan Smith, 8 Jul.1921, *ibid.*

separate settlement for Islanders in the Mackay district was raised again, in 1932, the area investigated, significantly, was nearer the coast at Bloomsbury, to the north of Mackay.¹⁸

That the Sugar Cultivation Act and more particularly the sugar awards had forced many Islanders out of the sugar industry became apparent at the 1933 'census' of non-Europeans conducted by the Department of Agriculture, when many who had not been employed in the industry for years asked if they could take up sugar work again.¹⁹ Other Islanders, either in ignorance or deliberate contravention, of the law, continued to work in the sugar industry illegally. In their evasion of the Act and awards, they were aided and abetted by their employers, the farmers. AWU organizers and local government officials complained that 'coloured aliens' were warned to drop their tools if union organisers or the police appeared, and deny they had been working; others hid in the cane or temporarily disappeared from the area. In the Herbert River, Burdekin and Mackay districts, the Islanders today recall how their parents, relatives or friends cut cane at night to avoid detection, and hid from AWU organisers in the canefields during the day.²⁰

18. See Chapter 8.

19. J. Munro to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 27 Jul.1933, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA; MM 7 Sep.1932. They were informed that this would be illegal.

20. Insp. of Factories and Shops to Chief Insp., 2 Aug.1917, 123G, AGS/N358, QSA; AWU Organizer, Cairns, to Branch Secretary, 7 Feb.1924, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Ty4Bp.2; T27Bsa:1+3; T29Bsb:2; T32Bsa:2; T57Bsa:1; T58Bsb:2; T64Bsa:2; T72Bsa:1; T73Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.66-67. The only interviewee who had lived in the Cairns district had done so as a child, and she did not recall any trouble. Islanders in the Bowen district where there was very little cane farming had heard of harassment in other districts but did not themselves experience it. T58Bsb:2; T61Bsa:2; T62Bsb:3.

In employing the Islanders illegally, the farmers were not necessarily motivated by sympathy for their plight. Without the protection of union membership, and working illegally, the Islanders were doubly vulnerable to exploitation in regard to contracts, remuneration, and conditions of labour.²¹ As the Islanders themselves were aware, the farmers could pay them wages below those stipulated in the award, and use the labour of those living on their farms at any time: as one Islander born and bred in the Herbert River district remarked, "the farmer put it all over them coloured boy".²²

It was the AWU, rather than the Government's legislation and the Arbitration Court's awards, which was responsible in the view of present day Islanders for the harassment of those working in the sugar industry.²³ Since the AWU refused membership to the migrants and since it was the union's organizers who paid such attention to detecting evasions of the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar awards, this belief was not unfounded. Yet few of the native-born Islanders appear to have experienced any real difficulty in obtaining work in the sugar industry, even in cane-cutting, despite the fact that the Act and awards applied equally to them. In the mid-1920s, when significant numbers of the native-born reached employment age (fourteen years or older), the AWU's attention was shifting to the greater threat of southern Europeans entering the sugar industry. Islanders born in Queensland, moreover, were obviously regarded by both the AWU and the farmers

21. As some AWU officials and farmers were aware. See MM 29 May 1919; NOR 13 Dec.1920, p.15, 12 Jan.1925, p.18; CMP 21 Jun.1919. In the Burdekin, Alf Henaway put deposits down in order to secure cane cutting contracts, but sometimes still lost them. T19Bsb:3; T64Bsa:2.

22. T73Bsb:1. See also T27Bsa:3; T43Bsb:1; T66Bsb:1.

23. See T27Bsa:1, 3; T57Bsa:1; T64Bsa:2; T72Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.66-67.

as Australians, and therefore in a different category to the migrants.²⁴ They were able to obtain union tickets, and therefore to work in the industry despite the prohibition on 'coloured' labour which was retained in the sugar awards as late as the 1950s.²⁵

Bearing in mind the effects of this campaign against non-Europeans, the work obtained by Islanders in the sugar industry can be examined. As many applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act pointed out, this was the only occupation for which they had been trained. Some of the young native-born men had also not worked outside the sugar industry.²⁶

The lowest paid and most menial work in the sugar industry was farm labouring. Sometimes this involved clearing the ground²⁷, but more generally it meant preparing the ground for planting, planting by hand, watering, and chipping the weeds from the young plants. Young Islanders were engaged as 'top boys', to cut the tops off the cane and do general work such as feeding and tending the horses.²⁸ Some of the applicants

24. For example, in 1929 four Pacific Islanders born in Queensland and resident in Mackay (Leslie Kia, Daniel Quakawoot, Frank Boa and Moses Kissier) were admitted to membership of the AWU; the argument used in support of this resolution at the AWU convention was that every person born in the country should be eligible for membership. W 6 Feb.1929, p.10. For similar distinctions between the Queensland-born and the migrants, see Newspaper cutting, MM 15 Apr.1920, encl. in 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 30 Sep.1915, No.992, 142/1499, RSSS-ANUA; MM 17 Sep.1932, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl.

25. For examples of Islanders born in Queensland who claim to have obtained AWU tickets to work in the sugar industry in the 1930s and 1940s, see T15Bsa:1; T29Bsb:3; T51Bsa:2; T57Bsa:1, 2; T61Bsa:2; T72Bsa:1; T73Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.66. Seventh-day Adventists are not supposed to join unions, and it would appear that some of the Islanders of this faith did not join the AWU. T18Bsa:1; T21Bsb:2.

26. See Applic. No.430E, Jimmy Sippie, ACS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.1454E, Sandy Tauna, AGS/N105, QSA; Applic. No.2128E, Fullaloa, AGS/N356, QSA; Applic. No.2248E, Blooranta, AGS/N357, QSA; Applic. No.512E, Louis Lammon, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.611E, Sandy Buka Buka, ibid.

27. See Applic. No.240E, Simon, AGS/N355, QSA; Applic. No.595E, Tom Barmenas, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.1936E, Johnny Lok Lok San, AGS/N108, QSA; F. Guyah, Wages Book, Farleigh Mill, pp.16, 22, 29, 35.

28. See T29Bsb:3; T32Bsa:2; T68Bsa:1; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Proserpine, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 6 Mar.1916, 147C, AGS/N358, QSA.

in 1913-14 were engaged solely in farm work.²⁹ Undoubtedly the proportion of Islanders in farm work increased after 1913, as the campaign against non-Europeans in the sugar industry gathered momentum. As one Islander commented, farm labouring "was all there was to do in those days around the Herbert River".³⁰ The hours were relatively long, the work monotonous, the wages low in comparison with cane-cutting: the adult award wage (for a 48 hour week) for 'fieldwork' in the sugar industry rose from £2.8s. in 1913 to £5.6s. in 1920, without keep.³¹ The Islanders probably received considerably less than this and worked longer hours. Most lived on the properties of their employers.³²

By 1920, cane-cutters were earning £9 per week.³³ Cane-cutting was thus much more lucrative, and many Pacific Islanders in North Queensland in 1913 had cut cane during the crushing season (usually June-July to November-December) and were working as farm labourers during the slack.³⁴ In the late 1920s and 1930s, as a result of the increasing age of the migrants and their harassment by union and government officials, the native-born began to predominate amongst the Islander cane-cutters. In the Burdekin, for

29. See Applic. No.132E, Bob Roberts, AGS/N355, QSA; Applic. No.419E, Tom Pentecost, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.603E, James Bongmeal, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.1501E, Charlie Atwee, AGS/N106, QSA; Applic. No.2013E, Jimmy Penticost, AGS/N356, QSA.

30. T52Bsa:l. See also T57Bsa:l; T70Bsa:l; Statement of Johanna McEvoy, Inquest No.224 of 1920, Harry Maratta, JUS/N705, QSA; Norman John Fatnowna, AMR, Mackay, 6 Dec.1918; Jack Swaney, *ibid.*, 10 Aug.1927.

31. QGG CI, 1913, p.290, CVII, 1916, p.790; Australian Sugar Producers' Association, White Australia's Great Sugar Industry Only Can Keep Tropical Australia White (Brisbane, 1921), p.23.

32. For examples of this, see Statement of Tommy Wattoom, Inquest No.138 of 1914, Jack Tully, JUS/N548, QSA; Evidence of Louie Buka Buka, Rex vs Angelo Costa, Francisco Pelleri and Michael John O'Sullivan, No.24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; Norman Henaway, Rita Island SSAR, 31 Aug.1926; T45Bsa:2; T68Bsa:l.

33. Australian Sugar Producers' Association, White Australia's Great Sugar Industry, p.23.

34. See Applic. No.219E, Harry Maratta, AGS/N355, QSA; Applic. No.1169E, William Cawoot, AGS/N104, QSA; Applic. No.1956E, Jack Modlab, AGS/N108, QSA; Applic. No.2253E, Bret, AGS/N357, QSA; Applic. No.2045E, Tom Robbins, AGS/N356, QSA.

example, Alf Henaway worked on cane farms in the slack and went cane-cutting for the 'big money' during the crushing season. Islander cane-cutters usually worked in mixed gangs, often with other non-Europeans (see Plates 7.1 and 7.2).³⁵ The rations provided for non-Europeans were prescribed by award, as was accommodation separate from European sugar workers.³⁶

In the Cairns, Johnstone River, Herbert River and Mackay districts, many of the applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act named their employers.³⁷ In Cairns most of these were employed by Chinese farmers, notably See Chin at Green Hills, and by individual European farmers, including G.R. Mayers at Moolooba, W. Cannon at White Rock and C. Morton at Deeral. A small number were working for CSR at Hambledon. In the Johnstone River district, several were working at CSR's Goondi Mill, and others were engaged by European farmers, including J.B. Perrier at Mourilyan, E.C. Eden at Liverpool Creek and W. McEvoy at Daradgee. CSR's Macknade Mill, in contrast, employed most of the Islanders in the Herbert River district while European farmers such as Lynn at Farnham and F. Fraser at Gedge's Crossing employed a few. In the Mackay district, many had been engaged by different employers in the crushing and the slack. The greatest number had been employed by fellow Islanders with farms, and the remainder by Japanese, Indian and other non-European farmers and by European farmers such as Tidemann at Pleystowe, A.E. Innes at Alligator Creek and A.E. Atherton at Plane Creek. The mills at Homebush, Palms, Farleigh, Racecourse and Cattle Creek, employed a considerable number. In lists of the principal employers of non-European sugar workers collected by local police in 1919 and 1920, many of the same employers are to be found, particularly the mills (see Appendix F).³⁸ However, the number of

35. T68Bsa:2; T57Bsa:2; T61Bsa:2; T73Bsb:1; Raymond Cassidy, Ingham DHAR, 8 Dec.1933; Industrial Magistrate's Court, 7 Sep.1937, Ayr, A/20620, QSA; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.183, F.W. Martyn.

36. QIG I, 1916, pp.619, 620; Appendix E.

37. There were 209 applicants throughout these districts who named their employers.

38. The number of Islanders included in the totals was not given for any of the districts in 1919 and only for Cairns and Innisfail in 1920. For the background to these lists, see Chapter 6, pp.253, 257.



PLATE 7.1: Cane-cutters outside their lunch tent at Tweed Heads in northern New South Wales, 1920s or 1930s; conditions would have been similar in North Queensland. The two men sitting on the left and the man above them are migrants; the men sitting in the centre and lying on the ground are Europeans; the others are native-born Islanders.



PLATE 7.2: Cane-cutters at Tweed Heads at a later date, 1930s or 1940s. The man (seated) second from the left and the two men above him are Europeans; the rest are native-born Islanders.

non-European employers was considerably less than in 1913, and there is no indication of how many Islanders were employed by their countrymen.

Firewood-cutting was the major occupation for Pacific Islanders in the sugar mills. Of the mills in the Mackay district, Homebush, Farleigh, Palms, Racecourse and Cattle Creek, as noted, all employed Islanders as wood-cutters. In the Herbert River and Johnstone River districts, wood-cutting for the CSR mills continued in the years after 1913 to be a major source of employment for Pacific Islanders.³⁹ Wood-cutting was important in that it offered work in the slack season. Unemployment during this off season (about December to June) was a major problem amongst sugar workers, and there were continual complaints by the AWU and its members that non-Europeans were employed during the slack in preference to Europeans.⁴⁰ Apart from wood-cutting, some Islanders obtained general work around the mills. Most, as shown, took up farm work such as clearing, fencing, chipping and watering. Others went outside the sugar industry to obtain work: for example three Islanders in Mackay in 1913 were picking coffee.⁴¹ Catching cane beetles for the farmers was one way to earn small amounts of money.⁴²

39. See Evidence of George Romelo, Rex vs Alick Jones, No.32 of 1922, A/18409, QSA; T52Bsb:2; T69Bsb:1; NOR 20 Jun.1927, p.40; Daniel Blooranta, PBR, Innisfail, 11 Mar.1928.

40. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1492, W.E. Black, p.1493, J.T. Ferguson, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, pp.292, 293, T. Quilty, p.400, P. Kirwan, p.457, M.P. Hynes; ASJ XVI, 8 Aug.1924, p.295.

41. See Applic. No.666E, John Estelle, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.881E, Nompua, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.1085E, John Wadin, AGS/N103, QSA. Seeking work outside the sugar industry was common during the slack. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.298, A. Murray.

42. This was usually done by shaking the trees to make the beetles fall. From 1923 Cane Pests Boards were established in all districts except Ingham and Cairns and a levy was imposed on growers and millers for a fund to pay for the suppression of such pests as cane beetles. See 'Tramp', 'Sugar Land Reminiscences. Early Day Episodes', Feb.1936, p.27: NOR 15 Mar.1920, p.55; T40Bsa:3; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.223.

THE ALTERNATIVE to working for wages was to grow cane for oneself. As in the years before 1908, many Islanders in Mackay and Proserpine and smaller numbers in the other sugar districts took up this option. Yet today cane farmers of Islander descent are virtually unknown in North Queensland.⁴³ This disappearance will be discussed in the context of the legal disabilities imposed on the Islanders, the effect of the Sugar Cultivation Act and sugar awards and the problems suffered generally by small cane growers.

The presence of Islander cane growers in this period was known to some government officials and local residents.⁴⁴ Yet they receive no mention in local histories. In assessing the number of Islanders engaged in cane growing, the censuses provide no help.⁴⁵ The only figures at any one time for Islander cane farmers throughout North Queensland are those derived from the applications for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act in 1913-14. There were 105 Pacific Islander farmers in North Queensland who applied for exemption: 83 in Mackay, 18 in Proserpine, 1 in the Herbert River and 3 in Port Douglas (see Table 5.1). These Islanders constituted well over half of the total number of non-European farmers who applied for exemption in North Queensland; both in Mackay and Proserpine they represented three-quarters of the farmers who had applied.

From this and other nominal evidence, a (minimum) number of Islander cane farmers in each of the sugar districts between 1908 and 1940 can also be calculated.⁴⁶ In the Port Douglas district, there appear to have been

43. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.70. By contrast, Indians are still prominent in the Queensland sugar industry. R.T. Watters, 'Sugar Production and Culture Change in Fiji. A Comparison Between Peasant and Plantation Agriculture', Pacific Viewpoint Vol.4, No.1, Mar.1963, pp.28, 30.

44. QPP 11, 1909, p.989; Scrivens to Min. for Agriculture, 4 Jan., 5 Jan.1916, memo., 147G, AGS/N358, QSA; NC 1 Dec.1911, p.2; Newspaper cutting, MM 15 Apr.1920, encl. in 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Molesworth, Kanaka Labour in Queensland, p.97.

45. Only the 1911 census gave a detailed occupational breakdown for Pacific Islanders in Queensland and even this did not distinguish between farmers and workers. Throughout Australia, there were said to be 410 Islanders engaged as farmers and farm hands, and 244 engaged in sugar planting. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1911, p.235, Vol.II, pp.1050-53.

46. The sources for the following calculations include the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act, other archival sources such as petitions, inquests, trials and intestacies, the evidence collected by royal commissions and other inquiries, CSR records, other mill records, district hospital records, newspapers and oral evidence. Some specific references are given where individuals are named.

only the three farmers listed in 1913 - Tabby at Mossman, Harry Tanna at the Daintree River and Willy Api at Saltwater Creek (who was still farming there in 1927). Ohnonee, a Malaitan working for Robbins of Mowbray, had two acres planted with cane in 1913, and there were others with selections who may have grown small amounts of cane.⁴⁷ In the Cairns district, there were no Islander farmers who applied for exemption in 1913, but there were six farmers who signed the 1915 petition and a few grew small amounts of cane on their employers' farms. The only farmer of any note was Tom Dennis, a Solomon Islander who farmed at Mackey's Creek and sent his cane to Hambledon Mill from 1918 or earlier until his death in 1934.⁴⁸ There is no evidence in the Johnstone River district of any Islander farmers, or even of Islanders growing cane on their employers' properties.⁴⁹

In the Herbert River district, there were several farmers. Tom Lammon was the only farmer who applied for exemption in 1913; he and later his son Harry leased land from Lynn from about 1909 until 1931 or later.⁵⁰ Peter Backo, together with Jacob Erromango, took up a small leasehold at Cordelia when the Islanders were suspended from the Macknade Mill in 1915. Backo's son Ishmael farmed with him in later years, and in

47. NQR 17 Jan.1927, p.72; PDMR 10 Sep.1908; Applic. No.1222E, Harry Tanna, AGS/N104, QSA; Applic. No.5A, Willy Api, AGS/N97, QSA; Applic. No. 18A, Tabby, ibid.

48. Petition from residents of the Cairns district, forw. by MacDonnell and Harnam to Premier, 11 Oct.1915, 67C, AGS/N96, QSA; Letters to Intermediary, Hambledon Mill, p.4, encl. with Manager, Hambledon, to General Manager, 16 Mar.1918, P No.124, 142/3089, RSSS-ANUA; Intestacy No.6 of 1935, Tom Dennis, A/17945, QSA; T58Bsa:2; T66Bsa:3.

49. For instance, there were no Islanders included in lists of cane suppliers to Goondi between 1914 and 1916. QPP II, 1916-17, p.1019; Cane Contracts Record, pp.107-14, 121-26, 142/2932, RSSS-ANUA.

50. Applic. No.756E, AGS/N102, QSA; T25Bsa:1; T74Bsa:1, 2; Norah Lammon, Ingham SSAR, 19 Jan.1909; Manager, Victoria, to General Manager, 27 Feb. 1919, P No.104, 142/3151, RSSS-ANUA; Advocate (Ayr), 1 Apr.1966, p.15.

the early 1930s bought the farm.⁵¹ The third farming family was the Goslings. Annie Barslo was married to George Gosling, an Englishman with a farm at Halifax who died in 1905. Two of their sons, George Henry and Frank William, later farmed for some years at Halifax.⁵² Apart from these farmers, there were a few migrants who grew very small amounts of cane.⁵³

In the Burdekin, there is no evidence of Islanders growing tiny plots of cane. Only one farmer has been discovered, and this was Andrew Poollar, who had moved up from Bowen by 1927 and leased a farm at Seaforth from the Connolly Brothers until he died in 1936.⁵⁴

In Proserpine and Mackay there were large numbers of Islander cane farmers. In Proserpine, the applications in 1913 combined with other sources demonstrate that between 1908 and 1940 there were at least forty Islanders farming in the area. These included one woman and four native-born. In Mackay between 1908 and 1940 there were at least 151 Islander farmers, including 3 women and 19 native-born, in the district. Of the eighty-three who applied in 1913, nearly one-half were in the Farleigh district, just over one-sixth were at or near Homebush Mill and slightly less than this were at Palms, while the remaining one-sixth was divided between the Eungella and Plane Creek areas. The majority of farmers was thus clustered along the Pioneer River or to the north of the town, a distribution which had been evident since the early 1900s.⁵⁵

51. T19Bsa:2-3; T25Bsa:1; T57Bsa:1; Number of Farmers Supplying Cane to Macknade Mill No.1, 1920-23, Report of Evidence taken by Royal Commission re Alien Immigration to North Queensland, PRE/A849, QSA; Manager, Macknade, to General Manager, 25 Jan.1923, No.775, 142/3377, RSSS-ANUA; Recognizance for the Appearance of Defendant, Rex vs Samson Backo, No.33 of 1940, A/18433, QSA.

52. George Gosling, Hinchinbrook CR, 18 Jan.1905; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 16 Jul.1924, No.360, p.435, 142/1528, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 11 Aug.1926, No.663, p.189, 142/1530, RSSS-ANUA; Frank William Gosling, Ingham DHAR, 2 Feb. 1933.

53. T69Bsa:1; Actg Clerk of Petty Sessions to Deputy Public Curator, Townsville, 25 Jan.1919, p.234, CPS 12H/G1, QSA; Intestacy No.7 of 1925, Tommy Booka Booka, A/17930, QSA.

54. T68Bsa:1; T80Bsa:1; Intestacy No.185 of 1936, Andrew Poollar, A/17947, QSA. There do not appear to have been any Islanders supplying cane to Pioneer Sugar Mills. Drysdale Bros to Sec., Lower Burdekin Farmers Association, 26 Aug.1910, Pioneer Mill Letter Book, 1909-10, pp.461-62; Drysdale to Sec., ASPA, Brisbane, 18 May 1915, *ibid.*, 1915-16, p.45.

55. See Chapter 2, p.69.

The pattern of farming did not alter in the years after 1907, in that there continued to be few Islander farmers outside Mackay and Proserpine. In the far north, the Chinese were still predominant, although now there were only a few large growers.⁵⁶ In the Burdekin, Herbert River and Johnstone River districts, the Italians entered the industry as small farmers in the 1920s. In Mackay and Proserpine, it will be seen, the geographical terrain was an important reason for the large numbers of Islander farmers. The following discussion of the characteristics of cane growing by Islanders will concentrate on the Mackay and Proserpine districts, but many of these features were also true of the farmers elsewhere.

Outside Mackay and Proserpine, farmers had taken up cane growing since 1907. The one exception to this was Willy Api in the Port Douglas district. In contrast, there were a solid core of farmers in Mackay and Proserpine who had been growing cane by 1907 or earlier: 62 of the 151 farmers in Mackay and 17 of the 38 in Proserpine were in this category.⁵⁷ Farming here represented an extension of an existing pattern rather than a new development.

Partnerships amongst Islander farmers were numerous, as in the years before 1908. The partnership of Backo and Erromango in the Herbert River district has been mentioned. In the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act from farmers in Mackay, there were eleven partnerships involving twenty-seven Islanders. In three cases these partnerships were more formally organized as companies.⁵⁸ From other sources, chiefly mill records, it is apparent that apart from those identified in these applications there were at least a further fifteen partnerships, involving

56. May, *The Chinese in Cairns and District*, pp.88-91. See also Chapter 2.

57. This is calculated by comparing Islanders farming up to 1907 with those known to have been farming after this date. The number of Islanders farming up to 1907 who stayed on after this date (that is, were not repatriated) was 79 (of 129) in Mackay and 17 (of 34) in Proserpine. Thus it can be seen that most of these people continued to grow cane. See also Chapter 2.

58. These were Santo and Co., Jack Marrau and Co. and Billy Tonga and Co. See *Applic. No.929E*, Charlie Santo, AGS/N103, QSA; *Applic. No.980E*, Taromai, *ibid.*: *Applic. No.846E*, Bert Medlap, AGS/N102, QSA.

thirty-two people.⁵⁹ In only two cases were there partnerships between an Islander and a non-Islander.⁶⁰

In at least ten of these twenty-six partnerships, the partners were related by blood or marriage.⁶¹ Predictably, these partnerships were mostly between fathers and their children, usually their sons. In one case, that of Luke Logomier and Harry Fatnowna at Farleigh, a stepfather was farming with his stepson.⁶² There was also a strong connection by island of origin. More than half of all partnerships were formed between men or women from the same island, as for example the partnership between two Malaitans at Farleigh, Johnny Mangway and Dick Sotavi. In view of the importance attached to island group as well as island of origin, it is noteworthy that there were only three cases in which partners were drawn from different island groups, that is, Solomon Islanders farming with New Hebrideans.⁶³

Like most small cane farmers, the Islanders required outside labour - that is, labour other than that supplied by immediate relatives - only at the busiest times of the year, the planting and harvesting

59. The sources for this figure were Individual Ledger of Farmers 1912-16, Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; Farm Records 1925-49, Pleystowe Mill; Cane Contracts Record, 142/2932, RSSS-ANUA; QPP 11, 1915-16, pp.1081-82; Evidence of Willie, Rex vs Maneboro, No.44 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; QGG CXVIII, 1922, p.1242.

60. T. Marlee, Farm Records 1925-34, pp.95, 96, 105, Farm Records 1925-49, p.196, Pleystowe Mill; P.E. Mezzan, Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill.

61. Connections by blood or marriage and also by island of origin can be correlated with other variables such as farming through the process of nominal reconstruction. See Appendix B.

62. Logomier and Fatnahoona, Individual Ledger of Farmers, p.546, Farleigh Mill; MN 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna. There were a further four between fathers and sons or daughters, two between husbands and wives and two between in-laws. In Proserpine a husband and wife were farming together. See W. and C. Nuggi, Cane Credits Register 1905-30, pp.25, 65, Proserpine Mill.

63. Johnny Mangway and Sotavi, Individual Ledger of Farmers, pp.581-82, Farleigh Mill. Apart from these three, there were fourteen partnerships in which the people were drawn from the same island of origin, six in which the people came from different islands but within the same island group and three in which the island of origin of one or both of the partners is not known.

seasons.⁶⁴ Where there was more than one son of working age, as was the case with Andrew Bobongie and his oldest sons John and Sam by 1925, such extra labour may not have been necessary at all.⁶⁵ Some farmers employed their sons to work on their farms⁶⁶, but in many cases, sons worked for other Islander farmers or other employers: Harry Tarryango's oldest son John worked for the Palms Mill while Harry employed Frank Fewquandie (whose father was a farmer at Branscombe) on his farm at Palms. Working for another employer may have been economically necessary but it was also a useful means for young men to assert their independence.⁶⁷

From applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act, it is clear that most farmers, married and single, employed other Islanders as seasonal workers. These show that in 1913-14 in the Mackay district, fifty-nine Islanders were employed by twenty-six of the farmers. Most employed only one or two but some employed several, such as Aymboan, a Palms farmer, who employed seven.⁶⁸ Connections by island of origin were not as strong in the selection of such employers: over half were working for an employer from another island, and nearly one-half of these for an employer from a different island group. Outside Mackay, farmers also employed fellow Islanders and sometimes Aborigines.⁶⁹ Some of these labourers lived on

64. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1497, A.J. Gibson, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.340, E.S. Smith; MM 30 May 1916; Evidence of Jack and Alick, Rex vs Billy Boslam, No.60 of 1910, A/18369, QSA.

65. A.,J. and S. Bobongie, Farm Records 1925-34, p.11, Pleystowe Mill. For another example, see CPP IV, 1913, p.1470, H.L. Smith.

66. See, for example, Applic. No.755E, Harry Lammon, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.913E, Harry Querro, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.983E, Jack Tarryango, ibid.; Applic. No.1246E, Willie Darr, AGS/N104, QSA; T57Bsa:1; T69Bsa:1.

67. Applic. No.1225E, John Tarryango, AGS/N104, QSA; Applic. No.668E, Frank Fewquandie, AGS/N101, QSA. Migration to another district was another means of demonstrating their independence. See Chapter 4, pp.157-58.

68. For the applications of Aymboan and some of the Islanders he employed, see Applic. No.592E, Aymboan, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.776E, Tom Soboa, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.880E, Sam Nosimo, ibid.; Applic. No.1017E, Sam Tiack, AGS/N103, QSA.

69. See PDMR 16 Dec.1909, Mossman Police Court; NQR 10 Sep.1932, p.22; T64Bsb:2; T69Bsa:1; T74Bsa:1-2; T74Bsb:3; Applic. No.1155E, Sam Alleanotta, AGS/N104, QSA.

their employers' farms.⁷⁰

Most Islanders could not have afforded to buy land. Since only Pacific Islanders from French territories were eligible for Australian naturalization, most were in any case restricted to farming leaseholds.⁷¹ Yet, as in the period before 1908, there were always a few migrants who acquired freehold property - such as John Noie who owned land valued at £268 in Cairns in 1927.⁷² Native-born Islanders were not precluded from owning land, and several did. Some bought land from the migrants: William Thomas purchased a fifty acre farm at The Leap from Henry Netoka for £650 in 1933.⁷³

That the majority were farming leasehold was recognized at the time and since.⁷⁴ At least sixty-one of the eighty-three farmers in Mackay in 1913 were farming leasehold; just under half were leasing from European farmers, such as P.D. Dunworth at Farleigh, J.R. Norris at The Leap and Hornbrook at Dumbleton, and slightly more than half from the mills, principally Farleigh and Palms Estate. In the early years of the twentieth century, these mills had subdivided their estates and leased or sold the land to small farmers such as the Islanders. Since Homebush Mill had subdivided its land earlier, it is not surprising to find that Islander growers in the area were not leasing land from the mill. When Homebush closed in 1921, its suppliers were transferred to the Farleigh and Racecourse Mills; at least seven of the Islander growers were assigned to

70. For examples in Mackay and other districts, see MM 30 May 1916; Evidence of Jack and Alick, Rex vs Billy Boslam, No.60 of 1910, A/18369, QSA; Statements of Tom Dennis and Willie Solomon, Inquest No.170 of 1923, Jimmy Bassabola, JUS/N756, QSA; T64Bsb:2.

71. See Appendix D.

72. Intestacy No.125 of 1927, A/17933, QSA. For other such examples, see Intestacy No.32 of 1926, Johnnie Nahlun, A/17931, QSA; Intestacy No.54 of 1927, John Veclec, A/17933, QSA; T7Bsb:3; T11Bsb:1; T48Bsb:1.

73. Ty3Bp.2; William Thomas, Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill. For other examples, see T29Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:2-3; Ty3B pp.2-3; Intestacy No.105 of 1925, John Tallis, A/17930, QSA.

74. See Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, forw. by Luke Logomier to Premier, n.d. [Dec.1915], 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept; Newspaper cutting, MM 15 Apr.1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Newspaper cutting, MM 7 Sep.1932, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.70; Ty4Bp.1; Ty5Bp.1; T7Bsa:1; T37Bsa:1; T49Bsa:1.

Farleigh.⁷⁵ In 1925 when the Palms Estate was taken over by the Amalgamated Sugar Mills Pty Ltd, Pleystowe, the Islander lessees were allowed to carry on.⁷⁶ Outside Mackay, it was more common for Islanders to lease land from individual farmers rather than the mills.⁷⁷

Those leasing land from the mills paid a royalty of 1s. a ton on cane supplied, and this was also common practice when leasing from individual farmers.⁷⁸ But in some cases a flat rent was charged - Jacob Penola, for example, paid £30 for twenty-five acres at Coningsby near Farleigh in 1933, and Tom Lammon in the Herbert River district paid £50 per annum for the fifty acres he leased from Lynn.⁷⁹ Most Islanders had assignments with the mills under their own names but some, like Sam Barlup, went under the European lessor's name, in his case the Denmans at Etowri.⁸⁰

75. See CPP IV, 1913, pp.1459, 1464, J. McGown, p.1521, R.J. Thomas, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.402, R. Clarke, p.419, W.H. McCready, p.433, D.G. McGown, p.439, P.H.M. Goldfinch; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.70; OGG CVXIII, 1922, pp.1045, 1242. See also Chapter 2, p.69.

76. For examples of Islanders who leased land from the Palms Estate and later from Pleystowe Mill, see Aymboan, Farm Records 1925-34, p.7, Pleystowe Mill; J. Sambo and R. Talonga, ibid., p.156; H. Tarryango, ibid., p.159; N. Vice and J. Marrau, ibid., p.164.

77. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1455, F.H.M. Cross; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.115; T19Bsa:2-3; T68Bsa:1.

78. See George Mywo, Individual Ledger of Farmers, pp.621-23, Farleigh Mill; Billy Bomboo, Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; CPP IV, 1913, p.1521, R.J. Thomas; Statement of Willie Motlop, encl. with Actg Serg. to Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, 22 Jun.1919, 158G, AGS/N359, QSA; Actg Serg. to Insp. of Police, Townsville, 28 May 1919, 155G, ibid.

79. J. Penola, Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.115.

80. Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill. For other such examples see Billy Bomboo, ibid.; Dick Manish, ibid.; T29Bsa:1; T49Bsa:1.

Many of the Islanders in the Mackay and Proserpine districts were farming on the hillsides, an important geographical difference between these and the more northerly districts, and one which undoubtedly helps to explain the concentration of Islander farmers here.⁸¹ Once the hills were cleared of the heavy scrub cover and the stones, which were usually piled up in walls and terraces, very heavy crops could be grown on the rich and naturally well-drained soil. But this heavy manual work was done by 'kanaka' labour. With European workers it became uneconomical, even when they were prepared to cultivate the hillsides. In Mackay European residents periodically suggested that the Islanders should be settled on the hillsides since these would otherwise go uncultivated, but there was also some resentment at the extent of hillside farming by non-Europeans.⁸² Around Farleigh, the hilly terrain was undoubtedly responsible for the large numbers of Islanders farming in this area on hills such as The Ridges, Grange Hill and Summer Hill. Similarly, on Palms Estate, the land leased to non-Europeans was mostly in the hilly country along the river bank, and at Sunnyside and Proserpine there were also hilly areas where the Islanders were farming.⁸³ In other districts the Islanders tended to be given land which had not been cleared.⁸⁴

Hillside farming was uneconomical for Europeans because of the amount of manual labour required; tractors, which came into general use from the 1910s, could not be used.⁸⁵ To the Islanders this was not a

81. For these geographical differences, see QPP II, 1906, p.607, J. O'Riordan, II, 1916-17, p.1105, W.S. Addison; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.384, G.E. Wright. There were some hills around Cairns which the Islanders cleared and planted. T58Bsa:3.

82. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1498, A.J. Gibson, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.384, G.E. Wright, p.434, W.R. Denman; MM 24 Apr.1906, 10 Apr., 20 Apr.1920; Sec., Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association, to Actg Premier, 20 Mar.1914, 03046, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

83. See Ty4Bp.1; Ty6B: T7Bsa:1; T37Bsa:1; T40Bsa:2; T49Bsa:1; MM 25 May 1916, 15 Apr.1920; CPP IV, 1913, p.1524, R.J. Thomas, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.384, G.E. Wright.

84. See T19Bsa:2; T58Bsa:3; T74Bsa:2; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.56.

85. QPP II, 1916-17, p.1105, W.S. Addison; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.173; A. Birch and J.F. Blaxland, 'The Historical Background', in A.G. Lowndes (ed.), South Pacific Enterprise. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited (Sydney, 1956), p.31.

drawback, since planting and clearing required only a strong back and rudimentary tools such as a mattock and pick.⁸⁶ In 1919 it was estimated that a fairly complete outfit of such necessary implements as a plough and harrow and harness for the horses, would cost at least £80 or £90. Many Islanders farming on the flat as well as the hillsides did not possess ploughs, only horses to pull their drays.⁸⁷

Cane grown on the hillsides had to be brought down to the flat to be loaded onto horse-drawn drays and wagons, and later trucks, and conveyed to the mill or to the nearest siding. For this the inexpensive 'flying fox' system was employed: usually at night, when it was cooler, the cane was cut and carted by hand into heaps, tied with wire ropes and then hooked onto a wire sling and let down to the bottom of the hill.⁸⁸ This was a much slower business than cane-cutting on the flat and costly, since the sugar content of cane deteriorates in direct proportion to the time between cutting and being taken over the weighbridge. Farmers living considerable distances from the mills, as some Islanders did, would have been disadvantaged.⁸⁹

The prevalence of leaseholds and the scarcity of implements reflects the Islanders' lack of capital. The lists of improvements given by many of the Mackay farmers in 1913 provides further corroboration of their low capital reserves. The standard improvements noted were houses and stables,

86. As interviewees point out. See T7Bsb:3; T29Bsa:1; T49Bsa:1; T51Bsb:1.

87. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.447, P.H.M. Goldfinch. For other, more costly, estimates, see CPP IV, 1913, p.1275, C.V. Hives, p.1525, A.H. Tidemann. For examples of Islanders without ploughs, see T21Bsb:2; T49Bsa:1; T54Bsa:1; Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun. 1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept.

88. See T7Bsb:3; T30Bsb:1; T37Bsa:1; T40Bsa:2; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.418, J. McDonald, p.419, W.H. McCready, p.437, P.H.M. Goldfinch.

89. See Sec., Pleystowe Central Mill Co., to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 30 Sep.1913, 7049, 170G, AGS/N361, QSA; CPP IV, 1913, p.1490, H.M. Adams, p.1529, R.J. Oliver.

barbed wire fences, wells and the planting of fruit trees.⁹⁰ There was little incentive to improve their properties, since such improvements would have to be sold to the lessor or an incoming lessee if the farmer left.

Nor were there many Islander farmers in Mackay, Proserpine or elsewhere whose acreage under cane or yield per acre met or exceeded that of the average small farmer. There was, however, a considerable range amongst the Islander growers themselves. Some forty per cent of the Mackay farmers amongst the 1913 applicants gave the size of their farms, and slightly less the number of acres of cane crushed in that season. The average was thirty-six acres, with eleven acres crushed. A useful comparison can be made with the figures supplied to the royal commission on the sugar industry in the previous year: amongst the suppliers to the Palms and Homebush Mills the average acreage crushed was twenty-six and twenty-three acres, respectively.⁹¹

Additional data is available from other sources on the size of farms, the acreage under cane and the yield. In Proserpine in 1919, four of the Islander farmers had crushed an average of five acres, for the relatively high yield of nineteen tons per acre. Other averages can be constructed from the assignments of Islander farmers at the Farleigh and Pleystowe Mills in the mid-1920s. At Farleigh, the average number of acres harvested amongst twenty-one growers was seventeen acres; but ten of these growers harvested five acres or less. The average for nine Pleystowe growers was considerably higher, at thirty-five acres, but once again many were below this average.⁹²

90. Some examples are contained in Applic. No.340E, Andrew Bobongie, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.392E, Thomas Marlee, *ibid.*; Applic. No.742E, Robert Kia, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.798E, Frank Malicoola, *ibid.*

91. CPP IV, 1913, p.1471, H.L. Smith, p.1522, R.J. Thomas. Thirty-seven Islanders in 1913 gave the size of their farms and thirty-three of these also gave the number of acres crushed.

92. Actg Serg., Proserpine, to Insp. of Police, Townsville, 28 May 1919, 155C, AGS/N359, QSA; Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; Farm Records 1925-49, Pleystowe Mill.

From the Farleigh records, information is also available for some growers on the tonnage of cane cut and its value, and at Pleystowe for the acreage harvested, the tonnage, and the average tonnage per acre (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). Overall, there was an obvious decline in the size of farms and crops over the years, but there were significant variations both between the growers and also over time. It could have been predicted, for instance, that their yield (tons of cane per acre) would have decreased over the years, as the Islanders lacked the capital to leave part of the land fallow or for manure to replenish the soil.⁹³ But in many cases among the small sample of Pleystowe growers, the yield actually increased over the years. Amongst the Farleigh growers, there was a noticeable unevenness in the amount of cane cut: some cut tiny amounts, others reasonable amounts, and in some cases the tonnage increased rather than decreased over the years. Presumably factors such as the particular season and the situation of the individual grower (for instance, distance from the mill, or attacks on the cane by grubs) would have produced significant variations in the amount of cane crushed and the yield over the years.⁹⁴

93. Many European small farmers faced the same problems. In Fiji Indian farmers similarly failed to rotate the land and to use manure, with the exception of CSR's tenants who were assisted to practise rotation and manuring. CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.340, E.S. Smith, p.402, R. Clarke, p.434, W.R. Denman; Watters, 'Sugar Production and Culture Change in Fiji', p.30; M. Moynagh, *Brown or White? A History of the Fiji Sugar Industry, 1873-1973* (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1978), p.107.

94. See CPP IV, 1913, p.1466, J. Barry, p.1491, J.T. O'Riordan, p.1553, J.R. Alison.

TABLE 7.1: Islanders supplying cane to Farleigh Mill

Name of supplier	S. Barlup	T. Kowmi	J. Chilar	M. Malachi	J. Manjack	D. Manish	J. Penola	T. Penola	J. Raroo	D. Suva	Average
1928: Tonnage of cane cut	156	13	16	43	86	8	123	66	17	16	54
Value £*	275	28	34	85	121	15	274	132	38	26	103
1930: Tonnage of cane cut	56	12	16	15	5	3	102	20	8	15	25
Value £	109	22	30	31	10	5	221	41	17	25	51
1933: Tonnage of cane cut	59	5	29	34	32	5	34	35	19	5	26
Value £	88	8	38	44	41	6	44	50	27	7	35
Average Tonnage	90	10	20	31	41	5	86	40	15	12	35
Average Value £	157	19	34	53	57	8	180	74	27	19	63

* to the nearest pound

Source: Farmers' Record Cards, Farleigh Mill.

TABLE 7.2: Islanders supplying cane to Pleystowe Mill

Name of supplier	Ayboan	A. J., & S.	Bobongie	T. Marlee	J. Malicoola & P. Mye	J. Sambo & R. Talonga	N. Vice & J. Marrau	H. Nooney	Average
1925: Acres harvested	-	7	8	3	-	-	10	-	
Tonnage of cane cut	245	97	134	28	193	212	138	-	
Average tonnage per acre*	-	13.8	16.7	9.3	-	-	13.8	-	
1928: Acres ...	33	13	13	2	30	9	25	18	
Tonnage ...	184	125	161	26	112	66	203	125	
Average ...	5.6	9.6	12.3	13.0	3.7	7.3	8.1	6.9	
1931: Acres ...	9	14	9	1	25	4	7	10	
Tonnage ...	61	129	29	13	119	50	55	65	
Average ...	6.7	9.2	3.2	13.0	4.7	12.5	7.8	6.5	
1934: Acres ...	9	11	2	1	6	7	24	8	
Tonnage ...	124	206	24	13	58	79	129	90	
Average ...	13.8	18.7	12.0	13.0	9.6	11.2	5.3	11.2	
Average harvested	17	11	8	3	20	7	16	11	
Average tonnage of cane	153	139	87	20	120	101	131	107	
Average tonnage per acre	9.0	12.6	10.8	6.7	6.0	14.4	8.2	9.7	

* to the nearest decimal point

Cane credits (that is, the amount paid for cane delivered) for 1913 at the Farleigh and Proserpine Mills indicate the size of the income earned by Islander growers in that year. Of twenty-four growers at Farleigh in 1913 Luke Logomier was paid the largest sum, £272.8s.8d. Logomier leased 65 acres from the mill, and had crushed 419 tons from 30 acres of this. The average amount paid for cane delivered was £84.10s.3d., and seventeen of the growers earned an average of only £53.12s.11d. In Proserpine the average cane credit for six Islander growers was £107.6s.0d., and the largest amount was £302.10s.10d., earned by William Yasserie. In this same year it was estimated that a man could live comfortably on a thirty-five acre farm and a profit (not merely cane credits) of £350 per annum.⁹⁵ None of the Islander growers met or even came close to meeting this standard, and most fell far below it.

That the Islanders were not generally in the bracket of 'comfortable' farmers is also apparent from the inventories included in intestacies and wills. In a few cases, their estates were not inconsiderable. Logomier's property and possessions in 1919 were valued at £292.10s.8d. and in the Burdekin in 1936 Andrew Poollar's estate was valued at £468. Yet amongst twenty Islander farmers (including Logomier) in Mackay, the estates of thirteen were valued at less than £40, and a further four at under £100.⁹⁶

Overall, there was considerable variety amongst Islander farmers in both Mackay and Proserpine, in the size of farms and acres crushed. The yield per acre also varied considerably, both between farms and over time, presumably in proportion to the quality of the soil and the efficiency of the grower. Many were working tiny areas for small yields: T. Kowmi and D. Manish in Table 7.1 and J. Malicoola and P. Mye, and N. Vice and J. Marrau in Table 7.2, exemplify this. Cissie Tarryango remembers that

95. Calculated from Farmers' Cane Accounts for 1913, Farleigh Mill and Cane Credits Register 1905-30, Proserpine Mill; CPP IV, 1913, p.340, E.S. Smith.

96. Intestacy No.291 of 1919, A/17924, QSA; Intestacy No.185 of 1936, A/17947, QSA; Figure 7.1. These calculations are based on Intestacies contained in A/17924 to A/17957, QSA; Ecclesiastical File No.3 of 1914, Charlie Tass, A/16887, QSA; QPP II, 1913, pp.147, 153, II, 1915-16, p.442.

she and her husband Jack grew just enough cane "to keep us going" and fruit and vegetables to supplement this income on a few acres leased from the Palms Estate in the early 1920s.⁹⁷ Not all growers derived their income solely from their farms. Among the farmers in Mackay in 1913, four had been employed during part of the year, and there are similar examples in Mackay and the other districts over the years.⁹⁸ In contrast to the Islanders, Chinese cane farmers continued to be very successful, farming large areas and employing many labourers.⁹⁹

With such small incomes and capital resources, Islander farmers were dependent on the mills or the local storekeepers to carry them through the slack season. Growers at Farleigh Mill were able to obtain stores on credit.¹⁰⁰ Most of the mills made advances to growers, with interest charges; but this became more difficult with the establishment of the Sugar

97. T21Bsb:2. For similar comments by other Islanders and also Europeans, see T7Bsb:3; T31Bsa:3; T54Bsa:1; Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay; Interview with Mr B. Jackson, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay.

98. See, for example, Applic. No.802E, James Darr, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.1872E, James Weirow Motlap, AGS/N107, QSA; Under Sec. for Agriculture to E.J. Caine, 21 Apr.1914, 30G, AGS/N96, QSA; Calisee and Gowseeka, Individual Ledger of Farmers 1912-16, pp.123, 146, 353, Farleigh Mill; Peter Backo, 4 Feb.1922, POL 12E/Q8, QSA. This was also common amongst struggling European small farmers. See CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, pp.340-41, E.S. Smith, p.437, H.L. Smith.

99. However, the number of Chinese farmers declined significantly in the early twentieth century. May, *The Chinese in Cairns and District*, pp.88-91.

100. T7Bsa:1; T40Bsa:2; *Farmers' Cane Accounts Jul.1913 - Mar.1917*, Farleigh Mill.

Cane Prices Boards in 1915.¹⁰¹ In 1915 also, the Labor Government's announced policy of paying less for raw sugar produced by 'coloured' labour had caused CSR to suspend advances to non-European growers in Mackay and elsewhere and the Pleystowe Mill to seek information as to whether there would be a penalty on cane grown by non-Europeans, before providing financial assistance to three Islander suppliers.¹⁰² Local storekeepers also extended credit to cane farmers, supplying them with food, clothing and implements. In Mackay, Proserpine and elsewhere in North Queensland, the Islanders 'booked up' goods at the shops; at least in Farleigh, they were exploited in that the storekeepers took a percentage of their crops rather than cash payment.¹⁰³

UP TILL the 1930s there was a very considerable number of Islanders growing cane in the Mackay district. The largest number of Islanders farming in the district occurred in the 1910s; at Farleigh Mill, for example, only one-third (eleven) of those farming in 1912 were still supplying cane to the mill in the late 1920s.¹⁰⁴ By the mid-1930s, the number of farmers

101. While it became easier for European farmers to obtain money from the banks, it was more difficult for the mills to obtain money from the banks without a joint guarantee. All the mills in Mackay and Proserpine gave advances to growers, at an interest charge of five or six per cent. CPP IV, 1913, pp.1454-55, F.H.M. Cross, p.1522, R.J. Thomas, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.431, A. Innes, pp.433-34, D.G. McGown, p.438, P.H.M. Goldfinch, p.453, H.R.L. Zillman.

102. General Manager to Manager, Macknade, 19 Aug.1915, No.17, p.468, 142/1522, RSSS-ANUA; General Manager to Manager, Homebush, 19 Aug.1915, No.22, p.473, 142/1246, RSSS-ANUA; Sec., Pleystowe Central Mill to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 9 Dec.1915, 12336, 67G, AGS/N96, QSA.

103. T43Bsb:1-2; T45Bsa:3; MM 28 May 1906; Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.304; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.70; Prince, Early Days of the Douglas Shire, p.22.

104. This was calculated by comparing the Individual Ledger of Farmers 1912-16 with the Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35.

was falling sharply: amongst twenty-seven Pleystowe growers, only six were farming later than 1935, and only one of these was still farming in the 1940s; only three of the fifty-six Farleigh growers were still farming in 1935, and possibly only one beyond this date.¹⁰⁵ In Proserpine, the number of Islander growers declined sharply in the late 1910s and early 1920s. By 1925, only four were still supplying cane to the mill. This exodus from cane farming was also accompanied by migration to Bowen, but whether this shift occurred after the Islanders had stopped farming or was the reason they did so, is not known.¹⁰⁶

Any explanation of the decline in numbers of Islander farmers in Mackay and Proserpine requires an understanding of the handicaps imposed upon them, and the difficulties suffered by small cane farmers generally and the Islanders specifically. Between 1907 and 1913, the Islanders were not prohibited from growing cane but were ineligible for the bounty. Yet they were able to make a living - the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association attributed this to the fact that they were farming the first-class hillside land.¹⁰⁷ In 1912 fifteen non-European farmers supplying Homebush Mill were said to be in the category of those 'holding their own' (as opposed to 'going backwards').¹⁰⁸ With the abolition of the bounty

105. Farm Records 1925-49, Pleystowe Mill; Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35 and Membership Certificates of Shareholders, Farleigh Mill. Many of the Islander growers at Farleigh still held one or two shares in the late 1930s and early 1940s, but do not seem to have been supplying cane to the mill. In the 'census' conducted in 1933, there was one Islander cane grower at Marian and two at Palms. Const. Marian, to Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, 24 Jun.1933, 2362, M1336, POL/J40, QSA; Const. Walkerston, to Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, 21 Jun.1933, *ibid*.

106. Cane Credits Register 1905-30, Proserpine Mill. At least seven of these growers moved to Bowen. See also Chapter 4.

107. Sec., Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association, to Actg Premier, 20 Mar.1914, 03046, 161G, AGS/N360, QSA.

108. CPP IV, 1913, p.1471, H.L. Smith.

in 1913, all non-European growers received the same price as Europeans employing 'white' labour, that is, a further 9s.8d. extra on each ton of cane. This was regarded as compensation for non-European farmers, since their certificates of exemption under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 were to be cancelled after 31 December 1915.¹⁰⁹

Amongst Islander and other non-European growers in the Mackay district in 1915 and 1916 there was considerable anxiety as to their position and whether they should continue to plant cane. In February 1916, their fears were allayed when the Labor Government decided to allow non-Europeans to continue to cultivate cane and not to impose a lower price for their cane.¹¹⁰ Despite these decisions, in the following years there was occasional harassment of Islander farmers by government officials¹¹¹, but in general it was non-European sugar workers rather than the farmers who were the object of attention. The restrictions on 'coloured' labour imposed by the Arbitration Court in 1919 and 1920 did not affect Islander farmers severely, since they could employ their countrymen, but they may have prevented farmers from supplementing their income by cutting cane during the crushing season. Along with European growers, the Islanders benefitted from the increasing governmental regulation of the sugar industry, as for instance by the Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act 1922 which stipulated that the mills must crush the cane of the growers assigned to them at the agreed price.¹¹²

109. NQR 9 Mar.1914, p.41. This was resented by some European growers. CPP IV, 1913, p.1566, A. Stevenson; Sec., Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association, to Actg Premier, 20 Mar.1914, 03046, 161C, AGS/N360, QSA.

110. See Chapter 6.

111. See Actg Serg., Sarina, to Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, 22 Jun.1919, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA; Actg Serg., Proserpine, to Insp. of Police, Townsville, 28 May 1919, ibid.; Under Sec. for Agriculture to E.J. Caine, 21 Apr.1914, 30G, AGS/N96, QSA.

112. See A.F. Bell, The Story of the Sugar Industry in Queensland. The John Thomson Lecture for 1955 (Brisbane, 1956), pp.18-19; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.143.

In 1915 some of the Islander growers around Farleigh were described as "very comfortable".¹¹³ Logomier no doubt was one of these, and a few of the farmers in other areas, such as Thomas Marlee at Pleystowe, William Seekis at Homebush and William Yasserie at Proserpine, could have fitted into this category. Yet by 1920, Islander growers in Mackay and Proserpine were in poor circumstances.¹¹⁴ The change in their situation was effected primarily by two natural disasters.

On 21 January 1918, the Mackay district was devastated by a very severe cyclone, which killed twenty people and caused extensive damage to property, livestock and crops.¹¹⁵ At Proserpine the same cyclone caused severe damage but no lives were lost. The river burst its banks and Islanders living on the river bank were forced to shelter in the trees and later swim to nearby Mount Julian.¹¹⁶ In Mackay, the Tarryango and Malachi families at Palms and TeKowai lost their houses and belongings when the Pioneer River flooded, and Islanders in other areas lost at least some of their possessions. According to Tidemann, a Presbyterian elder well known to the Islanders, the Islanders had lived on leasehold land in easy circumstances until the cyclone, which destroyed a large number of their

113. Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for financial year ending 31st March 1915 (Sydney, 1915).

114. As a number of European observers commented. See MM 15 Apr.1920; Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept; Actg Serg., Sarina, to Sub-Insp. of Police, Mackay, 22 Jun.1919, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA.

115. See NQR 28 Jan., p.7, 4 Feb., pp.26-29, 65-70, 11 Feb.1918, p.23; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, pp.56, 58.

116. NQR 4 Feb.1918, p.3. In March, another cyclone did severe damage at Innisfail and Babinda, and the cane from Mackay to Cairns was badly affected by rain and floods. NQR 4 Feb., pp.13, 26, 18 Mar.1918, p.17; CMP 12 Mar., 13 Mar.1918; C.T. Wood, Sugar Country. A Short History of the Raw Sugar Industry of Australia 1864-1964 (Brisbane, 1965), p.23.

houses.¹¹⁷ None of them seem to have received assistance from the flood relief fund set up for Mackay victims. The cyclone affected the cane crop in 1918 and those for some years afterwards; the royal commission appointed to enquire into the sugar industry in 1919 was told that many farms had been put on the market as a result of the cyclone.¹¹⁸

The cyclone was followed by the influenza epidemic of 1919, described in Chapter 4. In Mackay, especially in the Farleigh area, many Islanders died and the epidemic severely demoralized the Islander community. Amongst the farmers at Farleigh who succumbed were Logomier, Tom Fewquandie, Henry Quaytucker, Billy Kissier, Tom Anisola, Joe Chuik, George Bio and Harry Loggie. Logomier, Anisola and Bio had been amongst the largest of the Islander suppliers to Farleigh Mill in 1913.¹¹⁹

Tidemann claimed that the Islanders had not re-built after the cyclone and had reverted to labouring. With the 1919 epidemic following so closely on the cyclone, the loss of many farmers through death, illness or lack of energy is understandable. The position of those who continued to farm was made more difficult by the drop in the price for raw sugar after 1925, which reached a low during the depression and did not revive fully until World War II.¹²⁰

117. Applic. No.994E, Harry Tarryango, AGS/N103, OSA; Applic. No.822E, Matthew Malachi, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.390E, Luke Logomier, AGS/N100, QSA; Ty2Bp.1; MM 15 Apr.1920.

118. NOR 18 Feb., 1 Apr.1918, Illustrations: CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.86, F. McGuren, p.394, H.E. Turner, p.403, A.R. Henry, p.431, A. Innes; Easterby, The Queensland Sugar Industry, p.58; A deputation representing the sugar interests of Australia to Prime Minister, 27 Feb.1920, A2 20/2695, AA.

119. See Farmers' Cane Accounts Jul.1913-Mar.1917, Farleigh Mill.

120. H.W. Herbert, 'The Australian Sugar Industry', in Lowndes, South Pacific Enterprise, p.93.

Pacific Islander farmers were handicapped in certain respects. In Chapter 5, the legislative restrictions imposed on them were outlined: the migrants could not be naturalized, obtain advances from the Agricultural Bank, own land or even (in theory) lease more than five acres of land (see Appendices D and E). They were excluded from most of the growers' associations and, despite the odd exception such as William Seekis, were treated as inferiors by Europeans.¹²¹ Present day descendants recall with bitterness that Maltese migrants who arrived in Mackay after World War I received bank loans easily and are today wealthy farmers, while their own parents were forced out of farming because of lack of capital and freehold land.¹²² The private banks would have been reluctant to finance Islander growers, in view of their legal disabilities and the small scope of their farms. Although scrupulous in repaying debts, the Islanders had not acquired the reputation of the Chinese to whom, at least in the Cairns district, loans flowed freely.¹²³

The disadvantages suffered by Islander growers ensured that their farming remained small-scale but did not necessarily force them to discontinue growing cane. Death, as in the 1919 epidemic, thinned the ranks naturally.¹²⁴

121. See Chapter 5.

122. Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.70-71; T30Bsb:1; T37Bsa:1; T49Bsa:1.

123. T47Bsb:3; T48Bsb:1; T55Bsb:3; MM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.241-43.

124. For example, Thomas Marlee, Joseph Sambo, Robert Kia and Henry Quakawoot at Pleystowe and Bob Allin, Matthew Malachi, Raroo and Tom Serika at Farleigh were all farming up till the time of their deaths, which was between 1925 and 1936. Thomas Toloa was forced to stop farming at Farleigh in late 1913 or early 1914, when he was discovered to be a leper and was sent to Peel Island. Farm Records 1925-34, Pleystowe Mill, p.156; Farm Records 1925-49, ibid., pp.60, 196, 250; Farmers' Records Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; Individual Ledger of Farmers 1912-16, p.881, ibid.; Form of Report to Home Sec. of investigation by Medical Practitioner of a case of suspected leprosy, 3 Jan.1922, No.370 of 1922, Albert Toloa, COL/283, QSA.

Others retired from farming when they reached advanced years; Joe Kandy, for example, retired in 1931 and transferred his leasehold and liabilities to another Solomon Islander at Farleigh.¹²⁵

In 1913 Tunnes, the chairman of directors of the Plane Creek Mill, distinguished three classes of growers: "some who make money, some who make a living, and some who make no headway at all".¹²⁶ It is clear that Islander growers were in the second and third categories, and increasingly in the latter after 1918. Growers on the north side, where most of the Islanders farmed, were very short of capital and labour-saving equipment and were therefore inefficient.¹²⁷ Dry seasons, poor land, low prices for cane, destruction of crops by grubs and other pests, inaccessibility to the mill, lack of capital for equipment and improvements such as manuring and the inability to pay off debts, were explanatory factors given by small farmers who had not prospered. All applied to Islander growers who, moreover, did not have security of tenure.¹²⁸

In summary, the Islanders' too small farms, lack of capital and insecurity of tenure were fundamental in ensuring their disappearance from cane growing. That the possession and retention of land was important to many of the Islanders is clear.¹²⁹ Pearce's efforts in 1920 and 1921 to

125. Farmers' Records Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill. For other examples see Tom Penola, *ibid.*; Dick Manish, Membership Certificates of Shareholders, No.91, *ibid.*; Intestacy No.179 of 1941, Jimmy Zimmer, A/17957, QSA; General Manager to Seekis, 12 Oct.1927, p.211, 142/1082, RSSS-ANUA; *Advocate* (Ayr) 1 Apr.1966, p.15.

126. *CPP Misc. Vol.*, 1920-21, p.431.

127. *Ibid.*, p.434, W.R. Denman.

128. See *ibid.*, p.421, T. Hodgett, IV, 1913, p.1466, J. Barry, p.1491, J.T. O'Riordan, p.1526, J.A. Ware, p.1553, J.R. Alison.

129. See T2Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1; Evidence of James Bookie, Rex vs Harry Tonga, No.19 of 1907, A/18353, QSA.

secure a reserve were supported by at least some of the Islanders. In 1932 (as discussed in Chapter 9), a group of Islanders in Mackay made another attempt to establish a farming settlement.

This move to acquire land in 1932 was spearheaded by Harry Fatnowna. Together with other native-born Islanders, he had purchased farming land.¹³⁰ But most of the native-born did not own land, and earned their livelihood through wage employment. In common with the other most numerous non-European native-born group, the Chinese, they preferred wage-earning to the arduous lifestyle of small-scale cultivation practised by their parents. Migration to other districts provided a means of escaping pressure from the older generation to assist on the farms.¹³¹ The Second World War greatly accelerated this trend, in that the young men when they returned from the war generally refused to work on the farms of their relatives and friends and moved into the towns.¹³²

WHILE THE majority of Islander men had continued to earn their livelihood in the sugar industry, either as workers or farmers, there were some in other pursuits. In districts where there was no cane farming, such as Bowen, Townsville and the Atherton Tableland, the Islanders were necessarily engaged in other agricultural industries. These were principally market gardening, small crop farming, farm labouring, timber-getting and wood-cutting. The pastoral industry provided employment for a small number of Islanders, while a tiny number earned their livelihood in the towns. Women's work is discussed separately.

130. T48Bsb:1.

131. May, 'The Chinese in Cairns and District', p.230; T29Bsa:1. For examples of farmers' sons who moved to other districts, see T25Bsa:3; T74Bsa:2; William Darr, AMR, Ayr, 15 May 1918; Applic. No.1253E, Henry Sippie, ACS/N104, QSA.

132. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59. See also Epilogue. This pattern was not peculiar to the Islanders. See J. Cole, 'Social Mobility and Local History: The Boonah Project', Australia 1888 A journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888 Bulletin No.2, Aug.1979, p.103.

Market gardening and mixed farming were chief amongst these other occupations, since this type of farming did not require a large area or outside labour. Some Islanders squatted on land along the banks of the creeks and rivers, growing fruit or vegetables for their own needs and selling or bartering the surplus. In Mackay, they squatted along the banks of the Pioneer River at Palms and Pleystowe, and later also on the other side at Balnagowan and Dumbleton. This rich but flood-prone land was excellent for growing fruit and vegetables, and the river provided a constant supply of fish.¹³³ In the other coastal districts, there were Islanders living a similar subsistence existence. In 1938 at Mount Sophia in the Cairns district, for example, Nesseo was growing vegetables on a small plot on the banks of the Mulgrave River, and selling some to local Chinese.¹³⁴

Other Islanders who grew fruit and vegetables leased a few acres from Europeans or worked small plots on European farms in return for casual help and clearing the land. In the Burdekin, Charlie Cawoot and his family lived on R.S. Cameron and H.M. Irving's farm at McDesme; in return for clearing ground for a pump, he was given five acres on which to grow vegetables. His eldest son Billy Yow and his wife Annie hawked vegetables in a spring cart among the farmers and in the town and were more popular than the Chinese fruiterers. At 'The Gardens', near Halifax, a settlement of Islanders living on part of J.A. Anderssen's farm also cultivated a great variety of fruit and vegetables, which the old men packed in carts

133. T27Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.66; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, Appendix III, EDU/22247, QSA; Newspaper cutting, MM 7 Sep.1932, ibid. For similar examples elsewhere in the district, see T2Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.68; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay; Pix 13 Sep.1941, p.23.

134. Statements of Tom Samuels and Ah You, Inquest No.710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/NI053, QSA. For other examples, see T66Bsb:1; Statement of Matthew Tambo, Inquest No.328 of 1931, Johnny Lammon, JUS/N927, QSA; NQR 26 Oct.1929, p.67; CMP 4 Jun.1925; Statement of C.A. Bennett, Inquest No.458 of 1933, Willie Abraham, JUS/N968, QSA.

and pushed down to Lucinda or over to Halifax to sell.¹³⁵

In the Bowen district, a number of Islanders leased small farms and grew fruit and vegetables such as tomatoes and potatoes. In 1914, for example, John Veelee leased five acres near the town to grow vegetables, next to the farm of another Islander, Harry Heepie.¹³⁶ As discussed in Chapter 5, the Bowen Farmers' Association was strongly opposed to non-European farmers, and repeatedly accused the Chinese and Islander farmers of packing and grading fruit and vegetables carelessly and sending away inferior quality or diseased produce. As in other districts, some Islanders grew produce on the farms of Europeans under verbal agreements: "he'd give them a piece of land to work and they'd grub out all the trees and plant their own tomatoes ... [and] stay there as long as he'd let them ... [or] till he sold the place."¹³⁷ This left the Islanders open to exploitation, since some farmers kept moving them around so that more land was cleared: "Boy, I think you better go over there, I give you another piece of land."¹³⁸

135. T56Bsa:1; T68Bsa:1; T70Bsa:1; T72Bsa:1. For similar examples in these and other districts, see Evidence of Alick Santo, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No.25 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; Intestacy No.39 of 1922, Jimmy Ganni, A/17927, QSA; PDMR 10 Sep.1908, 2 Dec.1918; T66Bsb:2; Munro to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 2 Jun.1933, 4250 of 1933, AGS/J872, QSA.

136. Applic. No.1608E, John Veelee, AGS/N106, QSA. For similar examples, see BI 15 Nov.1913, 14 Jul.1914; Const. to Insp. of Police, Townsville, 13 Sep.1913, No.1272 of 1914, Sam, COL/282, QSA; Intestacy No.72 of 1919, Jimmy Gato, A/17923, QSA; Charles Taiters, ABR, Bowen, 30 Jan.1908; Norman Womal, ibid., 20 Jul.1926.

137. T62Bsa:3. This type of informal arrangement also operated in the Cairns district. See T58Bsa:2-3; T66Bsa:3.

138. T62Bsb:1. For examples of Islanders who took up these clearing leases, see T60Bsa:2; T71Bsb:2; Intestacy No.143 of 1919, Harry Dar, A/17923, QSA; Intestacy No.274 of 1941, Sam Cowell, A/17957, QSA; Claude Henry Fraser, Bowen DHAR, 5 Aug.1933.

In the Atherton district, many Islanders engaged in mixed farming. In 1913 there were at least eleven Islander farmers in the district.¹³⁹ They do not appear to have been among those lessees, principally non-European, whose land was resumed after World War I for the settlements of returned soldiers around Atherton and Tolga.¹⁴⁰ In Port Douglas, the most northerly district, a number of Islanders had taken up their own selections. The most successful of these was Johnnie Nahlun, who had held his selection on the Daintree River since the early 1880s and was still growing fruit there in 1913.¹⁴¹

Some Islanders grew bananas as well as other produce and in the Tully area there were said to be a few Islanders with banana farms.¹⁴² However, banana growing was principally in the hands of the Chinese (and later the Europeans), and there were no Islanders in North Queensland who applied for exemption from the Banana Industry Preservation Act of 1921.¹⁴³

139. Untitled and undated list of non-European farmers in some Queensland districts, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA. For examples of farmers in this district, see QPP III, 1911-12, p.1300; Evidence of Harry Lifu, James Tanna, Willie Tanna, Mick Tanna, Rex vs Mick Tanna, A/18475, QSA; Esther Sandow, East Barron SSAR, 8 May 1918, EDU/AA378, QSA; Clement Mortar, ibid., 12 Mar.1917.

140. QPP II, 1919-20, pp.953-57; May, The Chinese in Cairns and District, pp.73, 214.

141. QPP II, 1911-12, p.1054; PDMR 2 Dec. 1913. For other examples, see PDMR 17 Sep.1908, 2 Dec.1913.

142. See T66Bsb:2; Applic. No.345E, Calisee, AGS/N109, QSA; Govt Medical Officer to Under Home Sec., 17 Nov.1911, 10885, 1911, Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA; Statement of Matthew Tambo, Inquest No.328 of 1931, Johnny Lammon, JUS/N927, QSA; D. Jones, Cardwell Shire Story (Brisbane, 1961), p.290.

143. There were some in southern Queensland, as shown in Chapter 6. See also Appendix E.

Like their countrymen who were growing cane, many of these small farmers supported themselves by occasionally working for wages. For instance, Jack Abraham and Light Tanna, who had a garden at Edgehill near Cairns in 1911, also worked at wood-cutting and did odd jobs for suburban householders.¹⁴⁴ To an even greater extent than those Islanders growing cane, these farmers won only a bare living. This is revealed by their intestacies: amongst nine such farmers in Bowen and Cairns, three had estates valued at less than £30 and two at under £60. Only two farmers had any substantial assets - Johnnie Nahlun when he died in Cairns in 1924 held freehold land valued at £185, and the estate of Sam Cowell, a Bowen tomato farmer, was valued at £585 in 1941, £532 of this being savings in the bank.¹⁴⁵

Those who were not farming or gardening generally worked as farm labourers. This was common amongst the native-born in Bowen in 1926, for example, Norman and Leslie Womal, James Power and Wylie Waller were all farm labourers. European and Chinese tomato farmers in Bowen employed many Islanders, and others worked in the meatworks and saltworks.¹⁴⁶ Further north, in the Johnstone River district, some were employed by banana growers. A few were employed as gardeners, either by the mills or private employers.¹⁴⁷

144. Govt Medical Officer to Under Home Sec., 17 Nov.1911, 10885, 1911, Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA. For other examples see Const. to Serg., Bowen, 4 Apr.1914, No.1272 of 1914, Sam COL/282, QSA; Evidence of Alick Santo, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No.25 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; PDMR 10 Sep.1908.

145. Intestacy No.32 of 1926, A/17931, QSA; Intestacy No.274 of 1941, A/17957, QSA. The other intestacies are contained in A/17923-A/17951, QSA.

146. Evidence of Norman and Leslie Womal, Wylie Waller and James Power, Rex vs P.A. Coote, No.64 of 1926, A/18414, QSA; Insp. of Police, Townsville, to Crown Prosecutor, 10 Feb.1941, 478, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA; BI 11 Oct.1913; T18Bsa:1; T60Bsb:1-2; T62Bsb:3.

147. District Insp. to Police Commissioner, 6 Oct.1910, 18644, M405, POL/J17, QSA; T58Bsb:1; Applic. No.755E, Harry Lammon, AGS/N102, QSA; Rody Cassidy, Ingham DHAR, 21 Sep.1930; Aliens at Queensland Mills 1916, 142/3479, RSSS-ANUA.

Timber-getting and wood-cutting were other unskilled, manual occupations in which some Islanders found employment, particularly in the Johnstone River district where there were wood-cutting camps at Daradgee and Coondi. At Ravenswood in 1908, William Tangawa was a timber-getter at Mount Wright, employing an Aboriginal to assist him.¹⁴⁸ Road work was another source of manual labour for Pacific Islanders, especially during the depression years.¹⁴⁹ Fishing and hunting were usually part-time occupations to extend the diet and provide a commodity to sell or barter, but for a few these provided full-time jobs. An Innisfail in 1922 John Loch Loch Santo was earning his living as a fisherman, and in the Burdekin in 1920 Jack Boslam was working as a kangaroo shooter.¹⁵⁰

The other field of manual work for the Islanders was in the pastoral industry. From the late 1870s, the number of Islanders in the pastoral industry was very small. In the census in 1911 there were said to be seventy-four Pacific Islander men (only about seven per cent of the male breadwinners) engaged in pastoral pursuits in Queensland.¹⁵¹

148. NC 1 Dec.1929; Statement of Minnie Ante, Inquest No.385 of 1931, George Ante, JUS/N928, QSA; Daniel Blooranta, PBR, Innisfail, 11 Mar.1928; Intestacy No.166 of 1908, Willie Langbi, A/17912, QSA; Evidence of William Tangawa, 8 Jun.1908, Rex vs Jimmy Chisholm, A/18476, QSA.

149. See PDMR 10 Dec.1908; Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, p.1050.

150. Molly Santo, AMR, Innisfail, 4 Dec.1922; T80Bsa:2; Sydney Boslam, Ayr SSAR, 6 May 1920. For other examples, see T31Bsb:2; T62Bsb:1; PDMR 28 Feb.1908, 19 Apr.1910; Statement of Harry Bradford, Inquest No.410 of 1918, Harry Pentecost, JUS/N669, QSA; Statement of Tom Samuels, Inquest No.710 of 1938, Neseo, JUS/N1053, QSA; QCC CXXIV, 1925, pp.1228, 1925.

151. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1911, p.235, Vol.II, 1911, pp.1050-53.

Virtually all of these Islanders would have been employed as station hands and stockmen. Some had long-standing associations with particular pastoral families: Igha and Anamboon in the Herbert River district had always worked for the Allingham and Cassady families, respectively.¹⁵² In this district and also in Townsville, Islanders earned money through breaking horses.¹⁵³ The one case in which an Islander became a grazier was that of William Wombie, whose life was discussed in Chapter 2. In 1927, when Wombie died, he and his son David, also a grazier, were renting Gum Hole and Galbraith stations near Normanton and running horses and cattle with the assistance of three Aboriginal stockmen; Wombie's pastoral holdings were valued at £1800.¹⁵⁴

All of these occupations were rural or semi-rural pursuits. As shown in Chapter 4, few Islanders were living in the towns in this period.¹⁵⁵ The exception to this was the small number of Islander boarding house keepers, who catered for the periodic visits to town by other Islanders. In the 1910s Arro and Henry Tongoa were running boarding houses in Mackay. Arro's boarding house was popular amongst the Islanders but by 1913 Tongoa had returned to cane farming.¹⁵⁶ There were other Islander

152. Photographic Album, I, Nos.50, 51; Statement of Rosie, Inquest No. 681 of 1939, Anamboon, JUS/N1071, QSA. For other examples, see Statement of A.H. Cunningham, Inquest No.412 of 1907, William Sula, JUS/N380, QSA; Statement of A.E. Parker, Inquest No.96 of 1909, Billy Mole, JUS/N414, QSA; Massa, No.665, Charters Towers, Return of Coloured Residents of the Townsville District, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA; T64Bsb:1; T72Bsb:2.

153. See T15Bsa:2; T57Bsa:1-2; T73Bsb:2; Statement of William Bargo, 6 May 1928, Rex vs William Bargo, No.60 of 1928, A/18417, QSA.

154. Statement of David Wombie, Inquest No.378 of 1927, William Wombie, JUS/N843, QSA; Intestacy No.46 of 1927, William Wombie, A/17933, QSA; OGG CXXI, 1923, p.356, CXXV, 1925, pp.414, 484; The Australian Pastoral Directory Lists of Stockowners in the States of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Northern Territory and Tasmania, 1915 (Sydney, 1915), p.188, 1921, p.208, 1927, p.245. It does not appear that David Wombie continued as a grazier after his father's death.

155. According to the census of 1911, a very small number were engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits or as religious ministers or teachers. Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.1050-53.

156. See Applic. No.577E, Charles Api, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.588E, Arro, ibid.; Applic. No.617E, Cassel, ibid.; MM 5 Jan.1916; NOR 28 Jun.1930, p.15; Form of Report to Home Sec. by Medical Practitioner of a Case of Suspected Leprosy, No.6502 of 1911, Jimmy Thoran, COL/283, QSA; Applic. No.1036E, Henry Tonga, AGS/N103, QSA.

boarding house keepers in Mackay but outside this district evidence has been found of only one other boarding house keeper, who was in Cairns.¹⁵⁷

The above discussion of occupational activities has been concerned almost exclusively with men. This is because Islander women, who had worked alongside the men as plantation labourers in the nineteenth century, were now primarily occupied with working in their own homes. In assessing this change to a dependent status, government records such as intestacies are suspect in that all women, black or white, tended to be classed as dependants. But the evidence from such records as marriage registers, where Islander women named their occupations, reveal that most were not working, at least full-time, outside their own homes. Even those born in Queensland who did not marry until their mid- or late twenties usually gave their occupation as home duties.¹⁵⁸ Widows who re-married tended also to give the same occupation.¹⁵⁹ According to the census in 1911, over three-quarters of Islander females aged over fourteen were dependent on what were termed natural guardians.¹⁶⁰

157. Applic. No.1002E, Tarvy, *ibid.*; Intestacy No.74 of 1920, Fred Mallack, A/17924, QSA; Applic. No.198 of 1926, David Mie, A/17932, QSA; T58Bsa:3; W.F. Tierney, 'Cairns at the turn of the century', Historical Society, Cairns, North Queensland, Bulletin No.52, Jun.1963. For visits to town by the Islanders, see Chapter 8.

158. In intestacies the occupation of women was usually given as 'wife'. In the church marriage registers, the overwhelming majority of Islander women gave their occupation as home duties, and this was also so for those whose names appeared on the electoral rolls. In the petition from Pacific Islanders in Mackay in 1920, no occupations were given for the women, and present day Islanders recall that few of the women worked outside their own homes. Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, 3 Mar.1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA.

159. See Elizabeth Kia, AMR, Mackay, 20 Oct.1930; Ivy Coakley, *ibid.*, 15 Aug.1934; Alice Henaway, PMR, Ayr, 28 Mar.1928; Agnes Bobbert, AMR, Proserpine, 22 Nov.1921.

160. Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.918-19, 1052-53. This was calculated by deducting the number aged under fifteen from the total number of dependants and calculating the proportion which the remainder represented of the total number of females aged fifteen and over.

While most Islander women regarded themselves as housewives and helpers, this did not prevent them from working in part-time employment and performing heavy manual work around the home and farm. Girls usually started work at about fourteen and worked until they married.¹⁶¹ Native-born women characteristically had large families and tended to stay at home while the children were small and then return to work, usually part-time, to supplement the family income. Domestic service outside their own homes was the biggest field of paid employment for Islander women.¹⁶² In the census in 1911, paid domestic work was the chief field of employment both for European and non-European women, and occupied over eighty per cent of Islander women who were employed.¹⁶³

Some Islander women were live-in housekeepers, but for most it was day work for local farmers or townspeople. Since domestic servants were always in short supply, there was no need to travel long distances or to take on live-in service.¹⁶⁴ Some of the limited alternatives to domestic work for Islander women were waitressing, laundry work and employment as nursemaids.¹⁶⁵

There were a few women in Mackay who were recognized as farmers in their own right. Lizzie Malachi was the only woman farmer in North Queensland amongst the Islanders who applied under the Sugar Cultivation Act: she was then farming at TeKowai in partnership with her husband Matthew and two other Solomon Islanders. As an old woman, she continued to farm at Farleigh after Matthew's death in 1932. There were two other

161. See T45Bsa:2+3; Ty2Bp.2; D. Coote, Ingham DHAR, 1 Feb.1932; Gladys Addo, *ibid.*, 22 Sep.1933.

162. For examples, see T3Bsa:1; T19Bsb:3; T25Bsa:3; T45Bsa:3; Amy Sippie, AMR, Mackay, 22 Feb.1919; Ellen Now, MMR, Cairns, 8 Nov.1922; Nora, ABR, Proserpine, 21 Aug.1920.

163. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, pp.237, 239, Vol.II, pp.1052-53.

164. Ty2Bpp.1-2; T20Bsa:1; T45Bsb:1; Photographic Album, I, No.21; CPP Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.361, Dr E. Humphry.

165. See Nellie Coakley, No.871, Mackay Division, Herbert, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1925; T25Bsa:1; T45Bsa:2; T71Bsa:2.

women farmers in the district, one of whom was born in Queensland.¹⁶⁶ These women were exceptional, but most of the wives of farmers worked in the fields, at least during the busy planting and crushing seasons. In the Herbert River, Sarah Backo left her children in the care of an older Islander woman, and helped her husband Peter to clear the land. The women were also often responsible for the poultry and the large vegetable gardens grown by the Islanders.¹⁶⁷

PACIFIC Islanders were not always able to obtain paid employment. Throughout Australia unemployment rose sharply after World War I and remained high during the 1920s. At the census in 1921, the unemployment rate for males in primary production was 13.2 per cent. Yet the unemployment rate for Islander breadwinners (who almost without exception fell into this category) was only 7 per cent.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the census had been taken during the slack season in April, when unemployment was highest in the sugar districts and when the Islanders often took a holiday or moved to other centres in search of work.¹⁶⁹ The fact that so many Islanders farmed on their own account and also that the Islanders worked for less wages and under poorer conditions than would Europeans, helps to explain their lower unemployment rate.

During the depression, however, the Islanders together with the rest of the community suffered the effects of severe unemployment. The unemployment rate in Queensland was the lowest in Australia, due to the State's lower degree of industrialization and the highly protected nature

166. Applic. No.665E, AGS/N101, QSA; Farmers' Record Cards 1926-35, Farleigh Mill; T33Bsb:1; Photographic Collection, I, No.27; Nellie Vice, Farm Records 1925-49, p.135, Pleystowe Mill; QGG CXVIII, p.1242, Lucy Querro. As noted earlier, there were some cases of wives farming in partnership with their husbands.

167. For this and other examples, see T22Bsa:1; T33Bsb:1; T40Bsa:2; Photographic Album, I, No.89.

168. R. Broomhill, Unemployed Workers A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide (St Lucia, 1978), pp.1-2; Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1921, pp.330-33, Vol.II, Statistician's Report, p.234. In the 1911 census, the number of Islanders who were unemployed was not given.

169. In later years they went on the dole. See Applic. No.969E, Jack Sorindooce, AGS/N103, QSA; Applic. No.2249E, Jimmy Thomas, AGS/N357, QSA; Form of Report to Home Sec. of Investigation by Medical Practitioner of a Suspected Leper, No.6502 of 1911, Jimmy Thoran, COL/283, QSA; T19Bsb:3; T32Bsa:1; T62Bsb:3.

of the sugar industry.¹⁷⁰ The only figure on unemployment among Islanders during the depression was an Australia-wide figure in the census of 1933, conducted at the start of the crushing season, when 17 per cent were said to be unemployed. Among Islanders in North Queensland the unemployment rate may have been lower. The official figure for unemployment in primary production in Queensland was 17.69 per cent.¹⁷¹ But unemployment was much greater amongst farm labourers than cane-cutters, for whom wages remained relatively high due to the protective tariffs which kept up the price of sugar. During the crushing season, thousands of men invaded the sugar districts in search of work.¹⁷² Unemployment would have been highest among the Islander migrants, who were primarily employed in labouring rather than cane-cutting, and even the native-born may have found it more difficult in these years to secure AWU tickets to cut cane.¹⁷³

Islander women probably also experienced high unemployment. As a non-essential service, paid domestic work was difficult to obtain during the depression. In Queensland, the official unemployment rate in 1933 for women engaged in personal and domestic service was 15.19 per cent; unemployment was higher only amongst those in secondary industries.¹⁷⁴

170. At the peak, in 1932, Queensland's unemployment rate was 18.8 per cent compared with 34 per cent in the worst affected State, South Australia. Trade union figures on unemployment are more reliable than the official figures. Broomhill, Unemployed Workers, p.2; B.J. Costar, 'The Great Depression: Was Queensland Different?', Labour History No.26, May 1974, pp.33-35; W. Lowenstein, Weevils in the Flour An oral record of the 1930s depression in Australia (Melbourne, 1978), pp.12, 13.

171. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1933, pp.310, 948-49.

172. See NOR 7 Jun.1930, p.16, 24 Jan.1931, pp.28, 80, 89; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Halifax, to Director of Labour, 5 Sep.1933, pp.33-34, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; QPD CLIV, 1929, pp.1684, 1916; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.363; Lowenstein, Weevils in the Flour, p.382.

173. Experienced men could usually obtain work of some kind in the cane-fields. See Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.363; Lowenstein, Weevils in the Flour, pp.382, 384.

174. Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, Statistician's Report, pp.309, 310.

That unemployment was a serious problem for the Islanders from the late 1920s to mid-1930s is clear from evidence concerning the Herbert River district. Although this district had a small Islander population (see Table 4.5), there were at least twenty-two Islanders unemployed (and often on more than one occasion) between 1929 and 1935: these were principally men, both single and married, but there were also some young women and elderly, single men. A native-born Islander, Jack Tanna, for example, had been unemployed for ten months in May 1930, found work by November, but was unemployed again on several occasions over the following five years.¹⁷⁵

While there was no 'dole' in Queensland, there was a systematic program of relief provided through the Unemployed Workers Insurance Acts of 1922-30 and various systems of relief work.¹⁷⁶ Jack Tanna was receiving rations valued at 25s. a week in 1934; by his own record, he had also received rations in 1929 for himself and his wife and six children. He was one of three Islanders employed in 1931 on relief work to improve the road between Halifax and Lucinda. All three had families and were in urgent need of relief, and the secretary for labour and industry, T.E. Sizer, refused a request by the local MLA to have them replaced by Queenslanders of European descent.¹⁷⁷

175. Mary Tanna, Ingham DHAR, 21 May 1930, 25 Nov.1930, 11 Jan.1931, 1 Jul.1934. The sources for the calculation of the number unemployed were the Ingham District Hospital records and the applications under the Unemployed Workers Insurance Acts of 1922-30 contained in CPS 12H/G2, QSA.

176. Queensland was the only State with a system of unemployment insurance. 13 Geo. V, No.28; 21 Geo. V, No.38; Costar, 'The Great Depression', pp.37-38; B. Carroll, 'William Forgan Smith: Dictator or Democrat', in Murphy and Joyce, Queensland Political Portraits, pp.410-11.

177. Under Home Sec. to Officer in Charge of Police, 24 Aug.1934, COL/71, QSA; Excerpts from Notebook of Jack Tanna (provided by Mrs Betty Barrett of Halifax); T70Bsb:1; T72Bsa:1; OPD CLIX, 1931, p.1130. For similar calls for such restrictions, see NOR 15 Mar.1930, p.44, 7 Mar.1931, p.38.

In other districts also, some Islanders found employment on government-financed relief work.¹⁷⁸ Abuses were prevalent and there were Islanders found guilty of lodging false applications for relief.¹⁷⁹ Many Islanders, like Europeans, 'jumped the rattler' (rode illegally on the trains) to move to other centres, notably Bowen and the Burdekin, in search of work during the depression years.¹⁸⁰

Yet while many men and women were thrown out of employment by the depression, the recollections of present day Islanders are not of a period of great hardship and deprivation. Admittedly most were then young children and thus more likely to have favourable memories of these years. But the advantage of a semi-rural existence is that basic subsistence is possible: during these years, the Islanders had their gardens to supply most of their food, and a surplus to barter for other food and essential items. Even if there was little money for clothes and other goods, they did not go hungry.¹⁸¹ Some remember European families whose situation was far worse.¹⁸²

178. See MM 30 Mar.1935; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, p.8, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Edna Thomas, Bowen DHAR, 30 Oct.1933; T18Bsa:1; T27Bsb:1.

179. See Const. Kenny vs Harry Mooney, 15 Jan.1936, CPS 10B/S23, QSA; Serg. Mullins vs Matthew Tambo, 5 Jun.1939, CPS 12H/S6, QSA; Const. Paradine vs Harry Paul, 25 Mar.1935, CPS 11B/N4, QSA.

180. MM 28 Apr.1937; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.363; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.466; T10Bsa:2; T60Bsb:1; T61Bsa:2; T68Bsa:1; Alfred James Corowa, No.911, Ayr Division, Mundingburra, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1935; Fred John Thomas, No.4331, ibid.

181. This was also true for villagers in the Solomon Islands, and even for urban residents in Australia. T25Bsa:3; T57Bsa:2; T70Bsa:1; Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, pp.301, 339; Broomhill, Unemployed Workers, p.105.

182. For the impact of the depression in Queensland generally and North Queensland specifically, see Carroll, 'William Forgan Smith', pp.410-11; Jones, Cardwell Shire Story, p.364; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.466; B.J. Costar, Political and Social Aspects of the Great Depression in Queensland, 1929-32 (M.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1973).

For many of the Islanders, unemployment during the depression was only temporary, but during this decade an increasing number of the migrants became too old and feeble to earn a living.¹⁸³ Those without children to support them, and even some of those with children, were in very straitened circumstances. Like other non-Europeans (with the exception of British Indians), Pacific Islanders including those who were naturalized were ineligible for old-age and invalid pensions (see Appendix D).

Under the agreement between the Commonwealth and the States, the former was responsible for the payment of pensions and the latter for the relief of cases of destitution. From the late 1920s or earlier, some aged and destitute Pacific Islanders in Queensland were receiving the State indigence allowance of 5s. per week, paid monthly by the police. By 1941 this allowance had not increased; it represented a pittance by comparison with the old-age pension, itself by no means generous, of £1 per week.¹⁸⁴ In June 1932, 159 Pacific Islanders in Queensland were receiving the indigence allowance, by February 1937 the number had grown to 164, but had dropped to 151 by June 1938.¹⁸⁵ There are numerous examples in North Queensland, from both the oral and written evidence, of elderly Islanders who were dependent on this allowance, which they called the pension. One of these in 1941 was Jimmy, a Solomon Islander living a solitary and meagre existence in a grass house in the bush near Mackay (see Plates 7.3 to 7.6).¹⁸⁶ William Seekis

183. For examples, see Registrar of Pensions, Halifax, to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar.1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; Tom Solomon, Ingham DHAR, 4 Aug.1930; Statement of C.A. Bennett, Inquest No.458 of 1933, Willie Abraham, JUS/N968, QSA; Statement of Const. Faulkner, Inquest No.4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA.

184. QPD CLXXVII, 1941, p.329; Actg Treasurer to J. Francis, 13 Aug.1935, A461 J393/1/1, AA; Indigent Allowances Paid to South Sea Islanders, 19 Sep.1938, COL/71, QSA.

185. Pacific Islanders represented over a third of the total number who received this allowance. In 1937, there were 89 Islanders and one Aboriginal widow living in North Queensland of the 164 Islanders in Queensland who were receiving the allowance. Indigence, n.d., *ibid.*; Memo., 5 Feb.1936, *ibid.*; Indigent Allowances Paid to South Sea Islanders, 19 Sep.1938, memo., *ibid.*; List of Natives of Pacific Islands in Receipt of Indigence Allowance, 28 Feb. 1937, *ibid.*; QPD CLXXII, 1938, p.742.

186. *Pix* 13 Sep.1941, pp.22-23. For other examples, see Ty4Bp.1; T7Bsa:2; T19Bsa:3; T61Bsa:1; Statement of Const. McGrath, Inquest No.799 of 1938, Tom Obah, JUS/N1054, QSA; Statement of Jack Tanna, Inquest No.425 of 1934, Monday Tanna, JUS/N982, QSA; Intestacy No.109 of Dick Manish, A/17954, QSA; Intestacy No.147 of 1941, Jimmy Gow Andi, A/17956, QSA.



PLATE 7.3: Jimmy (possibly Jimmy Tarragwanna) from Nggela in the Solomons, aged in his late seventies, outside his grass hut in the scrub seven miles from Mackay, 1941. This and the following three photographs were taken to accompany an article in the popular magazine Pix.

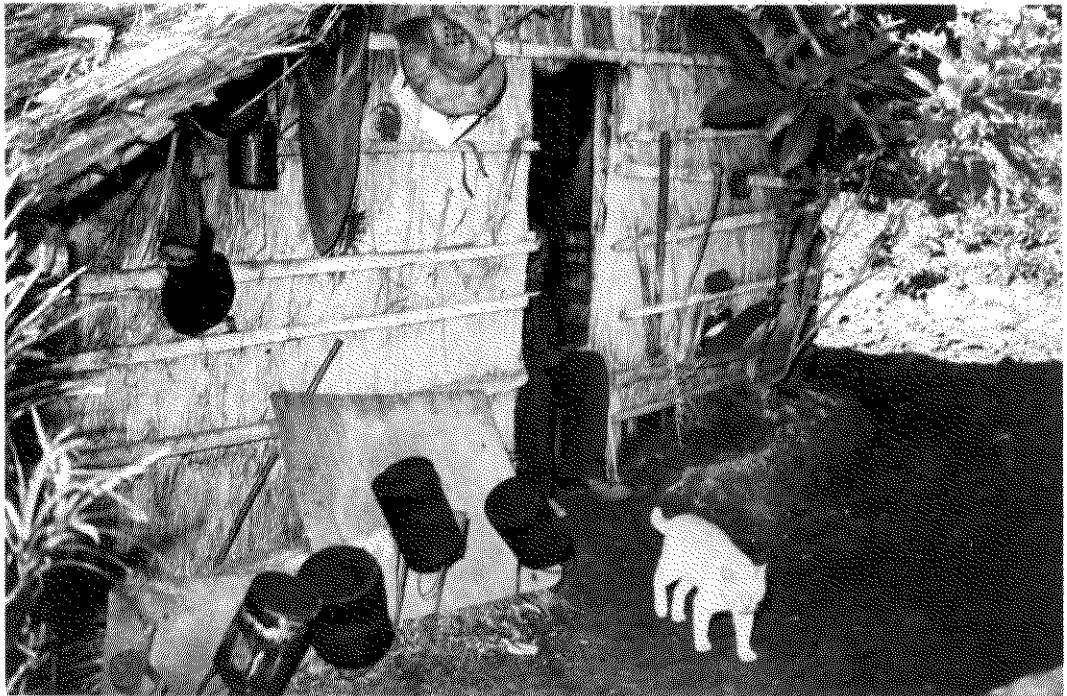


PLATE 7.4: Jimmy sitting at the door of his hut. Note the cat (kept to kill vermin) and the billy cans for cooking over an open fire.



PLATE 7.5: Jimmy inspecting the tobacco plants growing at the side of his hut.



PLATE 7.6: Jimmy drying his home-grown tobacco inside his hut. Note the makeshift furniture and thatched roof.

was more fortunate than most: when Homebush Mill closed down in 1921, CSR allowed him to continue to live on land at Baker's Creek and in 1927 granted him a small annuity of 10s. per week; he also received the indigence allowance.¹⁸⁷

In 1942 both Aborigines (with certain qualifications) and Pacific Islanders finally became eligible for invalid and old-age pensions under the Invalid and Old-age Pensions Amendment Act of 1942.¹⁸⁸ Throughout the previous decade, the Islanders' case had been put forward by a number of sympathetic Europeans. According to oral evidence, the mayor of Cairns, W.A. Collins, and the mayor of Halifax, F. Heard, both pressed the Government in about 1931 for a pension for Islanders, and Salvation Army officers in Bowen and Edward Denman, a well-known farmer in Mackay, similarly fought for their pensions.¹⁸⁹ It may be, however, that this 'pension' was actually the indigence allowance. Further attempts to obtain financial independence for elderly Islanders came from outside North Queensland. Between 1935 and 1941, the removal of the pensions disability was advocated in petitions and in representations from Queensland MLAs, the premier, Forgan Smith, and the governor, L.O. Wilson.¹⁹⁰ It was not until 1942

187. General Manager to R. Croker, Mackay, 12 Oct.1927, p.212, 142/1082, RSSS-ANUA; List: Recipients of Indigence Allowance at 23 Feb.1934, COL/71, QSA; MM 5 May 1957; Intestacy No.325 of 1935, William Francis Seekis, A/17946, QSA.

188. No.3 of 1942, ss. 4, 13; CPD CLXX, 1942, pp.708-9, 1002, 1044, 1052. Non-Europeans who were naturalized had become eligible under the Invalid and Old-age Pensions Act Amendment Act of 1941 (No.48 of 1941, ss. 4, 5.)

189. See T33Bsb:1; T61Bsa:1; T66Bsb:2; MM 30 Jul.1975; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay. In Halifax Davy Samoa obtained the indigence allowance after the local clerk of petty sessions had pressed for a pension for him. Registrar of Pensions, Halifax, to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar.1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; List of Natives of Pacific Islands in Receipt of Indigence Allowance, 28 Feb.1937, COL/71, QSA.

190. For some examples of this agitation, see Sec., South Sea Islanders' Petition Committee, Bundaberg, to Deputy Leader of the Opposition, 13 Jul. 1936, and encl. petitions, A461 J393/1/1, AA; Forgan Smith to Prime Min., 25 Jul.1936, ibid.; Forde to Lyons, 20 Jul.1936, ibid.; Gov. Wilson to J.A. Hunter, 14 Jan.1937, ibid.; H.S. Foll to Lyons, 12 Aug.1938, ibid.; CPD CLXIX, 1941, p.658.

that elderly Islanders gained the financial security of the Commonwealth old-age and invalid pensions.¹⁹¹

Amongst Pacific Islanders in the years up to 1940 there was a range in income and living standards. Some lived in reasonable comfort, at least in the first two decades of this century. In 1908 Harry Lefu, who had a selection at Bailey's Creek, was described as having a clean and comfortable home which "many a man in happier circumstances might envy". The homes of Islander men married to Aboriginal women in Atherton in 1911, were also compared favourably with those of Europeans.¹⁹² Up to 1918, some of the Islander farmers at Farleigh were earning a comfortable living, and one of these, Luke Logomier, was sufficiently well off to buy a harmonium for his step-daughter Eva and pay for music lessons for her.¹⁹³

The substantial donations made to various churches was another indication that some were relatively comfortable.¹⁹⁴ Those migrants who had not married had a reputation for saving large sums of money, and the amount of their savings was often quite considerable.¹⁹⁵ Others, like William Wombie the grazier, possessed little cash but had valuable assets.¹⁹⁶

191. Some later joined the pensioners' associations. T71Bsb:1; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 67, 68.

192. PDMR 10 Sep.1908; OPP II, 1911-12, pp.1300, 1313. Living conditions are discussed in Chapter 9.

193. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.77; T54Bsa:1.

194. See Chapter 8.

195. For some examples, see T1Bsb:1; T58Bsa:3; T80Bsb:1; Intestacy No.50 of 1919, Waio, A/17923, QSA; Intestacy No.74 of 1920, Fred Mallack, A/17924, QSA; Intestacy No.121 of 1926, Jacob Nabong, A/17932, QSA.

196. For other examples, see Intestacy No.32 of 1926, Johnnie Nahlun, A/17931, QSA; Intestacy No.125 of 1927, John Noie, A/17933, QSA; Intestacy No.185 of 1936, Andrew Poollar, A/17947, QSA.

These single men and families tended to be the exception rather than the rule, and especially in later years. As Figure 7.1 demonstrates, three-quarters of sixty-eight Islanders who died intestate between 1916 and 1940 had possessions and property valued at less than £75.¹⁹⁷ In Mackay and Proserpine, as shown, the combination of discriminatory legislation and Industrial Court awards and the setbacks inflicted by such natural disasters as the 1918 cyclone and the 1919 epidemic, helped to displace those few Islander farmers who had been making a decent living. By the 1930s, many of the migrants were too old to perform manual work, and until 1942 were reduced to attempting to live on the pittance of the indigence allowance paid by the Queensland Government.¹⁹⁸ In the 1920s and 1930s, there are many examples of Islander men, elderly and unmarried or childless and often widowed, living out their lives in extreme poverty.¹⁹⁹ The frequency of pauper burials in Mackay was a further indication of this poverty.²⁰⁰

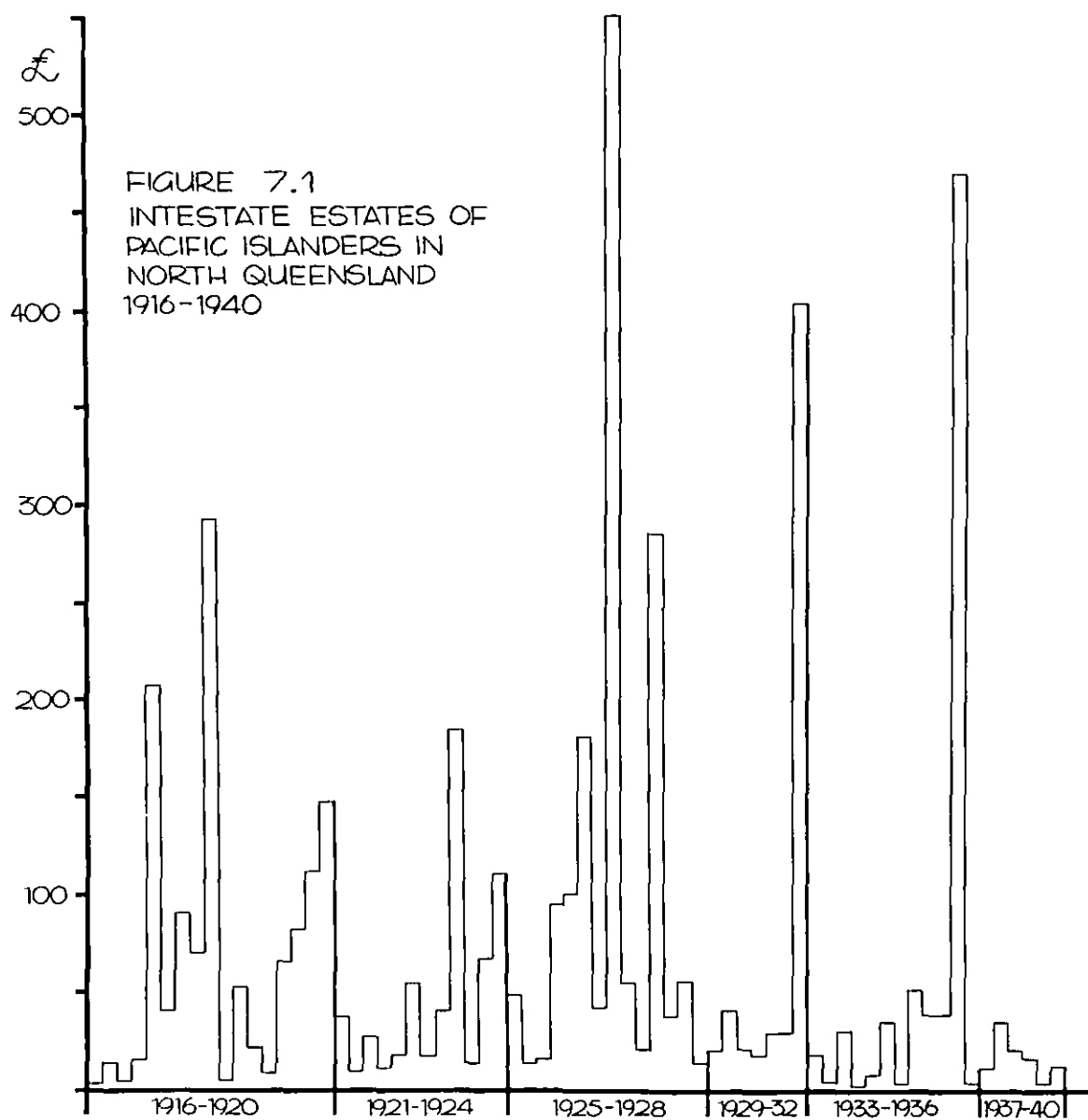
While most of the Islander families were not in such distressed circumstances, many lived a very basic existence, growing most of their food but having little money for other commodities. The free public hospital

197. 1916 was the first year in which schedules of property and possessions were included in the files of intestacies.

198. At least some received a yearly issue of blankets. See T19Bsa:3; T65Bsa:2; President of Distressed Kanakas' Relief Committee to Page, 28 Feb.1938, A461 J393/1/1, AA.

199. For examples, see Registrar of Pensions, Halifax, to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar.1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; NOR 8 Dec.1919, p.11; Statement of Boate Santo, Inquest No.175 of 1934, Peter Motlop, JUS/N977, QSA; Statement of Const. Smith, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Const., Mossman, to Insp. of Police, Cairns, 16 Mar.1925, 431M, POL/J23, QSA.

200. See, for example, Dick Makeleo, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals, 3 Dec.1923; James Boro, ibid., 18 Apr.1928; Thomas Goffsia, Notebook 1928-33, Mackay Funerals, 4 Jun.1931; Jimmy Neelo, Notebook 1933-42, Mackay Funerals, 6 Nov.1934.



system was introduced in Queensland only in 1946 and before then many of those Islanders admitted to local hospitals were unable to pay for their treatment.²⁰¹ In Mackay, Bowen and the Herbert River, it was observed by Europeans at various times that some of the Islander families were in poor circumstances.²⁰²

THIS CHAPTER has demonstrated the lack of occupational diversity amongst Pacific Islanders in North Queensland between 1908 and 1940. The majority were still engaged in the sugar industry, and the remainder were involved chiefly in other agricultural pursuits or in the pastoral industry. There were no skilled manual workers, let alone white-collar workers. Women were occupied primarily with home duties but those who took paid employment usually worked in domestic service. Unemployment appears to have been a serious problem only during the depression. The Islanders had the capacity to subsist by growing most of their own food but were usually dependent for their land upon the charity of local farmers.

As in the period before 1908, the Islanders were at the base of the occupational pyramid. Even those farming for themselves did not achieve financial security: at best, they were in the class of small farmers who were 'holding their own'; at worst, they were living a hand-to-mouth existence, growing vegetables and tiny plots of cane. Their lack of training for other occupations and the discriminatory policies and practices of European society ensured that Pacific Islanders were fringe-dwellers not only economically but also socially, as the following two chapters will demonstrate.

201. See MM 21 Mar.1912; BI 28 Aug.1919; NOR 19 Jan.1926, p.51; Ray Cassidy, Ingham DHAR, 11 Sep.1929; Mary Tanna, ibid., 10 Nov.1930; K.W. Knight, 'Edward Michael Hanlon: A City Bushman', in Murphy and Joyce, Queensland Political Portraits, p.442.

202. See Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept: MM 7 Sep.1932; Mullaly to Crown Prosecutor, 10 Feb.1941, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA; QPD CLIX, 1931, p.1120.

CHAPTER 8
SOCIAL INTERACTION 1908-40

ECONOMICALLY, in terms of their livelihood, Pacific Islanders were necessarily part of the wider society, if only peripherally. In this chapter, other points of interaction between the Islanders and the society around them are considered: their participation in the educational system and in politics, involvement in Christian churches, integration in leisure activities and encounters with the law as represented by the police and the courts. These contacts were almost invariably superficial. With the perspective provided through an understanding of these interactions, it is possible to outline relations between Islanders and both other non-European groups and Europeans.

AS MIGHT be expected, the low social and economic position of Pacific Islanders was reflected in poor educational performances by their children. There was, moreover, an additional factor operating against Islander school children in that they faced potential discrimination from fellow pupils, the teachers and sometimes the school authorities. For its insights into the attitudes of teachers, school authorities and the general community, such discrimination will be discussed first. An examination will then be made of the number of Islanders who attended school and the level of education they received. This will be compared with the educational standards of the migrants.

Up to 1907 there had been two attempts - by European parents at Halifax State School in the Herbert River district and at Homebush State School near Mackay - to prevent Islander children from attending.¹

1. See Chapter 2. At Pialba in central Queensland in 1913, the school site was changed as a result of parents' complaints about the location, one of the complaints being that the school was surrounded by 'kanaka' families. See Petition supporting change of site, encl. in State School Committee to Under Sec. for Public Instruction, 10 Mar. 1913, 07162, EDU/Z2201, QSA. Objections were often raised to Aboriginal children attending state schools. See Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia, p.28.

In the following years, there were two further attempts, both in Mackay, to segregate Islander schoolchildren. The first (and abortive) effort occurred in 1914, after Phillip Kirwan, a cane grower at Dumbleton, asked the visiting minister for agriculture, White, to establish a separate school for the Islander children at Dumbleton, on the grounds that such children were immoral.² Subsequently the district inspector of state schools visited Mackay and asked head teachers to report on any immoral or indecent incidents involving Islander children. They were told to suspend immediately any Islander or Asian children charged with such offences by the police or reputable persons.³ Yet there is no evidence that any pupils were suspended, and the affair seems to have subsided as quickly as it had arisen.

On the second occasion, in 1932, a more organized movement led to the short-lived establishment of a separate school for Islander children. This campaign was spearheaded by two relatively new residents of Walkerston, H.H. Derrington and the Presbyterian minister, A. Asboe. Derrington, the head teacher at Walkerston State School, had since 1930 been advocating the segregation of the Islander schoolchildren.⁴ In June 1932, Derrington requested permission from the director of education, B. McKenna, to expel two Islander boys for immoral and obscene behaviour - the culmination, he said, of a long series of offences by Islander children who were "dirty, morally and physically and mentally much below the average of the white

2. Kirwan was one of the representatives of the executive of the Pioneer River Farmers' and Graziers' Association who met with White to discuss other matters. What if any evidence he supplied to support this charge of immorality is not known. MM 8 May 1914.

3. The Department was to be advised immediately if any such children were suspended and the parents were to be notified of their right of appeal. District Insp. to Head Teacher, Eton State School, 15 Jul. 1914, Eton State School correspondence; Under Sec. for Public Instruction to Head Teacher, Eton State School, 4 Aug. 1914, memo., No.14/34988, 25301, ibid.; QPP II, 1915-16, p.90.

4. Derrington became head teacher at Walkerston in 1927 or 1928, as he was not listed in the return of teachers employed in 1926 but was so listed in 1928. Only the dates of punishments in the Corporal Punishment Register of the Walkerston State School are given (not the names of the pupils), in order to protect them and their descendants. QPP I, 1927, p.955, I, 1929, p.1088; Corporal Punishment Register, Walkerston State School, 11 Jul.1930.

children and should not be allowed to pollute and contaminate our children".⁵ In late June, four Islander boys (including the two expelled) were convicted in the Children's Court on charges of indecent exposure and similar offences, and were admonished by the police magistrate.⁶

Most probably this incident would have been forgotten if not for the publicity given through an address by Asboe to the Rotary Club in September, which was published in the Daily Mercury. With passing references to the American 'colored problem', Asboe predicted that the 'problem' of native-born Pacific Islanders would "become a very serious menace in years to come, unless something is done to eradicate the existing evils, which are at present only in their infancy". European children should be safeguarded from the "physical and moral contamination" of contact in the schools with Islander children by segregating the latter. In a letter to Forgan Smith, the premier, Asboe offered the old Presbyterian mission hall in Walkerston for such a school. He asked for the exclusive right to give religious instruction to Islander pupils; as will be seen later, he resented the work of the Seventh-day Adventists amongst the Islanders.⁷ The Daily Mercury supported Asboe's (and Derrington's) proposals for a separate school and

5. Derrington also made a special report on one of the two children, a State child, to the State Children's Department. Corporal Punishment Register, Walkerston State School, 1 Jun., 14 Jun. 1932; Derrington to Director of Education, 1 Jun. 1932, 23704, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Director of Education to Derrington, 9 Jun. 1932, ibid.; Derrington to Director of Education, 15 Jun. 1932, 25833, ibid. McKenna obviously did not regard it as a serious problem; he advised Derrington to issue transfers to another school for the two pupils suspended, if they were requested. Derrington to Director of Education, 5 Jul. 1932, 28970, ibid.; Director of Education to Derrington, 15 Jul. 1932, ibid.

6. The names of the Islander boys are not given, to protect them and their descendants. Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep. 1932, 40997, ibid.; 20 Jun., 22 Jun. 1932, CPS 10B/S19, QSA. The four were under the age for prosecution under the criminal code, but were charged under the Vagrants, Gambling and Other Offences Act of 1931 (22 Geo.V, No.27).

7. MM 7 Sep. 1932, also encl. as Newspaper cutting, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Asboe to Forgan Smith, 12 Sep. 1932, ibid.; Asboe to McKenna, 16 Nov. 1932, 48111, ibid. Asboe's son, it is interesting to note, had attended this school from 1929 to 1931. Arnold Keith Asboe, 29 Jan. 1929, Walkerston SSAR.

for a reserve for Islanders in the district.⁸

Sent to investigate Asboe's claims, the district inspector, O.C.E. Palfery, met with Asboe, Derrington and other residents chosen by Asboe. His report in late September, not surprisingly, supported their accusations and recommended that the rent-free offer of the mission hall be accepted.⁹ Yet his claim that the hygiene of these children was poor was contradicted by an inspection of the homes of two State children by an inspector of the State Children's Department, J. Patterson, who found the homes spotlessly clean and habitable, the children properly cared for and clean in appearance and dress.¹⁰

In October McKenna visited the district and, after meeting a deputation of 'reputable residents' (which included Asboe, two mill managers, and the president and secretary of the Teachers' Union), came away convinced that there was considerable opposition to the continued attendance of Islander children at Walkerston and other state schools.¹¹ Yet this campaign had not gone unopposed. The most vocal critic of Asboe's charges was M.A. McColl, head teacher at Dumbleton; in his experience, the Islander children were clean and well-behaved and he decried the campaign

8. MM 23 Sep. 1932, also encl. as Newspaper cutting, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

9. This would be reasonably central for nineteen of the thirty Islander children attending the three schools (Walkerston, Pleystowe and Dumbleton) in the area. W.F.B. to Palfery, 19 Sep. 1932, ibid.; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep. 1932, 40997, and encl. Appendices I, III and IV, ibid.; MM 28 Mar. 1935, letter by A.H. Tidemann. Asboe's offer of the mission hall, rent-free, was belatedly approved by the Walkerston Kirk Session. Minutes of meeting held 21 Nov. 1932, Minute Book 1925-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston.

10. One of these children was the boy expelled by Derrington. Patterson to Director of State Children's Dept, 15 Nov. 1932, forw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov. 1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

11. The hospital doctor was to have been on the deputation, to describe the incidence of venereal disease amongst the Islanders, but had been called away on an urgent case. QPP I, 1933, p.46; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA.

against them as inhumane and un-Christian, although he favoured the Islanders being placed on an agricultural settlement with their own schools.¹² The Islanders also protested. Two concerned parents, Mabel Williams and Harry Fatnowna, considered bringing libel charges, and Fatnowna rebutted Asboe's accusations convincingly in a letter to the newspaper, which emphasized the clean-living, hard-working, law-abiding and devoutly Christian lives led by the Islander community.¹³

Nevertheless, the Pioneer South Sea Islanders Provisional School was opened in February 1933. Forms and desks had been placed in the mission hall, and H.E. Mitchell, considered to be a promising young teacher, was put in charge.¹⁴ Mitchell advised the head teachers of the Walkerston, Dumbleton and Pleystowe State Schools of the Pioneer Provisional School's opening, but only two children attended for one day in February.¹⁵ No Islander children were attending Walkerston and those at Pleystowe had been sent home by the head teacher.¹⁶ At Dumbleton, McColl reluctantly issued transfers to those children able

12. See MM 14 Sep., 17 Sep., 21 Sep. 1932, letters to Ed. by M.A. McColl. There had been several letters to the Daily Mercury on this subject. For examples, See MM 13 Sep., letter to Ed. by T.F. Ross, 16 Sep., letter to Ed. by A. Asboe, 22 Sep. 1932, letter to Ed. by 'X'.

13. Patterson to Director of State Children's Dept, 15 Nov. 1932, forw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov. 1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA; MM 12 Oct. 1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna. From the editor's comments, it appears that the letter was not in Fatnowna's own handwriting; it may have been typed by his solicitor. Fatnowna's eldest son, Norman, recalls his father writing to the newspaper and consulting a solicitor. T54Bsa:2.

14. McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; McKenna to Staff Branch, memo., 16 Feb. 1933, ibid.

15. When there was no attendance on 21 and 22 February, Mitchell wired the Department. Mitchell to Director of Education, 22 Feb. 1933, telegram, 07233, ibid.; Mitchell to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10268, ibid.

16. Mitchell had requested this and also asked the State Children's Department to transfer the State children at Dumbleton. Mitchell to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10268, and encl. Summary of Actions, ibid.

to attend the new school, but they returned with letters from their parents, protesting that other non-Europeans were allowed to attend, and that Derrington was prejudiced against the Islanders and was too closely connected with the new school. After interviewing the male parents who reiterated these arguments, McColl allowed the children to return. Despite pressure from Mitchell and the local police constable, the parents refused to send their children to the new school until the Department of Education replied to their letters (forwarded by McColl).¹⁷

This stalemate situation had not changed when Mitchell and Derrington reported to McKenna in early March. Derrington described opposition to the new school as the work of "a few renegade whites", including "a certain white person" (presumably McColl) and "a small church organisation" (as will later become apparent, the Seventh-day Adventist church).¹⁸ Palfery visited Mackay again to investigate the 'trouble'. Only three children in one family were attending at Pioneer and the other parents informed him that they would send their children only if McColl became teacher and Derrington had no influence of any kind. Since the children could not be forced to attend, Palfery recommended that Mitchell be replaced by McColl.¹⁹ Forgan Smith, also visiting Mackay, was interviewed by an Islander deputation who voiced their objections to the special school. He asked F.A. Cooper, the

17. McColl had been directed by McKenna to issue the transfers. Mitchell had close connections with Derrington, and interviewed him daily. Ibid.; McKenna to McColl, 24 Feb. 1933, ibid.; McColl to McKenna, 28 Feb. 1933, 08938, and encl. letters G. Yasserie, M. Williams, J. Morrow and N. Motto to McColl, 28 Feb. 1933, Mr and Mrs Marrow to McColl, 28 Feb. 1933, Mabel Williams to McColl, 28 Feb. 1933, ibid.

18. Derrington to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10267, ibid.; Mitchell to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10268, ibid.

19. Palfery to Director of Education, 9 Mar. 1933, 10585, ibid.; Palfery to Director of Education, 24 Mar. 1933, 13302, and encl. letter Mabel Williams, Helen Marrow, S. Motto, Ada Yasserie, Jessie Mia and Elizabeth Bickey to Palfery, 15 Mar. 1933, ibid. Head teachers were again advised to issue transfers to all Islander children able to attend the new school. McKenna to Head Teachers Walkerston, Pleystowe and Dumbleton, 23 Mar. 1933, ibid.

minister for public instruction, to inquire into the matter, which had gained considerably publicity.²⁰ McKenna's report to Cooper, containing a one-sided account of the situation, concluded that there would be trouble in the Walkerston area if the school was closed and that the children would attend if McColl took over.²¹ Not surprisingly, since Walkerston was part of his electorate, Forgan Smith agreed to this.

In mid-April, an inflammatory article in the Daily Mercury criticized the "organized opposition" to efforts to give Islander children "the best of educational attention" and called on the Government to "take the opportunity to deal with the position more effectually by segregating the islanders on an island off the coast". Incensed, the Islanders consulted a solicitor and began collecting funds to engage a Brisbane barrister.²² In this hostile atmosphere, McColl took charge on 19 April 1933; only three children were attending but he had been informed that a further nine would attend shortly. The Islanders suggested to McColl that the school should be moved to a site nearer their homes by the river (that is, away from Walkerston and the oversight of such people as Asboe and Derrington). McColl, who supported this proposal, predicted accurately that if "the School remains at its present site the scheme will fail miserably". This proposal was not adopted, but McColl's requests for implements, seed and other necessities, and for a new title, the Polynesian

20. Sec. for Premier to Min. for Public Instruction, 3 Apr. 1933, memo., and encl. petition, Mabel Williams, Jessie Mai, Sarah Motto, Ellen Morrow and Elizabeth Bickey to Forgan Smith, 24 Mar. 1933, ibid. Forgan Smith also received a letter of protest from George Yasserie, whose children had attended the Pioneer School. G. Yasserie to Forgan Smith, 29 Mar. 1933, ibid.; Forgan Smith to G. Yasserie, 5 Apr. 1933, ibid. For the publicity given to this 'strike' by Islander school children, see CMP 10 Apr., 11 Apr. 1933; MM 11 Apr., 12 Apr. 1933; NQR 20 Apr. 1933, p.9; BC 11 Apr. 1933.

21. McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA. Cooper passed this report on to Forgan Smith and suggested that McKenna discuss the matter with him.

22. Newspaper cutting, MM 12 Apr. 1933, ibid.; McColl to Director of Education, 21 Apr. 1933, 17758, ibid.

Provisional School (to remove any opprobrium), were granted.²³

During May and June average daily attendances at the school increased to fourteen. Altogether seventeen children were enrolled in 1933.²⁴ At the annual show in June, an exhibit of schoolwork and horticultural work by McColl's pupils was highly commended, with one of the judges commenting that work of such high standard demonstrated the individiousness of discriminating against such children. Local feeling was apparently turning against the idea of a separate school; there were rumours that the school was to be closed.²⁵ McColl, however, was now committed to the concept of a separate school, and suggested that all Islander children should be compelled to attend. That many Islanders did not share his enthusiasm was evident from the fact that those at Dumbleton had not sent their children to the school, nor had they attended a meeting called at McColl's instigation by George Yasserie (whose children did attend).²⁶ The small numbers attending also forced the Department to reconsider the situation. In answer to a specific request by McKenna, McColl stated that the pupils were clean and tidy and that segregation was unnecessary. In late September 1933, the transfers

23. McColl interviewed the manager of Palms Estate who had promised that, if a suitable school site was selected, he would put the proposition to his directors for favourable consideration. Ibid.; McColl to Director of Education, 21 Apr. 1933, 18691, and 5 Jun. 1933, 25484, ibid.; McKenna to McColl, 30 May 1933, 18691, and 20 Jun. 1933, 25484, ibid.

24. McColl to Director of Education, 4 May 1933, ibid.; Monthly Returns of the Polynesian Provisional School for May and Jun. 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA; Annual Return of the Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, ibid.

25. McColl to Forgan Smith, 29 Jun. 1933, and encl. Newspaper cutting, MM n.d., EDU/Z2247, QSA.

26. He suggested a location such as Kemmis, which was closer to Mackay and accessible by rail motor from all parts of the district. The Islanders remember that only those close to the Polynesian School (at Palms and Walkerston) attended, but not those on the north side. McColl to Director of Education, 30 Jun. 1933, 29448, 10 Jul. 1933, ibid.; Ty4Bp.2; Ty6B; T43Bsb:1. McColl further revealed his attitude on the annual return, where he commented that the children "with careful training" could become useful citizens. Annual Return of Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA.

advisory committee decided to close the school.²⁷ On 5 February 1934 McColl became head teacher of the new Eimeo Road State School, and the pupils of the Polynesian School returned to their former schools.²⁸

The short-lived venture of the Polynesian School had been brought about by the largely unsubstantiated accusations of Asboe and Derrington and cursory investigations by Palfery and McKenna, who met with select residents and did not interview any of the Islanders. Only when the Islander parents, backed by McColl and the Seventh-day Adventist church, refused to accept segregated schooling and began to protest, was it belatedly recognized that the children could not be forced to attend and that the views of the parents must be considered. McColl was appointed head teacher to appease the parents, but even he could not persuade enough of the Islanders to send their children for the school to become a viable proposition.²⁹

Clearly it was intended to provide only a second-rate education, similar to that provided for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders on reserves. Derrington, Asboe and Palfery were all convinced of the lower intelligence of Pacific Islanders and their consequent inability to keep

27. This decision and McColl's report were sent to Forgan Smith. Significantly, there would have been some expense in connection with lavatory accommodation, if the school had not been closed. McKenna to McColl, 13 Jul. 1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA; McColl to McKenna, 24 Jul. 1933, 32266, *ibid.*; Meeting of the Transfer Advisory Committee, Urgent, 28 Sep. 1933, *ibid.*; McKenna to Forgan Smith, 7 Dec. 1933, 52171, *ibid.*

28. QPP I, 1934, p.732, Table II; McKenna to McColl, 7 Dec. 1933, 52171, EDU/Z2247, QSA. For examples of Islander children returning to their previous schools, see Omie Pearl Bickey, Pleystowe SSAR, 17 Feb. 1930, re-admitted Feb. 1934; Reginald Oswald Miller, *ibid.*, 15 Sep. 1932, re-admitted Feb. 1934; Mary Mooney, Walkerston SSAR, 4 Feb. 1930, re-admitted Feb. 1934.

29. McColl himself, as well as Derrington and Palfery, believed that he had considerable influence with the Islanders. Derrington to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10267, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Palfery to Director of Education, 24 Mar. 1933, 13302, *ibid.* However, McColl had already upset some of the Islanders by issuing transfers for their children, and as head teacher at the Polynesian School he became identified by them with the movement to segregate the Islanders. See T6Bsb:2; T43Bsb:1; T54Bsa:2; Ada Yasserie, Sarah Motto, Mabel Williams and Nellie Marrow to McColl, 29 Mar. 1933, encl. in McColl to McKenna, 29 Mar. 1933, 13694, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

pace in schoolwork with European children.³⁰ Palfery believed there was no need to educate Islander children up to the standard of a primary school education, and recommended a modified syllabus for the new school, for which "a teacher of much inferior type" would be sufficient once the school was established. He had envisaged more such schools, at Dumbleton and in other districts with Islander populations such as Bowen and Rockhampton.³¹ Even McColl believed that the Islanders needed a modified education, and emphasized agricultural training in his program.³²

Before discussing the educational performance of Islander school-children, the validity of the accusations that such children were unintelligent, immoral, lazy and disruptive in classes will be assessed. Outside Mackay there is no evidence that any such charges were made against Islander pupils. Within the district, the evidence from corporal punishment registers indicates that Islander pupils were not responsible for a high percentage of punishable offences. As Table 8.1 illustrates, Islanders at Dundula and Homebush State Schools did not feature noticeably in punishments, and none were charged with immoral or indecent behaviour between 1928 and 1932.³³ Only at Walkerston were the Islander children responsible for a large proportion of the punishments, peaking in 1930. In all three schools

30. MM 7 Sep.1932; Derrington to Director of Education, 1 Jun.1932, 23704, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, ibid. For an example of what was aimed at in education on the reserves, the protector of Aborigines at Thursday Island in 1913 can be quoted: "I discourage efforts to introduce higher subjects [in the schools], as they cannot at present be profitable to islander children, and occupy time which could be devoted to elementary work capable of being put to practical use in later life." QPP III, 1914, p.1025.

31. This modified curriculum would emphasize reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, civics and morals, combined with instruction in rural work and manual training. Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA; McKenna to Staff Branch, 16 Feb.1933, memo., ibid.; McKenna to Forgan Smith, 22 Nov.1932, ibid. See also MM 7 Sep., 16 Sep.1932, letter to Ed. by A. Ashoe, 12 Apr.1933.

32. See McColl to Forgan Smith, 29 Jun.1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA; McColl to Director of Education, 30 Jun.1933, 29448, ibid.; MM 14 Sep.1932, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl.

33. In 1926 at Dundula two Islander and two European boys were all punished for writing indecent language, and in 1933 on the same day one Islander and one Malay boy were punished for an immoral offence and two Islander, two Malay and four European boys were all punished for speaking and listening to indecent language. There were no punishments for such offences by the pupils at Homebush between 1925 and 1940. Corporal Punishment Register, Dundula State School, 26 Jul.1926, 13 Oct.1933;

those Islander pupils who were punished were largely boys; in view of the greater socialization of girls this is readily understandable.³⁴

TABLE 8.1 Punishments of Islander pupils in three state schools in the Mackay district, 1928-32

School and Year	No. of Islander pupils	No. of Islander pupils punished		Punishments			Total no. of Islanders punished	Total no. of pupils punished	% of Islanders in total no. punished
		M	F	Schoolwork and behaviour in classroom	Behaviour outside classroom and General	Immoral or indecent offences			
Dundula									
1928*	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0
1929	4	1	0	0	1	0	1	16	6
1930	3	2	0	0	3	0	3	18	17
1931	3	2	0	9	1	0	10	83	12
1932	3	3	0	6	1	0	7	90	8
Homebush									
1928*	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-
1929	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	0
1930	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	0
1931	4	1	0	1	0	0	1	17	6
1932	4	1	0	3	0	0	3	19	16
Walkerston									
1928*	5	2	0	0	2	0	2	18	11
1929	11	4	0	1	4	0	5	20	25
1930	16	6	0	0	3	7	10	20	50
1931	15	6	1	5	3	1	9	32	28
1932	14	6	3	13	13	2	28	89	31

* The average attendance in 1928 at Dundula, Homebush and Walkerston schools respectively, was 52, 37 and 136. QPP I, 1930, pp.1046, 1054, 1088.

Sources: Admission Registers and Corporal Punishment Registers, Dundula, Homebush and Walkerston State Schools.

34. Palfrey observed that the Islander girls were better behaved. Palfrey to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

At Walkerston, six boys were punished for immoral or indecent behaviour between 1930 and 1932, and the two expelled in June 1932 accounted for half of these punishments.³⁵ In view of the mutual dislike between Derrington and his Islander pupils, deliberate misbehaviour to provoke him could have been expected. Islander parents indignantly rebutted his accusations.³⁶ Even if these charges were true, there is no evidence of similar misbehaviour amongst other Islander schoolchildren. Certainly at Dumbleton and subsequently at the Polynesian School McColl had no problems with his Islander students.³⁷ The incidents at Walkerston were clearly not typical of Islander children.

The Polynesian School episode remains a bitter memory amongst Islanders in Mackay, who feel that they were singled out for discrimination and that even such teachers as McColl saw no value in educating them.³⁸ No such resentment clouds the memories of Islanders in other districts, who generally enjoyed their years at school.³⁹ One indication of school integration was the number who were involved in school sports. In 1930, for

35. No Islander children were punished for immoral or indecent behaviour between 1926 and 1929, nor between 1933 and 1940. Corporal Punishment Register, Walkerston State School.

36. See Petition of Mabel Williams et al to Forgan Smith, 24 Mar.1933, encl. in Sec. for Premier to Min. for Public Instruction, 3 Apr.1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; T54Bsa:2.

37. MM 17 Sep.1932, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl; Annual Return of the Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA. According to the evidence from extant admission registers and Palfery's list of Islander schoolchildren at the Walkerston, Dumbleton and Pleystowe schools, there were at least fifty-three Islander children attending schools in the district in 1932. Undoubtedly there were more, since admission registers have not been found for a number of schools in areas where Islanders lived, such as Farleigh and Habana. Admission Registers, Coningsby, Dundula, Farleigh, Homebush, North Mackay, Sandiford and Walkerston State Schools; Admission Register, Pleystowe State School, EDU/AA847, QSA; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, Appendix I, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

38. Ty4Bp.2; Ty6B; T6Bsb:2; T43Bsb:1.

39. There was some name-calling and fights with European children, but most have fond memories of certain teachers and school outings. See T56Bsa:3; T58Bsb:2; T61Bsa:2; T64Bsa:1; T70Bsa:1.

instance, at the annual juvenile athletics competition in the Herbert River district, five Islander girls won events and were largely instrumental in the Halifax School winning the competition.⁴⁰

Assessing both the proportion of Islander children who attended school and their educational attainments, are difficult tasks. The censuses do not assist in providing information on the number of children attending school in North Queensland and the degree of education they received.⁴¹ The incompleteness of admission registers precludes any accurate figures for the number who attended state schools and the length of time spent at school. All that can be said is that the great majority of Islander children in North Queensland attended one or more state schools, but that attendance was lower in the far north than in the other coastal districts.⁴²

Legally, from 1911, all children aged between six and fourteen were required to attend school. It is unlikely that the authorities would have been aware of, or greatly concerned with, non-attendance by Islander children.⁴³ The only cases of truancy which have been discovered were at the Walkerston School when Derrington was in charge.⁴⁴ School attendance would seem to have been strongly encouraged by Islander parents and guardians. In Atherton in 1910, for example, the children of Aboriginal

40. NOR 12 Jul.1930, p.35. For other such examples, see PDMR 15 Nov.1907; NOR 20 Aug.1928, Illustrations (vi), (viii), 13 Jul., p.31, 24 Aug.1929, Illustrations (v), 23 Aug.1930, Illustrations (vi); T72Bsa:2.

41. In the censuses, the educational standard (such as the number who could read, or read and write) was only given for 'persons' (that is, Islander adults and children) and for Queensland as a whole. For example, see Commonwealth Census, Vol.II, 1911, pp.954-57.

42. The gaps in admission registers, as well as those available, are shown in the Bibliography. The schools consulted were mainly along the coast and on the Atherton Tableland, although there were a few in the western areas.

43. R. Goodman, Secondary Education in Queensland, 1860-1960 (Canberra, 1968), p.214. Palfery claimed in 1932 that Islander children living within the statutory distance from state schools had been forced to attend. Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

44. Corporal Punishment Register, Walkerston State School, 10 Jun.1929, 4 Mar.1931, 14 Apr.1932.

mothers and Islander fathers were being sent to school. In Mackay in 1933, five Islander women stated that their children had attended school every day until directed to attend the Polynesian School; their protests revealed their desire for their children to receive a European education.⁴⁵ Like other schoolchildren, most had considerable distances to walk to school, two or three miles being common; some went by bus or rail motor.⁴⁶

Social and economic disadvantages, however, prevented many Islander children from attending consistently and over a long term. Like European families in straitened circumstances, the children were sometimes kept at home while their clothes were being washed. Moreover, their living conditions made them more susceptible to illnesses such as influenza and respiratory problems, in addition to the usual childhood epidemics such as measles, which kept them out of school and affected their health (and therefore academic performance) detrimentally.⁴⁷ The necessity for Islander men to move to another area or district for employment, meant that many children had interrupted schooling.⁴⁸ Farmers' children, especially the boys, were often needed on the farms during the busy crushing and

45. QPP III, 1910, p.960, III, 1911-12, p.1300; Statement of Eva Tanna, Rex vs Mick Tanna, 1913, A/18475, QSA: Petition of Mabel Williams et al to Forgan Smith, 24 Mar.1933, encl. in Sec. for Premier to Min. for Public Instruction, 3 Apr.1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA.

46. See T45Bsa:1; T58Bsb:2; T64Bsa:1; Ty2Bn.2; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, and encl. Appendix II, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Annual Return of Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA; Corporal Punishment Register, Walkerston State School, 9 Nov.1928.

47. Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Annual Return of Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA; Monthly Return of Polynesian Provisional School for Jul., Aug., Nov. and Dec. 1933, ibid. See also Chapter 4, for the general health of Islander children.

48. For example, when the Cawoots moved up to the Herbert River from the Burdekin for a few years, their daughter Jessie attended Halifax State School and then returned to the Ayr State School. Jessie Cole, Ayr SSAR, 29 Mar.1920, re-admitted Jan.1925; Jessie Cole, Halifax SSAR, 19 Apr.1922. An example of changing schools within a district are the Marllas, who moved from Alligator Creek to Homebush in June 1912, where the two children were enrolled at Homebush State School. Ivy Oba, Alligator Creek SSAR, 24 May 1910; Sunday Oba, ibid., 26 Jun.1912; Ivy and Sunday Oba, Homebush SSAR, 8 Jul.1912.

planting seasons.⁴⁹

The Islanders' low income and large family size ensured that few of their children, even those with ability and interest, secured a good education. The pressure to leave school and find a job to assist the family finances was too great.⁵⁰ Linguistic factors, in their pidgin-speaking background, provided a further educational handicap.⁵¹

The usual school leaving age for the generation of Islanders attending state primary schools in the 1910s to 1930s was twelve or thirteen, not significantly lower than their European contemporaries.⁵² Completion of the fifth or sixth grade was the best that most achieved; only a few stayed on for the seventh, or final, grade.⁵³ Palfery claimed that they seldom achieved even moderate proficiency in work beyond the second grade, but this was a gross exaggeration, as the many examples of Islanders who performed well academically demonstrates.⁵⁴ The impressive schoolwork display at the Mackay show in 1933 has been noted. In 1932, Harry Fatnowna commented that his two daughters were topping their classes at Dumbleton School, and

49. There is no direct evidence that the children were taken out of school to assist at such times, but this can be deduced from the fact that some left school in these months and later returned. See Lewie Lammon, Ingham SSAR, 10 Apr. 1901, re-admitted Jan.1909; John Bobongie, Coningsby SSAR, 14 Sep.1915, re-admitted Oct.1920; Sam Bobongie, *ibid.*, 1 Jun.1917, re-admitted Oct.1920. See also Chapter 2, p.97.

50. This applied after 1940 as well, and is typical of poor families in general. See The Australian 2 Sep.1970, p.3.

51. Middle-class Europeans speaking standard English would have little sympathy for or understanding of such children. P. Mühlhäusler, 'Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia', Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Newsletter New series, No.12, Sep.1979, p.51. The use of pidgin is discussed in Chapter 9.

52. T24Bsa:1; T25Bsa:1; T43Bsb:1; T49Bsa:1; T62Bsa:2; Goodman, Secondary Education in Queensland, p.211.

53. For examples of Islanders in the seventh grade, see Myrtle Malaita, Cordelia SSAR, 5 Feb.1923; John Henaway, Jarvisfield SSAR, 15 Nov.1932; Stanley Quakawoot, Coningsby SSAR, 11 Jul.1927; Omie Pearl Bickey, Pleystowe SSAR, 17 Feb.1930, EDU/AA847, QSA.

54. Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep.1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA. For examples of good academic performance, see T56Bsa:3; NC 1 Oct.1919, p.8; Newspaper cutting, MM 15 Apr.1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; W 6 Feb.1929; Ty2Bpp.1-2; Ty3B.

his oldest son Norman was attending the Mackay State High School (see Plate 8.1) - this is the only known case of an Islander attending high school in North Queensland in the period up to 1940.⁵⁵

Despite these examples, many Islanders received only a very basic education. The evidence of letters written by adults is clear proof of this.⁵⁶ A small number were still in the lowest grades, when aged eleven or more.⁵⁷ Nor was repeating classes unusual.⁵⁸ Some received no formal education. Together with a few who had attended school (usually only for a short period), they were unable to sign their names.⁵⁹ Such total illiteracy was, however, the exception rather than the rule.

55. State high schools only began in Queensland in 1912, and most children left at the end of primary school. MM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna; Goodman, Secondary Education in Queensland, pp.211, 214. According to his own evidence, Norman Fatnowna only attended high school for a few months, and at the end of 1932 left to find a job; even in the 1940s, there were still very few Islander children who reached high school. T49Bsa:1; T18Bsa:1; T26Bsa:1; The Australian 2 Sep.1970, p.3.

56. For letters indicating a poor grasp of English, see Mr and Mrs Marrow to McColl, 28 Feb.1933, George Yasserie et al to McColl, 28 Feb.1933, Mabel William to McColl, 28 Feb.1933, encl. in McColl to Director of Education, 28 Feb.1933, 08938, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Petition of Mabel Williams et al to Palfery, 15 Mar.1933, encl. in Sec. for Premier to Min. for Public Instruction, 3 Apr.1933, memo., ibid.; G. Yasserie to Forgan Smith, 29 Mar. 1933, ibid. Both James and Willie Darr were only able to read and write slightly. Applic. No.802E, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.1246E, AGS/N104, QSA.

57. See Phyllis Taiters, Jarvisfield SSAR, 10 Mar.1919; Martha Cole, Halifax SSAR, 19 Apr.1922; John Ante, Goondi SSAR, 23 Jun.1922; Sidric Yassarie, Homebush SSAR, 29 Jul.1929; Ethel Tarryango, Walkerston SSAR, 3 Feb.1930. This was also true of some European children. Goodman, Secondary Education in Queensland, p.177. See also Chapter 2, p.98.

58. See Trixie Nehow, Ayr SSAR, 11 Feb.1929; Ernest Tanna, Halifax SSAR, 6 Feb.1928; Daphne Isabel Yowyeh, Inverdon Road SSAR, 24 Aug.1936; Margaret Rose Mooney, Walkerston SSAR, 11 Feb.1924.

59. See T15Bsb:3; T72Bsa:2; T72Bsb:2; Rody Cassidy, Ingham DHAR, 21 Sep. 1930; Annie Sewaggy, MMR, Mackay, 24 Sep.1921; Ruby Sima, AMR, Mackay, 2 Jul.1908; Eliza Heepe, AMR, Bowen, 16 Oct.1915; Applic. No.1169E, William Cawoot, AGS/N104, QSA. From such evidence as applications for exemption under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, marriage registers of the various churches, the records of the various hospitals and the Watch-house charge books of the different towns, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of Islanders born in Queensland were at least able to sign their names.



PLATE 8.1: Norman Fatnowna, the first Islander to attend high school, at Mackay High School in October 1932.

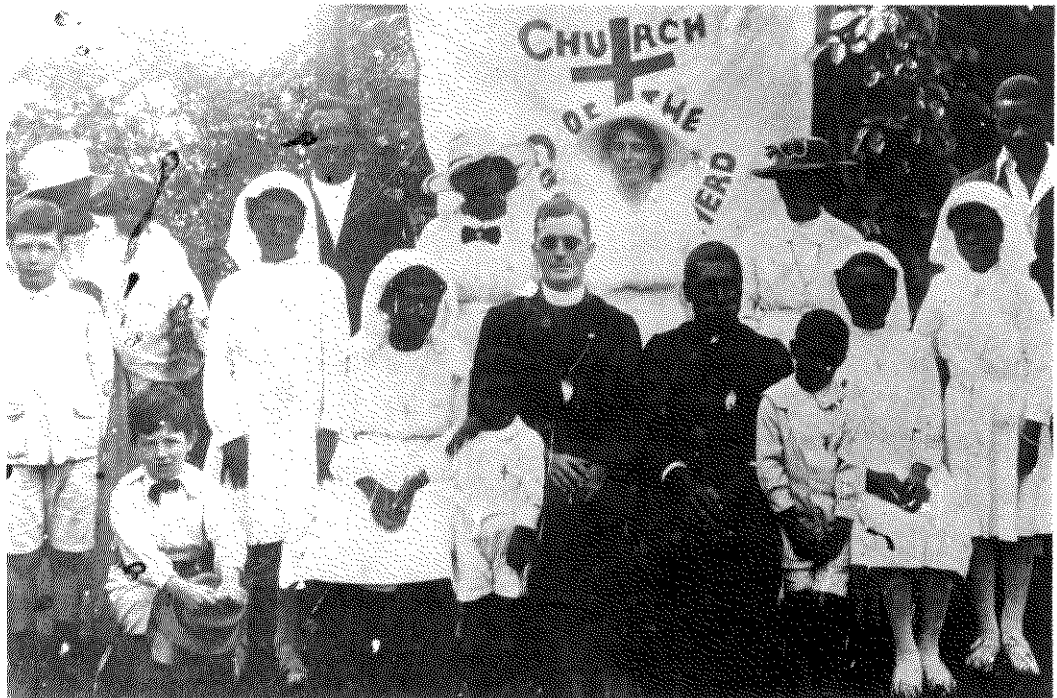


PLATE 8.2: Baptism of the seven Backo children in May 1919 at the Anglican Gairloch Church in the Herbert River district. Tom Lammon, the lay preacher, is seated next to the Rev. D.H. Teale Gosper.

By contrast, the majority of the migrants, as shown in Chapter 1, were illiterate. Those who were literate were mostly church leaders such as Alec Sayven, Luke Logomier, Matthew Malachi, Robert Talonga and Tom Lammon.⁶⁰ A very few had learnt to read and write before arriving in Australia - such as William Seekis, who later wrote an account of his life in this country.⁶¹ That only a tiny proportion were literate is demonstrated by the applications for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913: ninety-one per cent could not sign their names, five per cent signed shakily, and four per cent signed freely.⁶² Of the nine per cent who could sign, probably most could write no more than their own signature, and could not read easily.⁶³

Illiteracy created considerable obstacles in understanding and coping with society, as also did the inability to speak or understand English well. For example, it was hard to become aware of the wages and conditions stipulated in awards.⁶⁴ An understanding of legal requirements was another difficulty: for instance, Islanders needed to be aware of the requirement to apply for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act and also be able to complete the necessary form; most turned to sympathetic Europeans (usually

60. See MM 24 Nov.1913; NC 1 Oct.1919, p.8: Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, pp.76-77; Applic. No.822E, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.992E, AGS/N103, QSA.

61. MM 22 Oct.1935, 5 May 1957. Amongst others who were literate, some like Andrew Bobongie had been mission workers or like Sandy Kwasee and Henry Tongoa had been involved with the Pacific Islanders Association. See Chapter 3; Applic. No.340E, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.748E, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.1036E, AGS/N103, QSA.

62. Tom Lammon and Simon Baggow could both only sign their names. Applic. No.756E, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.955E, AGS/N103, QSA; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.116; T6Bsa:2. Because of the fact that over half of the applications came from Mackay, the numbers in other districts are too small to allow inter-district comparisons, but it is noteworthy that all of the fifteen and thirty-one migrants who applied in the Burdekin and Johnstone River districts, respectively, were unable to sign their names.

63. This is a common method of testing literacy. R.W. Beales, Jr, 'Studying Literacy at the Community Level: A Research Note', Journal of Interdisciplinary History Vol.IX, No.1, Summer 1978, pp.93-94.

64. However, while unable to read or write, they usually could count. Ty5Bp.1; T6Bsa:1; T37Bsb:2. One example of the problems created by illiteracy occurred in the Herbert River district in 1929, when Davy Samoa nearly died after drinking arsenic; the bottle was marked 'Poison', but he could not read. NOR 28 Jan. 1929, p.105.

past or present employers) for assistance.⁶⁵ When the migrants wished to communicate with friends or relatives in other districts, the native-born wrote letters for them.⁶⁶ These few examples illustrate the great difficulties for those who were not literate in comprehending the mental and physical universe of Australian society.⁶⁷

DESPITE their lack of educational attainments many Islanders took their civic duties seriously, in respect of voting at State and Commonwealth elections. While the migrants were generally disqualified from electoral privileges, those born in Australia were not (see Appendix D). Few of those Islanders in North Queensland who were eligible to vote had enrolled up to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.⁶⁸ That many were unsure of their position was demonstrated in April 1913 when a number asked the sub-collector of customs in Mackay if they were eligible to vote, and were advised that they were.⁶⁹ In this year, nineteen native-born Islanders in Mackay enrolled on the Commonwealth rolls, and a further six

65. For example, Mayers in Cairns, Lynn in the Herbert River, Dunworth and James McGown in Mackay. It was also noticeable in Mackay that H. Hossack and E. Staines, both of whom had owned 'kanaka' shops, helped many with their applications. See Applic. No.333E, Bob Allen, AGS/N100, QSA; Applic. No.339E, George Bio, *ibid.*; Applic. No.463E, Tom Malicolo, *ibid.*; Applic. No.596E, Beno, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.756E, Tom Lammon, AGS/N102, QSA.

66. See T6Bsa:2; T63Bsb:3; T64Bsa:1; Statement of Peter Tass, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA.

67. For a comparison with Maoris, see Jackson, 'Literacy, Communications and Social Change', p.45.

68. In 1905 Annie Gosling, a Solomon Islander married to a European, was enrolled in Halifax. She was not eligible and this was apparently recognized, as her name did not appear on subsequent electoral rolls. In later years, William Seekis was enrolled but he was naturalized and therefore eligible. Annie Gosling, No.701, Ingham Division, Herbert, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1908; William Seekis, No.4876, Mackay Division, Mackay, *ibid.*, 1925. The question of excluding native-born Islanders from voting rights had been considered in 1903, but no action was taken. MM 3 Feb.1903; Herald, A White Australia, p.83.

69. He obtained the advice of the collector of customs, before so advising them. MM 11 Apr.1913; NQR 5 May 1913, p.111.

for the State.⁷⁰

Subsequently the number on electoral rolls in Mackay and other districts grew steadily. Between 1913 and 1940, at least 164 native-born Islanders appeared on electoral rolls in North Queensland, with just over two-thirds of these in the Mackay district. Nearly half of the total were women.⁷¹ Clearly not all of those eligible to vote were enrolled in this period; those who were illiterate, for example, would have been reluctant (and unable) to do so.⁷² Voting was compulsory and some may have been enrolled during periods when there were local campaigns to enrol residents.⁷³ But some, at least, considered voting an important privilege; in 1932, for example, George Yasserie told the premier, Forgan Smith, that he and his wife and daughter, all electors, "have always vote straight"⁷⁴ - presumably he meant that they were Labor voters.

IN THE exercise of their voting rights, the native-born evinced an awareness of themselves as Australian citizens. That Europeans did

70. In Queensland Commonwealth and State electoral rolls were kept separately, and a person who enrolled for the State was not automatically placed on the Commonwealth roll, or vice versa. MM 22 Apr. 1913. This number was calculated from the Commonwealth and State Electoral Rolls for 1913. In April 1913, it was commented that thirty Islanders had been enrolled; this figure presumably applied to the whole of Queensland. Q 26 Apr. 1913, p.9.

71. Calculated from the Commonwealth and State electoral rolls 1913-40. None were found outside the coastal districts.

72. For such a case in the Herbert River district, see T73Bsb:2.

73. For example, in August 1920 in the Mackay district the police were getting names on the electoral rolls and this coincides with the date of enrolment of some Islanders. NQR 5 Aug. 1920; Grace Fatnowna, No.1579, Mackay Division, Mackay, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1921; Harry Fatnowna, No.1580, ibid.; William Thomas, No.4112, Mirani Division, ibid.; William Bargo Tonga, No.4143, ibid.

74. G. Yasserie to Forgan Smith, 29 Mar. 1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA. For examples that other Islanders also considered voting important, see T8Bsa:1; T73Bsb:2; Applic. No.173E, William Bargo, AGS/N354, QSA; Applic. No.1074E, Albert Woolwool, AGS/N103, QSA.

not regard them or the migrants as full members of North Queensland society was, however, very clearly demonstrated in the sphere of organized religion. The following discussion will show that the older churches (Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist) continued to regard Pacific Islanders as part of their 'mission work', outside the mainstream of church life.⁷⁵ Very few Islanders were Catholics.⁷⁶ Only the Salvation Army warmly welcomed the Islanders into their church. The attitude of the European clergy and congregation and the Islanders' circumscribed role in the older churches help to explain the Islanders' movement in the 1920s and 1930s into the newer faiths, the Pentecostals and Seventh-day Adventists.

The greatest numbers of practising Christians were in the older districts, the Herbert River, Bowen and Mackay, and there were much smaller numbers in the far north.⁷⁷ As seen in Chapter 1, this had been the pattern before 1908. In Cairns, tiny numbers of Islanders attended the Anglican and Methodist churches. Tom Devow, converted to Methodism on Erromanga, occasionally preached (in his own language and then translated into English) in the Methodist church at West Cairns.⁷⁸ The most popular church in Cairns was the Salvation Army, and the Islander men attended

75. For examples of this attitude, see AYB, 1907-8, p.81, 1916-19, p.12; NC 1 Feb. 1912, p.4.

76. The Catholics did not engage in mission work amongst the Islanders. A very few Islanders in Mackay were Catholics. See QPP II, 1906, p.669, Sigges; William Francis Seekis, Mackay CR, 22 Oct. 1935; James Bookal, ibid., 19 Apr. 1926.

77. My fieldwork did not extend to the Atherton Tableland or Port Douglas districts. The records of the Anglican church for the latter district are located in the Anglican Archives on Thursday Island.

78. Small numbers of Islanders appear in the (incomplete) records of these churches. At St John's, three Islanders were baptised, ten were married, and seven were buried in the period 1908 to 1940, while in the Central Methodist Church, six Islanders were married and one was baptised. No records of the Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches in Cairns are available for this period. Tom Devow also taught Sunday school. T59Bsa:2; T66Bsb:1.

their open-air meetings at night and donated generously to this cause.⁷⁹

In the Johnstone River district, there had been a sizeable Anglican mission, but after 1908 little interest was taken in those Islanders who remained.⁸⁰ The only exception was in the late 1920s, and this interest was stimulated by the Islanders themselves. In 1927, the Rev. P. Hubbard learnt that Richard Tonga had prepared several adults and children for baptism at their camp at Coondi. After additional instruction from Hubbard, three men, four women and one child were baptised in 1927 and 1928. Four of these were amongst the six Islanders confirmed by Bishop J.O. Feetham at St Alban's in 1930.⁸¹ However, there was little further interest in the Islanders.⁸² The Presbyterian church, St Andrew's, included a small number of Islanders amongst its members.⁸³

In the Herbert River district, the Anglican Pritt Mission had been very successful. After Pritt's death in 1903, his wife and two Melanesian catechists, Jack Oba and Tom Lammon, carried on the work.⁸⁴

79. See T57Bsb:1; T58Bsb:1; T66Bsb:2.

80. According to the (incomplete) records of St Alban's, twenty Islanders were baptised, two were married and seven were buried in the years 1908 to 1940. Three families, the Antes, Romelos and Nalias accounted for most of these ceremonies. One faithful Anglican amongst the unmarried men was Thomas Malaita, who died in 1929. NC 1 Dec. 1929.

81. Tonga had been baptised and confirmed at the Selwyn Mission in Mackay; he died in 1940. NC 1 Oct. 1927, p.6; Service Register, St Alban's, Innisfail, 18 Sep., 2 Oct., 16 Oct. 1927; James Nalia, David Romelo, Elizabeth Romelo, Eva Ante, Kate Nalia and Lily Malaita, ABR, Innisfail, 25 Sep. 1927; Esther, *ibid.*, 25 Mar. 1928; Robert Romelo, *ibid.*, 3 Jun. 1928; Dick Tonga, ABR, Innisfail, 24 Jun. 1940; James Nalia, Eva Ante, Kate Nalia, Elizabeth Romelo, Mary Ante and Ivy Ante, Confirmation Register, St Alban's, Innisfail, 13 Dec. 1930.

82. Ten Islanders living in Innisfail were baptised in 1931. Silas, William, John, Jacob, John, Thomas, May, Martha, Anna and Joseph, ABR, Innisfail, 1 Oct. 1931.

83. According to the (incomplete) records of St Andrew's, eight Islanders were baptised but none were married in the years up to 1940. Information supplied by Rev. P. Painton. The two families in these Presbyterian records, the Bloorantas and Antes, also figured in the records of St Alban's.

84. Oba apparently did not stay; there is no evidence that he was in the district after July 1906, when he was responsible for the burial of a Pentecost Islander. Littern, Hinchinbrook CR, 1 Jul. 1906.

After 1908, Lammon remained as lay preacher at the Gairloch church, known as the Church of the Good Shepherd, with a small but faithful congregation of Islanders, on occasions increased by a few Europeans and Aborigines.⁸⁵ The rector of the Holy Trinity Church in Ingham occasionally gave communion, and presided at baptisms and celebratory services such as Easter and Christmas (see Plate 8.2). Lammon, as lay preacher, performed the readings.⁸⁶ Occasionally Bishop Feetham, when visiting the district, took the service at Gairloch as in December 1921 when he praised the regular attendance of the Islanders.⁸⁷ Every Christmas, there was a big gathering at Gairloch of Islanders from all over the district; Mrs Pritt and Tom's wife Annie organized the food.⁸⁸

After Mrs Pritt died in August 1924, attendance declined.⁸⁹ This was, as will be seen, also the period when the Pentecostal movement came to the Herbert River. The last service at the Church of the Good Shepherd was held by the Rev. A.H. Adey on Easter Friday, 10 April 1925.⁹⁰ There were also some Islanders in the other Anglican churches in this district,

85. NC 1 Nov. 1913, p.10, 1 Feb. 1922, p.7; T22Bsa:2; T45Bsa:2; T65Bsa:3; T74Bsb:3. Between 1908 and 1924, according to the service registers of Holy Trinity Church, the number of communicants at Gairloch ranged between seven and ten.

86. Service Registers, Holy Trinity Church, Ingham, 1908-24; T45Bsb:3; T52Bsb:1; T71Bsb:3; T74Bsa:2; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.116. Tom Lammon was not a licensed lay reader. There were seven baptisms and one marriage at Gairloch between 1908 and 1924.

87. NC 1 Feb. 1922, p.7. For other such visits, see NC 1 Nov. 1913, p.10, 1 Mar. 1915, p.7.

88. T22Bsa:2; T74Bsb:3.

89. NQR 8 Sep. 1924, p.82; T74Bsb:2. For example, at the monthly communion services in February and March 1925, there were only two communicants. Service Register, Holy Trinity Church, Ingham, 1 Feb., 1 Mar. 1925.

90. Fifteen people were present at this last service. By 1927, the church buildings had been sold and the money put towards the fund for a new rectory. Ibid., 10 Apr. 1925; NC 1 Oct. 1927, p.6.

principally in Holy Trinity Church in Ingham.⁹¹

The Methodist churches in Ingham and Halifax similarly counted a few Islanders among their members. William Enticknap, a Halifax farmer, held open-air meetings which the Islanders attended, and a Methodist Sunday school was conducted by a Macknade resident, Alfred Barrett, at the Islanders' settlement, 'The Gardens', near Halifax.⁹² As in other districts, some families alternated between denominations.⁹³ In the late 1910s, the Salvation Army also attracted Islander adherents. The impetus for this would seem to have been the arrival in Halifax of Emily Nogar, an Islander who had been a staunch Salvationist in Bowen (see Plate 9.1). In 1919 she was doing "splendid work" amongst the "kanaka comrades" at Halifax, and she also held Sunday school classes at Cordelia.⁹⁴ The Methodist and Salvation Army churches also lost most of the Islanders in their congregations when the Pentecostal movement swept the district in the 1920s.

In the Burdekin district, there were a few Islanders in the Anglican and Presbyterian churches.⁹⁵ The church which attracted most

91. Excluding the baptisms and marriage at Gairloch, the records of the Holy Trinity Church in Ingham disclose that between 1908 and 1940 twenty-one Islanders were baptised, six married, and nine buried. These were mostly at Holy Trinity Church, but there were some at St Saviour's Church Halifax and All Souls Church at Victoria.

92. NQR 12 Aug. 1912, p.78; T22Bsa:2; T45Bsa:2; T57Bsb:1; T65Bsa:3; T71Bsb:1; T74Bsb:3. There were six marriages of Islanders at the Methodist Church in Ingham from 1908 to 1940; the baptismal registers are missing for this period.

93. Three families who used both the Anglican and Methodist churches were the Backos, the Goslings and the Malaytas.

94. War Cry 28 Jun. 1919, p.6; T52Bsb:1; T69Bsb:2; T80Bsb:3. No records of the Salvation Army in this district before 1940 have survived but the school registers provide evidence of this conversion. Louisa Tanna, Halifax SSAR, 10 Feb. 1919; Dorothy Coote, ibid., 27 Feb. 1922; Martha Cole, ibid., 19 Apr. 1922.

95. Six Islanders were married in the All Saints (Anglican) Church and three baptised between 1908 and 1940; in St Andrew's (Presbyterian) Church, three Islanders were married but none were baptised. No Islanders were married or baptised in the Methodist Church in Ayr.

of the families and single men was the Salvation Army. In 1915, Salvationist meetings at Klondyke (near Plantation Creek) were being attended by nearly fifty Islanders. This was known by 1921 as the Plantation Outpost and the Islanders were said to be "splendid Salvationists", holding weekly meetings.⁹⁶ Some held office, like Charlie Pentecost who was a sergeant-major and drummer.⁹⁷

In Bowen and Proserpine up till the late 1910s, most Islanders were Anglicans. In 1907, Bishop Frodsham, while visiting Bowen, had promised a grant to assist the building of a church for a farming settlement of Islanders at the Don River.⁹⁸ In 1917, services at the Don were very well-attended and work was due to begin soon on this building, but by 1919 this scheme had been abandoned because most of the Islanders had joined the Salvation Army.⁹⁹ A few continued to be baptised, married and buried in Holy Trinity Church at Bowen and in St Paul's Church in Proserpine.¹⁰⁰

The Salvation Army had been operating in the Bowen district since 1910 or earlier. Ensign (later Captain) Hof was the principal officer from 1910 to 1913 and again from 1917 to 1922; Adjutant H. Flatt and his wife were in charge in the intervening years.¹⁰¹ The first Army church was a

96. War Cry 22 May 1915, p.13, 29 Oct.1921, p.6. There was a photograph of the Plantation Creek Islanders with European Salvation Army officers, entitled 'North Queensland Warriors'. The records of the Salvation Army in the Burdekin are missing up to 1935.

97. T68Bsa:1; T71Bsb:1+2: Ivy Tallis, Ayr SSAR, 15 Jun.1925; Andrew Cole, ibid., 8 Mar.1926; Charlie Pentecost, SABUR, Ayr, 10 Feb.1940. Another staunch Salvationist was Jack Malekula who, when he died in 1939, was a retired bandsman and a Salvationist of about 40 years' standing. Jack Malekula, ibid., 30 Jul.1939.

98. PDF 3 Aug.1907; NC 1 Sep.1907, p.2. He promised £10 towards the cost of this building.

99. There was a credit in 1917 of £27.2s. for this church fund. Information supplied by Mrs Cottrell of the Bowen Historical Society, from the annual reports for 1917 and 1918-19 of the Holy Trinity Church.

100. The Rev. W.V. Rhymer, rector at Bowen from 1919-22 and 1924-29, was popular with the Islanders. T62Bsb:1. In the Holy Trinity Church, seven Islanders were baptised, eleven married and six buried between 1908 and 1940; thirteen of these were after 1919. At St Paul's Church in Proserpine, which began in 1910, three Islanders were baptised, three married and one buried up to 1940; all but the burial took place after 1919. There are no records available for the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Bowen.

101. NOR 23 Sep.1912, p.22, 23 Jan.1922, p.51; War Cry 13 Feb.1915, p.11; John Hof, No.2341, Bowen Division, Bowen, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1913; John Hof, No.4516, ibid., 1921.

small bark structure on the Inverdon Road, but by January 1918 a new hall built of pine, well-sealed and lit, had been built in Bell's Gully.¹⁰² By then the Army had won many converts amongst the Islanders in Bowen and Proserpine. Between 1913 and 1915, some forty new members, largely Islanders, had joined; meetings were held nightly and "for happy blood-and-fire 'go', and red-hot salvationism", the Islander members could not be beaten.¹⁰³ Many held rank as non-commissioned officers; William Nogar was a sergeant and his wife Emily was the secretary (see Plate 9.1).¹⁰⁴ In 1918 the Bowen Independent remarked on the Salvation Army's success amongst the "coloured people" of Bell's Gully, who no longer indulged in drinking, fighting and gambling. By mid-1919, there was a roll of seventy soldiers and thirteen recruits, mostly Islanders, at the new church in Bell's Gully, where meetings were held every night.¹⁰⁵

The Bowen Independent attributed the Army's success amongst the Islanders to Hof's influence, but obviously Flatt was also successful. However, Hof was clearly outstanding in his sympathetic and caring attitudes. His visits to sick Islanders are well remembered, especially during the influenza epidemic of 1919 and he made a special feature of administering to

102. Annual Report of 1918-19 of Holy Trinity Church, Bowen, information supplied by Mrs Cottrell of the Bowen Historical Society; Information supplied by Lieutenant Brown, Salvation Army Officer, Bowen; T62Bsa:1; T62Bsb:1; BI 15 Jan.1918, 16 Aug.1919. Islander children attended Sunday school in this hall at Bell's Gully. T60Bsb:1; T62Bsa:2.

103. War Cry 13 Feb.1915, p.11. For reports of other meetings, see ibid., 6 Feb., p.11, 10 Apr., p.11, 22 May 1915, p.14.

104. Ibid., 10 Apr.1915, p.11. For other examples of office-holders, see ibid., 6 Feb.1915, p.11; T60Bsa:1. Salvation Army records have not been found for this period, but there are examples from other sources of early conversions. See Const., Bowen, to Insp., Townsville, 13 Sep.1913, 272 of 1914, Sam, COL/282, QSA; Jimmie, Bowen CR, 6 Sep.1913; Charlie Wonem, 23 Dec. 1915, 22 Aug.1917, POL 11D/02, QSA; Leslie Womal, Proserpine SSAR, 17 May.1916.

105. BI 15 Jan.1918; War Cry 28 Jun.1919, p.6.

the spiritual needs of the 'coloured' members of his congregation.¹⁰⁶

The success of the Salvation Army in Bowen and other northern districts is not difficult to explain. They attracted the Islanders through their warm and personal interest in recruits, their informal, lively meetings with hearty singing and the opportunity they offered for participation by members in meetings and services and as officeholders.¹⁰⁷ These same qualities, as will be seen, were part of the attraction of the Pentecostal movement.

In Mackay, the Salvation Army did not achieve marked success amongst the Islanders¹⁰⁸, who largely remained with the Anglican and Presbyterian churches up till the 1920s. In the Homebush area, some Islanders were Methodists, and tea meetings were held for them at the mission hall at Christmas time.¹⁰⁹

When the Selwyn Mission closed in Easter 1907, special work amongst the Islanders by the Anglicans ceased. Islanders on the north side of the river, however, were not willing to be absorbed into the congregation of Holy Trinity or other Anglican churches. Led by Alec Sayven, the prominent Malaitan lay teacher at Selwyn, they built St Mary's, a thatched grass church at Farleigh. The first eucharist in the new church was held on St Michael's Day in September 1907.¹¹⁰ Each month the congregation attended Holy Trinity Church in town for communion, and also on other special

106. T62Bsa:2; T62Bsb:1; BI 25 Jun.1918; War Cry 20 Sep.1919, p.7; NQR 23 Jan.1922, p.51. Hof was also popular with the Europeans. NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22.

107. As the Islanders themselves point out. See T62Bsa:2; T68Bsa:3.

108. No records of the Salvation Army in Mackay for this period have survived, but there are no indications of Islander Salvationists from other sources such as newspapers, cemetery registers and school admission registers.

109. T31Bsa:1; T34Bsa:1; T40Bsb:1; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:2; T54Bsb:1. In the records of the Central Methodist Church in Mackay, one Islander was baptised and two Islanders were married up to 1940.

110. It was variously called St Mary's Mission and Farleigh Mission by Europeans. T6Bsa:1; Rowland, The Tropics for Christ, p.107; Service Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, NC 1 Nov.1907, p.1. In July two Solomon Island children had been baptised at St Mary's. Edith Toloa and Manuel Viti, ABR, Mackay, 28 Jul.1907.

occasions such as confirmations. The mother church's involvement was limited to a small grant for lighting the church and for necessities such as Bibles, hymn and prayer books, and some assistance from the rector, Rev. R. de M. Tubman.¹¹¹ The annual 'tea meetings' at Christmas, a mission practice, were continued; the Islanders gave donations and provided the food, and the meeting went all day, with sports events, singing and prizes.¹¹²

The next rector, Canon E. Crozier, took a keen interest in St Mary's and instituted a monthly afternoon service at Farleigh. Both Sayven and Luke Logomier, a fellow Malaitan and Selwyn worker, were appointed teachers and held services and Bible classes. In 1912, Sayven became a licensed lay reader and stipendiary.¹¹³ The dilapidated grass church was replaced by a building of timber and iron, with the altar from the old church re-decorated, and was dedicated by Bishop Frodsham in November 1913 before a large congregation.¹¹⁴

Crozier was "greatly struck by their reverence and earnestness" and in 1913 at synod in Townsville, he praised Sayven's work.¹¹⁵ Together they reduced, simplified and translated into pidgin a series of the Bishop of

111. Tubman was rector from May 1908 to December 1911. Rowland, The Tropics for Christ, p.107; NC 1 Apr.1910, p.5; AYB, 1910-11, p.80, 1911-13, pp.60-61.

112. NC 1 Feb.1911, p.7; T1Bsb:2; T34Bsa:1; T48Bsb:1; Ty5Bp.2.

113. The Islanders still came in to Holy Trinity for communion and on special occasions such as Easter; the Sunday services were maintained by Crozier's successor, Canon Norman. NC 1 Jul.1912, p.5; NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; MM 25 Mar.1912; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76.

114. The Islanders raised £90 towards the cost, and Europeans donated £16. The Islanders sent in a letter to the Daily Mercury, with details of the donations and thanking those Europeans responsible. MM 25 Mar.1912, 24 Oct., 24 Nov., letter by 'Scholars of the Church of England', 28 Nov.1913; NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; J.H. Williams (compiler), Anglican Parish of Holy Trinity Mackay Centenary 1867-1967 (Mackay, 1968), p.26.

115. NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22, 'Kanaka Christians in Queensland', 7 Jul.1913, p.25; NC 1 Aug.1913, p.3.

London's Lenten sermons, and these were printed and used by the Australian Board of Missions.¹¹⁶ Crozier's successor, Canon J. Norman, was also impressed by Sayven's diligence and control over the congregation, whom he gathered into the church at night for services and reading and writing classes. His influence over Islanders in the Farleigh area was highlighted in 1913 when he prepared for baptism seven pagan migrant men.¹¹⁷

Early in 1914 Sayven returned to Malaita and died there in May. His former congregation contributed generously to the Alec Sayven Memorial Fund, which was used to purchase items such as communion plate for St Mary's.¹¹⁸ Logomier, appointed in 1913 as a licensed lay reader and a stipendiary, succeeded Sayven as catechist.¹¹⁹ Although Norman considered him to be less inspired and forceful than Sayven, Logomier was widely respected by both Islanders and Europeans and kept his congregation under firm control.¹²⁰

In the cyclone which devastated Mackay in January 1918, St Mary's together with many other churches, was completely destroyed. With assistance from the Cyclone Church Buildings Fund but largely through their own contributions, the Islanders were the first to re-build and by October a

116. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76; Williams, Mackay Centenary, p.15.

117. MM 17 Oct., 24 Oct.1913; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, pp.75-76; Ty5Bp.2; T6Bsa:1; Joseph Sala, Thomas Tobera, Jackson Nego, William Willie, Daniel Taralena, Harrison Darr and John Raru, ABR, Mackay, 18 Oct.1913.

118. In the obituary, Norman stated that Sayven returned to Malaita because of ill health, but in his book, published much later, he commented that Sayven had achieved his life-long ambition to return to Malaita as a missionary. NC 1 Sep.1914, p.5; Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1915; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76.

119. AYB, 1914-15, p.15; Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1915; T6Bsa:1; Ty5Bp.2. Under Logomier, marriages as well as baptisms were performed at St Mary's. See Table 8.2.

120. Norman was, however, greatly impressed by the congregation's devoutness and clean-living lifestyle. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76; NC 1 Oct.1919, p.8; MM 18 Aug.1919; Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1915.

new and larger wooden church had been erected.¹²¹ Another severe blow was dealt to St Mary's in the following year, when Logomier died on 17 August during the influenza epidemic. In his obituary, the difficulty of finding a successor was noted.¹²² In fact, his successor was responsible for the large-scale defection from the church in the 1920s. This was Logomier's young step-son Harry Fatnowna, of Malaitan descent, who had been baptised and confirmed in the Holy Trinity Church.¹²³

In September 1919, the very popular Rev. F.L. Ash became rector.¹²⁴ By October, Harry Fatnowna had been appointed catechist at St Mary's and he and Ash developed a close relationship. The large number of marriages, baptisms and confirmations over the next three years, many held at St Mary's Church itself, highlight Fatnowna's energy and success as a church leader (see Table 8.2).¹²⁵ In 1921, Fatnowna prepared twenty-eight candidates -

121. The cost of rebuilding was £174, and the subscriptions from the Islanders totalled nearly £115, £60 of which had been donated by Logomier; they were congratulated for their zealous efforts. Until the new church was built, Logomier's house was used for baptisms (and presumably services). Norman, *Life's Varied Scenes*, p.77; *NOR* 4 Feb.1918, p.69; *NC* 1 Mar., p.7, 1 Aug., p.9, 1 Oct.1918, p.8; T54Bsa:1; Report and Balance Sheet of Holy Trinity Church for year ended 31st March 1919, Minute Book 1915-30, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay; Luke Stephen and Daniel Fewquandie, ABR, Mackay, 2 Jun.1918, Service Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 5 May, 2 Jun., 11 Aug., 1 Sep.1918.

122. Luke Logomier, Mackay CR, 18 Aug.1919; *MM* 18 Aug.1919; *NC* 1 Oct.1919, p.8. The obituary in the *Northern Churchman* presumably was written by the rector, Rev. M.H. Stone.

123. *MM* 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna; Harry Fatnaoona, 16 Sep.1900, ABR, Mackay; Harry Fatnaoona, Confirmation Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 27 Feb.1910. His father, John Kwailu, had been in the Selwyn Mission. See Chapter 1, p.51.

124. Williams, *Mackay Centenary*, p.18.

125. While there is no evidence from Anglican records that Fatnowna became a licensed lay reader, at the baptisms of three of his children and also at confirmations in 1921 his occupation was given as 'catechist'. Ivan Raymond Fatnowna, ABR, Mackay, 2 Nov.1919; Gracie Elizabeth Fatnowna, *ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1921; Raymond Nelson Fatnowna, *ibid.*, 5 May 1922; Peter Gow, Confirmation Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 2 Mar.1921. Fatnowna's period as a catechist at St Mary's is well remembered by the Islanders. Ty4Bp.1; T34Bsa:1; T37Bsa:2; T43Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1.

principally Malaitans or Islanders of Malaitan descent - for confirmation, and in addition two migrants and one native-born Islander previously baptised as Methodists or Presbyterians were received into the Anglican church.¹²⁶ In the same year, he was appointed as a lay synodsmen but was unable to attend synod at Townsville in July, where he was to describe his work at the bishop's 'At Home'. However, Fatnowna did attend synod in the following year (see Plate 8.3).¹²⁷

TABLE 8.2: Marriages, baptisms and confirmations in the Anglican church of Pacific Islanders in the Mackay district, 1908-40

Years and Terms of lay readers	No. of Baptisms	No. of Marriages	No. of Confirmations
Alec Sayven (1908 - Jan.1914)	43	9	13
Luke Logomier (Feb.1914 - Jul.1919)	43	9(5)	25(5)
Harry Fatnowna (Aug.1919 - Aug.1922)	27(9)	5(1)	28(28)
Matthew Malachi (Sep.1922 - Dec.1932)	44(2)	7(1)	15(2)
1933-40*	31(9)	14(1)	-

() number held at St Mary's Farleigh

* name of Islander lay reader who succeeded Malachi, if any, is not known

Sources: Baptism, marriage and confirmation registers, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, Christ Church, Walkerston and St Luke's, Sarina.

126. Confirmation Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 2 Mar.1921, 30 Oct.1921; Titus Poppa and Jack Saa, ABR, Mackay, 23 Oct.1921; Sarah Cotwand, *ibid.*, 30 Oct.1921.

127. Minutes of Annual Meeting of Parishioners held 15th April 1921, Minute Book 1915-30, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay; *NC* 1 Aug.1921, p.9; *AYB*, 1921-22, Frontispiece and p.18. The Islanders remember him attending synod with Ash. T34Bsa:1; T34Bsa:1; T37Bsa:1; T40Bsa:1; T42Bsb:3; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:1.



PLATE 8.3: Members of Synod in Townsville in 1922; Harry Fatnowna was the lay representative from Mackay. With the two Aboriginal representatives, Fatnowna (on the right) was seated on the ground, at the Europeans' feet!

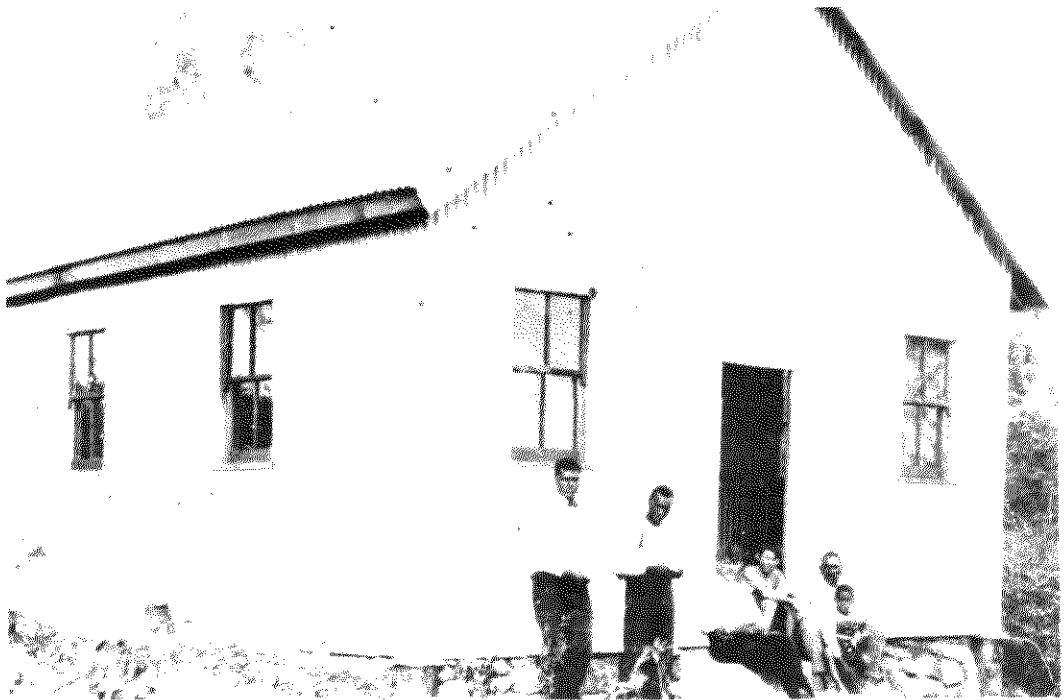


PLATE 8.4: Harry Fatnowna (second from the left) with other Islanders and European helpers at the newly-completed Seventh-day Adventist Church at Farleigh near Mackay, c. 1925.

Soon after his return from synod in July 1922, Fatnowna joined the Seventh-day Adventists; the reasons for this are explored later. Many of the congregation of St Mary's followed him. His father-in-law, Matthew Malachi, replaced Fatnowna, and remained the licensed lay reader at St Mary's until his death in 1932.¹²⁸ Notwithstanding Ash's description in 1925 of St Mary's as "one of the brightest of gems in the crown of Church life in this parish"¹²⁹, the church never recovered from the loss of Fatnowna's dynamic leadership and the departure of many of its younger members. Malachi held Sunday afternoon services and Sunday school, and a European woman from Maryborough, Mrs Charles, taught the children to sing hymns in a Melanesian language.¹³⁰ However, the congregation steadily decreased in size, as also did the number of baptisms, marriages and confirmations, despite the rapidly growing Islander population (see Table 8.2). For example, the number of communicants dropped from forty-two in 1922 to twenty-six by 1931.¹³¹ After Ash's departure in 1927, clerical interest in St Mary's fell away. In May 1929 at the meeting of the parochial council it was reported that Malachi had not received his stipend for two years; payment for a short period (four months) was authorised and it was agreed that the rector, Rev. M. d'Arcy Collins, would contact one of the Islanders "with the idea of bucking the boys up a bit".¹³² By the 1940s the

128. Malachi's term as lay reader is well remembered by the Islanders. In his obituary it was noted that, in spite of a serious defection, he kept the faithful remnant together. NC 1 Oct.1928, p.12, 1 Feb.1933, p.12; T34Bsa:1; T37Bsa:2; T40Bsa:1; T54Bsa:1.

129. NC 1 Jan.1925, p.8. Bishop Feetham in the late 1920s described the Islanders of St Mary's as "among our best". Rev. J.O. Feetham and Rev. W.V. Rymer, North Queensland Jubilee Book 1878-1928 (Townsville, 1929), p.83.

130. Ty4Bp.1; Ty6B; Photographic Album, I, No.23; NC 1 Feb.1933, p.12. The language was probably Mota, the Banks Island language used by the Melanesian Mission. According to oral evidence, an Islander from southern Queensland became the lay preacher after Malachi's death. See T54Bsa:1.

131. Service Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 19 Feb.1922, 8 Mar.1931.

132. Minutes of Parochial Council meeting held 9th May 1929, Minute Book 1915-30, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay.

congregation was very small and the building itself was in a state of disrepair.¹³³

The Islanders who attended St Mary's lived principally on the north side, around Farleigh and Dumbleton. Those living on the south side or in town attended the Holy Trinity Church and outlying churches such as those at Walkerston and Sarina, but were not an integral part of the congregations.¹³⁴

The only other denomination attended by large numbers of Islanders was the Presbyterian Church in Walkerston. The geographical split created by the tacit division of 'spheres of influence' between the Anglican and Presbyterian missions in the nineteenth century, under which Solomon Islanders were predominantly Anglican and New Hebrideans were mostly Presbyterian, was largely preserved up till the breakaway into Seventh-day Adventism in the 1920s.

The Walkerston Kanaka Mission closed in 1907, with the departure of McIntyre and the deportation of most of the Islanders. In contrast to St Mary's, the initiative to maintain a separate Presbyterian church came not from the Islanders but from the Walkerston Kirk Session. Since so many faithful Presbyterians remained, they decided to continue services in the Kanaka Church, also known as the South Sea Islanders Mission Church.¹³⁵

133. Caroline Anne Manaway, ABR, Mackay, 26 Apr. 1942; Barbara Eunice Viti, *ibid.*, 28 May 1944; Report and Balance Sheet of Holy Trinity Church for year ended 31st March 1945, Minute Book 1944-57, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay; T54Bsa:1.

134. In the records of the Holy Trinity Church, St Luke's Church (Sarina) and Christ Church (Walkerston), there are marriages, baptisms and burials of Islanders living at such places as Palms, Wallingford, Alexandra, Newbury Junction, Eton, Sunnyside, Homebush, Koumala and Baker's Creek. There were no Islanders, significantly, listed in the Holy Trinity Church's Parish Roll for the country district, although a few were included in the general Parish Roll. Parish Roll for the Country District, n.d. [1910s?], Parish Roll, n.d. [1910s], Holy Trinity Church, Mackay.

135. Minutes of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, 1908, p.32, 1909, p.37, 1911, p.26, 1915, p.51; Minutes of meeting held on 7 Jun. 1912, Minute Book 1885-1913, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston.

The minister and ruling elders presided over services in this church and gave communion.¹³⁶ Baptisms were also performed in the Kanaka Church, as on 24 December 1911 when two children were baptised by the Rev. T. Wilcox.¹³⁷

The Islanders' involvement was minimal, although some occasionally assisted the European minister and elders at the service and may have taken some services themselves: Joseph Sambo, Robert Kia, Robert Talonga, Simon Baggow and Henry Netoka were all church elders.¹³⁸ The annual tea meeting was kept up. It was held at the church on a Saturday night in December and Islanders from all over the district and from various denominations attended: in 1927, by which time the congregation had dwindled, over 200 Islanders attended. With contributions from the Islanders, the elders' wives provided the refreshments and the elders largely organized the program of prize-giving, speeches by Europeans and singing.¹³⁹

136. Kirk Sessions Report for 1916, Minute Book 1900-27, *ibid.*; Meeting of Kirk Session, 5 Feb.1927, *ibid.*; MM 21 Aug.1914, 6 May 1921, 18 Nov.1922, 30 Nov.1927. Records were kept in a Kanaka Communion Roll Book, which has not been found. In the Minute Book, there are some details of the number of Islander communicants up to but not beyond 1920. The lowest number of communicants in these years was three in 1912, and the highest number was twenty-four in 1916. Meetings of Kirk Session, 21 Jan.1912 and 22 Aug.1915, and Kirk Sessions Report for 1916, Minute Book 1900-27, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Asboe, Presbyterianism in Walkerston, foreword.

137. Emma Lena Tarryango and Jessie Sarah Talonga, PBR, Walkerston, 24 Dec. 1911. Altogether between 1908 and 1934, there were forty-one baptisms of Islanders in the Walkerston church, and over three-quarters of these were baptised in the South Sea Islanders Mission Church.

138. There is evidence on two occasions in 1916 of an Islander assisting the elders with the service, but the Islanders had no official positions and financial control was exercised by the Europeans. The Islanders recall that the European minister took the service on every second Sunday. Ty5Bp.1; T4Bsa:1; T6Bsa:2; T54Bsb:1; Kirk Sessions Report for 1916, and Meeting of Kirk Session, 19 Jan.1930, Minute Books 1900-27 and 1925-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Asboe, Presbyterianism in Walkerston, p.8.

139. MM 3 Jan.1927. The Islanders usually decorated the hall themselves, and those at Homebush walked over to attend. MM 1 Jan.1908, 25 Dec.1912; T3Bsa:1; T4Bsa:1; T6Bsa:1; T48Bsb:1; Ty5Bp.1.

The 1918 cyclone also destroyed this church. By November a much smaller building had been erected in its place, financed partly by donations from the Islanders themselves.¹⁴⁰ But after 1922, attendance at the Walkerston Kanaka Church fell away as many converted to Seventh-day Adventism and Pentecostalism.¹⁴¹ Under Asboe's ministership, the Presbyterians vainly attempted to halt this exodus. In 1929 they bought a building at Baker's Creek for a mission to attract Islanders in this locality. In May 1930 Asboe reported on a "very inspiring" communion service in the Walkerston Kanaka Church, and in 1931 he interviewed the manager of Palms Estate regarding the possibility of removing the Kanaka Church to this location, where the largest number of Islanders was resident.¹⁴² In 1932, after several discussions at Kirk Session concerning the Kanaka Church, it was decided to invite tenders for its disposal and to build another hall near Palms. Apparently services ceased in the Kanaka Church in this year.¹⁴³ In 1933 it became the Polynesian School. Asboe had asked for (but was not granted) the exclusive right to teach religious instruction, quite openly admitting that his intention was "to keep out the Seven Day Adventists, which in the district among the Kanakas is a proselytising mission". Not surprisingly, none of the children who attended the Polynesian School were listed as Presbyterian.¹⁴⁴

140. The new building's cost was met by subscriptions from the Islanders and Europeans, with the balance provided by the Presbyterian Church. Mabel Margaret Motto, PBR, Walkerston, 10 Nov. 1918; MM 21 Mar., letter to Ed. by A.H. T., 28 Mar. 1935, letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep. 1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

141. Between 1908 and 1934, there were forty-one baptisms of Islanders in the Pioneer Presbyterian Church and between 1908 and 1940 there were fourteen in St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Mackay; of these fifty-five, only fifteen took place after August 1922.

142. The 'problem' of the Seventh-day Adventists was delegated to Asboe in June 1931. Meetings of Kirk Session, 17 Nov. 1929, 9 May 1930, 29 Jun. and 12 Oct. 1931, Minute Book 1925-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Asboe, Presbyterianism in Walkerston, p.9.

143. In February 1932, there were services at the Kanaka Church and Asboe baptised an Islander child; there is no evidence of any services or baptisms after this date. Meetings of Kirk Session, 11 Jan., 22 Apr., 8 Aug. 1932, Minute Book 1925-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Palfery to Director of Education, 28 Sep. 1932, 40997, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Thomas Isaac Ambertel, PBR, Walkerston, 9 Feb. 1932; MM 19 Feb. 1932.

144. Asboe to McKenna, 26 Nov. 1932, 49405, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Annual Return of the Polynesian Provisional School for 1933, EDU/AB1616, QSA.

Apparently no Presbyterian hall was built at Palms. Asboe's actions during 1932 ensured that the Islanders would not be drawn back into the Presbyterian church. When the Polynesian School closed in February 1934, the church once again decided to sell the building and in 1935 tenders were called for its sale.¹⁴⁵ McColl, the ex-head teacher, criticized this decision, contending that, having contributed financially, the Islanders should be allowed to use the building for their own worship, but Tidemann, an elder long involved with the mission, replied that neither the Islanders, who were now Seventh-day Adventists, nor their minister, Pastor T.R. Kent, had any use for it.¹⁴⁶ No sale was made and the matter was dropped until 1937, when the church and land were sold and the Walkerston Church's involvement with Pacific Islanders in the district formally ended.¹⁴⁷

UP UNTIL the early 1920s, the Islanders had largely stayed with the denominations to which they had been converted. The Anglican church clearly had the largest numbers; the Presbyterian and Methodist churches had smaller followings. The Salvation Army also attracted significant numbers of Islander converts in these years, principally in Halifax, Ayr and Bowen. All these churches lost most of their Islander members to the two proselytising sects which appeared in North Queensland in the early 1920s.

145. Early in 1934, there had been an inquiry from the Anglican church about purchasing the church, but nothing came of this. Meetings of Kirk Session, 30 Jan., 27 Feb. 1934 and 15 Feb. 1935, Minute Book 1927-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; MM 20 Mar., 28 Mar. 1935, letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann.

146. McColl's criticism had been prompted by a letter from Tidemann, giving the history of the mission and the intention to sell the church; McColl believed the Islanders did want the building. MM 21 Mar., letter to Ed. by A.H.T., 23 Mar., letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl, 28 Mar., letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann, 30 Mar. 1935, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl. It would appear that the Islanders did feel they had been deprived of the church. See Mr and Mrs Marrow to McColl, 28 Feb. 1933, encl. in McColl to Director of Education, 28 Feb. 1933, 08938, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

147. Tidemann on this occasion argued against the sale. Meeting of Kirk Session, 9 Mar. 1937, Minute Book 1927-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Minutes of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, 1937, p.58, 1938, p.76.

Pentecostalism as an organized movement took root in Australia in the mid-1920s. In 1929, it was centralized in Queensland as the Assemblies of God Church.¹⁴⁸ Throughout the 1920s, many Pacific Islanders in the Herbert River, Burdekin and Bowen districts and to a lesser extent in the far north and in Mackay, were converted to Pentecostalism.

A European woman, Annie Dennis, was most influential in this conversion. Sister Dennis, as she was known, began her missionary work at Mackay in the Good News Hall. In 1924 she moved up to Macknade to visit Enticknap, to whom she had sent literature. Enticknap and Barrett, both prominent Methodists, became Pentecostals, and Enticknap and his sons Charles and William became pastors.¹⁴⁹ Open-air meetings held at the Enticknaps' farm attracted both Europeans and Islanders. Rhoda Lammon (née Backo), a native-born Islander, describes one of these meetings:

So we crossed the [Herbert] river and went over and they had a big meeting, oh it was beautiful you know it was really lovely and I got baptised in the Holy Spirit [spoke in tongues] before I left ...

Together with most of the Islander families living at Macknade, Cordelia

148. There were many different Pentecostal sects. In Queensland, the Good News Hall in 1927 united with the Apostolic Faith Mission (brought to Australia by the South African evangelist Frederick Van Eyk); but after a scandal surrounding Eyk, there was a split in 1929 and the Queensland pastors re-formed as the Assemblies of God Church. T.van Sommers, Religions in Australia. The PIX series extended to 41 beliefs (Adelaide, 1966), pp.166-67; B. Chant, Heart of Fire The Story of Australian Pentecostalism (Adelaide, 1973), pp.82, 84, 88-89.

149. Charles Enticknap became very well-known, and travelled overseas lecturing on personal evangelism. T25Bsa:1; T45Bsb:2; T57Bsb:1; T71Bsb:1; Ruth Barrett, Halifax SSAR, 15 Aug.1932; Chant, Heart of Fire, pp.38-39, 109.

and Halifax, Rhoda's family joined this movement.¹⁵⁰ Many of the old men continued to attend the older churches, but most eventually became Pentecostals. Even Tom Lammon, who remained loyal to the Anglicans for many years, finally joined the Assembly of God Church in Ayr.¹⁵¹

At first, Pentecostal meetings were held in the street or in private homes such as the Enticknaps. Later, churches were built at Halifax and 'The Gardens'. Mass baptisms of adults (children are not baptised) were held in the Herbert River, and young children were dedicated, the ceremonial equivalent of christening in other churches.¹⁵² The Enticknaps preached at these churches and, although there were no Islander pastors, Matthew Tambo, of Solomon Island descent, was a lay preacher.¹⁵³

In about 1927, Annie Dennis moved down to the Burdekin.¹⁵⁴ Here, assisted by some of her converts from the Herbert River, she again won over many Islanders from other churches, principally the Salvation Army,

150. T25Bsa:2. See, for these conversions, T15Bsa:1; T25Bsa:2; T45Bsa:2; T57Bsb:2; Mary Tanna, Ingham DHAR, 1 May 1928; Melba Devow, *ibid.*, 27 Dec.1931; Henry Cassidy, *ibid.*, 18 Sep.1935; Patricia Payne, *ibid.*, 24 Jul.1935; Ruth Lammon, Cordelia SSAR, 28 Sep.1936.

151. See T45Bsb:3; T52Bsb:1; T57Bsb:2+3. Thomas Quetta, Ingham DHAR, 30 Nov.1927; David Samoa, *ibid.*, 16 Jan.1929; Tim, *ibid.*, 11 Oct.1930; Dutton, *Queensland Canefields English*, p.116. The Addos and Goslings were two other families in the district who remained Anglican. Jack Addo, Ingham DHAR, 20 Aug.1934; Frank William Gosling, *ibid.*, 28 Aug.1927; Annie Gosling, *ibid.*, 25 Nov.1933.

152. These were known first as the Gospel, and later as Assembly of God, churches. T25Bsa:2; T52Bsb:1; T57Bsb:2; T69Bsb:1; T70Bsa:1+2; T72Bsa:3; Photographic Album, II, No.62.

153. After Sister Dennis left, other European women (for example, Violet Pery) came to help in the church's work. T45Bsb:2; T52Bsb:1; T57Bsb:1+2; T59Bsb:1; Photographic Album, II, No.73; Violet Margaret Pery, No.3749, Ingham Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1941.

154. This is dated from the fact that she came to Ayr shortly after Esther and Alf Henaway moved back there from Cordelia, which was in late 1926; the Cawoots were another family who had been converted by Sister Dennis in Halifax and were now back in the Burdekin. The electoral rolls show that she was in Ayr at least by 1928 and until 1930; her occupation was given as missionary. T32Bsa:2; T45Bsb:3; T68Bsa:3; T71Bsa:2; Annie Dennis, No.974, Ayr Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1928; Annie Dennis, No.1119, *ibid.*, 1930.

to her faith.¹⁵⁵ As in the Herbert River, Pacific Islanders formed the majority in the Assembly of God Church in Ayr. The first church was in Wickham Street, but in the early 1930s a new and bigger building was erected at Edward Street near Plantation Creek, where most Islanders were resident (see Plate 4.2).¹⁵⁶

By then Annie Dennis had shifted to Bowen. This pattern of initial proselytisation by a charismatic leader followed by consolidation under less inspired but more administratively oriented people, is characteristic of the development of Pentecostal sects.¹⁵⁷ Both in Bowen and Proserpine she attracted a large following of Islanders, although some stayed with the Salvation Army. In this district also her work was helped by the presence of earlier converts.¹⁵⁸

In the early 1940s, Annie Dennis moved back to Mackay, where the Pentecostal church was now well-established.¹⁵⁹ By 1926 there was a Pentecostal Church in Gregory Street in town, at which services and rallies

155. These included both families and single men. See T24Bsa:1; T68Bsa:1; T71Bsa:2; Margaret Nahow, Brandon SSAR, 8 Apr.1929; Rachel Boslam, Ayr SSAR, 20 Apr.1931; Graham Cawoot, *ibid.*, 6 Feb.1933; Jessie Darr, *ibid.*, 24 Mar.1936; Shirley Esther Henaway, Jarvisfield SSAR, 27 Nov.1933; J.D. Daniels, Ayr CR, 14 Feb.1938; Tommy Nehow, *ibid.*, 7 Jun.1939. A few remained loyal to the Salvation Army. See Jack Mullacoola, *ibid.*, 30 Jul.1939; Charlie Pentecost, *ibid.*, 16 Feb.1940; Arthur Edward Lampton, Ayr SSAR, 30 Jun.1936.

156. By then Pastor Dales was in charge. T68Bsa:1; T71Bsa:2. The church in Wickham St was in Sister Dennis' residence. See Andrew Poollar and Alice Henaway, PMR, Ayr, 28 Mar.1928.

157. Annie Dennis, No.650, Bowen Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1932; M.J.C. Calley, God's People. West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England (London, 1965), p.6.

158. See T61Bsa:2. For examples of those who converted in Bowen and Proserpine, see Gwen Thomas, Bowen DHAR, 1 Oct.1932; Rachel Boslam, *ibid.*, 6 Oct.1932; Ronnie Taiters, *ibid.*, 29 Nov.1932; Elizabeth Womal, *ibid.*, 29 Dec.1933; Miriam Yasso, *ibid.*, 30 Dec.1937; Agnes Paul, Bowen CR, 24 Jul. 1934; William Toby, *ibid.*, 25 Jan.1936; T60Bsa:1+3; T61Bsa:2.

159. There is no evidence that she pursued her work in Mackay, where her occupation was not given as 'missionary'. In the early 1920s, she worked with Samuel Hack, who became an ordained elder, and William Jeffrey was the first pastor. Annie Dennis, No.874, Bowen Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1943; Annie Dennis, No.9618, Supplementary Roll, Mackay Division. *ibid.*, 1944; T68Bsa:3; Chant, Heart of Fire, p.38.

were held. In 1928 the pastor was Charles Enticknap.¹⁶⁰ While the Pentecostal movement in Mackay was moderately successful in gaining Islander adherents¹⁶¹, it would most probably have achieved a much larger following but for the earlier movement into the Seventh-day Adventist church.

The only coastal districts in which Annie Dennis was not instrumental in the Pentecostal revival were those in the far north. Here Pentecostalism did not gain many Islander converts until the late 1930s and 1940s.¹⁶²

The Seventh-day Adventist church gained few Islander adherents outside Mackay in this period.¹⁶³ The church's success in this district was primarily due to Harry Fatnowna, although European Adventists such as Pearce also proselytised amongst the Islanders.¹⁶⁴ Fatnowna himself had been converted through reading Adventist literature purchased from local 'colporteurs' (Adventist literature evangelists), first A.T. Start and

160. This was known first as the Apostolic Faith Mission and later as the Assembly of God Church. Enticknap was succeeded by his brother William. *Ibid.*, pp.38, 108; *MM* 25 Jan., 24 Feb.1928, 2 Jan.1931, 24 Jun.1932; Charles Golding Enticknap, No.1488, Mackay Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1928; William John Enticknap, No.1856, *ibid.*, 1930.

161. In 1930 in Mackay big rallies held by a visiting evangelist were very successful. Chant, *Heart of Fire*, p.109. See, for examples of converts, Ty4Bp:1; T7Bsa:1; T34Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1; Dan Yasserie, Farleigh SSAR, 21 Aug. 1934.

162. See, for examples of converts, T59Bsb:1; Evelyn Martha Mow, Babinda SSAR, 2 Feb.1942; Gladys Irene Bong, Wright's Creek SSAR, 14 Mar.1938, EDU/AA1128, QSA; Esther Romelo, Innisfail SSAR, 8 Sep.1936; Maud Blooranta, Daradgee Upper SSAR, 1 Apr.1943, EDU/AA329, QSA.

163. In the late 1920s in Cairns a few Islander men converted to Adventism. T58Bsb:1; T59Bsa:2.

164. In 1921, when the question of a reserve was being considered, Pearce was attempting to convert some of the Islanders. Gatfield to Deputy Land Commissioner, 15 Jun.1921, 20131, RES 01/198, Lands Dept; see also Chapter 7. Adventism gained many adherents throughout North Queensland in the 1920s. For a brief history of Adventism in the region, see A.S. Maxwell, Under the Southern Cross. The Seventh-day Adventist Story in Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the South Pacific (Nashville, Tennessee, 1966), pp.53-54.

and later C.M. Lee.¹⁶⁵

Apparently Fatnowna left the Anglican church late in 1922. In his last service at St Mary's he preached that Seventh-day Adventism was the one true religion and about half of the congregation of one hundred, left with him.¹⁶⁶ Initially they held their meetings in Jack Marrau's big grass house at Farleigh. By 1925 the first Adventist church in the district, paid for solely by the Islanders, had been built at Farleigh (see Plate 8.4).¹⁶⁷ By the early 1930s, they were also meeting at Dumbleton, Etowri and Homebush, but the church in town had a predominantly European congregation.¹⁶⁸ The Islanders themselves largely organized and

165. In Start's obituary, it was mentioned that he was the first to sell literature to Solomon Islanders in the Mackay district. Lee is remembered as having been instrumental in Fatnowna's conversion and as a preacher in the Adventist church at Farleigh; later he became a Seventh-day Adventist missionary in the Solomons. In 1924 he ordered the funeral of a New Hebridean, John Bomassing, and by 1925 he was a minister. Ty4Bp.1; T34Bsa:1; T40Bsb:1; T48Bsb:1; T55Bsb:3; John Bomassing, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 24 Sep.1924; Alfred Thomas Start, No.7469, Mackay Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll of Queensland, 1917; Charles Middleton Lee, No.2719, *ibid.*, 1925; Australasian Record and Advent World Survey Vol.62, No.9, 3 Mar.1958, p.7.

166. T34Bsa:1+2; T48Bsb:1; T51Bsb:1. The dates given by the Islanders for this conversion range from 1918 to 1925; but since they agree that it was shortly after his return from synod (which was in July), during the crushing season, and since there is no evidence in Anglican records that Fatnowna was a catechist or synodsmen after July 1922, a date in August or September 1922 for his departure from St Mary's would seem most reliable. The first documentary evidence of his conversion is in February 1923, when the religion of the child for whom he was a guardian (Henry Quaytucker), was given as Adventist; the earliest records of other Islander Adventists are in 1925. Ty4Bp.1; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:1; Henry Stephen, Nindaroo SSAR, 5 Feb.1923; Eliza Sabbo, Sandiford SSAR, 25 Feb.1925; Daniel Fewquandie, Coningsby SSAR, 7 Sep.1925; Australasian Record and Advent World Survey Vol.62, No.9, 3 Mar., p.7, No.11, 17 Mar.1958, p.14, Vol.65, No.8, 20 Feb.1961, p.10.

167. The year the church was built was calculated from the ages of interviewees at that time. The land was donated by a West Indian family, the Coakleys. T34Bsa:2; T43Bsa:3; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:1; T55Bsb:3. In the mid-1940s, this church was moved to Walkerston, closer to the largest number of Islanders. T54Bsa:1; Australasian Record and Advent World Survey Vol.62, No.9, 3 Mar.1958, p.7, Vol.65, No.3, 16 Jan.1961, pp.7-8.

168. MM 28 Mar., letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann, 29 Mar.1935; T43Bsa:3; T54Bsa:1; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay.

managed their church at Farleigh; Fatnowna and later his son Norman were lay preachers, and others were appointed to various church positions.¹⁶⁹

Harry Fatnowna, and later Norman, engaged in missionary work all through the district, travelling at night and weekends over to Homebush and Sunnyside by horse, sulky, bicycle and later hired truck, to hold meetings and give communion in the Islanders' homes.¹⁷⁰ Meetings and missions were important in the Adventist church. In April 1933, for example, nine Islander children from the Walkerston and Palms area were amongst those attending an Adventist mission (possibly the annual conference) in the town. Adventists also believe in adult baptism and full immersion; baptisms were held in the Pioneer River.¹⁷¹

During the 1920s and 1930s, many Islander families left the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, to join the Adventists. In 1932, for example, the Williams and Yasserie families at Walkerston (previously Presbyterians and Anglicans), were attending the Adventist Church at Farleigh every Saturday (the Adventist Sabbath). New Hebrideans as well as Solomon Islanders converted to Adventism.¹⁷²

The older churches were obviously perturbed by this defection. According to oral evidence, the Anglicans (presumably Ash) attempted in vain to draw Fatnowna back into the fold, by offering to send him to New Guinea as a missionary. They were well aware of the very severe blow

169. MM 28 Mar.1935, letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann: Thomas Robert Kent, No.3146, Mackay Division, Herbert, Commonwealth Electoral Roll, 1932; No. 3582, ibid., 1934; Photographic Album, I, No.77; T40Bsb:1; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:1.

170. T34Bsa:1+2; T40Bsb:1; T43Bsa:3; T54Bsa:1; Australasian Record and Advent World Survey Vol.57, No.5, 22 Jun.1953, p.7. Proselytism is an important function in the Adventist church. M.J.C. Calley, 'Pentecostal Sects Among West Indian Migrants', Race Vol.3, No.2, May 1962, p.56.

171. McColl to Director of Education, 21 Apr.1933, 17758, EDU/Z2247, QSA; T40Bsa:3; T44Bsa:2; T54Bsa:1; Photographic Album, I, No.80.

172. Patterson to Director of State Children's Dept, 15 Nov.1932, forw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov.1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA. For oral evidence of conversions from these older churches, see T6Bsa:1+3; T34Bsa:2; T37Bsa:2; T40Bsb:1; T43Bsa:3; T43Bsb:2; T48Bsb:1; T54Bsa:1+2.

dealt to St Mary's by this exodus.¹⁷³ The Presbyterian church reacted in a more hostile fashion to the loss of its members, and Asboe's attempts to regain them have been described.¹⁷⁴

What were the reasons for this exodus from the churches which Pacific Islanders had faithfully attended for so many years? An examination of the doctrinal and attitudinal differences between these churches and the new sects reveals the greater capacity of the latter to satisfy the needs, spiritual and non-spiritual, which the Islanders sought to satisfy through membership in Christian churches. An equally important factor was the Islanders' attitudes towards the dominant society. The following discussion assesses the significance of these factors in the withdrawal from the older churches.

In the plantation period, the devoutness and sincerity of Islander Christians greatly impressed European observers.¹⁷⁵ In the twentieth century, the majority of Islanders in North Queensland were practising Christians, although church involvement was strongest in those districts - the Herbert River to Mackay - with well-established Islander populations and long traditions of missionary work.¹⁷⁶ Before the Pentecostal and Adventist evangelists, only the Salvation Army had actively proselytised amongst the Islanders.

173. According to oral evidence, when he refused to rejoin, the Anglicans took back the bicycle he had been given and told him he would starve. T34Bsa:2; T48Bsb:1; NC 1 Feb.1933, p.12; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.77. In the Torres Strait similarly the Anglican Church resented the intrusion of the Pentecostals. Beckett, Politics in the Torres Straits Islands, pp.140, 184.

174. Asboe's successor, the Rev. L.A. Anderson, was more accommodating; he met with the Adventist pastor, Kent, to offer him the use of the Kanaka Church for the Islanders. Asboe to McKenna, 26 Nov.1932, 49405, EDU/Z2247, QSA; NM 28 Mar.1935, letter to Ed. by A.H. Tidemann.

175. See Chapter 1, p.40.

176. A small number were pagans. See Chapter 8.

Traditionally, religious beliefs were very important to Pacific Islanders: "we're a people who believe - always believed in something".¹⁷⁷ In Australia the insecure environment created by their low income and unequal social position could be rationalized in Christian terms: Pacific Islanders would be rewarded in the next world for the injustices of this life. Their humility and irreproachable personal conduct were often admired by Europeans.¹⁷⁸ Common religious membership in churches with predominantly Islander congregations, was also a strong unifying bond among the diverse linguistic and cultural groups represented by North Queensland's Islanders. Church services, as for Europeans, were important social gatherings, especially for women. Adherence to a strict moral code helped to preserve community cohesion; the Islanders abstained from such 'vices' as smoking, drinking, swearing and fighting and gave their children a strict Christian upbringing.¹⁷⁹

Religion provided one of the few avenues for the exercise of authority and decision-making powers, relatively free from the interference of Europeans.¹⁸⁰ Traditionally, religious and secular leadership were integrally related. Thus Sayven, by converting pagan Islanders, heightened his influence both within the church and the community and Logomier was concerned at reprobate behaviour by members of his congregation, at least partly because this undermined his authority. These church leaders used

177. T1Bsa:1. In Sydney in the late 1920s, it was said of a small number of Melanesians who attended St John the Baptist Church that it was very important to feel that they "belonged" to this church. Southern Cross Log 1 Jul.1929, pp.12-13 (reference provided by J.A. Bennett).

178. See AYB, 1907-8, p.81; NC 1 Sep.1914, p.5, 1 Jan.1925, p.9; NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; T19Bsa:2.

179. For examples, see BI 15 Jan.1918, 10 Jan.1922; Interview with Mr G. Chataway, 1 Aug.1977, Mackay; T2Bsa:3; T7Bsa:2; T19Bsa:2; T25Bsb:1; T40Bsa:3; T66Bsb:1; T80Bsb:1; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.116; Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1915; Ty2Bp.2.

180. See A.R. Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity A Study in Growth and Obstruction (London, 1967), p.145; Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, p.201; Galley, God's People, pp.133-34; Galley, 'Pentecostalism among the Bandjalang', p.56.

their literacy to extend their influence in secular pursuits.¹⁸¹

Religion provided not merely a philosophy but also a lifestyle. It promoted ethnic ties, provided an explanation for the Islanders' present low social and economic status, promised rewards in the next world and supplied a moral standard on which to base their conduct. Pentecostalism and Seventh-day Adventism fulfilled more of these requirements, as a brief examination of their doctrines will reveal.¹⁸²

Pentecostalism is best described as a religion of the heart. Intense religious experiences and fundamentalism (accepting the Bible as literal truth) are emphasized over doctrine and ritual. To be truly saved, converts must be baptised through the Holy Ghost, the latter being manifested through the phenomenon of 'speaking with tongues' (glossolalia). Services, typically consisting of prayers, preaching and exhortation, members' testimonies, glossolalia and sometimes divine healing through the laying on of hands, are characterized by religious enthusiasm, overt emotional behaviour and active congregational participation.

181. NC 1 Oct. 1919, p.8. For examples of the use of literacy in secular pursuits by lay teachers in Queensland and in Melanesia, see MM 12 Oct. 1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowma; Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, forw. by Luke Logomier to Premier, n.d. [Dec. 1915], 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; K. Burridge, Mambu. A Study of Melanesian Cargo Movements and their Ideological Background (New York, 1960; repr. 1970), p.74.

182. The following discussion of the tenets of Pentecostalism and Seventh-day Adventism is based on the following sources: Beckett, Politics in the Torres Straits Islands, pp.116, 119, 131; Calley, God's People, esp. pp.1-6, 61-97, 126-27, 134-44; Calley, 'Pentecostalism among the Bandjalang', pp.52-53; Calley, 'Pentecostal Sects Among West Indian Migrants', pp.56-57, 60-64; H. Elinson, 'The Implications of Pentecostal Religion for Intellectualism, Politics, and Race Relations', The American Journal of Sociology Vol.LXX, No.4, Jan.1965, pp.404-8; G. Schwartz, Sect Ideologies and Social Status (Chicago, 1970), esp. Chs. 4 and 5; van Sommers, Religions in Australia, pp.166-69, 198, 200-1; B. Wilson, Religious Sects. a sociological study (London, 1970), pp.69, 89; H.M. Ross, 'Competition for Baegu Souls: Mission Rivalry on Malaita, Solomon Islands', in J.A. Boutillier, D.T. Hughes and S.W. Tiffany (eds), Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1978), esp. pp. 171, 172, 173, 179, 195.

The sect emphasizes that members should avoid such worldly practices as smoking, drinking, swearing, attending films or dances, and such sins as pre- and extra-marital sexual intercourse. Church organization is loose, non-hierarchical and locally based, with funds provided by tithing. Women dominate the membership of Pentecostal churches, and through marriage often convert their husbands. Theologically, Pentecostals believe that the Advent (the Millennium) is imminent. Although not a mystical or world-rejecting religion and with some earthly rewards such as ecstasy and healing, its orientation is primarily otherworldly.

There are some similar beliefs but also important divergences between Pentecostalism and Seventh-day Adventism. Adventism is also millennialist and fundamentalist. Congregational participation in services is encouraged. Drinking, smoking, dancing, attending films and the wearing of makeup or jewellery, as well as sexual intercourse outside marriage, are proscribed. Organization is centralized, but there is considerable local independence; a church board headed by the pastor governs daily affairs.

Yet Adventism is closer to the older Protestant churches. Spontaneous charismatic behaviour during services is frowned upon and doctrinal knowledge is emphasized. Adventist ideology has been described as a present day version of the Protestant ethic: members are enjoined to be self-reliant, work hard and strive continuously in the 'serious' pursuits of life, that is, business and religion.¹⁸³ An Adventist can never relax spiritually as he or she can never be certain of being among the elect on the Day of Judgment. The Adventists differ from both the older Protestants and the Pentecostals, in that proselytism is regarded as an important part of a member's duties and they are strict Sabbatarians.

183. Schwartz argues that despite the dark and sombre imagery of Adventism as compared with those of joy and optimism of Pentecostalism, the former ideology is fundamentally optimistic and the latter pessimistic. Sect Ideologies and Social Status, pp.137-38.

To recapitulate, Pentecostalism and Adventism are evangelical, fundamentalist sects with millennarian beliefs and a strict moral code. They shared certain attractions for Pacific Islanders. Fundamentalist doctrines were more in accord with their religious beliefs, particularly those of the migrants who, as a largely non-literate people, had learnt the Bible by rote: "what was in the Bible you couldn't turn them from, it's there." Certain doctrines such as the importance of religious initiation (baptism), the existence of such beings as devils and demons and (in Pentecostalism) the conferral of mystical powers through divine possession, were in accord with former Melanesian religions.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, through their distinctive beliefs, manner of worship and puritanical doctrines, an explanation of the meaning of life was interwoven with a code for living: Noel Fatnowna (Harry's son) described Adventism as having "kept me on the straight and narrow".¹⁸⁵

The appeal of Pentecostalism to North Queensland's Islanders is readily understood. This sect is most successful amongst the poor and dispossessed, both urban and rural, and especially amongst those experiencing disruptive culture contact and rapid social change.¹⁸⁶ This was, moreover, a joyful religion of informal fellowship in which the Islanders participated wholeheartedly; only in the Salvation Army, and in a more inhibited fashion, had this been offered to them previously. The charismatic fervour experienced by converts is described thus by one woman: "that

184. T25Bsb:1. The same point is made by Calley with reference to the acceptance of Pentecostalism by the Bandjalang. Calley, 'Pentecostalism among the Bandjalang', p.51. See also Elinson, 'The Implications of Pentecostal Religion', p.406; Schwartz, Sect Ideologies and Social Status, pp.22, 99.

185. T28Bsb:1. Fatnowna himself demonstrated the influence of religion on his lifestyle in his rebuttal of Asboe's charges against the Islanders. MM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna. For other evidence of this strict moral code, see T25Bsb:1-2; T48Bsb:1; T74Bsa:3.

186. Calley, God's People, p.134; Calley, 'Pentecostalism Among the Bandjalang', p.50; Elinson, 'The Implications of Pentecostal Religion', p.404; Wilson, Religious Sects, pp.74, 89.

wasn't a make believe it was real ... you had to tell the world you found something ... whether they were black or white."¹⁸⁷

Pentecostalism's emotional fervour contrasts markedly with the sober seriousness of Adventism. Two circumstances made it unlikely that Adventism would be successful in gaining many Islander converts outside the Mackay district. First, Harry Fatnowna's influence in drawing his fellow Islanders from other churches into Adventism cannot be underestimated. While he believed in Adventism as the one true religion, those who followed him did so less from similar conviction than from trust. Secondly, the Adventist emphasis on worldly success and hard work was more appropriate in this district where entrepreneurial activities by Islanders, such as farming on their own account, were most noticeable. The high proportion of Malaitans (including Fatnowna) who converted is relevant in this respect, since they are well-known as being pragmatic and hard-nosed businessmen.¹⁸⁸

Membership of these socially marginal sects was also a form of protest for the Islanders against their treatment in the older churches and in the society generally. In these older churches, the Islanders were not full and equal members of the congregations, but rather 'missionary work'. They were still called 'boys' and 'kanakas', and a graphic insight into European attitudes is provided in Plate 8.3, of the Anglican synod in 1922, in which Harry Fatnowna and the two Aboriginal synodsmen are seated on the ground at the Europeans' feet. Such treatment, together with his knowledge of Adventism, may explain Fatnowna's subsequent defection. The Pentecostal and Adventist churches promised greater racial equality. The colporteurs and missionaries took their message to the Islanders and warmly welcomed them as their 'brothers' and 'sisters'.¹⁸⁹ They also were

187. T25Bsa:2. For descriptions of the religious fervour expressed at meetings, see T23Bsa:1; T26Bsa:1; T68Bsa:3. An ABC television 'Big Country' program entitled 'The Forgotten People' and shown on 11 December 1978, very effectively captured the enthusiasm expressed in singing, clapping and holding up hands.

188. These same values of self-reliance and hard work are emphasized by Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in the Solomons. On Malaita, the more progressive and ambitious types are found in the Adventist church. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p.346; Ross, 'Mission Rivalry on Malaita', p.197.

189. This was also so in respect of Torres Strait Islanders. Beckett, *Politics in the Torres Straits Islands*, pp.119, 131.

materially poor: Sister Dennis, for example, was as poor as the Islanders amongst whom she lived. Islanders were not inferior members of these sects, and were able to participate energetically in services and in the management of their churches.

As will be seen, the native-born, especially in Mackay, most resented their low social and economic position. They predominated amongst early conversions to Adventism and Pentecostalism; young women were especially prominent in the latter. The migrants did not convert as readily. Some families were split, with the younger people accepting the new faiths and the older members remaining faithful to their original churches. Gradually these older people were won over, and the Pentecostal and Adventist churches came to represent the great majority in the Islander communities throughout North Queensland.

In this movement to less orthodox faiths, there are parallels with the millenarian movements (cargo cults), which are a common phenomena in post-contact Melanesia.¹⁹⁰ Cargo cults are usually constructive attempts to find rational solutions to the problems created by European contact. They are significantly influenced by Christian doctrines such as those of Pentecostalism and Seventh-day Adventism.¹⁹¹ As in Melanesia, participation in the older churches had not provided Pacific Islanders in North Queensland with access to the dominant society. The smallness of the Islander population and its greater economic integration meant that a cargo cult as a means of attempting to change their position was not feasible.¹⁹² Joining sects whose doctrines were more in accord with indigenous ideas, was a

190. For analyses of the meaning of cargo cults, see K. Burrige, New Heaven New Earth A Study of Millenarian Activities (Oxford, 1969); I.C. Jarvie, 'Theories of Cargo Cults: A Critical Analysis', Oceania Vol. XXXIV, No.1, Sep.1963, pp.1-31, No.2, Dec.1963, pp.108-35.

191. R. Bastide, 'Messianism and Social and Economic Development (1961)', in I. Wallerstein (ed.), Social Change. The Colonial Situation (New York, 1966), pp.469-70, 471; Schwartz, Sect Ideologies and Social Status, pp.20-24; K. Burrige, 'Introduction: Missionary Occasions', in Boutilier et al, Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania, p.15.

192. As Burrige shows, cargo cults flourish under regimes which are not powerful enough to suppress, or are inhibited from suppressing, them. Calley found that the millenarian aspect of Pentecostalism was not emphasized by the Bandjalang. Burrige, New Heaven New Earth, p.34; Calley, 'Pentecostalism among the Bandjalang', p.52.

possible alternative. Thus this change in religious affiliation was a reaction (conscious or unconscious) against their disadvantaged position in the community, and perhaps also an attempt to improve it.

THE COMMON feature in the Islanders' participation in the educational system, politics and Christian churches, is the inferior and unequal position to which Europeans generally relegated, or attempted to relegate, them. This was equally evident in two other areas of contact with Europeans - leisure and law-breaking.

In the years leading up to World War II, physical isolation within and between districts in North Queensland was gradually breaking down. In 1925, the coastal railway link between Brisbane and Cairns was finally completed, but coastal steamers remained an important method of travel between centres.¹⁹³ During the wet season floods would still isolate areas; for example, Halifax, Macknade and Cordelia were cut off virtually every year from Ingham, and supplies had to be collected by boat.¹⁹⁴ Europeans and Islanders alike were affected by this isolation. Sulkies, buggies, horses and bicycles were the alternative to walking for most North Queenslanders; cars began to make an appearance from the 1920s but few families had cars in the 1930s.¹⁹⁵ Some Islanders, especially those farming in Mackay and other districts, had buggies, drays, waggons and dog carts. Others, particularly the young people, used horses and bicycles.

193. Railway links with inland centres such as the Atherton Tableland were only slowly achieved. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, pp.302, 319; 'Tramp', 'Sugar Land Reminiscences', Mar.1936, p.21; T71Bsb:3.

194. T57Bsb:1; T58Bsa:1; T72Bsa:2. For examples in other districts, see T61Bsa:3; Clerk of Petty Sessions, Mossman, to Under Sec. for Agriculture, 14 Jan.1914, 99C, AGS/N99, QSA; Applic. No.822E, Matthew Malachi, AGS/N102, QSA.

195. Bolton, A Thousand Miles Away, p.302; Williams, Mackay Centenary, pp.15, 18, 27; T58Bsb:2; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay.

Very few had cars up to 1940, but they used the rail motors, taxis and buses.¹⁹⁶ The most common mode of transport for Pacific Islanders, however, was pedestrian; walking several miles to the village or town was a normal part of their life.¹⁹⁷

Organized sport was one recreational pursuit in which the native-born Islanders occasionally mixed with Europeans. This was primarily in the body contact sports such as football and much less in the more 'middle class' sports such as cricket and tennis, although there was an all-Islander cricket team at Farleigh, 'The Pioneers', who played European teams and other Islander teams in the area.¹⁹⁸ There were some 'all-black' rugby football teams, although more commonly Islanders and other non-Europeans played on the same side as Europeans. Islander footballers were well-known in the Herbert River district, where Willie Samoa was fullback on the Halifax football team, premiers between 1920

196. For examples of these various forms of transport used by Islanders, see T40Bsa:2; T45Bsa:2+3; T55Bsb:2; T58Bsb:2; T61Bsa:2+3; T66Bsb:1; Statement of Shady Elias, Rex vs Billy Boslam, No.60 of 1910, A/18369, QSA; Statement of Peter Tass, Inquest No.238 of 1936, JUS/N1009, QSA; Statement of Phyllis Arrow, Inquest No.811 of 1938, Mavis Olga and Iris Amelia Arrow, JUS/N1055, QSA; PDMR 9 Sep.1909; NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; MM 27 Aug.1928, 2 Jan.1932; Actg Clerk of Petty Sessions, Halifax, to Clerk of Petty Sessions, Ingham, 30 Jun.1916, CPS 12H/G1, QSA. Bicycles were a status symbol to some of the old men, who wheeled, rather than rode, them. T48Bsb:3.

197. See Ty2Bp.2; T21Bsb:2; T40Bsa:2; T52Bsa:1; T57Bsb:1; T61Bsa:2; NQR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76; Statement of Alick Santo, 10 May 1913, Rex vs Sam, No.34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA.

198. Interview with Mr B. Jackson, 12 Jul.1979; Plate 4.1; MM 9 Apr.1915; Ty5Bp.2; T55Bsa:1. This was true of Aborigines also. See P. Corris, 'Black Boxers', Arena No.37, 1975, pp.7-8.

and 1922.¹⁹⁹ In the Burdekin in 1921, a team in the local competition was hailed as the only complete Aboriginal football team in Australia; in fact it included at least two native-born Islanders.²⁰⁰

Boxing did not attract as many Islanders as Aborigines. There was one well-known Islander boxer in the Herbert River district - Tommy Quetta, who won two bouts in 1915 against Dave Duval, of Lloyd's Circus and Wild West Show.²⁰¹ A few Islanders trained as jockeys for European horse-owners - one of these, Willie Cassidy, won races at Ingham and Townsville.²⁰²

The Islanders, especially the girls, joined in local athletics competitions.²⁰³ In the Herbert River district, for example, Louisa and Theresa Coote, were involved in school athletics and later played women's basketball for the 'Halifax Blues'.²⁰⁴ However, Islander women did not commonly participate in organized sport, because of the strict social restrictions imposed on them.

For most Islanders, and for many Europeans, visits to town were special occasions, such as to attend the annual show.²⁰⁵ The rural hamlets served most of their shopping and leisure needs. Members of St Mary's congregation, for example, visited Mackay each month, for communion at Holy Trinity Church. Usually Islanders who stayed overnight put up at the

199. There were other Islander footballers in this and other districts. T28Bsb:1; T57Bsa:3; T63Bsa:2+3; T71Bsa:1; T73Bsb:1; NOR 1 Nov.1920, Illustrations (vii), 20 Nov.1922, Illustrations (ii), 22 Jun.1925, p.85, 28 Nov.1927, Illustrations (viii), 4 Feb.1929, Illustrations (viii); Interview with Mr B. Jackson, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay.

200. These were Andrew and William Cawoot (or Cole). NOR 3 Jan.1921, Illustrations (viii). There were some part Pacific Islanders in a team of footballers from Palm Island who played in Halifax and Ingham and also in other centres. NOR 8 Dec.1924, p.89, 11 May 1925, p.19, 9 Jan., p.85, 21 May 1928, Illustrations (vi).

201. There was also an Islander boxer in Mackay. NOR 25 Jan., p.12, 29 Mar.1915, p.9; T69Bsb:3; T73Bsa:3. Boxing was one of the few careers in sport open to Aborigines. Corris, 'Black Boxers', p.7.

202. See T62Bsa:3; T69Bsb:3; T72Bsb:1; T73Bsb:2.

203. For example, in local foot races. See MM 4 Jun.1976; PDMR 7 Jan.1909.

204. Townsville Daily Bulletin 21 Oct.1977; NOR 20 Sep.1930, Illustrations (viii); T72Bsa:2.

205. T66Bsb:2; T72Bsb:1.

boarding houses run by their countrymen or by other non-Europeans in the Chinatowns. They used the same facilities as Europeans - the cafes, picture theatres and hotels.²⁰⁶

The towns and larger villages also offered many illicit pleasures. In the Chinatowns, gambling houses run by Chinese and Japanese continued to flourish; Islander men were often amongst their customers, especially during the crushing season when they had extra money.²⁰⁷ Opium was also available from the Chinese, but while greatly desired by Aborigines, few Pacific Islanders indulged in the habit.²⁰⁸ It can be assumed that some of the Islander men frequented brothels.²⁰⁹

In contrast to opium, alcohol was greatly sought after by Islander men. It provided an attractive escape from their poverty and oppression.²¹⁰

206. See NC 1 Apr.1910, p.5; NOR 23 Sep.1912, p.22; Ty4Bp.2; T4Bsa:2; T58Bsa:1; T59Bsb:1; T61Bsa:2; Statement of Serg. Herd, Rex vs Charlie Mai, No.46 of 1912, A/18377, QSA; Statement of George Romelo, Rex vs Alick Jones, No.32 of 1922, A/18409, QSA; Statement of Harry Cowie, Inquest No.884 of 1932, Annie Cowie, JUS/N956, QSA.

207. See Ty4Bp.2; T1Bsa:3; T22Bsb:1; T42Bsa:2; T58Bsa:1; T71Bsa:1; MM 11 Sep.1918, 20 Oct.1919, 23 Dec.1922, 31 Oct.1931; NOR 30 Aug.1926, p.63, 6 Jul.1929, p.17; BI 23 Sep.1930. In the far north, the pak-a-pu lottery tickets sold by the Chinese were popular. NOR 26 Oct.1925, p.40; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.391; T59Bsb:1.

208. Usually this was charcoal opium, which was mixed with water and drunk. T59Bsb:1; T71Bsa:1-2; NOR 4 Feb.1929, p.69; Jones, The Cardwell Shire Story, p.304; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.434. For cases where Pacific Islanders were charged with the possession or use of opium, see CMP 3 Feb.1909, 21 Jan.1913, Cairns Police Court; NOR 27 Jan.1913, p.16; QPP II, 1909, p.987; Jimmy New Island, 21 Jul., 8 Sep.1913, POL11D/01, QSA.

209. Oral evidence for this refers to Mackay and Cairns. T41Bsa:3; T42Bsa:2; T59sb:1. There are cases in the written evidence of women of 'low morals' associating with Islanders in the towns. MM 30 Dec.1913, 5 Jan.1916, MPC; Statement of Amy Webber, Inquest No.430 of 1915, Harry Tanna, JUS/N588, QSA.

210. See also Chapter 1, p.34. This was also true for Aborigines. Beckett, 'Aborigines, Alcohol and Assimilation' in Reay (ed.), Aborigines Now, pp.32, 33.

Those who were regular church-goers usually controlled their drinking strictly or were complete teetotallers. Significantly, no evidence has been discovered of drunkenness (in public or in private) amongst Pacific Islander women. Typically it was the unmarried migrants and the younger native-born men who drank to excess.²¹¹

Legally the sale of alcohol to Pacific Islanders, migrant and native-born, was prohibited. Therefore they tended to drink in the streets, parks and private houses rather than in public hotels.²¹² But they obtained alcohol from the hotels as well as sly grog shops and gambling houses, as attested by the number of hotel employees and publicans charged with supplying alcohol to Pacific Islanders. In Mackay such charges, mostly against Europeans but also against Chinese, Indians and even other Islanders, were very common up to the early 1920s.²¹³ From the mid-1920s, however, the authorities in Mackay as in other districts appear to have turned a blind eye to the sale of liquor to

211. Interviewees make this clear. T59Bsb:1; T66Bsb:1; T71Bsa:3. Similarly amongst Aborigines, most men but few women seek alcohol. Beckett, 'Aborigines, Alcohol and Assimilation', pp.39, 44, 45.

212. For examples of Islanders found drunk in public places, see MM 1 Dec., 30 Dec.1913, 2 Feb.1915, MPC; CMP 30 Dec.1913, Cairns Police Court, 21 Sep.1915, Circuit Court; BI 28 Aug.1917, Bowen Police Court. For this prohibition, see Appendix E.

213. The police complained of the readiness with which the Islanders obtained alcohol. MM 7 Aug.1912, 1 Jan., 3 Jan.1914, MPC. Between 1908 and 1923 in the Mackay Bench Record and Summons Books, there were thirty-two charges against fifteen Europeans, five Chinese, four Indians, three Pacific Islanders and five other non-Europeans for illegally supplying liquor to Pacific Islanders, but there were no such charges after that date. In the Bench Record and Summons Books for Bowen (1909-40) and Ayr (1924-40), there are no such charges and, in Halifax (1908-38) there was only one such charge, in 1912. The explanation for this may be that in Mackay, with the greatest number of Islanders, the authorities continued to enforce the law whereas in districts with much smaller numbers of Islanders this was neglected. See CPS 10B/S1-S27, CPS 11B/N1-N5, A/20617-20623, CPS 12H/S2-S6, QSA. In the far north, where there are no extant Bench Record Books, there is some evidence from newspapers that a few Chinese and Europeans up to the 1910s were charged with illegally supplying liquor to Pacific Islanders. PDNR 19 Nov.1908, 11 Mar.1913, Mossman Police Court; Q 25 Oct. 1913, p.9.

Pacific Islanders.²¹⁴

Drunkenness was responsible for most law-breaking by Pacific Islander men. It was far and away the most common petty offence with which they were charged (see Table 8.3). Like Aborigines, they were more visible (that is, on the streets) when drunk and more likely to be arrested rather than sent home without prosecution.²¹⁵ Islanders from time to time featured in the morning 'drunks parade' in court, especially on the day after pay-day or on Monday morning.²¹⁶ There were some recidivists such as Joseph Fenis, who in July 1912 in Mackay was fined on his fourth appearance for drunkenness.²¹⁷

214. As shown above, there were no charges for supplying liquor to Pacific Islanders after 1923. Moreover, there is evidence of Islanders drinking in hotels. Harry Mooney, 15 May 1928, CPS 10B/S13, QSA; Peter Mitten, 12 Nov. 1923, POL 11D/03, QSA; Frank Gosling, 22 Sep. 1930, CPS 12H/S5, QSA; Statement of M.T. Keating, Rex vs Samson Backo, No.33 of 1940, A/18433, QSA. However, as late as 1933 the police magistrate at Innisfail pointed out that Pacific Islanders should not be served with alcohol. CMP 29 Jun. 1933, Innisfail Police Court.

215. Elizabeth Eggleston in a recent study of Aborigines and the criminal law described drunkenness as "the Aboriginal offence par excellence". E. Eggleston, Fear, Favour or Affection. Aborigines and the Criminal Law in Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia (Canberra, 1976), pp.4, 233. However, it is apparent from the Watch-house Charge Books for Bowen and Halifax that the Islanders did not account for a significantly disproportionate share of drunkenness charges, in view of their proportion of the population. For example, in Bowen the number of Islanders in the total number of drunkenness charges ranged from 6 out of 35 in 1917 to 1 out of 111 in 1923, and in Halifax from 1 out of 62 in 1915 to 10 out of 62 in 1922. POL 11D/01-04, POL 12E/Q4-12, QSA.

216. First offenders were usually discharged with a reprimand; those who failed to appear in court forfeited bail. See PDMR 8 Jul. 1909, Mossman Police Court; CMP 30 Dec. 1913, Cairns Police Court; MM 7 Jan. 1909, 4 Mar. 1912, 10 Apr. 1913, 12 Oct. 1915, 14 Oct. 1919, MPC. Interviewees also point out that drinking was restricted mostly to the weekends. T4Bsa:2; T6Bsb:1; T58Bsa:3.

217. Fenis was also charged with drunkenness on several subsequent occasions. MM 11 Jul., 30 Jul. 1912, 30 Dec. 1913, 2 Apr. 1914, MPC. For other examples, see MM 27 Jul. 1915, MPC; BI 18 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court. In the Watch-house Charge Books available for Bowen between 1912 and 1926 and Halifax between 1908 and 1938, there was only one recidivist amongst eleven charges against Islanders for drunkenness in Bowen, but in Halifax eleven Islanders were responsible for twenty-nine of the forty-eight such charges. POL 11D/01-04, POL 12E/Q4-12, QSA.

TABLE 8.3: Pacific Islanders charged with petty offences before the Bench

Charge	No. of Islanders charged			
	Ayr (1924-40)*	Bowen (1909-40)*	Halifax (1908-40)*	Mackay (1908-40)*
Assault	0	10	2	8
Theft and Destruction of Property	0	2	1	0
Drunkenness and Disorderly Behaviour#	0	13	57	8
Vagrancy	1	1	4+	2
False Pretences	0	2	3	10
Traffic Offences	8	0	6	12
Child Maintenance	1	1	0	25
Miscellaneous	1	4	6	3
Total	11	33	79	68

* Years for which records are available

Figures in this category are artificially low for Ayr and Mackay, because of the lack of Watch-house Charge Books and the fact that charges of drunkenness were not listed in the Bench Record and Summons Books (see note below).

+ One woman for suspected insanity; otherwise all defendants were males.

Note: This table is compiled from extant court records, namely the Bench Record and Summons Books for all four towns, and for Bowen, Halifax and Eton only in Mackay, the Watch-house Charge Books. The categories of assault and theft and destruction of property are self-explanatory. The others cover the following: 'Drunkenness and disorderly conduct' includes drunkenness, creating a disturbance, obscene language and indecent behaviour; 'Vagrancy' includes no lawful means of support, being unlawfully on licensed premises and suspected insanity; 'False offences' includes false statements in applications for relief; 'Traffic offences' includes failing to keep lamps lit on vehicles and other breaches of the traffic regulations; 'Child maintenance' includes child desertion and claims for confinement expenses and maintenance and disobedience of such orders; 'Miscellaneous' includes the unlawful possession of drugs or firearms, breaches of the Liquor Act, failure to furnish income tax returns, and the illegal employment of, or supplying alcohol to, or harbouring female, Aboriginals.

Sources: A/20617-23, POL 11D/01-4, CPS 11B/N1-6, CPS 12H/S2-6, POL 12E/Q4-12, CPS 10B/S1-27, POL 10E/S2, QSA.

Alcohol-related crimes - obscene language, disorderly and obscene behaviour and creating a disturbance - were minor offences with which Pacific Islander men were regularly charged (see Table 8.3). Many charges of common assault on countrymen or non-Melanesians, notably Chinese, were provoked by drinking. In Mackay in 1919, for example, Albert Wool, who was frequently before the courts for drunkenness, gambling and quarrelling with his countrymen, was found guilty of assaulting a Chinese but was let off lightly as he had been drinking and gambling in the complainant's shop.²¹⁸ Charges against Islanders in the lower courts showed that a high proportion possessed dangerous weapons such as revolvers, rifles and knives.²¹⁹

Petty crimes committed by Islanders were predominantly alcohol-related offences. Other charges included traffic offences and child maintenance claims. Vagrancy, theft and destruction of property charges were seldom brought against Pacific Islanders (see Table 8.3). Nor were they prone to such 'middle class' crimes as forgery, fraud and bankruptcy.²²⁰ As in the nineteenth century, their brushes with the law were confined mainly to offences provoked by alcoholic consumption and crimes of violence.

This was also largely true of indictable offences committed by Islanders, almost always men, in North Queensland (see Table 8.4). They were most frequently charged with crimes of violence - murder, manslaughter, assault, rape and carnal knowledge. Alcohol was seldom absent in such crimes (see Table 8.4). As this table demonstrates, the victims in assault,

218. MM 20 Oct.1919. For evidence of Woolwool's 'criminal' proclivities, see MM 9 May 1914, 23 Dec.1922, 5 Jan.1924, 31 Oct.1931, MPC; T7Bsa:2; T44Bsa:2. For other examples of assaults and disorderly conduct under the influence of alcohol, see MM 30 Dec.1913, 14 Dec.1915, 5 Jan.1916, MPC; QPP II, 1910, p.987; T59Bsb:1; NOR 5 Apr.1926, p.9, 6 Jun.1927, p.68; BC 27 Jul.1915.

219. For examples, see BI 16 Aug.1919, Bowen Police Court; MM 5 Jun.1909, District Court, 8 Dec.1916; NOR 8 Nov.1915, p.9, 23 Jul.1928, p.42, 26 Oct.1929, p.67; CMP 4 Jun.1925.

220. The only cases of fraud I have discovered were those of false statements in applications for relief. See Table 8.3. I have found one case of insolvency by an Islander, and one case of an unpaid debt. NOR 8 Dec.1919, p.11, Supreme Court; MM 24 Feb.1928, Magistrate's Court.

murder and manslaughter cases were generally Islander or other non-European men. Very often such crimes were motivated by disputes over women, especially Aboriginal women. Europeans usually figured as the complainants in less serious offences.

TABLE 8.4: Trials of Pacific Islanders in the Northern Supreme, District and Circuit Courts of Queensland, 1908-40

Offence	Race and Sex of Victim or Complainant	Place of Committal	Year of Trial	Court	Verdict and Sentence
Assault	Pacific Islander (M)	Ayr	1908	Supreme	Guilty - 4 months hard labour.
Assault	Chinese (M)	Townsville	1909	Supreme	Not guilty.
Manslaughter*	Aborigine (M)	Atherton	1909	Supreme	Not guilty.
Murder*	Aborigine (F)	Proserpine	1910	Supreme	Guilty - death penalty commuted to life imprisonment.
Attempted carnal knowledge	Malay (F)	Townsville	1912	Supreme	Guilty - 3 years hard labour.
Abduction	Pacific Islander (F)	Atherton	1913	District	No true bill.
Arson*	Pacific Islander (M)	Ingham	1913	Supreme	Not guilty.
Carnal knowledge	Pacific Islander (F)	Mackay	1913	Circuit	Nolle Prosequi.
Rape*	Aborigine (F)	Bowen	1914	Supreme	-#
Armed in public	Cinghalese (M)	Halifax	1914	District	Guilty - 3 months suspended sentence.
Assault*	Pacific Islander (M)	Cairns	1915	Circuit	Not guilty.
Breaking and Entering with Intent	Malay (M)	Innisfail	1915	Supreme	Not guilty.
Attempted rape	Pacific Islander (F)	Halifax	1916	District, Supreme	-#
Arson ⁺	European (F)	Townsville	1916	District	Not guilty.
Murder*	Pacific Islander (M)	Mackay	1916	Supreme	Not guilty.

Offence	Race and Sex of Victim or Complainant	Place of Committal	Year of Trial	Court	Verdict and Sentence
Attempted Murder	Pacific Islander (M)	Proserpine	1917	Supreme	Guilty of Assault - 4 months in custody so discharged.
Arson	Malay (M)	Cairns	1919	Circuit	Guilty - 6 months hard labour.
Attempted Rape	? (F)	Atherton	1920	District	-#
Murder*	Pacific Islander (M)	Innisfail	1922	Supreme	Not guilty.
Murder*	Japanese (M)	Atherton	1925	Circuit	Guilty of Man-slaughter - 7 years hard labour.
Murder*	Pacific Islander (M)	Ingham	1927	Supreme	Not guilty.
Unlawful wounding of a horse	European (M)	Townsville	1928	Supreme	Guilty - 6 months suspended sentence.
Murder	Pacific Islander (M)	Cairns	1932	Circuit	Guilty.
Carnal knowledge	Pacific Islander (F)	Mackay	1932	Circuit	Guilty - 12 months suspended sentence.
Attempted carnal knowledge and rape	Pacific Islander (F)	Mackay	1933	Circuit	Guilty - 6 months suspended sentence.
Attempted rape and indecent assault*	European (F)	Mackay	1937	Circuit	Guilty - 3 years.
Grievous Bodily Harm*	European (M)	Halifax	1940	Supreme	Nolle Prosequi.

* cases in which defendant was intoxicated at the time of allegedly committing the crime

+ only female defendant

verdict and sentence not known

Sources: A/18523, A/18524, A/18369, A/18377, A/18381, A/18390, A/18392, A/18395, A/18409, A/18416, A/18417, A/18433, A/18452, A/18365,

Sources: A/18475, A/18480, A/18482, OSA: North Queensland Herald 13 Mar.1909, (cont.) p.35; BI 14 Jul., 18 Jul.1914, Bowen Police Court; CMP 21 Sep.1915, Circuit Court, 4 Jun., Atherton Police Court, 19 Jun.1925, Circuit Court; NOR 12 Mar.1917, p.8, 10 Jan.1927, p.10, 10 Sep.1932, p.22; MM 17 Mar., Circuit Court, 8 Sep.1932, 27 Mar.1933, MPC, 7 Jul., 8 Jul.1937, Circuit Court.

Sexual offences also figured largely in the serious crimes for which Pacific Islander men were brought to trial (see Table 8.4). In at least six of the eight such cases, the men were not strangers to their victims, being either relatives, friends or acquaintances²²¹; this is typical of such offences generally. Islanders or Aborigines were usually the victims and sentences were sometimes lenient, but not if a European was involved. In Mackay in 1937, Judge F.T. Brennan in sentencing a native-born Islander to three years' imprisonment with hard labour for attempted rape and indecent assault, commented that "no man had a right to molest a decent woman and if the prisoner had resided in America he would have been lynched and torn to pieces".²²² However, in some cases the migrants received special treatment before the law, as they had done in the nineteenth century. In sentencing Harry Tanna, found guilty of manslaughter (of a Japanese), Judge R.J. Douglas said that "he would take into consideration that Tanna was a savage and not able to control himself so well as a more civilised person".²²³

221. For example, see CMP 27 Apr.1909, 4 Jun.1925, Circuit Court; Brennan to Sec. for External Affairs, 24 Jan.1908, A/08/2939, AA; MM 30 May 1916, MPC; Rex vs Alick Jones, No.32 of 1922, A/18409, OSA.

222. MM 8 Jul.1937, Circuit Court. For examples of leniency, see BI 14 Jul.1914, Bowen Police Court; MM 29 Oct.1931, 27 Mar.1933, MPC; Rex vs Charlie Mai, No.46 of 1912, A/18377, QSA; Rex vs Maneboro, No.44 of 1913, A/18381, OSA; Rex vs James Booker Booker, 1916, A/18392, OSA. In 1942, there was an alleged case of incest in Mackay, but it was thrown out by the Circuit Court. Nos. 2 and 3, 1942 [names withheld for confidentiality], A/18524, QSA.

223. CMP 19 Jun.1925, Circuit Court.

Pacific Islanders were not equals before the law. A clear case of miscarriage of justice occurred in Port Douglas in 1913 when Johnnie Nahlun, to the amazement of European residents, had a local businessman arrested for destroying his house through setting fire to surrounding grass; despite having admitted he had done so, the defendant was acquitted.²²⁴

Like most working-class people, Islanders were handicapped by their limited understanding of the legal system. Some were obviously conversant with legal processes and their rights, as demonstrated during the Polynesian School episode, and also by charges laid against countrymen or others for assault or defaulting on the payment of wages.²²⁵ Most of the migrants, however, had a very imperfect knowledge of European law.²²⁶

In their attitude to authority, Pacific Islanders were usually acquiescent if not necessarily respectful. They accepted European law and order as a means of settling their disputes.²²⁷ Few resisted arrest, even when drunk. However, they were not usually willing to co-operate with the police, as for example when they were asked to testify against those who had

224. PDMR 25 Nov., 2 Dec.1913, Mossman Police Court; NOR 8 Dec.1913, p.21. For other examples of the inequality of Islanders in the system of law, see MM 11 Sep.1918, MPC, 7 Jul.1937, Circuit Court, objection by A.S. Lilley; BI 16 Mar.1914, Bowen Police Court.

225. MM 26 Nov.1907, MPC. For other examples, see MM 25 Jan.1908, MPC; Johnny Estell vs Komot, 15 May 1908, CPS 10B/S1, QSA; Luke vs Louis Antoney, Jimmy Api vs Louis Antoney, 5 Dec.1911, CPS 10B/S2, QSA; Willie Nogai vs Harry Ah Gee, 27 Nov.1914, CPS 11B/N1, QSA; Jimmy Alliday vs Lena Gaston, 7 Aug. 1919, CPS 11B/N3, QSA; Rose Elizabeth Garlando vs Mary Oakey, 4 Feb.1935, CPS 12H/S5, QSA; Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No.24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA. Fellow Islanders apparently attended court when their countrymen were on trial. MM 25 Jan.1908, 30 May 1916, MPC; T72Bsb:1.

226. For examples of legal ignorance, see North Queensland Herald 13 Mar. 1909, p.35; BI 16 Mar.1914, Bowen Police Court; MM 17 Mar.1932, Circuit Court. Islanders were often undefended and openly admitted their guilt. See MM 5 Jun.1909, District Court, 25 May 1916, MPC, 7 Jul.1937, Circuit Court; NOR 28 May 1928, p.15, 10 Sep.1932, p.22; CNP 12 Jul.1919, Cairns Police Court, 4 Jun.1925, Atherton Police Court.

227. For instance, in Bowen in 1913 Sammy Newar, an Islander isolated for suspected leprosy, was said to have willingly followed any instructions from the police. Const. Donohue to Police Insp., Townsville, 13 Sep.1913, No. 1272 of 1914, Sam, COL/282, QSA. For other examples, see Moore, The Forgotten People, p.55; T47Bsb:2.

supplied them illegally with alcohol.²²⁸

Offences, both petty and serious with which Pacific Islanders were charged, were predominantly crimes related to alcohol and violence. Their 'crime rates' were certainly not higher, and most probably lower, than those of the general population.²²⁹ Harry Fatnowna in 1932 claimed that the Islanders were responsible for a very small percentage of the offenders who appeared in the courts, and challenged anyone disputing his statement to enquire with the police. That they were a peaceful and law-abiding people was corroborated by other Islanders and also European residents throughout North Queensland.²³⁰

RELATIONS between Pacific Islanders and other groups fell into three categories. First, there was their interaction with other non-European immigrants, chiefly Asians, secondly, with Aborigines, and thirdly, with the dominant majority, the Europeans.

228. See, for example, MM 23 Dec.1922, MPC. There was a case in Cairns in 1913 of an Islander attempting to bribe a constable. Deposition of Const. McLaughlin, 20 Jan.1913, encl. in Sub-Insp., Cairns, to Police Commissioner, 24 Jan.1913, 02736, 695M, POL/J34, QSA.

229. It would be very difficult to compare the crime rates of a group with such low social and economic status as Pacific Islanders with the general community, even if reliable evidence on these crime rates were known. The small numbers of Islanders charged with indictable offences between 1908 and 1940 (see Table 8.4), and also their tiny proportions in the number of cases for drunkenness, are indications that they did not figure largely in the criminal element. Other evidence for this is the very low number of Islanders in Queensland prisons. In 1910, for example, there were no Islanders included in a total of 516 persons in the State's prisons on 1 January 1910; during the year, of 1,693 persons received into the prison 14 (or 0.8 per cent) were Islanders. At the 1911 census, Islander men represented 0.4 per cent of the male population of Queensland. OPP II, 1911-12, pp.598-605; Commonwealth Census, Vol.I, 1921, pp.858-63.

230. MM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna. See Applic. No.1233E, Willie Ubi, AGS/N104, QSA; G. Yasserie to Forgan Smith, 29 Mar.1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA; MM 16 Apr.1920, 30 Mar.1935, letter to Ed. by M.A. McColl; Statement of Const. Smith, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Applic. No.1608E, John Veelee, AGS/N106, QSA; Mullally to Crown Prosecutor, 10 Feb.1941, 478/1941. Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA; Statement of John Burnett, 8 Jun.1908, Rex vs Jimmy Chisholm, 1908, A/18476, QSA.

Many Islanders were employed by Asian sugar and banana farmers, principally Chinese in the far north but also Japanese and Indians. That relations between employer and employee were often strained was demonstrated by cases brought against the former for wages in arrears.²³¹ The Islanders' economic dependence extended beyond employment, since it was the Chinese and other Asians who usually owned the stores, boarding houses, sly grog shops, gambling houses and brothels.

Pacific Islanders, as in the plantation period, continued to express resentment of the economic dominance and social ascendancy of such groups as the Chinese through physical aggression, usually when drunk. Chinese predominated in assault charges brought against the Islanders.²³² Boys and young men delighted in stealing from the miserly Chinese storekeepers, or playing tricks on the hawkers and market gardeners.²³³ Other Asians also figured in assault charges against Islanders, but were usually more ready to defend themselves.²³⁴

Yet the bond of minority group membership ensured that mutual tolerance rather than hostility often characterized relationships between Islanders and Asians. Intermarriage was rare and social contacts were limited: "you didn't know nothing about them and they didn't know nothing about you".²³⁵ Of all the groups, links were strongest with the Malays,

231. See Johnny Estell vs Komot, 15 May 1908, CPS 10B/S1, QSA; Luke vs Louis Antoney, 5 Dec.1911, CPS 10B/S2, QSA; Jimmy Api vs Louis Antoney, *ibid.* See also Chapter 1, p.56.

232. See CNP 12 Jul.1919, Cairns Police Court; NQR 26 Nov.1917, p.3; MM 20 Oct.1919, MPC, 5 Jan.1924, 8 Nov.1938, Summons Court; Wiley Wallah, 14 Dec.1915, POL 11D/02, QSA; Ah Sing vs Jimmy New Island, 6 Jun.1911, CPS 11B/NI, QSA.

233. See T44Bsa:2; T58Bsb:1; T61Bsa:3; Claude Fraser, 25 Apr.1914, POL 11D/02, QSA.

234. See Serion vs Jimmy Santo, CPS 10B/S2, QSA; Daniel Jacksam vs Harry Nolan, CPS 10B/S19, QSA; Dumont Coakley vs Jacob Penola, CPS 10B/S21, QSA; Statement of Jack Maratta, Rex vs Jack Maratta, 1914, A/18480, QSA.

235. T42Bsa:3. See also T31Bsa:2; T40Bsb:1; T51Bsb:3; T58Bsa:1.

who were closest in social status to the Islanders. In the Herbert River district, for example, Islanders often visited the Malay camp at Cordelia.²³⁶

Pacific Islanders resented Asians for their greater economic success and higher social ranking. That, accordingly, they despised and abused Aborigines was a predictable outcome. Pacific Islanders as pragmatic, self-reliant agriculturalists had a value system which contrasted strongly with that of Aborigines. This, together with their ethnocentrism, ensured that they regarded Aborigines with contempt, and generally refused to help or mix with them. Aboriginal partners of Islanders often received hostile treatment from other Islanders.²³⁷ Children absorbed their parents' attitudes: "we were told not to talk to Aboriginal people, eh".²³⁸

It is no contradiction that there was, as shown in Chapter 4, a high proportion of Aboriginal partners, both legal and common law. Women were taken from the Aboriginal camps, sometimes with the agreement of their relatives but often by force. Much of the physical conflict with Aboriginal men was provoked by disputes over Aboriginal women.²³⁹

236. Statement of Peter Backo, Inquest No.557 of 1937, John Sanon, JUS/N1034, QSA; Evidence of Jimmy Tara, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No.24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA. For social contacts with Malays and other Asians, see T51Bsb:3; T61Bsa:2; Ty2Bp.2; Evidence of George Romelo, Rex vs Alick Jones, No.32 of 1922, A/18409, QSA.

237. See T25Bsb:1; T40Bsb:1; T66Bsb:1+2; T70Bsb:3; T71Bsa:2.

238. T60Bsb:1. See also T10Bsa:1; T45Bsa:1.

239. Evidence of William Tangawa, Rex vs Jimmy Chisholm, 1908, A/18476, QSA; Evidence of Charlie, Rex vs Micky Tanna, 1909, A/18365, QSA; T36Bsa:3; T43Bsb:3; T50Bsa:2. See also Chapters 2 and 4.

There was a less violent side to such relations. A few of the Islanders, especially the women, were friendly with Aborigines.²⁴⁰ Some Aboriginal and part Aboriginal children were raised by Islander men. Aborigines may have taught the Islanders about their new environment, imparting skills in fishing and finding food and medicinal plants in the bush.²⁴¹ The shocking living conditions of Aboriginal camps on the outskirts of towns appalled many Islanders, as also did their forcible deportation, in which some part Islander children were taken with their mothers, to the reserves. There were Islanders, generally women, who regularly gave food to local Aborigines in need.²⁴² On most of the Aboriginal missions such as Yarrabah, Mapoon and Aurukun, one or more Islander men assisted the European staff in both religious and secular duties.²⁴³

Pacific Islanders rarely, if ever, encountered Europeans on equal terms. Those with whom they commonly came into contact - employers, mill managers, shopkeepers, police, police magistrates and clergy - were persons in positions of authority. To the non-literate migrants, the police and all other public servants were the 'Government', to be obeyed unquestioningly.²⁴⁴ They were well aware that there was no place for them

240. For examples, see Statements of Rhoda Lammon and Rosie Dennis, Inquest No. 566 of 1932, Maryann, JUS/N950, QSA; Statement of Tommy Samuels, Inquest No. 710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/N1053, QSA; BI 14 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court; T7Bsb:2; T25Bsb:2; T63Bsb:1; T72Bsb:2+3.

241. See T43Bsb:3; T50Bsa:2; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.68.

242. T25Bsb:1; T45Bsa:1+2; T56Bsa:3; T60Bsb:1; T63Bsb:3; T72Bsb:2. In the far north, some Aborigines were dependent on Pacific Islanders and other non-Europeans who lived in the 'coloured' camps outside the towns. BC 13 Apr. 1933.

243. See QPP III, 1908, p.945, II, 1909, pp.970, 1020, III, 1912, p.1022; Q 30 Aug. 1919, pp.22-23, 29; F.H.L. Paton, Glimpses of Mapoon. The Story of a Visit to the North Queensland Mission Stations of the Presbyterian Church (Melbourne, 1911), pp.21, 22.

244. See T47Bsb:1; Evidence of Louie Bucca Bucca, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA.

in 'white' Australian society, and that their children were only grudgingly accepted as Australians.

As in the nineteenth century, informal segregation was practised at the local level. Residentially, most non-Europeans living in the towns (or visiting) kept away from Europeans by staying in the Chinatowns, 'kanaka quarters' or 'coloured' camps on the outskirts.²⁴⁵ There was separate accommodation provided by the sugar mills for European and non-European workers. Chinese and other 'coloured aliens' continued to travel in special railway carriages separate from Europeans.²⁴⁶ In the hospitals, non-Europeans were housed in 'alien' or 'coloured' wards.²⁴⁷ For a brief period in the 1930s in Mackay, some Islander children attended the Polynesian School, and such segregated schooling could easily have been extended throughout this district and also to other districts. Even in the churches, there was some hostility to Islanders mixing with European congregations.²⁴⁸

North Queensland in this period was bent on discarding its multi-'racial' image. A suggestion that the Ching Do siding near Brandon in the Burdekin district, should be given a more Australian (meaning European) title was symbolic of this desire. More blatant were the various campaigns, justified on the grounds of public hygiene, to 'clean up' the Chinatowns in various centres and to remove the Aboriginal camps on their outskirts.²⁴⁹

245. See CMP 26 Feb. 1930; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, p.386; NQR 26 Oct. 1929, p.67; BC 13 Apr. 1933; Evidence of Const. Smith, Rex vs Jack Maratta, 1914, A/18480, QSA; Statement of Const. Daly, Inquest No. 884 of 1932, Annie Cowie, JUS/N956, QSA; Ty5B p.1. For separate accommodation for mill workers, see Chapter 5; Appendix E.

246. NQR 9 Apr. 1917, 20 Jan. 1920, p.9.

247. See CMP 23 Jan. 1924; NQR 27 Jan., p.22, 28 Jul. 1919, p.8, 3 Dec. 1923, p.25, 14 Apr. 1924, p.18; T36Bsa:2; T47Bsa:2.

248. For example, in the Herbert River district in 1926 the Anglican minister married an Islander couple in All Souls' Church at Victoria, despite opposition from his European congregation. Esther Backo and Alfred Henaway, AMR, Ingham, 16 Jan. 1926; T45Bsb:1.

249. QPD CX, 1911-12, p.2942. See, for examples of these campaigns, NQR 22 Jan. 1912, p.25, 26 Oct. 1914, p.56, 28 Aug. 1916, p.12, 8 Sep. 1919, p.5, 30 Jan. 1922, p.51, 11 Feb. 1929, p.42; CMP 26 Feb. 1930; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, p.302.

This was also the period when Aborigines, including some part Islander children, were being forcibly rounded up and sent to reserves and missions. Pacific Islanders were fortunate to escape such institutionalization. During the Polynesian School episode, various Europeans such as Asboe, Derrington and even McColl had advocated the establishment of a reserve for the Islanders. In fact, as discussed in Chapter 9, there was an unsuccessful attempt late in 1932 to secure land for an agricultural settlement for Islanders in Mackay; while Europeans may have initiated this proposal, it was taken over by and investigated by a group of Islanders. In the far north in the 1930s, there were also suggestions that native-born Pacific Islanders who associated with Aborigines, should be placed on reserves. The definition of an 'Aboriginal' was extended in 1934 to include such people, but there is no evidence that action was taken against them.²⁵⁰

The range of attitudes displayed towards Pacific Islanders has been revealed, from the undisguised hostility of union officials to the condescending paternalism of clergy and other church leaders. The Islanders were still commonly referred to as 'kanakas', and only in the later decades as 'South Sea Islanders' or 'Polynesians', the terms they themselves preferred.²⁵¹ 'Blacks' and 'niggers' were the harsher terms applied frequently and publicly to Aborigines and occasionally to Islanders.²⁵² Islander men, regardless of age, were 'boys'.²⁵³

The Islanders continued to be figures of fun, as the parodying of the behaviour in court of poorly educated Islanders illustrates.²⁵⁴

250. See BC 13 Apr. 1933; Rowley, Outcasts in White Australia, p.28. See also Appendix E.

251. T1Bsa:1; T3Bsa:1.

252. See NQR 31 Dec. 1928, p.27; BI 29 May 1926, Bowen Police Court; MM 8 Jul. 1937, Circuit Court; Evidence of Francesco Costa, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA.

253. See MM 1 Jan. 1908, 21 Mar. 1935, letter to Ed. by AHT; PDMR 19 Apr. 1910; NQR 27 Jun. 1921, p.26; NC 1 May 1912, p.7; War Cry 20 Sep. 1919, p.7; Applic. No. 2045E, Ohnonee, AGS/N356, QSA.

254. See NQR 27 Jan. 1913, p.16; BI 16 Jun. 1914, Bowen Police Court; MM 25 Jan. 1908, 8 Jul., 14 Oct. 1919, MPC.

Yet fears of the physical danger to a European population of a large 'coloured' element lingered on. In Mackay in 1918, a police magistrate when fining a Chinese for keeping a gambling house patronized by Islanders and other non-Europeans, commented that "it was a dangerous thing to allow the colored people to collect on such premises as the defendant kept". The somewhat hysterical remarks passed during the Polynesian School episode concerning fears for the safety of the white population were further evidence of this residual anxiety.²⁵⁵

There was a clearly established 'racial' hierarchy in North Queensland society. Pacific Islanders were ranked above Aborigines, but below Asians. Japanese and certain wealthy Chinese were ranked closest to Europeans, and were often accorded the position of 'honorary whites'. Only one Pacific Islander, William Seekis, managed to acquire this status; according to Mackay residents in 1914, he was regarded as "one of ourselves".²⁵⁶ While Europeans showed respect for certain Islanders, they did not accept them as social equals.²⁵⁷

The Islanders were aware of and internalized their low position in the hierarchy. Sayven described the congregation of St Mary's as "poor coloured people".²⁵⁸ Some at least had suppressed feelings of hostility, especially those born in Queensland and particularly in Mackay: George Yasserie, for example, asked Forgan Smith in 1933 "what right have any body to try and treat us as untouchables".²⁵⁹ Fights and scuffles between

255. MM 11 Sep. 1918, MPC; Derrington to Director of Education, 8 Mar. 1933, 10267, EDU/Z2247, QSA. See also MM 12 Dec., 14 Dec. 1915, MPC.

256. MM 8 May 1914. See Chapter 1, p.22.

257. See, for example, MM 16 Apr. 1920, 18 Mar. 1932, Circuit Court; Henderson, *Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire*, p.301 n103; *Applic. No. 858E*, Monday, AGS/N102, QSA.

258. MM 24 Nov. 1913, letter from 'Scholars of the Church of England'. See also BI 16 Jun. 1914, Bowen Police Court.

259. G. Yasserie to Forgan Smith, 29 Mar. 1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA. See also MM 15 Apr. 1920; Mabel Williams to McColl, 28 Feb. 1933, encl. in McColl to Director of Education, 28 Feb. 1933, 08938, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Moore, *The Forgotten People*, pp.69-72; Evidence of Nora Lammon, *Rex vs James Booker Booker*, 1916, A/18392, QSA.

European and Islander children and young adults expressed this resentment. In Bowen in 1926, feuding between European and Islander youths led to a fight in which a European knocked down and killed an Islander.²⁶⁰

Nevertheless, there were Europeans whom the Islanders respected and trusted. They turned to such people for help, for example, as shown in Chapter 7, to obtain the indigence allowance. Some of these men, like missionaries in the islands, seem to have acquired the status of 'big men': two such men in Cairns were A.J.P. MacDonnell, a well-known solicitor, and A.J. Draper, the mayor and cane farmer, who both employed Islanders and would visit them and speak in pidgin; and one in the Mackay district was Edward Denman, who brought a group of old men to live in retirement on his farm at Etowri.²⁶¹ Many Europeans generously assisted the Islander families and the poverty-stricken old men.²⁶²

Social contacts between Islanders and Europeans were very limited. This resulted as much from a positive preference for the company of other Islanders as from a rejection by the dominant society. Young Islander men and women were carefully kept away from their European contemporaries²⁶³, and there was little intermarriage. 'Mixing up with whites' was unusual and was deprecated. The reverse was equally uncommon. Sarah Manjack, a native-born European who married a Guadalcanal man and became a 'white kanaka', speaking fluent pidgin, was very exceptional.²⁶⁴

260. The European youth was acquitted of manslaughter. BI 29 May, 5 Jun. 1926, Bowen Police Court. For other examples, see T19Bsb:2; T70Bsa:1; Statement of Const. Browne, Rex vs Samson Backo, No. 33 of 1940, A/18433, QSA.

261. See T33Bsb:1; T37Bsa:3; T59Bsa:1; T66Bsb:1; MM 30 Jul. 1975.

262. For examples, see T51Bsb:1; T65Bsa:3; Ty2Bpp.1-2; Statement of C.H. Bennett, Inquest No. 458 of 1933, Willie Abraham, JUS/N968, QSA; MM 30 Jul. 1975. Some Islanders bequeathed their worldly possessions to European friends. See T58Bsa:3; T69Bsa:1; Intestacy No. 39 of 1922, Jimmy Ganni, A/17927, QSA; Intestacy No. 125 of 1927, John Noie, A/17933, QSA.

263. See T41Bsa:3; T65Bsa:3; Evidence of Const. Hurst, Rex vs James Booker Booker, 1916, A/18392, QSA.

264. See T33Bsa:2; T40Bsa:2; T49Bsa:1; T68Bsb:2; T75Bsa:3.

IN THIS discussion, the spheres of interaction between Pacific Islanders and the larger society, principally in education, politics, religion, leisure and law enforcement, have been considered. In such contacts the Islanders received separate and unequal treatment. The transfer in religious membership to the new and socially marginal sects was at least partly a rejection of this treatment. Yet as a predominantly law-abiding and staunchly Christian population, they were an unobtrusive element of the society. As the following chapter will demonstrate, Pacific Islanders lived an isolated, insular existence not only from necessity but also from choice.

CHAPTER 9
CULTURAL SURVIVAL 1908-40

THE EXTENT to which Pacific Islanders in North Queensland were on the periphery of European society has been shown. This chapter will deal with the degree to which their isolation was self-imposed. The largely self-contained nature of the Islander communities was not merely a defensive withdrawal from European prejudice and discrimination, but also a positive attempt to preserve a separate identity and secure the benefits of community solidarity. Through the maintenance of distinctive social and cultural traits, they continued to be a recognizable ethnic group. This distinctiveness will be examined through three areas of culture - the adaptations to the environment, social and political relationships and ideology.¹ Shared characteristics, it will be seen, were often more important than cultural differences amongst the migrants. Yet this unity was underscored by continuing divisions amongst groups in the communities, based on different islands of origin.

FIRST, THERE are the adaptations to the environment. Pacific Islanders were recognized by Europeans as one 'racial' group, despite marked physical variations amongst them.² Skin colour, for example, ranged from the light brown of Loyalty Islanders to the very dark brown, almost black, of Malaitans and Guadalcanal Islanders.³ Both in facial features and build there were marked differences - the fine features of many Aobans, for

1. This division was adopted from E.S. Kessler, Women An Anthropological View (New York, 1976), p.10.

2. The plates in this thesis illustrate some of these physical variations. For contemporary comments on physical appearance, see PDMR 17 Sep. 1908, 25 Jan. 1910; MM 25 May 1916, MPC.

3. There was an albino strain inherited in at least one Islander family in North Queensland, and also a family in central Queensland. See T47Bsb:1; T51Bsa:1; C. Barrett, The Sunlit Land. Wanderings in Queensland (Melbourne, 1947), p.78.

instance, could be contrasted with the heavy set Tannese. There were also some culturally determined distinguishing marks, such as the conically shaped heads of certain Malekulan men and the tattos on the face, arms or chest of some New Hebridean women.⁴ Such physical differences were immediately apparent to the migrants if less so to the native-born Islanders, and served as a constant reminder of the diversity of their places of origin.⁵

The migrants were distinctive in their use of European clothing. For working clothes, the men preferred long-sleeved shirts, trousers, boots and caps or hats, and often laboured with their coats on (see Plates 4.3, 7.6 and 9.6). The native-born adopted less restricting and more informal clothing, such as singlets and short pants (see Plates 4.1 and 9.5).⁶ In the cooler months, flannel shirts, vests, waistcoats and coats were often worn. Brightly coloured scarves, worn around the neck or sometimes in place of belts, were also popular with the migrant men (see Plate 4.3).⁷ The distinctive feature of the women's costume was the modesty displayed through long sleeves, high necks, full-length skirts, boots and often bonnets, although once again the native-born dressed more casually than their mothers (see Plates 2.3, 8.2, 9.4 and 9.5).⁸

4. There were two men in Mackay with the artificially elongated heads typical of men on the south coast of Malekula. Tattooing was a sign of rank in many Melanesian societies. See T21Bsa:2; T47Bsb:1; T63Bsb:1; T64Bsb:3; T67Bsa:1+2; T72Bsa:2; Layard, Stone Men of Malekula, p.10; F.Speiser, 'Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides', in W.H.R. Rivers (ed.), Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia (Cambridge, 1922), pp.251-52.

5. See T1Bsa:1; T36Bsa:2; T40Bsa:2; T43Bsb:2; T50Bsa:1; T51Bsa:1; T63Bsa:2; T67Bsa:1+2.

6. See Photographic Album, I, Nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, II, Nos. 50, 59, 60; T40Bsb:1; Statement of Frank Payne, Rex vs James Booker Booker, 1916, A/18392, QSA.

7. See T4Bsa:3; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 22, 33, II, Nos. 53, 57; MM 25 May 1916, MPC; BI 14 Jul. 1918, Bowen Police Court; Statement of Const. Faulkner, Inquest No. 332 of 1933, Simon Saa, JUS/N965, QSA.

8. For instance, a young Islander girl sent on an errand in 1916 was wearing a dress, cloak and felt hat, and her underwear included a petticoat and drawers buttoned to a stay bodice. Statement of Annie Lammon, Rex vs James Booker Booker, 1916, A/18392, QSA. Some made their own dresses. See T67Bsa:2; T68Bsa:2.



PLATE 9.1: Willie Nogar (from Tanna) and his wife Emily (a native-born Islander), who were staunch Salvationists, Herbert River district, c. 1920.

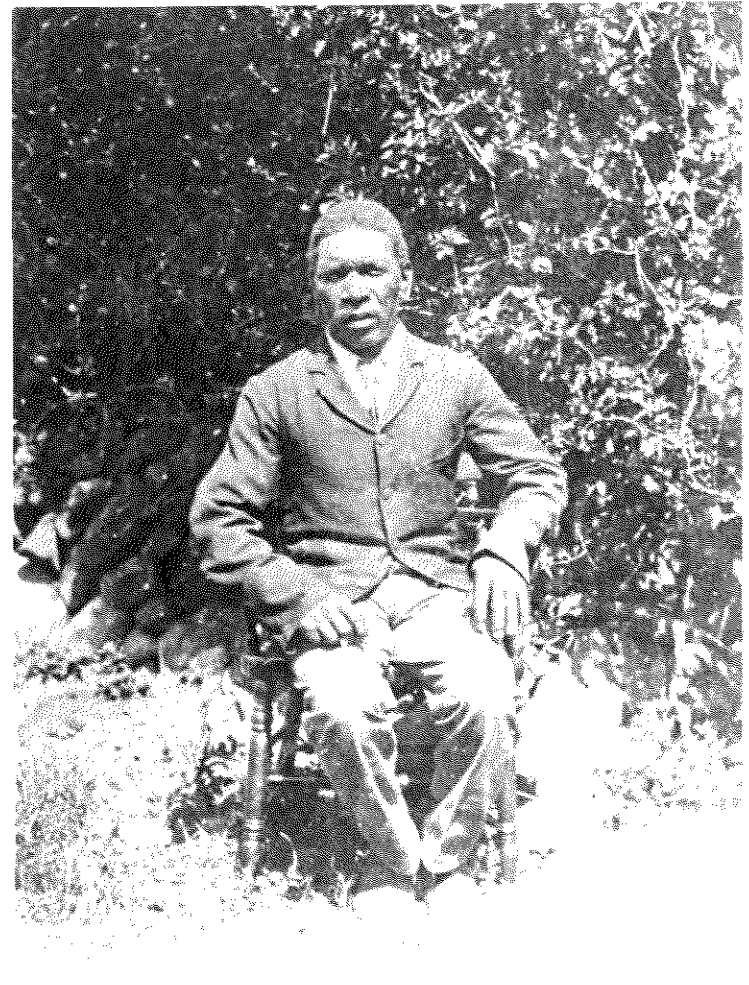


PLATE 9.2: Peter Bolo, one of the few recruits from Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands, at North Mackay, c. 1940.

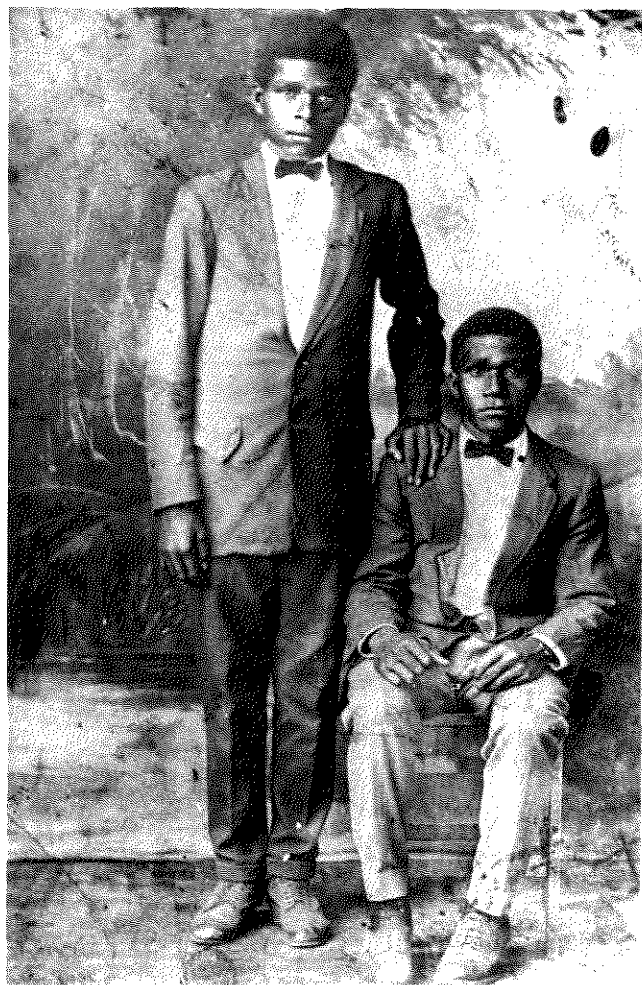


PLATE 9.3: Two native-born Islanders, Edward Nahow (on the left) and Cecil Cawoot, in Ayr in the early 1920s.



PLATE 9.4: Native-born Islanders, Theresa Coote, Harry Lammon, Lily Coote and Jack Tanna, at Halifax in the 1920s or 1930s.

Both men and women usually possessed a set of 'Sunday clothes' for wearing to church and on other special occasions (see Plates 4.2, 8.2, 9.2 and 9.3). Clothing and other personal possessions, as in the islands, were an important means of displaying wealth. Some of the valuables worn on the person included spectacles, gold rings, watches, watchchains and purses.⁹ However their modest incomes were usually revealed in the value of their wardrobes - for example, in 1913 Alick Santo's Sunday coat, vest and trousers were estimated to have cost only £1.10s.¹⁰

The migrant men were also different from the native-born in that many favoured moustaches or beards (see Plates 4.3 and 9.1), and most used the cheaper, strong-smelling plug tobacco in their pipes.¹¹ Some grew their own tobacco, which they dried on lines inside their huts (see Plates 7.5 and 7.6).¹²

Acceptance of European items of diet was modified by their own preferences. Since they had come from subsistence economies, it is not surprising to find that they produced many of their own daily requirements.

9. For examples of clothing and personal possessions, see T4Bsa:3; T48Bsb:3; T68Bsb:2; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 19, 80, 81; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Statement of Eva Tanna, Rex vs Mick Tanna, 1911, A/18475, QSA; Peter, 26 Aug. 1912, POL 12E/Q6, QSA; Jack Maratta, 31 Aug. 1914, *ibid.*; Charlie Sorro, 4 Jul. 1914, POL 11D/02, QSA.

10. Statement of Alick Santo, 10 May 1913, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA. For similar examples, see Statement of Louie Buka Buka, 31 Jan. 1921, Rex vs Angelo Costa *et al*, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; Statement of Const. Bennett, Inquest No. 458 of 1933, Willie Abraham, JUS/N968, QSA; Statement of Const. Moore, Inquest No. 548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA.

11. See T60Bsa:2; T66Bsb:1; T73Bsa:3; T76Bsa:1; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 29, 31, 32, 11, Nos. 53, 59, 60; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Bob Pentlicost, 8 Jul. 1912, POL 12E/Q5, QSA; Peter, 26 Aug. 1912, POL 12E/Q6, QSA; Peter Backo, 4 Feb. 1922, POL 12E/Q8, QSA; Jimmy Womal, 22 Dec. 1922, POL 11D/03, QSA. It was very unusual for women to smoke either pipes or cigarettes.

12. See Pix Vol. 8, No. 11, 13 Sep. 1941, pp.22-23. For other examples of growing tobacco and also of chewing tobacco as a substitute for betel nut, see T40Bsa:3; T70Bsa:2; Newspaper cutting, MM n.d., encl. in McColl to Forgan Smith, 29 Jun. 1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA.

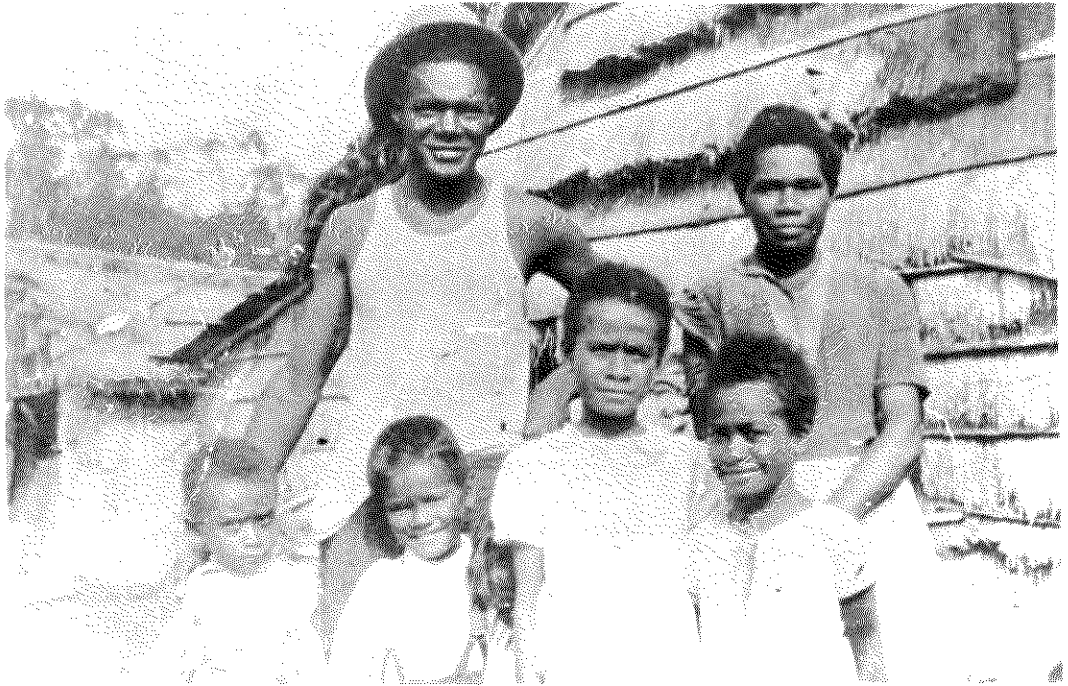


PLATE 9.5: Joe Viti with his brothers and sisters (not named) outside their grass house at Pioneer near Mackay, in the 1930s. Note the second house, which was the kitchen.



PLATE 9.6: Alex Kwailu from Guadalcanal in front of his grass house on Pratt's farm at Calen near Mackay, c. 1940s.

Their descendants recall the emphasis they placed on cultivating their own produce, planting their gardens at the same time that they built their houses: "that's all they think about, garden". 'The Gardens', near Halifax, was a lush profusion of fruit trees, grape vines, tobacco plants and vegetables.¹³ Alongside European varieties of fruit and vegetables, many also cultivated more traditional food, even if the Australian variety was somewhat different to that grown in the islands. Two popular vegetables were taro, grown in the gullies, and yams.¹⁴ Some plants, such as certain varieties of yam and sweet potatoes and a special big-leaved cabbage, may have been brought (secretly) to Australia from the islands.¹⁵ A few migrants kept up some traditional gardening methods, such as the use of digging sticks, but generally the more efficient picks, mattocks and hoes were employed.¹⁶

The rich lore concerning seasonal cycles and climatic changes continued to have practical application. In planting there were different timetables for vegetables grown below and above ground, related to the moon's strength and the position of the stars. Rootcrops such as sweet potatoes and yam were planted in late summer, when the moon was waning, and harvested in the spring, when the Seven Sisters constellation was high in the sky. Above ground crops such as cabbages and lettuces were planted in the new moon.¹⁷ Such traditional observances usually went unremarked

13. T71Bsb:3; T70Bsa:1+2. For other such examples, see T1Bsa:2; T10Bsa:1; T40Bsa:3; T48Bsb:2; T57Bsa:2; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay; Govt Medical Officer to Under Home Sec., 17 Nov. 1911, 10885, 1911, Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA.

14. See Ty4B p.2; T7Bsa:2; T30Bsb:2; T48Bsa:1; T51Bsa:1-2; T60Bsb:2; T76Bsa:1; Applic. No. 477E, Body Santo, AGS/N100, QSA; PDMR 10 Sep.1908. Taro in the islands was usually a dry variety grown on the hills.

15. For examples, see T1Bsa:2; T7Bsa:2; T10Bsa:1; T15Bsa:1; T21Bsa:1; T31Bsb:1; T58Bsb:3; T60Bsb:3; T71Bsb:3; Ty4B p.2.

16. See T47Bsb:2; T48Bsa:1; T51Bsa:1-2.

17. See T1Bsa:2; T7Bsb:1; T15Bsa:1; T21Bsa:1; T47Bsb:2; T48Bsb:3. For examples of these practices in Melanesia, see Guppy, The Solomon Islands, p.56; Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.40.

by Europeans, but at Bowen in 1914, European farmers wrongly predicted that rain would spoil the crops of potatoes planted early (by European standards).¹⁸

The most propitious times for fishing were also judged by the strength of the moon. Usually European nets and lines were employed, and dynamiting was a popular if dangerous method. Some of the migrants made their nets, as in the villages, using canes, tough vines or bark string.¹⁹ In hunting game - wallaby, wild pig, wild duck - they used guns, although some used snares to catch smaller animals such as bandicoots and opossums.²⁰

Home-grown fruit and vegetables, fish and game figured largely in the daily diet. Most Islanders kept domestic poultry, as well as cats and dogs to keep down snakes, rats and mice.²¹ Some meat, usually salted because of the lack of refrigeration, was bought from the butcher. Staples from the store included rice, tea, flour and sugar, while tinned fish and bread were bought occasionally. Treacle, syrup and molasses (from the mill), rather than more expensive jam and butter, were used on the bread, damper and scones they made at home.²² Food was cooked in camp ovens

18. NQR 9 Mar. 1914, p.26. A European farmer told a present day Islander that the old Islanders planted their tomatoes on the change of the moon. T11Bsb:3.

19. T1Bsa:1; T7Bsb:1; T11Bsb:3; T43Bsb:3; PDMR 28 Feb. 1908, 19 Apr. 1910; CMP 3 Sep. 1912. Stone fish traps at Etowri may have been made by Islanders. T48Bsa:2+3; T48Bsb:1; T51Bsa:2.

20. T31Bsb:2; T48Bsa:2; T62Bsb:1; T63Bsb:1; PDMR 18 Mar. 1909; Statement of Tommy Samuels, Inquest No. 710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/N1053, QSA.

21. See T42Bsb:2; T57Bsb:3; T61Bsa:1; T63Bsb:1; T64Bsa:1; T66Bsa:3; T74Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.61; PDMR 10 Sep. 1908; Pix Vol. 8, No. 11, 13 Sep. 1941, pp.22-23; Statement of Tommy Samuels, Inquest No. 710 of 1938, Nesseo, JUS/N1053, QSA; Photographic Album, I, No. 16, 11, Nos. 30, 51, 63.

22. See T6Bsa:1; T7Bsa:1; T37Bsb:1; T40Bsa:1+2; T45Bsa:1+3; T48Bsa:2; T63Bsb:1; T70Bsa:1.

or in heavy saucepans over open fires (see Plate 7.4).²³

Some traditional preferences were retained. The old men ate taro and yam rather than bread, and liked their food boiled rather than fried.²⁴ Certain 'traditional' dishes were made for treats or on special occasions: for instance, red bananas, yam or taro were roasted in the ashes of the fire, and yam, tapioca or cassava was ground up, mixed with coconut milk, and baked as a pudding.²⁵ Whereas the women did the daily cooking, the men and boys performed much of the work when food was cooked underground, with the women and girls usually preparing the vegetables. On these special occasions, a big pit was dug and lined with heated stones. Pork, chicken or fish mixed with grated banana and vegetables were wrapped in banana leaves or in the leaves of the island cabbage, placed on top of the stones and covered with layers of leaves, dirt and more stones. Underground cooking was apparently more popular in Mackay, Cairns and the Herbert River than in other districts, and was done for large groups at special celebrations such as Christmas.²⁶ In Mackay a big feast was held every year in September, when the young yams were ready.²⁷

In housing the Islanders were distinguished from the wider community, partly because of their low income and partly because of their own styles. As shown in Chapter 4, some Islanders lived on their own, but most lived close to others, sometimes clustering in settlements. They built their own homes, usually assisted by friends or relatives. Most of these homes were built on leasehold, Crown land, or their employers' farms, and thus there

23. See T40Bsa:2; T52Bsb:2; T60Bsb:2; T62Bsb:2; T63Bsb:1; Ty4B p.1; Photographic Album, 1, No. 72; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay; Statement of Jack Tanna, Inquest No. 425 of 1934, Monday Tanna, JUS/N982, QSA.

24. Favourite herbs and spices were basil, a lemon scented mint and a type of ginger. T31Bsb:1; T48Bsa:1+2; T48Bsb:2; T51Bsa:2; T60Bsb:3; T71Bsb:3.

25. T7Bsb:1; T51Bsa:2; T58Bsb:3; T60Bsb:3; T62Bsb:2; T63Bsb:1.

26. See T7Bsb:1; T15Bsa:1; T22Bsa:2; T51Bsa:2; T57Bsa:2; T60Bsb:2-3; T63Bsb:1; T70Bsa:1; T71Bsb:3.

27. T7Bsb:1; T47Bsb:3; T48Bsa:2. On some occasions, a whole bullock was bought from the butcher.

was no incentive to invest in solid structures. Louie Buka Buka's house in the Herbert River district, for example, was on his employer's property at Seymour, had been built over three Sundays with the help of his neighbour Alick Santo, and was valued at only £4.²⁸ Those living on the river banks ran the risk of losing their houses in the periodic floods, and the fires which swept the hillsides in Mackay every year also destroyed many Islanders' homes.²⁹

Houses were usually built on one level from bark, slab timber and bladey grass gathered from the hillsides (see Plates 7.3, 9.5 and 9.6). Floors were earthen, there were two or three rooms and often verandahs were attached³⁰ - an adaptation of European ideas. Some were low and small, but most were of standing height and a few were very large.³¹ Under the influence of European housing styles and the constraints of available building materials, few architectural features related to indigenous customs appear to have survived. But one Guadalcanal family in Mackay was said to have had their house raised on stumps off the ground,

28. Statement of Louie Buka Buka, *Rex vs Angelo Costa et al*, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA. For other examples, see Ty4B p.1; T20Bsa:2; T24Bsa:3; T27Bsb:1; Statement of Alick Santo, *Rex vs Sam*, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Statement of Tommy Wattoom, Inquest No. 138 of 1914, Jack Tully, JUS/N548, QSA; Const. to Police Insp., Townsville, 13 Sep. 1913, 1272 of 1914, COL/282, QSA; Newspaper cutting, *MM* 15 Apr. 1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA; Statement of Const. Bennett, Inquest No. 458 of 1933, Willie Abraham, JUS/N968, QSA.

29. See Moore, *The Forgotten People*, pp.66, 73, 74; *NQR* 21 Feb. 1927, pp.86-87; Applic. No. 822E, Matthew Malachi, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No. 994E, Harry Tarryango, AGS/N103, QSA; T6Bsa:1; T7Bsa:1; T30Bsb:1; T40Bsa:3.

30. These were sturdy and did not leak in the heaviest rain. See Ty4B p.1; Ty6B; T6Bsa:1; T11Bsa:1; T16Bsa:1; T24Bsb:1; T40Bsa:2; T56Bsa:1; Photographic Album, I, Nos. 26, 72, 75, II, No. 30; Statement of Actg Serg. Cleary, 16 Sep. 1910, *Rex vs Billy Boslam*, No. 60 of 1910, A/18369, QSA; *BI* 14 Jul., 18 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court; *North Queensland Herald* 13 Mar. 1909, p.35, Northern Supreme Court; *MM* 30 May 1916, MPC.

31. For examples of large houses, see T16Bsa:1; T19Bsb:2; T27Bsb:1; T30Bsb:1; T31Bsa:1; T40Bsa:2; T43Bsb:2; T48Bsa:2.

as was done on Guadalcanal.³²

Ventilation and lighting in these grass houses was poor, and in winter there were often open fires inside. The kitchen was usually a separate hut, built nearby, to reduce the fire risk (see Plate 9.5).³³ In the 1920s and 1930s, corrugated iron and wood were increasingly used as building materials, especially by the native-born: "it was something to live in an iron house in those days".³⁴ However, many of the old men and some of the families were still living in grass houses in 1940 (see Plates 7.3, 9.5 and 9.6).

Furnishings and cooking utensils were usually inexpensive and basic (see Plates 7.4 and 7.6). Makeshift cupboards, tables and stools were made from kerosene boxes or pieces of wood, hessian bags were cut up and used as blankets and rough benches held implements and tools. Beds were stretchers or wooden frames with homemade mattresses and pillows.³⁵ The migrants tended to prefer sleeping mats or hard wooden beds without mattresses.³⁶

32. Another Guadalcanal man was also said to have had a house raised off the ground. T36Bsa:2; T40Bsa:2. See also Plate 1.4.

33. T6Bsa:1; T16Bsa:1; T24Bsb:1; T31Bsa:1; T47Bsa:1; T51Bsa:3; T58Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.58-59; MM 10 Sep. 1919; BI 18 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, memo., EDU/Z2247, QSA; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Statement of Mabel James, Rex vs Maneboro, No. 44 of 1913, ibid.

34. T42Bsb:2. For examples, see Ty4B p.1; T42Bsb:3; T47Bsa:2; T56Bsa:1; T60Bsb:2; T62Bsb:1; T69Bsb:2; Photographic Album, I, No. 76, II, Nos. 51, 62; McKenna to Min. for Public Instruction, The Walkerston Kanaka School Question, 11 Apr. 1933, EDU/Z2247, QSA; Newspaper cutting, MM 7 Sep. 1932, ibid.; Intestacy No. 39 of 1922, Jimmy Ganni, A/17927, QSA; PDMR 2 Dec. 1913, Mossman Police Court; Statement of Const. Faulkner, Inquest No. 332 of 1933, Simon Saa, JUS/N965, QSA.

35. For evidence of basic furnishings and utensils, see MM 10 Sep. 1919; Intestacy No. 56 of 1932, Tom Unsen, A/17941, QSA; Intestacy No. 50 of 1919, Waio, A/17923, QSA; Intestacy No. 72 of 1919, Jimmy Gato, ibid.; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No. 34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Statement of Louie Buka Buka, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; T6Bsa:1; T7Bsb:1; T24Bsb:1; T40Bsa:2; T60Bsb:2; T74Bsb:1.

36. Some also kept simmering firesticks under their beds. T7Bsb:1; T47Bsa:2; T48Bsa:2; T51Bsa:2; T55Bsa:1; Statement of Const. Moore, Inquest No. 548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA; Statement of Const. Faulkner, Inquest No. 4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA.

A few families, however, lived in more comfortable surroundings. The Backos at Cordelia had a piano and a bought dining room table with a damask cloth for best occasions. An inspector from the State Children's Department who visited the Walkerston homes of two Islander widows in 1932 described them as "scrupulously clean and well-fitted for habitation".³⁷ Indeed, such homes could be compared favourably with those of certain European contemporaries such as labourers and struggling farmers.³⁸

Certain indigenous customs were retained by the Islanders, if in a modified form. One practice was the art of decorating their surroundings with flowers and plants. Ornamental shrubs such as crotons were planted around their houses and even plants which, as will be seen, served a magical purpose, were also regarded as decorative. Europeans praised their use of flowers, palms and other materials to decorate their churches.³⁹ A few of the men and women wove nets, mats, hats and fans, and carving continued to occupy the leisure hours of some of the men. They made children's toys such as tiny canoes, or models of animals, fish or the ships in which they had been brought to Australia. Shortly before the 1918 cyclone, two beautifully carved wooden candlesticks were donated to St Mary's Church at Farleigh by an unnamed Islander.⁴⁰ Traditional weapons such as tomahawks, spears, bows and arrows, clubs and axes, were still made,

37. T45Bsb:2; Patterson to Director of State Children's Dept, 15 Nov. 1932, [orw. to Director of Education, 23 Nov. 1932, 48162, EDU/Z2247, QSA. For other such examples, see T40Bsa:2; PDMR 10 Sep. 1908, 2 Dec. 1913, Mossman Police Court; Intestacy No. 291 of 1919, Luke Logomier, A/17924, QSA.

38. For examples of the basic living styles of many Europeans in the region, see E.J. Brady, The Land of the Sun (London, 1924), p.232; Herbert, 'The Australian Sugar Industry', p.110; CPP IV, 1913, p.1569, Dr W.W. Hoare, Misc. Vol., 1920-21, p.359, Dr W.J. Young; Cilento, 'Observations on the White Working Population of Tropical Queensland', Jan. 1926, pp.5-14, Mar. 1926, pp.33-45.

39. See T70Bsa:1+2; MM 1 Jan. 1908, 25 Dec. 1912; NC 1 Nov. 1907, p.1; War Cry 13 Feb. 1915, p.11.

40. T31Bsb:1; T35Bsb:1; T48Bsa:2; T51Bsa:2; Hill, 'The Old Kanaka Days', p.18; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.68.

and sometimes decoratively carved.⁴¹ Yet such skills were no longer essential and rarely were passed on to the native-born; as in the islands, it was easier to buy such articles.⁴²

SECONDLY, there are social and political relationships. Relations between Pacific Islanders and other groups in North Queensland were discussed in Chapter 8. The focus here is on relations within the Islander community.

Language choice and use is a good index of the relationships between people, since a shared language is an essential tool for effective communication. Linguistically the migrants were very diverse, with over ninety language groups represented on the plantations. As Chapter 1 demonstrated, pidgin came into existence as a form of communication between the employers and their labourers, and also amongst the migrants themselves. The development of Kanaka Pidgin English, in turn, promoted a wider identification as 'Pacific Islanders'.⁴³

Kanaka Pidgin English as a language never fully stabilised and there were many closely related varieties. There were some universal words such as 'savi' (know), 'kai-kai' (food) and 'bokis' (box).⁴⁴ Certain non-English words incorporated into different varieties reflected the linguistic backgrounds of their speakers. Amongst Malaitans (and Solomon

41. For examples, see T6Bsb:1+2; T31Bsb:1; T35Bsb:1; T48Bsb:1; T51Bsb:1; T63Bsb:1; North Queensland Herald 13 Mar. 1909, p.35, Northern Supreme Court; Statement of Const. Barrington, Inquest No. 96 of 1909, Billy Mole, JUS/N414, QSA. Some weapons were brought from the islands. See Photographic Album, I, No. 90; T35Bsb:1; Ty6B.

42. As one informant points out. T51Bsa:2.

43. The following discussion of the development of Kanaka Pidgin English is based on the following sources: J.A. Bennett, 'No 'Monstrous Tongue'', Hemisphere Vol. 22, No. 4, Apr. 1978; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English; Mühlhäusler, 'Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia'. See also Chapter 1, p.25.

44. T1Bsa:1; T47Bsb:2; T51Bsb:3; T62Bsb:2; T76Bsa:1. For examples of the Islanders using pidgin to communicate with each other, see BI 14 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76.

Islanders in general) in Mackay, for example, 'gwaragina man' was used to mean a liar and 'man ambarai' a playboy.⁴⁵ Tannese and other New Hebrideans in the Herbert River district and possibly in other districts also, incorporated 'kuppamari' as a word to describe underground cooking.⁴⁶ Pidgin was also a means of communication for Islanders and Aborigines, resulting in a two-way exchange in vocabulary.⁴⁷

Kanaka Pidgin English fell between Standard Australian English (SAE) and other Pidgin Englishes of the south-west Pacific. This helps to explain why some informants recall that the migrants spoke 'proper' English, and others that they spoke pidgin.⁴⁸ Those who 'mixed up' with Europeans on relatively equal terms could adjust their speech so that it more closely resembled SAE. When amongst friends they reverted to pidgin. Tom Lammon, for example, who had close contact with Europeans as a lay preacher at the Gairloch church, had many more common points with SAE in his speech than did Peter Santo, a non-officcholding member of the same church. Nevertheless, there were important differences in rhythm and pronunciation between Lammon's speech and SAE, and similarly in the speech of Logomier, lay reader at St Mary's: according to Canon Norman, "his rendering of the Elizabethan language of the Prayer Book was not strictly according to traditional models ...".⁴⁹

45. Mühlhäusler, 'Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia', p.50; T42Bsb:3. 'Kuri', meaning dog, was also used not only by Solomon Islanders but also by other groups. See T1Bsb:1; T41Bsa:1; T52Bsb:1; T62Bsb:2.

46. T16Bsa:2; T52Bsb:2; T66Bsb:2; T70Bsa:1; T75Bsb:3. This word was also used by Pacific Islanders on Moa Island in the Torres Strait. NQR 2 Mar. 1914, Illustrations (viii).

47. For examples, see B1 18 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court; T59Bsa:2; T.E. Dutton, 'The Informal English Speech of Palm Island Aboriginal Children, North Queensland', Journal of English Linguistics, Vol. 3, Mar. 1969, p.34.

48. See T6Bsa:2; T10Bsa:1; T31Bsa:2; T40Bsa:3; T69Bsb:2.

49. T71Bsb:3; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, pp.80, 83, 103-7; NC 1 Oct. 1919, p.8. For another example of an Islander who could adjust his speech, see NQR 10 Sep. 1932, p.22. Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders also adapted their speech in different social situations. See T.E. Dutton, 'Informal English in the Torres Straits', in W.S. Ramson (ed.), English Transported. Essays on Australasian English (Canberra, 1970), p.153.

Norman also commented that a strange rector initially found conversation with Logomier difficult. Other migrants with a lesser command of English had greater trouble in communicating with Europeans. Employees and employers became accustomed to each other's speech, and a few Europeans spoke pidgin with the Islanders.⁵⁰ Speaking to other Europeans, however, could be difficult. In 1934 the clerk of petty sessions at Halifax found Davy Samoa, who was applying for a pension, very difficult to understand "as he speaks very bad English".⁵¹

The native-born Islanders were able to understand the migrants, since Kanaka Pidgin English was the normal medium of communication with their parents or grandparents and other migrants. Yet today the language is almost extinct. Pacific Islanders born in North Queensland in the nineteenth century and the first and second decades of the twentieth century learnt to speak pidgin, but those born in later decades rarely did.⁵² Women, both migrant and native-born, tended to prefer pidgin, not surprisingly in view of their limited contacts outside the home. Thus the wives of two prominent lay preachers, Annie Lammon and Grace Fatnowna, were fluent pidgin speakers.⁵³

50. See T66Bsb:2.

51. Registrar of Pensions to Police Magistrate, Ingham, 5 Mar. 1934, p.119, CPS 12H/G2, QSA. For examples of Islanders using pidgin to communicate with Europeans, see BI 16 Mar. 1914, Bowen Police Court; MM 10 Sep. 1919; PDMR 2 Dec. 1913, Mossman Police Court; Statements of Jack and Alick, Rex vs Billy Boslam, No. 60 of 1910, A/18369, QSA; Statement of Const. Parker, Rex vs Maneboro, No. 44 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Statement of Const. Meldon, 12 Nov. 1912, Rex vs Mick Tanna, A/18475, QSA. In Cairns, a young Islander girl accompanied the old men on trips to town, to explain their requests to the storekeepers. T66Bsb:1.

52. A creolised pidgin usually develops amongst children of parents from different linguistic backgrounds who communicate in pidgin, but this did not develop. T1Bsa:1; T23Bsa:1; T42Bsa:1+2; T51Bsb:3; T62Bsb:2; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, pp.110-11; Mühlhäusler, 'Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia', pp.43, 51. By comparison, pidgin is a flourishing language in the Torres Strait, especially amongst the descendants of Pacific Islanders on Moa Island. Dutton, 'Informal English in the Torres Straits', esp. p.154.

53. Statement of Annie Lammon, Rex vs James Booker Booker, 1916, A/18392, QSA; T47Bsb:2. Italian women similarly preferred their native language. Henderson, Italians in the Hinchinbrook Shire, p.302.

There are several reasons why the use of pidgin declined. Pidgin was not a first language for most of the children - while the eldest child in a family might have learnt pidgin before English, he or she then taught English to the younger children.⁵⁴ In the schools, the children learnt only SAE.⁵⁵ Pidgin was used, or at least understood, at home or with other migrants: "we spoke [at home] just the way we're talking now, but we understood what they spoke."⁵⁶

Pidgin also had a low status. To Europeans, it was 'broken' or 'bad' English, and its users were ridiculed. As shown, some of the well-educated Islanders were able to 'fit' their speech to their company, and the native-born did likewise.⁵⁷ Pidgin as a language was thus devalued and declined with the passing of the migrants. Today, however, a revival may be underway, promoted by a resurgence of identity stimulated by recent trips back to forebears' islands of origin.⁵⁸

Attitudes towards pidgin were matched by a devaluation of the native languages of the migrants. Their linguistic diversity meant that few spoke the same, or even a similar, dialect. Usually those from different language groups or the same island or neighbouring islands could understand each other.⁵⁹ This was not so for those from the larger

54. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, pp.110-11. For examples, see T62Bsb:2; T63Bsb:3.

55. For examples of a good command of English having been acquired by the native-born, see T47Bsb:2; Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.76; NM 7 Jul. 1937, Circuit Court.

56. T52Bsa:3. For similar comments, see T45Bsb:3; T58Bsa:1; T63Bsb:3. Some of the migrants resented the native-born using 'proper' English. T62Bsb:2.

57. For example, they never used pidgin when speaking with European children, and the present younger generation are ashamed of being addressed publicly in pidgin. T16Bsa:1; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.110.

58. See Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', pp.102-5; Mühlhäusler, 'Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia', pp.50-51. See also Epilogue.

59. See T16Bsa:1; T25Bsb:1; T31Bsa:2; T52Bsa:3; T59Bsa:2; T60Bsa:1; T62Bsb:1; T69Bsb:3.

islands: in Mackay a 'salt-water' Malaitan like Andrew Bobongie, for instance, spoke a very different language to a 'bush' Malaitan such as Dick Sotavi. Yet through living in close proximity many became familiar with other languages.⁶⁰

Speaking in their native tongues was commonplace amongst the migrants; 'languaging together' was one way to discuss confidential matters in front of their children.⁶¹ For their parents' language was not taught to the native-born, with the exception of some born in the nineteenth century or the early 1900s, possibly before their parents had made the final decision to remain in Australia. Thus Lisa 'Labanca' Lampton, born in the 1870s or 1880s to an Epi man and an Aboriginal woman, did learn her father's language.⁶² Subsequent generations picked up only a smattering of their parents' or grandparents' languages, and at best could understand but not speak them. Often the children were not interested in acquiring the language.⁶³ Moreover, the migrants themselves consciously chose not to teach them, preferring their children to be a part of this new country:

That's one thing Dad always said, you know, "You're Australians, you talk Australian eh." He wouldn't learn us the language, wouldn't teach us, only a few little words we understand.⁶⁴

Thus the vernaculars of the migrants and native-born were different. This gap between them was also apparent in other aspects of their relationships.

60. T41Bsa:1; T47Bsb:1; T50Bsa:2; T51Bsa:1.

61. T6Bsa:2; T35Bsa:2; T58Bsa:1.

62. See T20Bsa:1+2; T20Bsb:1. For other such examples, see T16Bsa:1; T31Bsa:2; T40Bsa:3; Ty4B p.1.

63. See T6Bsa:1+2; T21Bsa:1; T25Bsb:1; T31Bsa:2; T35Bsa:2; T47Bsb:2; T52Bsb:1; T62Bsb:1+2; T69Bsb:3.

64. T41Bsa:1. See also T40Bsa:3; T52Bsa:3; T62Bsb:1.

As shown in Chapter 1, for official purposes many of the migrants adopted or were given a quasi-generic surname and a Biblical or common English first name - such as Matthew Tanna and Ben Solomon. As the high incidence of one or more aliases indicates, these were not the names by which they were known to friends or relatives.⁶⁵ Surnames were not used in the islands. Thus two brothers had different names - for example, the names of two brothers from Guadalcanal living at Hawkin's Creek, were Kinekin and Woa.⁶⁶ An important adjustment for families was the adoption of the patronym. While this was very common, there were some exceptions. Charlie Cawoot's children were known as Cawoot, except for the oldest, who was always known as Billy Yow.⁶⁷ Nor was it unusual for children born up to the 1910s to be given (in addition to their first name) what was called an 'island name', often the name of a close relative in the islands: Myrtle Meredith in the Herbert River district, for example, was called 'Berngohalla' after her father's sister on Malaita.⁶⁸ Some of the women kept their maiden name as a middle name when they married.⁶⁹

65. The applications for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act, intestacies and inquests are sources which highlight the frequency of aliases. In many cases more than one alias existed, indicating the difficulties in tracing individuals. Some examples are Waio otherwise known as Jimmy Wayhow otherwise known as Jimmy Kiloo; Jimmy Gato otherwise known as Jimmy Tanna otherwise known as Jimmy Kaydo; Jimmy Ganni otherwise known as Jimmy Solomon otherwise known as Tambo; Jack Taenquin otherwise known as Jack Maratta; Micky Eowra otherwise known as Micky Henaway. See also Chapter 1, p.24.

66. Statement of Tom Solomon, Inquest No. 548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA. For other such examples, see T43Bsb:3; T60Bsb:1; T64Bsb:1.

67. T56Bsa:1; T57Bsa:2. For other such cases, see T7Bsb:2; T57Bsa:1.

68. Being Thalla Malaita, ABR, Ingham, 5 May 1918; T67Bsa:2; Moore, Malaitan Recruiting to Queensland, p.9. For other examples, see T20Bsa:1; T42Bsb:3; T67Bsa:1+2; T70Bsa:2; Harry Nourie Andrews, Mackay CR, 10 Feb. 1926; Harry Fatowna, ABR, Mackay, 16 Sep. 1900; Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, p.116 nl.

69. See Grace Quassie Fatowna, No. 1579, Mackay Division, Herbert, State of Queensland Electoral Roll, 1921; Rosie Tenmar Choppy, No. 718, Mirani Division, ibid.

Families were seldom known by the depersonalizing and confusing quasi-generic names. In Mackay, however, two families, the Baggows and Marllas, were also known for many years as, respectively, the Aobas and Obas.⁷⁰ In other cases surnames which were complex or difficult to pronounce were simplified or Anglicized. In Mackay again, 'Fatnahoona' was changed to 'Fatnowna' and 'Siletarse' to 'Tass'. An example of how such changes came about is found in the Herbert River district where Peter 'Packo', already shortened from 'Pargosuggi' by his first employer, became 'Backo' when his oldest child gave this name when she enrolled at school.⁷¹ In some cases European names replaced traditional names: in the Burdekin the Cawoots gradually became known as the Coles and in Mackay the Quaytuckers took the name of Stephens.⁷² In general, surnames of families were only gradually standardized.⁷³

First names given to children also tended to be drawn from popular English and Biblical names, although a noticeable departure was that children were almost always given two first names, as was customary amongst Europeans. A common practice adopted, as also amongst European families, was the naming of children after close relatives and the naming

70. T6Bsa:1; Sunday Oba, Alligator Creek SSAR, 24 May 1910; Kenneth Aoba, *ibid.*, 28 Jan. 1919; Alexander Marlla, PBR, Walkerston, 16 Jun. 1907; Edward Baggow, Sandiford SSAR, 3 Apr. 1911.

71. Eva Fatnahoona, Confirmation Register, Holy Trinity Church, Mackay, 16 Dec. 1914; Raymond Fatnowna, ABR, Mackay, 2 Nov. 1919; Ecclesiastical File No. 3 of 1914, Charlie Tass, A/16887, QSA; Interview with Mr R.V. Pearson, 16 Aug. 1977, Lucinda; T57Bsa:1; T64Bsa:3. For other such examples, see T38Bsa:2; T59Bsa:1; T62Bsb:1; T64Bsb:2.

72. See T56Bsa:1; T1Bsa:1; Jessie Cole, Ayr SSAR, 29 Mar. 1920; Intestacy No. 64 of 1920, Stephen Quaetaka, A/17925, QSA. For similar examples, see Harry Munee, Eton SSAR, 6 Mar. 1900; Esme Mooney, Walkerston SSAR, 22 May 1913; Tom Samuels, Methodist MR, Cairns, 8 Nov. 1922; Applic. No. 308E, Tom Sandwich, List of Aliens to whom Certificates of Exemption granted, AGS/N359, QSA. In the Torres Strait, Pacific Islanders adopted common European and Biblically-inspired surnames. Singe, The Torres Strait People and History, p.66.

73. Some examples of variant spellings are: Yassarie (Yessarie, Yassirrie, Yasserie, Yassarrie), Bobbert (Bobbitt, Bovit, Bobby), Lammon (Lamin, Lamon), Tarryango (Tarryange, Tariango), Bobongie (Bobange) and Talonga (Tarlunga, Talongo, Tolonga). The question of variant names is also discussed in Appendix B.

of the next born child of the same sex after a dead sibling.⁷⁴ One feature which reflected their social and economic position was the common use of nicknames and shortened versions of first names.⁷⁵

In discussing the nature of relationships amongst Pacific Islanders, it is important to be aware of the ties of blood and island of origin which linked individuals. Few, even amongst the unmarried men, were completely isolated in North Queensland. Many of the migrants had close relatives - brothers, sisters, uncles - or less immediate relatives such as cousins, living in the same or other districts.⁷⁶ Amongst the families, marriage to other Islanders built up social and economic interdependence. As shown in Chapter 4, parents preferred their children to choose partners from the same island of origin but, as their own marriages often revealed, the small size of the Islander population made this virtually impossible. By the second and third native-born generations, the problem increasingly was to find an Islander who was not related rather than a partner from the same island of origin. Marriage served as a bridge between Islanders from diverse island groups, from different parts of the same district and from

74. See M. Anderson, Family Structure in nineteenth century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971), p.65; T50Bsa:1; T52Bsa:2; T57Bsa:2; Mabel Moto, ABR, Mackay, 16 Aug. 1903; Mabel Margaret Motto, PBR, Walkerston, 10 Nov. 1918; Lena Claire Choppy, ABR, Mackay, 31 Jul. 1910; Helena Claire Choppy, Walkerston SSAR, 21 Apr. 1941; Raymond Fatnowna, ABR, Mackay, 2 Nov. 1919; Raymond Nelson Fatnowna, *ibid.*, 5 May 1922. Dutton, Queensland Canefields English, pp.115-16. American Negro slaves followed similar practices. Gutman, The Black Family, pp.122, 192-93, 200.

75. For examples of nicknames, see T57Bsa:3; T57Bsb:1; T62Bsb:1. Some examples of shortened first names are Tom Obah, Billy Boslam, Charlie Mai, Jimmy Wayhow and Lizzie Malachi.

76. See T7Bsb:3; T19Bsa:3; T41Bsa:2; T56Bsa:1+3; T59Bsa:1; T60Bsb:1; T64Bsb:1; Statement of C.F. Schulz, Inquest No. 412 of 1907, William Sula, JUS/N380, QSA; Statement of Lily Pentecost, Inquest No. 410 of 1918, Harry Pentecost, JUS/N669, QSA; Statement of Matthew Tambo, Inquest No. 328 of 1931, JUS/N927, QSA; Intestacy No. 70 of 1915, Harry Marrow, A/17919, QSA; Intestacy No. 32 of 1926, Johnnie Nahlun, A/17931, QSA; Intestacy No. 284 of 1932, John Solomon, A/17942, QSA; Actg Clerk of Petty Sessions to Local Deputy Public Curator, 25 Jan. 1919, p.234, CPS 12H/G1, QSA; Thomas Alfred Robbins, Notebook 1963-66, Mackay Funerals Records, 12 Feb. 1964.

different districts.⁷⁷ Both hostility and isolation were thus reduced through marriage ties.

In terms of the outside world, it was more important to be a Pacific Islander than, for instance, a Malekulan or a Malaitan. Nor did the identification of 'countrymen' and 'countrywomen' as those from one's own island have any historical validity. Nevertheless, this bond continued to be important: "you find if they come from the one island they're sort of cliques ... they find their own blood and sort of stick to it."⁷⁸ Its influence on residential location, especially in Mackay, has been revealed (see Table 4.6): Solomon Islanders clustered on the north side of the Pioneer River, while New Hebrideans were found principally in other areas. In Mackay and elsewhere there were settlements composed largely of one island group - such as Aobans at Homebush and Malaitans at Farleigh in Mackay, and Tannese at 'The Gardens' in the Herbert River district. Of all the groups the Malaitans, both migrant and native-born, were noteworthy for extreme clannishness and insularity⁷⁹, and presumably the presence of large numbers of Malaitans in Mackay was an important factor in the strong divisions between Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans.

77. As the Islanders themselves recognized. See T27Bsa:3; T48Bsb:1. The marriage patterns of the migrants and native-born were discussed in Chapter 4. For the importance of marriage as an integrating factor, see Kessler, Women, p.16.

78. T65Bsa:2. For similar remarks, see T4Bsa:1; T58Bsa:3; T60Bsa:2; T64Bsb:2. Examples of this in the written evidence are the number of applicants under the Sugar Cultivation Act whose addresses were care of men from the same island. See Applic. No.621E, Johnnie Captain, AGS/N101, QSA; Applic. No.785E, Jimmy Lowdell, AGS/N102, QSA; Applic. No.815E, Harry Maronga, ibid.; Applic. No.820E, Jack Manogo, ibid.; Applic. No.2057E, Charlie Aoba, AGS/N356, QSA.

79. For examples of this, see T27Bsb:2; T35Bsa:2; T37Bsb:1; T51Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.53.

That a common island of origin was a factor which sometimes predominated and at other times was subordinate was borne out in friendships. At 'The Gardens', for example, Johnny Corta and Peter Sharka, both from Tanna, were close friends who built their houses next door to one another. At Farleigh, two Malaitan families, the Sippies and the Bobongies, were almost inseparable.⁸⁰ Yet close attachments were also formed between those from different islands of origin. Thus at Farleigh Andrew Mylung, a Malaitan, and Aymboan, a Malekulan, were long-standing friends and at Homebush, John Mackeleo, from Epi, was friendly with the Tass family, whose parents were from Maewo.⁸¹ Diversity in islands of origin, even in island groups, did not necessarily prevent the development of friendships.

Distance and poor transport ensured that most social activities were conducted amongst Islanders in geographic proximity. Those scattered throughout the district came together only on special occasions such as the annual show or religious festivals. Contact with Islanders in other districts was even more sporadic. To a certain extent the widespread movement into the new religious sects cut across this isolation.

Social contacts between Islanders in close proximity were frequent. At Farleigh in 1919, the influenza epidemic spread rapidly amongst the Islanders because of their habit of visiting one another. Sunday, as their

80. T63Bsb:3; T37Bsa:3. For other such examples, see T37Bsb:1; T42Bsb:3; T43Bsb:2+3. Other examples of this can be found in the funeral records, when Islanders paid for the funerals of their countrymen. See Billy Long, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 8 May 1924; Appless Motta, *ibid.*, 9 May 1925; Johnny Mangway, *ibid.*, 9 Aug. 1925; Dick Malayta, *ibid.*, 11 Aug. 1926; Charlie Santo, Notebook 1928-33, Mackay Funeral Records, 11 Jul. 1929; Joseph Sambo, *ibid.*

81. T48Bsb:1; Statement of Peter Tass, Inquest No. 238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA. For other such examples, see T3Bsa:1+3; T37Bsb:1; T55Bsb:1; Statement of George Siy Mow, Inquest No. 799 of 1938, Tom Obah, JUS/N1054, QSA; Statement of Willie Samoa, 3 Sep. 1914, Rex vs Jack Maratta, A/18480, QSA; Statement of Louie Buka Buka, Rex vs Angelo Costa *et al*, No. 24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; Tommy Onson, Bowen DHAR, 7 Feb. 1931; Bob Moses, *ibid.*, 19 Jul. 1939.

one full day of leisure, was the popular time for calling on friends and relatives.⁸² Liberal hospitality, in the form of meals, gifts of food and accommodation, was dispensed to visitors. For instance, in the Herbert River district up to 1916, Sandy Booker Booker often stayed with his countrywoman, Annie Lammon, and her family.⁸³

Indeed, as shown in Chapter 8, virtually all social activities were conducted with other Islanders. The Islanders attended churches with predominantly Islander congregations (see Plate 4.2). Pairs or groups of Islanders went fishing and hunting. When they came into town to shop, attend church, or to drink and gamble, they were rarely unaccompanied. In some leisure activities, such as picnics, feasts, Christmas celebrations and informal sporting events, large groups participated (see Plates 4.1 and 4.3). Communal rather than individual participation was the keynote of social life, as it had been in their villages.

This communal orientation was reflected in the emphasis on co-operation and assistance, especially amongst close neighbours. Reciprocity, the fundamental principle in the societies from which the migrants came, continued to govern social relations: "one thing we learnt is to share, not to keep anything back."⁸⁴ Assistance was given by and received from all members of the community.

82. MM 10 Sep.1919. For other examples of visits, see BI 14 Jul., 18 Jul. 1914, Bowen Police Court, 29 May 1926; NQR 10 Sep.1932, p.22; Statement of Peter Tass, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Harry Tanna, Inquest No.4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA; Statement of Watoom, Inquest No.138 of 1914, JUS/N548, QSA; Statement of Jimmy Tara, Rex vs Angelo Costa et al, No.24 of 1921, A/18407, QSA; T2Bsa:3; T58Bsb:2; T66Bsb:1; Ty2Bp.2.

83. Statement of Annie Lammon, Rex vs James Booker Booker, A/18392, QSA. For other examples, see T27Bsb:2; T45Bsb:1; Statement of Alick Santo, Rex vs Sam, No.34 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; Applic. No.1608E, John Veelee, AGS/N106, QSA; MM 30 May 1916, MPC.

84. T1Bsb:3. See also T2Bsa:3. American Negro slave communities were likewise bound by ties of obligations. Gutman, The Black Family, p.220.

An important expression of the support provided to other Islanders was the assistance given to those in straitened circumstances. By the 1930s, many migrants were too elderly and feeble to support themselves, and were provided with food and shelter by other Islanders. Aged and feeble parents lived close to or with their grown-up children. Monday Tanna, when he died in Halifax in 1934, had been living with his married daughter and her family for some twenty years.⁸⁵ Families also provided a home for some of the unmarried men, usually countrymen but sometimes to those from a different island of origin.⁸⁶ The unmarried men often generously assisted countrymen or those from another island who were unable to earn their own living - thus at his death at Bailey's Creek in the Port Douglas district in 1934, Body Santo was being looked after by two friends, Jimmy Solomon and Harry Tanna.⁸⁷

During illnesses, Islanders could depend on family members, countrymen or other Islanders to nurse them.⁸⁸ This was well illustrated in the case of those quarantined for suspected leprosy and dependent on other Islanders for their sustenance. Thus in 1922 at Farleigh, Albert Toloa (the son of a

85. Statement of Jack Tanna, Inquest No.425 of 1934, Monday Tanna, JUS/N982, QSA. For other examples, see NQR 1 Sep.1919, p.79; Statement of Const. Smith, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; T37Bsb:1; T56Bsa:2.

86. For examples, see T37Bsa:1; T56Bsa:2; T57Bsb:2; T64Bsb:2; Statement of Tom Dennis, Inquest No.170 of 1923, Jimmy Bassabola, JUS/N756, QSA; Statement of Matthew Tambo, Inquest No.328 of 1931, Johnny Lammon, JUS/N927, QSA; Statement of George Siy Now, Inquest No.799 of 1938, Tom Obah, JUS/N1054, QSA.

87. Statement of Const. Faulkner, Inquest No.4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA. For other examples, see Statement of Tommy Wattoo, Inquest No. 138 of 1914, JUS/N548, QSA; Statement of Boate Santo, Inquest No.175 of 1934, Peter Motlop, JUS/N977, QSA; Const. to Insp., Cairns, 15 Nov.1911, 11147, 1911, Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA; Statement of Const. Dunlea, encl. in Actg Serg., Sarina, to Sub-Insp., Mackay, 22 Jun.1919, 155G, AGS/N359, QSA.

88. See NQR 1 Sep., p.79, 15 Sep.1919, p.36; Statement of Tom Solomon, Inquest No.548 of 1916, Sam Solomon, JUS/N616, QSA; Statement of Minnie Ante, Inquest No.385 of 1931, George Ante, JUS/N928, QSA; Statement of Harry Tanna, Inquest No.4 of 1935, Boate Santo, JUS/N989, QSA; Statement of Matthew Tambo, Inquest 328 of 1931, Johnny Lammon, JUS/N927, QSA.

Malaitan who had some years earlier been discovered to be a leper), was confined in a hut near the home of the Penola family (of Guadalcanal and Santo descent), who were supplying him with food.⁸⁹

In many other small ways the communities assisted one another. Helping to build each other's homes has been mentioned. Native-born Islanders often visited the old men living near them, for whom they ran errands, and occasionally wrote letters or read any letters the old men received.⁹⁰ Wherever possible, generosity was repaid. Gifts of food or game were one means by which assistance could be rewarded, especially by the old men.⁹¹ Another was to bequeath their estates, either to the married men or their children, or to countrymen or other Islanders who had befriended them.⁹²

The children of the families near to or with whom the unmarried men lived, were in essence their 'grandchildren', for whom they had a special affection.⁹³ They gave children sweets, fruit, money and other presents, and around the campfire at night, entertained and terrified them with stories from the islands.⁹⁴ This close relationship was also reflected

89. Sub-Insp. to Insp., Townsville, 20 Jan.1922, No.370 of 1922, Albert Toloa, COL/283, QSA. For other such cases, see Const. to Insp., Cairns, 15 Nov.1911, 11147, Jimmy Madden, COL/276, QSA; A Suspected Leper, 04161, No.6502 of 1911, Jimmy Thoran, COL/283, QSA.

90. See T6Bsa:2; T45Bsb:3; T56Bsa:3; T58Bsa:1; T61Bsa:1; T66Bsb:3; Interview with Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul.1979, Mackay; Statement of Peter Tass, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA.

91. See NQR 10 Sep.1932, p.22; T48Bsb:2; Statement of Tommy Wattoom, Inquest No.138 of 1914, JUS/N548, QSA.

92. For examples, see Intestacy No.52 of 1920, A/17924, QSA; Intestacy No. 74 of 1920, Fred Mallack, Intestacy No.7 of 1925, Tommy Booka Booka, A/17930, QSA; Intestacy No.73 of 1926, James Bookhe, A/17931, QSA; Intestacy No.54 of 1927, John Veelee, A/17933, QSA; Actg Clerk of Petty Sessions to Local Deputy Public Curator, Townsville, 25 Jan.1919, p.234, CPS 12H/G1, QSA.

93. For examples, see T27Bsb:2; T52Bsa:3; T56Bsa:3; T61Bsa:1; T63Bsb:1; T72Bsa:3.

94. MM 2 Nov.1916, MPC; T41Bsb:1+2; T44Bsa:2; T46Bsa:2+3; T56Bsa:2; T61Bsa:1; T65Bsa:2; T66Bsb:1.

in a stern disciplinarian role. They took care of the children in their parents' absence and together with other adults were free to reprove and punish any children found misbehaving: "they watch you all the time". The old men kept an especially strict surveillance over the activities of adolescent girls.⁹⁵

This strong support system was also built into family structure. Although household composition cannot be reconstructed, it appears that the nuclear family (consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children) was the basic residential unit.⁹⁶ As in Melanesia, however, this was often extended through the short- or long-term addition of close relatives (such as aged parents), countrymen or friends⁹⁷ - examples of which have already been cited. Children, when they married, usually set up their own households, but two cases have been found of married sons (and their families) living with their parents.⁹⁸ In large families, one or more of the children often lived with other relatives or occasionally with the unmarried men for an extended period or during temporary periods of sickness, hardship or crisis. Harry Fatnowna's three oldest children, Winifred, Grace and Norman, lived for

95. T1Bsb:2. See also T65Bsa:2+3; T69Bsb:2; T72Bsa:3; Statement of Const. Hurst, Rex vs James Booker Booker, A/18392, QSA; Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.12.

96. Household composition can only be reconstructed from residential listings such as census schedules, which are not available. See Appendix B.

97. For comparisons in Melanesia, see Burridge, Mambu, p.54; Adams, A culture contact history of Tanna, p.65; Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.8; Ross, Baegu, p.207. This was also the pattern amongst Maoris and American Negroes. See Pool, 'The Onset of the New Zealand Maori Fertility Decline', p.81; Gutman, The Black Family, pp.443-44.

98. See T24Bsb:1; T56Bsa:1+2; Statement of Harry Mark Ambrum, Inquest No. 722 of 1932, David Ambrum, JUS/N954, QSA. For instance, in 1919, when Dr Kay visited Islanders at Farteigh who were stricken with 'flu, he noted that houses had recently been built to accommodate young brides. MM 10 Sep.1919.

several years with their grandparents, Matthew and Lizzie Malachi.⁹⁹

No children were unwanted or uncared for in these communities. The children of widowers were taken in by other families. Widows and their children could depend on relatives and countrymen and women for physical and emotional support.¹⁰⁰ When widows re-married, as they often did, the children were usually treated by their step-fathers as their own, even though formal adoption was unusual. Luke Logomier, for example, was said to be very fond of his five step-children, and indeed one of these, Harry Fatnowna, spoke publicly of Logomier as his father.¹⁰¹ Orphaned children were similarly adopted in this informal fashion, and in a few cases children whose parents had returned to the islands were brought up by single men or childless couples. As in the islands, such adoptions did not necessarily require the parents' permission.¹⁰² Sometimes illegitimate children were brought up by their unmarried mothers, with support from close relatives or other Islanders, but often such children became members of their grandparents'

99. Ty4Bp.1; T5Bsa:1; T40Bsa:1; T48Bsb:2. For other examples, see T21Bsa:1; T36Bsa:3; T54Bsb:1; T56Bsa:1; T60Bsb:2; T62Bsa:1; T67Bsa:2; T72Bsa:3; Statement of Eva Tanna, Rex vs Mick Tanna, 1911, A/18475, QSA; Ivy Guyah (Moratto), Wright's Creek SSAR, 3 Nov.1915, EDU/AA1128, QSA. This can also be inferred from cases in which Islander men or women were given as the temporary guardians for children of relatives or friends. See John Leo, Bowen DHAR, 9 Jan.1941; John Henaway, Jarvisfield SSAR, 15 Nov. 1932; Joe Allia, Goondi SSAR, 30 Jun.1925; Ethel Tarryango, Coningsby SSAR, 6 Feb.1923.

100. For examples, see NOR 21 Feb.1927, p.87; T24Bsa:1; T52Bsa:1; T58Bsa:2+3; T74Bsa:1. In one case, a widow's father-in-law was given as the guardian for her children. Egbert Francis Choppy, Homebush SSAR, 3 Feb.1941.

101. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes, p.77; NM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna. For other examples of informal adoption, including cases where children went under their step-father's surname, see Beatrice Kia, AMR, Walkerston, 19 Jun.1937; NM 29 Oct.1931, 30 Mar.1935, MPC; Statement of Const. Smith, Inquest No.238 of 1936, John Mackeleo, JUS/N1009, QSA; Statement of Const. Smith, Rex vs Jack Bobbert, No.7 of 1941, A/18434, QSA; Intestacy No.325 of 1935, William Francis Seekis, A/17946, QSA; T44Bsa:2; T63Bsb:2.

102. This was in the sense of exerting social pressure on the parents. See Henry Stephens, Nindaroo SSAR, 5 Feb.1923, EDU/AA772, QSA; T27Bsb:2; T30Bsa:2; T33Bsb:1; T45Bsa:1; T52Bsa:3; Chapter 2, p.92.

or other families.¹⁰³

The extent to which Islanders in geographical proximity, but not necessarily blood relatives, were part of an extended kinship system is revealed through the titles bestowed. The children addressed the old men and childless couples living near to or with them as 'aunt' or 'uncle' or, if they were older, 'granny' or 'grandad'. The parents of families with whom they were friendly, were also often referred to as 'aunt' and 'uncle'.¹⁰⁴

Amity did not characterize all social relations. Hostility and conflict, both overt and covert, was often related to divisions by island of origin. Islander men, when drunk, sometimes violently attacked others, even their friends.¹⁰⁵ Jealousy over women and disrespectful attitudes towards women provoked conflict.¹⁰⁶ Sometimes the grievances behind assaults on other Islanders were of long-standing.¹⁰⁷ However, often conflict, especially in Mackay, was related to the division between the two broad groups, Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans. The fierce battles during the plantation years between these groups, especially between Tannese and Malaitans, were well-remembered; as Chapter 1 revealed, Christianity had done much to reduce, but had not eliminated this 'inter-tribal' fighting. Such divisions continued to be expressed in physical conflict and, as will

103. No names are given, to protect descendants. See PBR, Walkerston, 14 Feb.1926; ABR, Innisfail, 25 Mar.1928; Bowen DHAR, 17 Aug.1915; T37Bsb:1; T47Bsa:1; T60Bsb:3; 17 Nov.1917, CPS 10B/S5, QSA; 19 Jul.1927, CPS 10B/S12, QSA; 28 Feb.1933, CPS 10B/S20, QSA.

104. See T1Bsb:1; T3Bsa:1; T43Bsa:1; T45Bsa:1+2; T52Bsb:1; T62Bsa:3; T69Bsb:1+2; T71Bsb:1. This was similar amongst Aborigines and also American Negro slaves. See Calley, 'Family and kinship in Aboriginal Australia', pp.16, 18; Gutman, The Black Family, pp.216, 217.

105. For examples, see Statement of Willie, 27 Jun.1913, Rex vs Maneboro, No.44 of 1913, A/18381, QSA; CMP 21 Sep.1915; NQR 20 Dec.1915, p.11, 3 Jan. 1927, p.39, 10 Sep.1932, p.22; Billy Kaka vs Harry Fraser, 27 Jul.1911, CPS 11B/N1, QSA.

106. See MM 25 Jan.1908, 30 May 1916, 30 Mar.1935, MPC; T72Bsa:1+2. See also Chapter 8, p.391.

107. For an example, see NQR 10 Mar.1913, p.113, 27 Nov.1916, p.10.

be seen later, in sorcery attacks.¹⁰⁸ Each island had its traditional methods of fighting. Tannese, for example, kicked with their feet where Malaitans, who were regarded as the most belligerent and aggressive, used their hands; both had a reputation for fighting physically rather than mystically (that is, through sorcery).¹⁰⁹

The divisions created by the Solomon Islander/New Hebridean split were also reflected in non-physical conflict. Particularly in Mackay, these two groups were mutually suspicious, and rarely interacted socially.¹¹⁰ Although religion and marriage cut across this exclusiveness, a woman who married a man from the other group and went to live with his people, could be made to feel isolated and rejected.¹¹¹

Even in matters affecting Pacific Islanders as a whole, Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans in Mackay found it hard to unite. The two petitions from Islanders in Mackay in 1915 and 1920 against threats to their continued employment in the sugar industry had, respectively, a Solomon Islander and a New Hebridean bias in their signatories.¹¹² Their unwillingness to co-operate was also revealed in 1932, during the Polynesian School episode. Harry Fatnowna, who convincingly rebutted the accusations being made against the Islanders, was at the same time leading a movement to establish a farming settlement for Islanders in the district. Unlike the earlier attempt by Pearce in 1921 to set up a reserve for Islanders, this

108. T7Bsb:1; T10Bsb:1; T11Bsa:1; T33Bsb:3; T57Bsa:3.

109. T10Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T33Bsb:2; T37Bsa:1; T51Bsb:1+2; T56Bsa:2; T61Bsa:1; T71Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.55; MM 9 May 1914, 8 Dec.1916, MPC.

110. See T23Bsa:2; T33Bsb:3; T51Bsa:1; T55Bsa:1; T58Bsa:1; T64Bsb:3.

111. See T27Bsb:1; T40Bsb:1.

112. At least 72 (65 per cent) of the 111 signatories to the 1915 petition were Solomon Islanders, whereas 52 (over 80 per cent) of the 62 signatories to the 1920 petition were New Hebridean or of New Hebridean descent. Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, forw. by Luke Logomier to Premier, n.d. [Dec.1915], 67G, AGS/N96, QSA; Petition from Polynesians in the Mackay district, 3 Mar.1920, 5241 of 1920, PRE/A662, QSA. These petitions were discussed in Chapter 6.

initiative seems to have been taken up by the Islanders themselves.¹¹³ Probably late in November 1932, Fatnowna travelled up to the Bloomsbury area, north of Mackay, to inspect Crown land for a possible farming settlement; he was accompanied by his son, two other Malaitans, a Guadalcanal man and a young man of Aoban descent who was related by marriage to Fatnowna. The sudden death on 14 December of Matthew Malachi, Fatnowna's father-in-law and lay preacher at St Mary's, impelled the party to return earlier than anticipated. The flood-prone nature of the land inspected was a drawback but divisions amongst the Islanders ensured that the scheme collapsed - Fatnowna's Malaitan ancestry prevented New Hebridean families from supporting this movement.¹¹⁴ As will shortly be seen, in the next year a further example of these divisions was given when Solomon Islanders refused to co-operate with New Hebrideans.

There were tensions other than those produced by these divisions by island of origin. In such small interdependent communities, inter-personal conflict was inevitable. Quarrels could be sustained over long periods. For instance, marriages where one of the partner's parents did not approve, could result in long-standing bitterness and even estrangements within families.¹¹⁵ Outside North Queensland, an example of a protracted quarrel and a traditional reconciliation occurred in Sydney in 1929, when two men who had quarrelled some years previously, finally renewed their friendship after holding a feast and exchanging gifts of money.¹¹⁶

113. The proposal may have come initially from European residents in Mackay. See Chapters 7 and 8.

114. The actual place (according to oral evidence) was 'Noorlah', but no such place name has been found on maps of the area. See T27Bsa:1; T27Bsb:1; T54Bsa:2; NC 1 Feb. 1933, p.12. According to oral evidence, Fatnowna's plans had government backing; certainly Europeans in Mackay were in favour of such a settlement, as shown above, but no documentary evidence of official support has been found.

115. For examples, see T71Bsa:1; T72Bsa:1-2.

116. The two were living with a small number of other Islanders at Ashfield. Southern Cross Log 1 Jul. 1929, p.12 (reference supplied by J.A. Bennett).

That Pacific Islanders were not a united, homogeneous community is further illustrated by examining leadership. As will be seen, women commanded respect in the private rather than the public sphere. The community leaders were men, and usually church leaders.¹¹⁷ As in Melanesia, however, such men needed also to be successful in secular pursuits.¹¹⁸

Their church training, in effect the ability to read and write, could be useful - Luke Logomier, for example, sent off the petition from Islanders in Mackay in 1915. It was not coincidental that church leaders such as Logomier, Matthew Malachi, Tom Lammon and Harry Fatnowna demonstrated their entrepreneurial abilities by becoming relatively successful farmers. A leader also needed to be a good speaker, self-assured rather than arrogant, willing to help those in need and able to mix easily not only with other Islanders but also with Europeans.¹¹⁹

Power could also be derived from traditional sources. Amongst the migrants, a few men and women had been high ranking and influential in their societies. John Fatnowna, for example, would have succeeded to the position of traditional priest amongst the Fataleka people if he had returned to Malaita. His only son, Harry Fatnowna, thus inherited this prestige but in typical Melanesian fashion had to prove himself worthy of respect.¹²⁰

Church leaders, as was shown in Chapter 8, sought to exercise strong control over their congregations. Nevertheless, the power commanded by Islander leaders was extremely limited. They were unable to protect their fellows from European exploitation. Unlike their counterparts in the islands, they could not, for instance, establish a power base by organizing food production, trading or defence against enemy attack.¹²¹

117. For recognition of this, see T37Bsa:3; T40Bsb:2; T51Bsa:3.

118. For a comparison with the islands, see Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp.40, 49.

119. T37Bsa:3; T48Bsb:1; Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, pp.144-45.

120. See T1Bsb:3; T7Bsb:3. For other examples of migrants said to have had aristocratic backgrounds, see T2Bsa:2; T21Bsa:1; T37Bsa:3; T45Bsa:2; T50Bsa:1; T62Bsb:1; PDMR 25 Jan.1910.

121. For a comparison, see Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.145.

Diversity in origin meant that no one man could claim to represent the community. In Mackay in 1933, McColl, the head teacher of the Polynesian School, described George Yasserie as the Islanders' 'chief'. Yet while Yasserie may have held influence in the Walkerston area, he was of Malekulan descent and the Islanders on the north side of the Pioneer River, who were predominantly Solomon Islanders, would not attend a meeting he called regarding the school.¹²² The influence of church leaders was constrained by the continuation of practices, notably magic and sorcery, which they regarded as 'un-Christian' or even 'anti-Christian'.

THE THIRD area of culture is ideology. The subjects discussed will be the Islanders' value system, the position of women, aesthetic outlets and finally, religious beliefs, both Christian and traditional. Although the majority of Islanders were practising Christians, there were still deep conflicts between the old and the new systems of belief.

There was a certain core of values which the migrants shared and which they emphasized to the native-born. One of these was scrupulous honesty. The older people stressed the virtue of always meeting debts and paying cash rather than using credit; their habit of putting aside money often resulted in their amassing considerable savings.¹²³ Other qualities emphasized were pragmatism, self-reliance and industriousness. Harry Fatnowna commented in 1932 that he had "probably worked longer hours than the average white man" and had "always been willing to work".¹²⁴ Other values, such as the importance of sharing and reciprocity in social relations, were less in tune with European values. Communalism was

122. McColl to Director of Education, 21 Apr.1933, 17758, EDU/Z2247, QSA; McColl to Director of Education, 30 Jun.1933, 29448, ibid.

123. See T3Bsa:1; T47Bsb:2+3; T48Bsb:1; T55Bsb:3; T64Bsa:1. For examples of the savings they accumulated, see Chapter 7, esp. Figure 7.1.

124. MM 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna.

emphasized over the individualism central to the modern European value system.¹²⁵

Important changes in the position of women had been produced by the lifestyle in North Queensland. Wage labour on the plantations had provided the migrant women with economic independence.¹²⁶ In the post-plantation period this was lost, since most Islander women, like their European counterparts, were restricted to work in and around the home. Farmers' wives generally worked in the fields only in the busiest periods; women like Lizzie Malachi who farmed in their own right were very exceptional.¹²⁷

Probably due to the influence of Christianity, certain customs which were inappropriate to Australia, such as bride-price, disappeared or were modified.¹²⁸ The strong cultural beliefs in female pollution were difficult to keep up. In Mackay and Cairns some men, especially the single men, continued to observe certain taboos such as those against eating food prepared by women, using utensils touched by them or being physically below a woman.¹²⁹ However, an elaborate system of female avoidance was not practised by the married men and their sons. The practical realities of a nuclear family structure operated against it. Women no longer left their homes during menstruation or childbirth, or ceased to cook or handle

125. For insights into Melanesian value systems, see Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp.40, 49; H.I. Hogbin, Social Change Josiah Mason Lectures Delivered at the University of Birmingham (Melbourne, 1970), pp.155-56; Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.145.

126. See Chapter 2.

127. See Chapter 2. For parallels with other migrant women, see Kessler, Women, p.44.

128. See Chapter 2, pp.80, 81 and Chapter 4, p.169.

129. T48Bsa:2; T51Bsa:2-3; T57Bsb:3. These taboos were also discussed in Chapter 1. Malaitan labourers on plantations in the Solomons behaved similarly. See Bennett, Wealth of the Solomons, p.290.

food during menstruation.¹³⁰ However, in at least three families, the custom of segregating male children was sustained, with the boys sleeping in a separate 'boy's house' and only eating in the main house.¹³¹

Islander women were preoccupied with their families. Whereas the migrant women had small families, their daughters had families larger than the Australian average and child-rearing often extended from late teens to middle-age (see Plate 4.4).¹³² Women usually took full-time paid employment only for the short period preceding marriage or first pregnancy. For most, life was focused on the home and their contacts with the outside world were very limited. Their isolation was highlighted by the fact, as shown, that almost all of the migrants, and even some of the native-born, spoke pidgin more readily than English.¹³³ Their social life usually centred on the church, where their role was a subordinate one, as is well illustrated by the practice of separate seating for the sexes. Outside passive worship, their involvement was confined to cleaning the churches and catering for events such as the 'tea meetings'.¹³⁴

130. T40Bsa:2; T48Bsa:2; T51Bsa:3. Only one family is known to have done this and, significantly, the taboos applied only to the woman and not to her daughters. T58Bsa:1. Association with Christianity tends to devalue certain cultural beliefs such as female pollution. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p.211.

131. The boys were segregated from about the age of seven. The parents in these three families were a Malaitan couple and a Malaitan man and a Guadalcanal woman in Mackay, and an Epi man and a Tongoan woman in the Herbert River district. Ty4Bp.1; T7Bsb:1; T22Bsa:2; T25Bsb:1; T41Bsa:3; T41Bsb:2; T48Bsa:2; Moore, *The Forgotten People*, p.58; Photographic Album, I, No.75. For evidence that other families did not follow this custom, see T24Bsb:1; T62Bsb:1.

132. See Chapter 4, esp. Table 4.9.

133. Another example of their insular existence was the cases in which men outside the immediate family ordered funerals for bereaved women. See Charles Querro, Notebook 1923-28, Mackay Funerals Records, 10 Jul.1923; Johnny Mangway, *ibid.*, 9 Aug.1925; Robert Kia, *ibid.*, 2 Feb.1926; George Bargo Tonga, *ibid.*, 31 Jan.1927.

134. See Ty5Bp.2; T40Bsa:2. European women were similarly limited in their activities in the churches. See B. Kingston, 'Faith and Fetes: Women and the History of the Churches in Australia', in S. Willis (ed.), *Faith and Fetes. Essays in the History of Women and the Churches in Australia* (Melbourne, 1977), p.22; Willis, 'Introduction', *ibid.*, p.12.

Discontent with this role no doubt partly explained why the younger women so readily converted to Pentecostalism, which encourages congregational participation and a more active role for women in church work. The desire of the younger women to assert themselves was also manifested in their eagerness to be eligible to vote. Women had been active in the campaign against deportation and they continued to resist attempts to discriminate against them - for instance, women in Mackay signed the petitions in 1915 and 1920 against the threatened expulsion of their men from the sugar industry, and wrote letters of protest during the Polynesian School episode in 1932.¹³⁵

Notwithstanding this willingness to defend their own interests, the influence exerted by Islander women was limited. The opportunity to gain power in the public sphere through leadership in the church was not open to them. Prestige for women was largely dependent on the number of their children and grandchildren. Through such family connections and the strength of their personalities, older women commanded respect and influence.¹³⁶

The open assertion of power by women was contrary to custom and was resented by the men, who wanted their wives and daughters restricted to the home and economically dependent.¹³⁷ This is indicated by the wills made by some married men: they bequeathed their property either to their children, other relatives or friends to the exclusion of their wife or daughters, or else to their wife and each child in equal shares.¹³⁸

135. See Chapters 3 and 8.

136. Two such women were Lizzie Malachi in Mackay and Sarah Lemarla (Backo) in the Herbert River district. For examples of their influence and of other such women, see T19Bsa:1; T47Bsa:2; T51Bsb:1; T65Bsa:1; T73Bsa:1. Older Aboriginal and Maori women with large families were similarly respected. Reay, 'A Half-Caste Aboriginal Community in North-Western New South Wales', pp.313, 314; Pool, The Maori Population, p.88.

137. Even today this is resented and resisted. See T26Bsa:2; T29Bsb:1; Epilogue. This is true not only of Melanesian women. Kessler, Women, p.54.

138. See Intestacy No.10 of 1925, Frank Malicoola, A/17930, QSA; Intestacy No.4 of 1927, William Wombie, A/17933, QSA; Intestacy No.30 of 1928, Micky Eowra, A/17934, QSA; Ecclesiastical File No.3 of 1914, Charlie Tass, A/16887, QSA.

Influenced by Christianity, most of the men were respectful towards women and marital relations were relatively harmonious. Marital separations and breakdowns were uncommon.¹³⁹ Drunkenness and jealousy, however, provoked some men to use physical violence on their wife, especially on Aboriginal women. Occasionally women were forced to seek assistance by filing charges of assault against their husband.¹⁴⁰

In line with the Islanders' strong Christian beliefs, chastity was emphasized and adolescent girls and young women were watched over carefully. As will be seen, the alleged victims of sorcery were often women, in 'punishment' for such misdeeds as engaging in pre- or extra-marital intercourse. Nevertheless, there were many illegitimate children, mostly fathered by Islander men. Rape and carnal knowledge charges also reveal that women and girls were more likely to be assaulted or seduced by relatives and friends, rather than strangers.¹⁴¹

The migrants came from oral cultures and this was reflected in their aesthetic interests. Oratory was an important quality for leaders. Other expressions of this oral preoccupation were in music, song and dance, with certain accommodations to European styles. At church services or special occasions such as the 'tea meetings', the Islanders' rendition of hymns and also part-singing drew compliments from Europeans present.¹⁴² More

139. For examples of marital relations including separations and breakdowns, see MM 30 May 1916, MPC, 30 Nov.1927, 12 Oct.1932, letter to Ed. by H. Fatnowna; BJ 16 Aug.1919; Labour Agent, Halifax, to Labour Agent, Ingham, 6 Jan.1940, p.424, CPS 12H/G2, QSA; T65Bsa:2.

140. Sometimes these charges were later withdrawn. See T67Bsa:1; T70Bsa:2; T71Bsa:1; CMP 4 Jun.1925; MM 30 Nov.1927; NQR 12 Dec.1927, p.18; Ruby Nolan vs Henry Nolan, 31 Dec.1930, CPS 10B/S17, QSA; Police vs Andrew Poollar, 23 Nov.1910, CPS 11B/N1, QSA; Rosie Boslam vs Jack Boslam, 24 Mar.1911, ibid.

141. See Chapter 8, p.393. Cases of illegitimacy were discussed in Chapter 4, pp.175-76.

142. See NC 1 Oct.1919, p.8, 1 Feb.1922, p.7; NQR 12 Aug.1912, p.78, 3 Jan.1927, p.31; War Cry 13 Feb.1915, p.11; MM 28 Nov.1913; T5Bsa:1; T20Bsa:1; T49Bsa:1.

traditional musical forms were also sustained. European instruments such as the mouth organ and jews' harp were popular but so also were other more familiar, sometimes improvised, instruments such as bamboo pipes and drums made of wood or empty kerosene tins.¹⁴³ At gatherings such as funerals and feasts, dancing and singing in their native languages went on for hours.¹⁴⁴

Such traditional singing and dancing, it will be seen, were part of a corpus of customs of which the Islander church leaders disapproved. The strength of Christianity amongst the Islanders was highlighted in Chapter 8. Whereas the Chinese, Japanese and Indians remained unrepentently pagan, only a minority of Islanders did not accept Christianity.¹⁴⁵ Only in the Cairns district, where the churches had made little effort in the years up to or after 1908 to convert the Islanders, was there a significant proportion of pagans remaining.¹⁴⁶

Conversion to Christianity was held to require not only a change in religious beliefs but also in perceptions of the nature of the Islanders' environment. Few of the migrants, or even their children, made this adjustment totally. Their Christianity was tempered by a continued belief in the efficacy of magical and religious practices. The following discussion

143. T20Bsa:3; T47Bsb:3; Photographic Album, I, Nos.26, 72; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.57.

144. As noted in Chapter 1, p.46, the Islanders exchanged songs and dances. At least two native-born Islanders learnt to sing in their parents' native languages. T20Bsa:1; T40Bsa:3; T46Bsa:2; T47Bsb:2; T50Bsa:2; T51Bsb:2. In the Torres Strait, Pacific Islanders kept up traditional songs and dances. See Singe, The Torres Strait People and History, p.248.

145. In Mackay in 1914 Canon Norman predicted, on the occasion of the baptism of fourteen migrant men, that there were probably not a dozen heathens left in the district. NC 1 Sep.1914, p.5. There were 25 Islanders (out of a total of 286) buried in Mackay as pagans between 1908 and 1940; the sources for this were the cemetery registers of the Mackay City Council and the Pioneer Shire Council, the records of Mackay Funerals and the burial registers of the Anglican church. In the cemetery registers in Bowen, Ayr and the Herbert River district, there were no pagans. Cemetery registers were not consulted in the Johnstone River district.

146. In the cemetery registers of the Cairns Shire Council (only available between 1908 and 1916), all six Islanders buried were pagans, and further evidence of this trend can be drawn from the tiny numbers of Islanders in church records in the district. See Chapter 8.

outlines these beliefs and practices and then examines their importance and the conflicts with the new, Christian lifestyle. This modifies in certain important respects an earlier joint study of magical and religious beliefs and practices.¹⁴⁷ Magic will be used to describe all mystical methods of achieving socially approved purposes. Sorcery, by contrast, refers to magic used by the individual for destructive purposes; no distinction can be usefully drawn between what may be described as 'legal' and 'illegal' sorcery.¹⁴⁸

In examining magical and religious beliefs and practices, it is not generally possible to isolate differences relating to the various societies from which the migrants came. Marriage of men and women from other islands and then of children to Islanders of diverse origins produced a situation where the differences were amalgamated into a common core of beliefs and practices. Present day Islanders, the source of information on these customs, are seldom aware of the distinctions between beliefs and practices in the different islands. This tendency is borne out through examining the terms they employ to describe magical and religious elements. 'Mana', meaning the spiritual (including magical) power of an individual, is a word common to the whole of the Pacific, yet few informants know this word.¹⁴⁹ Under the influence of Christianity, 'tindalo' and 'akalo', the terms for the ghosts of powerful men, are wrongly interpreted to mean

147. See Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices'. The important modifications will be noted either in the text or in the footnotes.

148. For discussions of the various definitions of magic and sorcery, see *ibid.*, p.70; M. Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', *Oceania* Vol. XLV, No.2, Dec.1974, pp.137-38, 140-41. Most researchers distinguish between magic and sorcery according to the purpose for which it is employed. See Deacon, *Malekula*, p.664; Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula*, p.628; Tippett, *Solomon Islands Christianity*, pp.11, 12.

149. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp.51, 103, 118-19. For examples of unfamiliarity with the word 'mana', see T9Bsa:1; T11Bsa:1; T11Bsb:1; T16Bsa:2; T19Bsa:3; T31Bsb:2. The daughter of an Aoban woman recalls the word 'Tagaro', the name of the creator-god in the New Hebrides. T3Bsa:1; T6Bsa:3.

'devil'.¹⁵⁰ The word most commonly used to describe sorcery is 'pourri-pourri' (or 'pourri'), an Austronesian word widely known in Melanesia. Another common word for sorcery is 'mausang', the origin of which is not known.¹⁵¹ The word 'su', a term used broadly to describe magical objects and powers, is apparently New Hebridean in origin.¹⁵² This amalgamation of varying beliefs and practices is important for the following discussion.

In Melanesia, magic and religious beliefs are inextricably intertwined.¹⁵³ Ritual practices, magical, religious or both, accompany every important activity, be it building a canoe or planting crops. Religious beliefs are animistic, emphasizing the close association between man and nature. Melanesians distinguish between spirits, which are not human, and ghosts, which are the souls of the dead and greatly feared.¹⁵⁴ Spirits could be associated with specific localities, living creatures, or natural phenomena.

150. T1Bsb:1; T12Bsb:1; T33Bsa:2; T42Bsa:1; Codrington, The Melanesians, pp.124-25, 249; Ross, Baegu, p.60. For examples of other 'devils', see T3Bsa:1; T6Bsa:3; T16Bsa:2.

151. 'Pourri' is also used by Aborigines. Dutton, 'The Informal English Speech of Palm Island Aboriginal Children', p.34. For the use of 'pourri' and 'mausang', see T1Bsb:2; T2Bsa:2; T8Bsa:1; T11Bsa:1; T11Bsb:1; T15Bsa:1; T16Bsa:2; T19Bsa:3; T24Bsa:2; T31Bsb:2; T60Bsb:3.

152. See T11Bsb:1; T16Bsa:3; T19Bsa:3; T21Bsb:1; T24Bsa:2; T31Bsb:1; T42Bsa:1; T61Bsa:1; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.37.

153. For discussions of the inseparable nature of these beliefs, see Burridge, Mambu, p.69; Deacon, Malekula, p.663; Layard, Stone Men of Malekula, pp.628, 632; Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', pp.72-73, 77.

154. See Codrington, The Melanesians, pp.120-21; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.70-1, 166; Speiser, 'Decadence and Preservation', pp.97, 99; Tippet, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.6.

Snakes, sharks and eagles were amongst the creatures which informants (particularly Malaitans) recall as having special significance for the migrants and which they would not harm.¹⁵⁵ Ghosts, especially of important persons, could assist their descendants and only the ghosts of murdered men were feared.¹⁵⁶ In North Queensland, certain localities which were said to be haunted and therefore avoided at night, usually had been the scene of murders either of or by Islanders: "in those days they were frightened to go anywhere someone had died".¹⁵⁷ There are also stories of confrontations with apparitions (ghosts) at night: usually the figure was a woman, with something odd about her appearance such as a space between her feet and the ground. Singing at night was one way to ward off ghosts.¹⁵⁸ The terror which they could inspire in Islanders was demonstrated in Cairns in 1923: Jimmy Bassabola, on the night he died, woke his countrymen with his cries of "Willie Willie come quick devil devil here".¹⁵⁹

Totemic symbols were the animal archetypes to which family groups felt a strong attachment. They were the bringers of bad news, such as a warning of an imminent death.¹⁶⁰ In Mackay some of these totems are still

155. See T2Bsa:3; T8Bsa:1; T48Bsa:1; T51Bsb:2; Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.6.

156. See ibid., p.7; E. Cheesman, Backwaters of the Savage South Seas (London, 1933), pp.68-69, 284 n13. For examples of such beliefs in North Queensland, see T3Bsa:1+2; T42Bsb:1; T48Bsb:3; T51Bsb:2+3.

157. T4Bsa:1. For others such examples, see T7Bsa:3; T16Bsb:1; T50Bsa:1; T70Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.60.

158. See T4Bsa:1; T16Bsb:1; T43Bsa:1; T51Bsb:3.

159. Statement of Tom Dennis, Inquest No.170 of 1923, Jimmy Bassabola, JUS/N756, QSA.

160. See P. Lawrence, 'Religion and Magic', in I. Hogbin (ed.), Anthropology in Papua New Guinea. Readings from the Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea (Melbourne, 1973), p.204; D.L. Oliver, A Solomon Island Society. Kinship and Leadership among the Siuai of Bougainville (Cambridge, 1955), p.84; Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, p.407; Ross, Baegu, p.41.

remembered. That of the Fataleka people of northern Malaita was a small bird, whereas that of the coastal Malaitans, the Langalanga people, was the shark.¹⁶¹ Such totems could not be eaten by family members, or they would sicken and even die. Elsewhere informants do not recall a special association between their family and a particular animal.¹⁶² While most informants were unaware of totemic symbols, they did associate certain omens with impending death or disaster: the death of a relative, for example, was portended by the prolonged howling of a dog or the landing on the roof of certain birds such as a night owl or a curlew.¹⁶³

Magical and religious beliefs influenced behaviour in many ways. Sometimes these can be related to a certain cultural background, but in other cases they appear to have been universal. There were prohibitions on the eating of certain foods, either all year or in certain seasons. A Guadalcanal man, Jack Marrau, would not eat crab - it was taboo since on the shell on its back there was the image of a woman's breasts.¹⁶⁴ Many normal practices, such as whistling, sweeping, shaking the tablecloth or looking in mirrors, were avoided at night, since this was when spirits, ghosts and

161. T40Bsb:1; T42Bsa:1; T51Bsb:2; TylBp.1; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.55-56. For other such examples in Mackay, see T2Bsa:1; T4Bsa:1; T6Bsa:1; T7Bsa:3; T40Bsb:1; TylBp.1.

162. See T6Bsa:1; T7Bsa:3; T10Bsb:1; T11Bsa:1; T11Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T19Bsb:1; T21Bsa:2; T24Bsa:3. One family in Bowen discovered their totem when a family member returned to Tanna. T10Bsa:1; Ty9Bp.2.

163. For these and other such omens, see T7Bsa:3; T15Bsb:1; T16Bsa:1; T24Bsa:3; T31Bsa:2; T42Bsa:1; T48Bsa:1; T51Bsb:2.

164. For this and other examples, see T4Bsa:2; T45Bsb:3; T51Bsa:2. For parallels in the islands, see Codrington, The Melanesians, p.31; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, p.173. Other Islanders in North Queensland did not observe any food taboos. See T21Bsa:2; T57Bsb:3.

sorcerers walked abroad.¹⁶⁵ Travelling after dark was avoided whenever possible; otherwise, a light was carried and people sang loudly and whistled to frighten away such spirits, ghosts or sorcerers.¹⁶⁶ Many of the children were also taught not to fish at night or bring home their catch after dark: "they reckon spirit follow you".¹⁶⁷

Special customs were observed following a death. Many sat with the body for a certain period, and a light was kept burning in the house until the spirit of the dead person returned to his house and then left forever: "he'd come back again and knock on the door".¹⁶⁸ There are stories of small children, to whom apparitions were more easily visible, calling out to or describing the ghosts of dead relatives when they appeared.¹⁶⁹

In Melanesian societies there were numerous magical techniques used for constructive purposes, which were employed by individuals or the community.¹⁷⁰ Amongst the migrants in North Queensland, there would have been specialists in types of magic such as garden, weather or war magic.

165. See T7Bsb:1; T15Bsb:1; T16Bsa:2; T21Bsa:2; T25Bsb:1; T33Bsa:2; T40Bsb:1; T57Bsb:3; Ty4Bp.2. For similar practices in the islands, see Ross, Baegu, p.110.

166. See T3Bsa:1; T6Bsa:3; T37Bsb:2; T57Bsb:3; T61Bsa:1. For a parallel in the islands, see Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', p.147. There were tricks to elude mystical pursuers. See T4Bsa:1; T24Bsa:1.

167. T1Bsb:1. See also T7Bsb:1; T11Bsa:2; T16Bsa:2; T21Bsa:2; T40Bsb:1; T57Bsb:3.

168. T20Bsa:2. See also Ty4Bp.2; Ty6B; T1Bsb:1; T16Bsa:2; T21Bsa:3; T40Bsb:2; T42Bsb:1; T44Bsa:1.

169. See T1Bsb:1; T33Bsa:2; T42Bsb:1; Ty1Bp.2; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.61.

170. See Codrington, The Melanesians, p.192; Deacon, Malekula, pp.663-64; Hogbin, Social Change p.154; Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol.1, pp.156-57; Tippet, Solomon Islands Christianity, pp.11-12.

Here, however, the need for such communal magic was reduced. Traditionally, every man and woman knew some magical rites. 'Small worship', that is, the secret worship of a small item which had ritual significance, was kept up on Queensland plantations.¹⁷¹ In the post-plantation period, informants recall that most of the single migrant men had a special, secret object, believed often to have been a stone, which they carried with them in their bags, coats or on their person but left outside when they visited families, because of the polluting influence of women.¹⁷²

The purpose of these objects was productive or protective. No examples of garden magic, that is, stones placed in a garden to ensure a good harvest, have been found, but there are some of fishing magic.¹⁷³ Protective magical techniques were more common. Many of the single migrants, and some who were married, possessed an object to protect the house while they were absent and to inform them of unannounced visitors. Inquisitive children who attempted to enter the old men's huts when they were unoccupied, found that they were repelled by a hidden force, or that the old men had been instantly alerted to their presence.¹⁷⁴ Informants, although unsure as to whether such magical objects could have been manufactured in Australia, agree that they could be inherited, given or sold to others. In Mackay, Henry Sippie, for instance, was said to have paid a Gaua man for something to protect his house.¹⁷⁵

171. See Chapter 1.

172. Some of the women also had such objects. The children were warned not to touch or go near these. See T11Bsa:1; T14Bsa:1; T21Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T40Bsa:3; T51Bsb:2; T57Bsb:2; T61Bsa:1; T70Bsa:2.

173. See T11Bsb:3; T31Bsb:1.

174. For examples of this and parallels in the islands, see T11Bsb:1; T16Bsa:3; T21Bsb:1; T37Bsa:1; T42Bsa:1; T60Bsb:3; T70Bsa:2; Codrington, The Melanesians, pp.119, 184; Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol.I, p.157; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.33.

175. See T2Bsa:2; T7Bsa:2; T15Bsa:1; T19Bsa:3; T37Bsa:1. For comparisons in the islands, see Lane, 'The Melanesians of South Pentecost', p.261; Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London, 1922), pp.73-74; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.36.

In the Mackay district also, another protective technique involved certain plants, planted around the house to protect occupants from mystical attacks.¹⁷⁶ A plant known as 'sanghu', with white or dark red leaves, was planted by Malaitans.¹⁷⁷ A very strong smelling bush closely resembling ginger, and known as 'bulla' or 'degegu', was used by both New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders. At night, if frightened of spirits or ghosts, the men would chew its leaves and walk around the house spitting them into the air; it could also be hung at the door, or inside the house if someone had died.¹⁷⁸ This plant also had more mundane uses, as a spice for cooking and as a purgative. Some families did not use these plants, and there is no evidence of their use in other districts.¹⁷⁹

Magical techniques were also employed to attract the opposite sex.¹⁸⁰ Love magic was used mostly by men but sometimes by women. Generally it was used by the old men to attract younger women, not only Islander but also Aboriginal and European women.¹⁸¹ There were several methods of love magic. Something which was intimately connected with the intended victim

176. For parallels in the islands, see B. Malinowski, Crime and Custom in Savage Society (London, 1926), p.87; M. Reay, The Kuma, Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands (Melbourne, 1959), p.149, Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, pp.11-12.

177. See T1Bsb:1; T8Bsa:1; T28Bsa:1; T37Bsb:2.

178. See Ty4Bp.2; Ty6B; T1Bsb:1; T2Bsb:1; T6Bsa:3; T21Bsa:3; T31Bsb:1; T37Bsb:2; T40Bsa:3; T47Bsb:1. These two plants are still grown today on Malaita. See T34Bsb:1.

179. See T2Bsb:1; T4Bsa:1; T21Bsa:3.

180. For parallels in the islands, see Deacon, Malekula, pp.671-72; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.36; Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.15.

181. See T31Bsa:3; T57Bsb:2; T59Bsa:2; T61Bsa:1; T73Bsb:1. For examples of its use by women, see T16Bsa:3; T21Bsb:1; T22Bsb:1.

(such as a lock of hair or a piece of clothing) was taken and chanted over; subsequently the woman would be irresistibly drawn to the man.¹⁸² Powders and potions, derived from substances such as special flowers, herbs and powdered fish bones, could be slipped into a person's food or drink. Another method was to rub a potion on the face, in the hair or on the hands and then walk past the woman with the wind blowing in her direction or shake hands with her: "they sing you with the wind, the wind come to you, you'll dream about that man."¹⁸³

Magical objects or techniques were said to impart extraordinary powers, the reality of which is less important than the belief in them. Some Islanders, often women, could foresee events, such as marriages and deaths, or had the power of mental telepathy. They knew in advance who was planning to visit them: "we know who come before he leave his own place".¹⁸⁴ Dreams were interpreted as predicting the reverse of their meaning - thus a death meant an impending marriage, and vice versa.¹⁸⁵ Other stated supernatural abilities included being able to open locked doors, travel by extraordinary means, walk through walls and win at gambling; however, there was a strict code that such powers should not be used for personal aggrandizement.¹⁸⁶ While such powers usually were not witnessed

182. See T11Bsa:2; T11Bsb:1.

183. T59Bsa:2. For other examples, see T16Bsa:2; T19Bsb:2; T22Bsb:1; T47Bsb:3; T57Bsb:2; T59Bsa:2; T73Bsb:1.

184. T20Bsa:3. See also TylBpp.1+2; T22Bsb:1; T37Bsa:1; T57Bsb:2; T66Bsb:3; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.62. For parallels in the islands, see Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, p.70.

185. See Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.63-64; T42Bsa:1+3.

186. See TylBp.2; T2Bsa:2; T8Bsa:1; T16Bsa:3; T16Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T66Bsb:3; T73Bsa:3.

by Europeans, there was said to have been an occasion in the Herbert River district when George Nulli astounded a taxi-driver and his Islander passengers by reaching the next village (without the assistance of a motor vehicle) before them.¹⁸⁷

These magical practices were used by individuals for productive or protective purposes and were sanctioned by the community. However, some Islanders (always men) used these powers for destructive purposes, that is, to cause illness or death. Social approval for such actions was not sought or needed since these men were beyond the community's control. Nevertheless, often their victims could be said to have deserved their fate, in that they had transgressed rules of conduct. The following discussion will consider first, who the sorcerers were, their techniques and at whom their spells were directed, and secondly, the social and political significance of sorcery and other magical and religious practices.

Exclusively, sorcerers were men, and predominantly unmarried migrants.¹⁸⁸ The most complete information is available for the Herbert River and Mackay districts. In the Herbert River, at least three, possibly four, men were considered to be sorcerers - all were unmarried New Hebrideans.¹⁸⁹ At least six men, including two native-born Islanders, were regarded as sorcerers in the Mackay district; all but one were New Hebrideans.¹⁹⁰ There were others, usually unmarried migrant men, with similar

187. T19Bsb:1; T57Bsb:2. For other such examples, see TylBp.2; T2Bsa:2; T4Bsa:2; T11Bsa:1; T11Bsb:2; T21Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T51Bsb:2.

188. It is usual for men rather than women to be the sorcerers. Burrige, Mambu, p.59; M.W. Young, Fighting with Food. Leadership, values and social control in a Massim society (Cambridge, 1971), p.131.

189. Their islands of origin were Epi (two), Paama and Tanna. See T16Bsa:3; T19Bsb:1; T24Bsa:2; T57Bsa:3; T70Bsa:2; T72Bsb:2; T73Bsb:1.

190. One of the native-born and one of the migrants were married; the islands of origin of the New Hebrideans were Malekula, Tongoa, Epi and Maewo, and the Solomon Islander was from Buka near Bougainville. See T1Bsb:2; T4Bsa:2; T9Bsa:1; T16Bsa:3; T34Bsb:1+2; T37Bsa:1; T42Bsa:1; T54Bsb:3; T80Bsb:1.

reputations in other districts.¹⁹¹ Like their contemporaries in the islands, these men were anti-social and deviant in their behaviour.¹⁹² They were, naturally, not involved in the church or in community activities. They were not, for the most part, family men, and were regarded as troublemakers. For example, one of the men in Mackay, Albert Wool, was renowned for quarrelling with his fellow Islanders.¹⁹³

Sorcery, or as it was commonly called in North Queensland, 'pourri-pourri', 'mausang' or sometimes 'su', depended on the possession of some object connected with the victim - "something belong to you" - such as food scraps, hair or nail clippings, clothes or spittle.¹⁹⁴ The sorcerer would chant a spell over these objects, which might then be put in a coconut shell and smoked over a fire and the length of time would determine the seriousness of the victim's illness. A substance could also be put in the victim's food. Alternatively, a person could be 'caught' (with sorcery) by walking over something hidden in their path or being hit with a magical weapon.¹⁹⁵

191. There was at least one in the Burdekin and two in Cairns. See T58Bsb:2; T66Bsb:3; T71Bsa:3.

192. See Burrige, Mambu, pp.59-60; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', pp.149-50.

193. MM 9 May 1914, MPC; T7Bsa:2. For other examples of anti-social behaviour by such men, see T40Bsa:2; T51Bsb:2.

194. See Ty4Bp.2; T7Bsb:1; T11Bsb:2; T15Bsa:1; T16Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T42Bsa:1; T59Bsa:2; T73Bsb:1. For the use of similar techniques in the islands, see Deacon, Malekula, pp.675, 677; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.71-72; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', pp.141-43, 148; Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol.II, p.158; Tippett, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.15; R.N. Glasse, 'The Huli of the Southern Highlands', in Lawrence and Meggitt (eds), Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, p.41; R. Feachem, 'The Religious Belief and Ritual of the Raiapu Enga', Oceania Vol.XLIII, No.4, Jun.1974, p.276.

195. See T1Bsb:2; T9Bsa:1; T19Bsb:2; T34Bsb:1; T70Bsa:2; T71Bsa:2-3; T80Bsb:1; Ty4Bp.2.

To achieve their purposes, sorcerers reputedly could transform themselves into animal shapes. George Nulli in the Herbert River, for example, was said to turn into a bandicoot.¹⁹⁶ A sorcerer prepared to 'catch' his victim through self-denials such as fasting or not shaving or bathing until his victim died.¹⁹⁷ A sorcerer also had to be careful that his powers did not rebound on him. If not looked after properly, for example through food offerings, or not used continually, his 'mausang' might maim or even kill him.¹⁹⁸ When such a man died, there were prescribed methods for disposing of his 'su'; this also applied to the magical objects of 'small worship'. These could be thrown away in running water (the river or the sea), burned or buried.¹⁹⁹

In this century up to 1940, according to oral evidence collected in the Mackay, Bowen, Burdekin and Herbert River districts, at least twenty-two deaths (with one exception all Pacific Islanders) were attributed to sorcery by Islander men.²⁰⁰ Children and young adults, especially women, were predominant amongst the victims. In Mackay there were eight female and seven male sorcery deaths (three children, seven young adults and five older

196. For this and other examples, see Ty1Bp.2; T16Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T70Bsb:1.

197. See T7Bsb:1; T16Bsa:3; T49Bsa:2; T61Bsa:1. For a parallel in the islands, see Lawrence, 'Religion and Magic', p.204.

198. For example, Albert Wool was said to have 'caught' himself and therefore lost his voice. T42Bsa:2; T44Bsa:2. For other examples, see T1Bsb:2; T9Bsa:1; T15Bsa:1; T16Bsa:3; T19Bsa:3; T51Bsb:2; T73Bsa:3.

199. See T1Bsb:2-3; T15Bsa:1; T16Bsa:3; T19Bsa:3; T21Bsb:1; T24Bsa:2; T49Bsa:1; T57Bsb:3; T61Bsa:1.

200. The sources for this are: Ty4Bp.2; T6Bsb:1; T9Bsa:1; T16Bsb:1; T19Bsb:1; T26Bsa:2; T42Bsa:2; T54Bsb:1; T55Bsb:1; T69Bsb:2; T70Bsa:2; T71Bsa:2+3; T72Bsb:2+3; T73Bsb:1; T80Bsb:1. There are said to have been deaths caused by sorcery in the Cairns district, but no details were given. T57Bsb:2.

people). In Bowen the one victim was a middle-aged woman. There were two female children and one young man in the Burdekin. In the Herbert River district there was one young woman (a Torres Strait Islander) and two middle-aged men. In relation to their proportion of the population, women were considerably overrepresented. In only one case was the victim an old man whose death could be attributed to natural causes. As in the islands, it was the death of children and young women which was most readily attributed to sorcery.²⁰¹ Certain illnesses, such as tuberculosis, dysentery or undiagnosable complaints, are the kind particularly associated with sorcery. For example, a young woman in Mackay and a young man in the Burdekin who were said to have been sorcery victims, had at least the symptoms of tuberculosis.²⁰²

Not all sorcery victims died. Assistance could be obtained from those with a reputation as faith healers, usually other Islanders but occasionally Aboriginals.²⁰³ Curers, or 'medicine men', who had an ability to cure both mystical and non-mystical illnesses, were well-respected. Two such men were Jack Manjack from Guadalcanal, in Mackay, and Jack Daniels from Aoba, in the Burdekin. Even such Christian stalwarts as Matthew Malachi were included amongst their patients.²⁰⁴ Their methods included the use of special chants, herbal preparations, massage of afflicted parts and extraction of foreign

201. See Burrige, Mambu, pp.60, 63; S. Lindenbaum, 'Sorcery and Danger', Oceania Vol.XLVI, No.1, Sep.1975, p.74; Malinowski, Argonauts, pp.73, 77-78; Oliver, A Solomon Island Society, pp.93-94; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', p.141; Young, Fighting with Food, p.131.

202. T6Bsb:1; T19Bsb:1; T71Bsa:3. In another case of death said to be caused by sorcery, the official cause of death was given as dysentery. T69Bsb:2; T72Bsb:2+3; Jimmie Waio, Hinchinbrook CR, 20 Dec.1918.

203. For examples of Aboriginal curers, see T16Bsa:3; T72Bsb:3; T73Bsa:1.

204. 'Doctor' Daniels, as he was called, drew patients from as far afield as Ingham and Bowen. T8Bsa:1; T40Bsa:3; T61Bsa:1; T68Bsb:2; T71Bsa:2. For other such people, see T8Bsa:1; T24Bsa:2; T37Bsa:1; T57Bsb:2; T71Bsb:2.

objects.²⁰⁵ In the case of suspected sorcery, curers used divination to confirm suspicions and discover the sorcerer's identity. For instance, Daniels is said to have extracted a stone from Tom Nehow's leg which, when dropped in water, showed the face of a well-known sorcerer, Tommy Quetta. Divination was important in that usually a victim could only be restored to health if the objects stolen by the sorcerer were recovered.²⁰⁶

What was the motivation behind sorcery attacks? Often sorcerers were prompted by personal reasons, usually jealousy or revenge, for instance against women who had spurned them.²⁰⁷ Alternatively, such attacks might be in retaliation for a real or imagined grievance held against an individual or even a family; it was dangerous to argue with a sorcerer since "he'd get you alright".²⁰⁸ Even the most successful and well-off were not safe against sorcery. One case of a quarrel which might have provoked a sorcery attack is found in documentary evidence from Mackay in 1935: Peter Bickey, reputedly a 'pourri' man, threw Charlie Miller out of his home, and threatened him with "I have not finished with you yet ... I'll eat your liver".²⁰⁹

205. For examples of such treatments, see T2Bsa:2; T8Bsa:1; T19Bsa:3; T24Bsa:2; T31Bsb:1; T61Bsa:1; T71Bsa:2. For similar techniques used in the islands, see Bourret, 'The Evolution of Traditional Medicine in New Caledonia', pp.463-64; Oliver, A Solomon Island Society, p.302; E. Hau'ofa, Mekeo. A Study of a Papua New Guinea Society (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1975), p.278; M.J. Meggitt, 'The Mae Enga of the Western Highlands', in Lawrence and Meggitt (eds), Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, pp.125-26.

206. T24Bsa:2. For other examples, see T8Bsa:1; T19Bsb:1; T47Bsa:3; T72Bsb:3. For the importance of divination in the islands, see Oliver, A Solomon Island Society, pp.304-5; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', pp.146-47.

207. For examples of sorcery attacks believed to be thus motivated, see T24Bsa:2; T31Bsb:1; T34Bsb:2; T37Bsa:1; T71Bsb:1. For similar motives in the islands, see Iatiana, 'The Sorcerer weaves his spell', p.21; Burrige, Mambu, p.60; Ianc, 'The Melanesians of South Pentecost', pp.261-62; R.H. Black, 'Christianity as a Cross-Cultural Bond in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate as seen in the Russell Islands', Oceania Vol.XXXIII, No.3, Mar.1963, pp.180-81; Lindenbaum, 'Sorcery and Danger', p.71.

208. T11Bsb:2. For other examples, see T31Bsb:2; T34Bsb:2; T42Bsa:2; T80Bsb:1.

209. NM 30 Mar.1935, NPC; T4Bsa:2.

The services of sorcerers could also be secured, for money, by other Islanders. A man who believed that his wife had committed adultery might pay a sorcerer to kill her; for instance, in the Herbert River district in 1924 the husband of a Torres Strait Islander woman was said to have paid George Nulli to bring about her death. A family opposed to a daughter marrying a particular man might employ a sorcerer to attack him.²¹⁰ In Mackay this was apparently the reason for the erection of a special hut, called the 'Tarunga' hut or more commonly the 'devil house' on Kangaroo Hill at Farleigh.²¹¹ It appears that the hut was built by Nggela men to protect Harry Querro who in 1935 married Eva Viti, the daughter of a Nggela man. Querro's father, an Aoban, was dead and therefore unable to protect his son from a sorcery attack by other New Hebrideans who were opposed to the marriage. The hut was near Harry and Eva's home.²¹²

The 'Tarunga' hut also served other purposes for the Nggela and Guadalcanal men living in the area.²¹³ At special times of the year, perhaps at Christmas, some of these men took offerings of food into the hut, and

210. T31Bsb:1; T65Bsa:1; T73Bsb:1.

211. It had a low, flat roof and was made of grass; pieces of iron were added at a later stage. T1Bsb:2; T4Bsa:1; T7Bsa:1; T33Bsa:2; T37Bsa:1; T40Bsa:3; Photographic Album, I, No.73. We initially believed that this hut was used for sacred purposes by all the Solomon Islander men in the area. Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', p.81.

212. T40Bsa:2+3; T40Bsb:1; Harry Querro and Eva Viti, AMR, Mackay, 25 May 1935. We had previously believed that the hut was of much earlier origins. See Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', p.81. 'Tarunga' on Nggela means the soul of a living man, or his spirit. See Codrington, The Melanesians, pp.248-49.

213. It would still appear that the 'Tarunga' hut performed some of the functions of indigenous secret lodges or men's club houses. Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', p.81.

chanted and sang all night in their native tongues; one of their leaders was Jack Manjack.²¹⁴ The hut itself was believed to have been endowed with mystical powers - despite the many fires which swept the hillsides, it was not burnt down.²¹⁵ Other Islanders in the district carefully avoided the site.²¹⁶ At Sunnyside on the other side of the district there was said to have been another hut where those with sorcery powers met together.²¹⁷ There is no evidence of any such huts in other districts in North Queensland.²¹⁸

The practice of sorcery declined in the mid- to late 1940s as its practitioners, largely migrant and therefore old men, died: "now we don't worry about it. All those old people who used to do it [are] dead."²¹⁹ Some of the sorcerers deliberately did not pass on their knowledge to younger men. In other cases, native-born Islanders, either out of fear or lack of interest, would not accept offers to give them such powers.²²⁰ In Mackay, however, external pressure may also have reduced the incidence of sorcery. After the death of a young Islander man in 1938 the North Eton police apparently intervened and told the sorcerers that such attacks must

214. T1Bsb:1-2; T4Bsa:1; T7Bsa:1-2; T21Bsa:3; T33Bsa:1+2; T37Bsb:1; T40Bsa:3; Ty1Bpp.1-2. When dying, these men are said to have taken their magical objects to the 'Tarunga' hut. T40Bsb:1.

215. See T1Bsb:1; T4Bsa:1; T21Bsa:3; T40Bsa:3; Ty1Bp.2.

216. See T2Bsa:1; T7Bsa:1; T9Bsa:1; T14Bsa:1; T21Bsa:3; T28Bsa:1; T33Bsa:2; T37Bsb:2.

217. It would not appear that this hut served the wider purposes of the 'Tarunga' hut at Farleigh, as was previously supposed. T2Bsa:1; T16Bsb:1; Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', pp.80-81. At the Palms, one woman recalls that there were certain areas associated with the sorcerers which were avoided. T21Bsb:1.

218. See T10Bsa:1; T10Bsb:1; T21Bsa:3.

219. T1Bsb:2. See also T1Bsb:1; T7Bsb:1-2; T8Bsa:1; T24Bsa:2; T27Bsb:2; T73Bsa:1+3.

220. See T1Bsb:2; T3Bsa:2; T15Bsa:1; T31Bsb:1; T42Bsa:2; T60Bsb:3.

stop.²²¹ However, few Europeans would have been aware of the magical and religious beliefs and practices of the Islanders.²²² In the Herbert River, local police were certainly aware of these practices but did not attempt to prevent sorcery attacks, and local doctors, in cases of undiagnosable illnesses, told their patients to go to a 'black man's doctor'. Some local clergymen may also have known - certainly Annie Dennis in the Pentecostal church did.²²³ However, few Islanders who believed themselves to be victims of sorcery sought relief from European doctors.²²⁴ Moreover, their community affairs seldom attracted the attention of Europeans.

Undeniably the great majority of Islanders believed in the ability of certain men to cause illness or death. Belief that one was the object of sorcery was sufficient to make an Islander sicken and even die: "the belief was so strong he couldn't escape".²²⁵ There were, however, some sceptics, especially amongst the native-born, who ascribed unusual deaths to natural causes rather than sorcery or expressed their disbelief in other ways. Harry Querro, for example, was said to have thrown rocks at the Tarunga hut which had been built for his protection.²²⁶

221. T7Bsb:2; T55Bsb:1; Egbert Choppy, Mackay CR, 31 Oct.1938. There was no inquest into this death.

222. As one informant points out. T51Bsb:3.

223. T19Bsb:1; T65Bsa:1; T68Bsb:2; T72Bsb:3; T74Bsb:1; T80Bsb:1.

224. See T24Bsa:3; T51Bsb:1.

225. T1Bsb:2. For other illustrations of this belief in North Queensland and in the islands, see T7Bsb:1+2; T51Bsb:1; T57Bsb:2; T61Bsa:1; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', p.143; Speiser, Two Years with the Natives, p.150.

226. T40Bsa:1. Such scepticism was more common in districts where sorcery fears were less prevalent, such as Bowen and the Burdekin. For examples, see T10Bsa:1; T10Bsb:1; T11Bsb:1; T24Bsa:2; T57Bsb:2; T60Bsb:3; T61Bsa:1; T71Bsa:3.

Fear of sorcery attacks influenced the Islanders' behaviour. The sorcerers were treated respectfully but avoided whenever possible; children were warned to stay clear of them and their huts.²²⁷ From an early age the socialization of children included the inculcation of cautious habits designed to protect them from sorcery attacks. They were taught to be careful in disposing of any personal objects: for example, hair from their comb must be rolled up, the imprint of their feet in the dust brushed away and nothing must be left outside the house after dark.²²⁸ When offered food in the homes of other Islanders, they had to eat it all or else bring it home with them; food given to them by certain old men had to be taken and later thrown away. Children were also taught to be afraid of travelling at night or of mixing with Islanders in other areas.²²⁹ Certain habits were taught as protection against both sorcery, and physical, attacks. For instance, it was customary to call out, rather than knock, when visiting another Islander, and also to sweep the ground around the house every day so that the footprints of any nocturnal visitors would be visible.²³⁰ To protect themselves against sorcery and physical attacks, especially when away from home, some young men were told to place their beds in the middle of the house, away from the walls, and in a different position every night.²³¹

227. See T11Bsb:2; T15Bsb:2; T16Bsa:3; T28Bsa:1; T37Bsa:1; T44Bsa:2; T57Bsb:2; T66Bsb:3.

228. T11Bsa:2; T40Bsb:1; T42Bsa:2. For similar practices in the islands, see A. Forge, 'Prestige, Influence and Sorcery. A New Guinea Example', in M. Douglas (ed.), Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph No.9 (London, 1970), p.261; Humphreys, The Southern New Hebrides, pp.72, 168; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', p.147; Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.37.

229. See T1Bsb:1+3; T7Bsb:1; T11Bsb:2; T20Bsb:1; T31Bsb:2; T34Bsb:2; T40Bsb:1; T61Bsa:1; T73Bsa:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.56-57.

230. See T1Bsb:1; T11Bsa:2; T40Bsa:3; T48Bsa:1; T51Bsa:2; T57Bsb:3; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.57; Ivens, Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, p.30.

231. See T42Bsb:1; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.58.

This highlights the connection between mystical and physical aggression. It was believed that some of the Islanders used magical powers in fighting.²³² In a broader sense, sorcery served as a substitute for fighting.²³³ This was most apparent in Mackay, which had a reputation for sorcery in other districts, and where over three-quarters of the deaths attributed to sorcery occurred.²³⁴ In this district the sorcerers were all New Hebrideans and their attacks were regarded as the counterpart to the physical aggression of Solomon Islanders, even though their victims included New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders alike.

Sorcery was important in other respects in social relations. Faith in the efficacy of magical and religious practices remained strong amongst Islanders, despite adjustments to their new environment. Such practices catered for practical needs by providing a greater sense of control over their environment.²³⁵ In our earlier paper, Moore and I suggested that the practice of sorcery was primarily a form of social control directed by the community leaders.²³⁶ However, as this study has shown, the underlying divisions based on island of origin imposed severe restrictions on the capacity of any leader to speak for the entire community.

232. See T8Bsb:1; T21Bsb:1; T57Bsb:2.

233. As it does in the islands. See R.M. Berndt, Excess and Restraint. Social Control among a New Guinea Mountain People (Chicago, 1962), p.208; Lawrence, 'Religion and Magic', p.219; M.G. Marwick, 'Witchcraft as a Social Strain-Gauge', The Australian Journal of Science Vol.XXVI, 1964, p.267; Patterson, 'Sorcery and Witchcraft in Melanesia', p.149.

234. See T61Bsa:1; T71Bsa:2+3.

235. As magical and religious practices do in many cultures. See K. Thomas, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, II', Journal of Interdisciplinary History Vol.VI, No.1, Summer 1975, pp.100-1.

236. Mercer and Moore, 'The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices', pp.81-82.

While sorcery attacks were prompted by individual motivation, the effect was employed to advantage by the older generation. By implanting fear of such attacks in the younger people, they were able to maintain authority - thus offsetting such undermining influences as the native-born's European education and less traditional outlook. It was an effective means of keeping the younger people home at night and of discouraging their association with those of whom the older people did not approve.²³⁷ Conformity to a Christian code of behaviour was also promoted. The younger people believed that they would lay themselves open to sorcery attacks through anti-social behaviour or transgressions of the moral code, such as drunkenness or sexual intercourse before or outside marriage. 'Immoral' women were regarded as particularly vulnerable to mystical attacks, and sorcery victims in general were thought by the community to have deserved their 'punishment'.²³⁸

The threat of sorcery thus served as an indirect form of social control. Yet in other respects magical and religious practices conflicted with Christianity. Some Islanders attempted to renounce totally traditional customs which they perceived as conflicting with their new Christian lifestyle. Others were anxious that their children should not share these: Katie Marlla, for example, would not talk to her children about Aoban magical and religious beliefs because she had "sort of got civilized, [and] wanted us to live the right way".²³⁹ However, a few of the migrants, especially the old unmarried men, and particularly the Malaitans, wanted to pass on their knowledge. While their parents promoted strict Christian principles,

237. See Moore, The Forgotten People, p.56. The fear of sorcery was also used as a disciplinary control in the islands. See Tonkinson, Maat Village, Efate, p.37; Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.35.

238. See T1Bsb:2; T9Bsa:1; T26Bsa:2. This was also so in the islands. See Burrige, Mambu, p.66; Young, Fighting with Food, p.133.

239. T3Bsa:2. For similar examples, see T2Bsa:2; T19Bsa:3.

the old men were teaching the children traditional customs: "so it was a go between whom you listened to".²⁴⁰

There was an underlying conflict between the church leaders and those who continued to practise their old beliefs, often hand-in-hand with Christianity.²⁴¹ The church leaders disapproved of certain customs. For instance, Harry Fatnowna would not participate in the big feasts and the all-night singing and dancing nor pay heed to a certain insect sound, which was considered to be an omen of death.²⁴² This indicates the polarity between Christian and indigenous religious beliefs. Jimmy Bassabola, the Islander who had a vision of a devil, called out "Master Jesus save me now". Some Islanders gave up their 'small worship' to satisfy Christian beliefs.²⁴³ In the Burdekin, Jack Daniels, when he joined the Assembly of God church, publicly renounced his healing powers and, in a symbolic ceremony conducted by Annie Dennis, the congregation witnessed the burning of his magical objects.²⁴⁴ Yet such sects as Pentecostalism and Seventh-day Adventism were partly attractive to the Islanders just because their doctrines incorporated such elements as prophecy and faith healing.²⁴⁵

240. T1Bsb:1.

241. For example, some of the old men brought their weapons to church and left them outside. For this and other actions which were considered un-Christian, see T7Bsb:2; T28Bsa:1; T37Bsb:1; T55Bsa:1.

242. See T47Bsb:2+3; T48Bsa:1. Fatnowna's step-father-in-law, Matthew Malachi, similarly refused to believe in the mystical powers of the 'Tarunga' hut and of the men who went there. T40Bsb:1. For a parallel in the islands, see J. Guiart, 'The Millenarian Aspect of Conversion to Christianity in the South Pacific', in S.L. Thrupp (ed.), Millennial Dreams in Action Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements (New York, 1970), p.133.

243. Statement of Tom Dennis, Inquest No.170 of 1923, Jimmy Bassabola, JUS/N756, QSA; T19Bsb:1; T47Bsb:3. For a comparison in the islands, see Guiart, 'The Millenarian Aspect', p.135.

244. Two women recall this. T68Bsb:2; T71Bsa:2. There was a similar ceremony by a pastor in Rockhampton. T11Bsb:2.

245. See Thomas, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic', p.97.

Total renunciation of indigenous religious beliefs had the effect of making Christians feel more vulnerable to the threat of sorcery - sorcery has flourished rather than declined in Melanesia with the advent of Christianity.²⁴⁶ Moreover, the Islanders felt fearful not only of their own sorcerers but also of other sorcerers, such as Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, in North Queensland.²⁴⁷ Christianity was no protection against the threat of sorcery and the religious beliefs of most of the Islanders remained a mixture of Christian and pagan elements.

THIS CHAPTER has highlighted the resilience of certain traditional customs and beliefs amongst Pacific Islanders in North Queensland. Rarely were cultural elements preserved intact. Generally these were modified and adjusted to suit the new environment. Even when there was a reaction against these, as in the case of Christian opposition to magical and religious beliefs, the latter still continued to influence strongly attitudes and behaviour.

The amalgamation of the varying beliefs and customs tended to produce a generalized Melanesian culture. By the second and third generations it was difficult to identify elements relating to different islands of origin. Yet a common Melanesian identity was preserved despite the loss of such valuable cultural indicators as a shared language.²⁴⁸ The apparent unity of the communities masked the preservation of fundamental divisions based on island of origin. There was also, as magical and religious beliefs reveal, a clash between the old (traditional) and the new (Christian) lifestyles.

246. This is despite attempts by the churches to stop converts retaining their belief in the efficacy of sorcery. See Feachem, 'The Religious Belief and Ritual of the Raiapu Enga', p.260; Hogbin, Social Change, pp.180, 182; Panoff, 'An Experiment in Inter-Tribal Contacts', p.116; C.A. Valentine, Masks and Men in a Melanesian Society. The Valuku or Tubuan of the Lakalai of New Britain (Kansas City, 1961), p.10; Black, 'Christianity as a Cross-Cultural Bond', pp.177, 181.

247. For cases of sorcery attacks on Pacific Islanders by other races, and an example of sorcery fears amongst Aborigines, see T33Bsa:3; T65Bsa:1; T72Bsb:3; NQR 20 Feb.1928, p.105, Northern Supreme Court. In New Caledonia, the New Hebrideans who were brought as labourers are feared for their magical powers. Bourret, 'The Evolution of Traditional Medicine in New Caledonia', p.468.

248. For comparisons with 'detrribalized' Aboriginal communities, see Beckett, 'Aborigines, Alcohol, and Assimilation', p.33; R.A. Fink, 'Guided Social Change at the Community Level', in Reay, Aborigines Now, pp.145-46; Calley, 'Family and kinship in Aboriginal Australia', p.16; Barwick, 'The Aboriginal Family in South-Eastern Australia', p.154.

EPILOGUE

THIS THESIS began by examining the colonial experiences of Pacific Island migrants who came to Queensland as indentured labourers, particularly those who broke the pattern of circular migration by remaining in Australia. In their new country, the migrants broadened their world-view and built up new loyalties. By the late 1890s and early 1900s, a small proportion of the migrants regarded themselves as permanent residents and displayed this attitude in various economic and social activities. In the mid-1900s many of these people were faced with deportation, but, as a result of their own protests and those of sympathetic Europeans, the requirements for exemption were liberalized. Even so, very few of the migrants - perhaps two to two and a half thousand - remained in Australia after 1908, and a considerable proportion of these did so illegally.

The expectation amongst European contemporaries was that this small population, with a heavy imbalance towards single, ageing men, would not survive, physically or culturally. There were, however, other differences between the demographic patterns of Pacific Islanders and those of the wider community. A high rate of natural increase and a declining mortality rate helped to account for the survival of a separate Pacific Islander population. This was clearly evident by 1940. In the years between 1908 and 1940, the Islander population in North Queensland was largely a closed one: there was some augmentation of the population by migration from other parts of Queensland, but few Islanders moved out of the region. Residentially, they lived an isolated and semi-rural existence, although mobility within and between districts helped to maintain contacts with other groups of Islanders. There was a marked tendency for those from the same island of origin to cluster together.

Together with other non-Europeans, the Islanders in this period faced extensive discrimination at the official and unofficial levels, aimed at denying them civic rights and restricting their access to favoured occupations. In Queensland in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Labor Party and the Australian Workers Union attached great importance to the 'coloured' labour question: the use of non-European labour was inextricably

tied to both past and present efforts to obtain decent working conditions for European sugar workers. There was a long and vigorous campaign to force non-Europeans out of the sugar industry.

Since most Islanders were involved in the sugar industry, as farmers or workers, this campaign had a significant impact on them. The lack of training for other occupations and the discrimination practised against them ensured that Islanders remained near the bottom of the occupational pyramid. In Mackay, and to a lesser extent in other districts, cane growing or mixed farming was an important activity, but by 1940 the number of Islanders farming had declined drastically, largely due to the legislative handicaps imposed on them. Some Islanders lived comfortably, but most existed at a subsistence level, dependent on the charity of local farmers for the land on which they grew much of their own food. This at least sustained them during the depression years, when unemployment was high amongst the Islanders. During the 1930s, many of the single migrant men lived in straitened circumstances, dependent on the pittance provided to them in the form of the State indigence allowance.

Contacts between the Islanders and the wider society were superficial and largely restricted to contact through the schools, membership of Christian churches, law enforcement and certain leisure activities. Pacific Islanders were a residentially distinct, staunchly Christian, poorly educated, but predominantly law-abiding population. Relationships with Europeans were nearly always conducted on an unequal basis and mutual suspicion and hostility generally characterized interaction with other non-European groups such as the Chinese and the Aborigines. The movement of the Islanders from the more conventional churches into new and socially marginal sects was an indication of the resentment of their unequal position.

Pacific Islanders lived an unobtrusive and self-contained existence not only from necessity but also from choice. This allowed them to develop and maintain a separate identity and community solidarity. Many traditional customs and beliefs, modified by the new environment, were maintained. A generalized Melanesian culture developed which marked them as distinct both from other Australians and from their homeland communities in the islands. Yet while shared characteristics generally became more important than

cultural differences, there were continuing divisions based on place of origin. To Europeans, Pacific Islanders may have appeared to be one group, but amongst themselves they remained very aware of social and cultural differences dividing them.

THIS WAS the state of the Pacific Islander population in North Queensland on the eve of World War II. The changes created by the war could not be easily shut out, and the war had a major impact on the lives of North Queensland's Pacific Islanders.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, World War II took on a new meaning for Australians and especially for North Queenslanders.¹ The fear of invasion was very strong. Japanese attacks on New Guinea began in January 1942 and in February Darwin and other towns in the Northern Territory and also Western Australia were bombed. In this same month, all schools in the far north and throughout coastal Queensland were closed. In North Queensland, citizens who could leave were advised to do so and, especially in the far north, large numbers left in haste. By August 1942, when the risk of bombing and imminent invasion was thought to have passed, residents began to return home. Apparently few Pacific Islanders ever left the north, with the exception of some elderly migrants in hospital who were sent to southern centres.²

1. For the impact of the war on Australia generally and North Queensland specifically, see M. Bevege, 'Women's Experiences in North Queensland during World War II', in Second Women and Labour Conference, Vol.II, pp.604-13; F. Crowley, A Documentary History of Australia. Vol.5 Modern Australia 1939-1970 (Melbourne, 1973; republ. 1978), esp. pp.55, 56, 58-59, 65, 87; Jones, Hurricane Lamps, pp.366-67, 369; Jones, Trinity Phoenix, pp.468-70; Kerr, Pioneer Pageant, pp.195-96.

2. See T45Bsb:1; T60Bsb:1; T63Bsa:2. Oral evidence concerning World War II was collected in the Mackay, Bowen, Burdekin and Herbert River districts, but not in the districts in the far north.

During the South West Pacific offensive, many of the bases and much of the supplies and equipment for the sea, land and air forces were located in Queensland and particularly in the north. There were naval establishments at Bowen, Townsville and Cairns, aerodromes near Charters Towers, Townsville and Mareeba, and large numbers of American and Australian troops stationed in camps near towns throughout the whole area. From March 1942 all civilians had to carry identity cards and ration books. Under special war time regulations, curfews and travel restrictions were imposed on 'aliens' and many, notably Italians in North Queensland, were interned.

Wartime service was a novel experience for Pacific Islander men. Persons who were not substantially of European origin or descent were specifically exempted from wartime military service, but not from duties of a non-combative nature. It was up to the military authorities, however, to judge whether persons came under this disqualification. According to one source, Islanders were able to join up if they identified as Aborigines.³ Many native-born Islander men enlisted in the army.⁴ Others were conscripted into the Civilian Constructional Corps, which carried out the projects of the Allied Works Council such as the building of roads, aerodromes and army camps. 'Smile' Backo and his brother John, for example, worked in this 'army behind the army', building roads in inland North Queensland.⁵

3. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59. Robert Hall shows that although official army policy denied entry to persons 'not substantially of European origin or descent', many Aborigines were enlisted and served in the army. 'Aborigines, the Army and the Second World War in northern Australia', Aboriginal History Vol.4, Jun.1980, pp.73-75. See also Appendix D.

4. T15Bsb:3; T18Bsa:1; T21Bsb:2; T64Bsa:3; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59; Percy Mooney, AMR, Mackay, 4 Jan.1945; Photographic Album, II, No.78. In the Torres Strait, the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion was organized under European officers. Lack, 'The Story of Cape York Peninsula Part II', p.151.

5. T18Bsa:1; T57Bsa:3; T57Bsb:1; T60Bsb:1; Crowley, A Documentary History of Australia, Vol.5, pp.56, 87.

Other Islander men continued to work on the farms⁶; farm labourers and cane-cutters were in short supply during these years.

Women in North Queensland, as elsewhere in Australia, took on new roles during the war. Increased participation in the workforce, especially by young married women, was one important effect. Single women and married women without children were considered 'eligible females' to be called up to work by the manpower authorities. In North Queensland, where there was little industrial employment, women worked primarily in secretarial or other white-collar jobs or in labouring work on the land.⁷ The Women's Land Army was composed of volunteer women who worked on the farms. There do not appear to have been any Islander women in the Land Army, but whether this was by choice or because 'black' women were not welcome is not known. Since Islander women married young and bore early families, few would have been called up. At least some Islander women worked outside their traditional roles; for instance, Rhoda Backo, married with a young family, ran a laundry in Ayr to serve the needs of American troops stationed in the town and at nearby Woodstock.⁸

Probably the most novel experience for the Islanders in these years was their contact with American Negro soldiers. Such soldiers were mainly attached to the labour battalions around Woodstock and Giru near Ayr. 'White' Australian women were cautious of the Negro soldiers, although many families invited 'white' servicemen into their homes.⁹ In the Burdekin district, Rhoda Backo and her sister Esther Henaway, both married and with

6. T45Bsb:1.

7. Bevege, 'Women's Experiences in North Queensland during World War II', pp.609, 610. For the impact of the war on women generally, see B. Kingston (ed.), The World Moves Slowly a documentary history of Australian women (Maryborough, Vic., 1977), pp.144-49.

8. T25Bsa:3; T45Bsb:1.

9. Bevege, 'Women's Experiences in North Queensland during World War II', pp.609, 610.

young families, recall their contacts with many of the Negro soldiers who visited their homes to talk, play the piano and share their meals. Many European women married American soldiers, but there is no evidence that the Islanders did so.¹⁰

The war had a long-term impact on Pacific Islanders. It broke down their isolated, insular existence in North Queensland. For both the young men and women, the war created new jobs and opportunities and, at least for the men, took them into new surroundings. After 1945, the young men who had been in the army or the labour corps were reluctant to settle back into the old ways. The pattern of semi-rural dispersion began to change as the younger generation drifted into the towns, leaving the old people behind.¹¹ Those few Islanders who were still growing cane had suffered from the disruption of the war, during which the amount of cane crushed had dropped dramatically.¹² Now they lost the labour of their young male relatives or countrymen:

When the boys all left and went away in the Army they found life different. When they came back they couldn't fit in to the old ways, living all together in the old Islander way. They wouldn't even come home and that's how we all went bankrupt on the farms. All the boys just left the old people on the farms.¹³

10. See T45Bsb:1. Since Islander women tended to marry at a younger age than Europeans, there were fewer single Islander women available. Aborigines similarly had friendly encounters with Negro soldiers. Hall, 'Aborigines, the Army and the Second World War', p.87.

11. See T27Bsa:2; T28Bsa:2; T57Bsa:3; T64Bsa:1.

12. Jones, hurricane Lamps, pp.367-68; Kerr, Pioneer Pageant, pp.195-97.

13. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59.

The war years coincided with a generation change in the Islander population. By 1945, most of the migrants had died or were very elderly: in Mackay in 1941, for example, Jimmy from Nggela was described as one of the last surviving 'originals'.¹⁴ The war had acted to loosen the controls exercised by the older over the younger people. Henceforth the insularity of the Islander population progressively broke down and leadership passed to the younger, native-born men and women.

IN CONTRAST with the pre-war years, Islanders in North Queensland today appear, superficially, to be well-integrated into the wider society. While this may be so in many respects, they remain economically and socially disadvantaged to a significant degree.¹⁵

There have been several conflicting estimates of the present number of descendants of the Pacific Islander migrants in Australia, ranging from eight thousand to thirty thousand or more. The lower figure is undoubtedly more accurate.¹⁶ The greatest part - perhaps two-thirds - of this number live in North Queensland. Mackay still has the largest population - around three thousand. There are sizeable numbers in the Bowen, Burdekin, Herbert River and Cairns districts, and smaller numbers scattered throughout the rest of the region. The Islanders, especially the younger people, are more mobile than in the past, moving freely between coastal districts and even out of the region to larger centres.

14. Pix 13 Sep.1941, p.22. For similar comments, see Minutes of meeting held 9 Mar.1937, Minute Book 1925-40, Presbyterian Church, Walkerston; Hill, 'The Old Kanaka Days', pp.17-18.

15. The following discussion is based on work done in conjunction with Moore. See Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', pp.98-108; Mercer and Moore, 'Australia's Pacific Islanders', pp.90-101.

16. A recent report released by an interdepartmental committee of the Commonwealth Government estimated (on the basis of a survey by Commonwealth officers) that there were 3,000 to 3,500 Pacific Islanders. This is a very conservative estimate, based on a survey which cannot be considered reliable as it was not fully supported by the Islanders. See Report of the Interdepartmental Committee into South Sea Islanders in Australia (Canberra, 1977), pp.4, 12; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.78-79.

Today the Islanders live in, rather than outside, the small urban centres along the North Queensland coastline. Their dwellings are more often rented than owned - home ownership is far less common amongst the Islanders than it is amongst their 'white' neighbours.¹⁷ Their houses are not substantially different from the average North Queensland home, but there is a higher proportion of improvisation and mobile dwellings. Very few Islanders live in slum conditions.¹⁸

The closeness of contact provided by living near to other Islanders has been lost, and the older people in particular regret its passing. Islanders, however, still interact primarily with other Islanders. Family celebrations and bereavements will bring Islanders from very considerable distances to join their kin; the high degree of inmarriage and large family size mean that there are extensive connections by blood or marriage amongst the Islander population. Most outside social activities are associated with the church. Organized sport is popular, but there is limited interaction with other groups because of a tendency to join teams which are 'all-black' or which have a high proportion of 'black' members.

Behaviour is still governed by a strong sense of family loyalty and kinship obligations. Households are generally larger than the Queensland average. Unemployed or visiting relatives and friends are always welcome, but there is implicit pressure on such people eventually to find employment and contribute their share to the household budget. Food and money are freely given to relatives and friends, but once again there is an unspoken expectation that such debts will be repaid in time. The generous support system extends to the helpless, young or old. Illegitimate and orphaned Islander (and other) children are raised by Islander families rather than sent to government homes and, similarly, elderly people come to live with or near their children or other relatives.

17. Since the Islanders are on a low income, they often rent Housing Commission homes. Some Islanders have acquired their own homes through finance provided by Commonwealth housing schemes for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.

18. For an example of an Islander family who live under very poor conditions, see Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.73-75.

Like the Aboriginal community, this is a youthful population. The large family size of the older generation, when ten to twelve children in a family was not uncommon, helped to create this (see Plate 4.4). The younger generation have families which, while not as large, are still considerably above the average Australian family size. Parents exercise greater control and discipline over their children than do many of their 'white' contemporaries, even if the older generation lament that this upbringing is not as strict as that they received.

Marriage patterns have changed through necessity. The degree of inmarriage amongst the older generation has created a situation where the choice in marital partners is between a cousin or other relative, or a non-Melanesian. The first choice (though sometimes made) is frowned upon, and therefore there is a growing tendency to marry Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders and even Europeans. The age at marriage, especially for women, is still young, and there are very few unmarried men and even fewer unmarried women.

Unskilled manual labour is still the chief sphere of employment. Until the mechanization of the sugar industry in the 1960s, most of the men worked as farm labourers or cane-cutters and drew unemployment relief in the slack season. Now they work in the sugar mills or in seasonal employment such as at the meatworks and tomato-picking. Islander women continue to be limited largely to domestic work. There is a high level of unemployment amongst the Islanders, and especially amongst the adolescent boys and girls. Poor education and discrimination practised against the Islanders in regard to jobs such as apprenticeships and those which involve dealings with the public, ensure that the Islanders remain concentrated in low status occupations.¹⁹ Their earnings are well below the average weekly wage for men. A recent Commonwealth survey found that just under half of the Islander population was below the poverty line, in comparison with one-quarter of the Australian population.²⁰

19. The Islanders are in fact respected and valued as unskilled workers. Report into South Sea Islanders in Australia, p.19.

20. Ibid., p.14, Table 4.

The educational attainments of Islander children are still poor. They are disadvantaged economically by the low income level of their families and culturally by their membership of a minority group. Their parents feel that European teachers discriminate against their children, and the children find little of relevance or interest in the 'white' middle-class education taught to them, although they excel at sport. They feel that even if they did obtain a good education, higher status jobs would not be open to them. Despite financial assistance provided through Commonwealth educational study grants, few remain at school past the compulsory age and no Islander in North Queensland has secured a tertiary qualification.²¹

Whereas church attendance by 'white' Australians continues to decline, the great majority of Islanders are practising Christians. Their religious preference also differs widely from that of the general society: the largest number are members of the Assembly of God church (Pentecostals), a significant number are Seventh-day Adventists and about the same number are Anglicans.²² This reflects the religious changes of the 1920s and 1930s. Within these churches, they form congregations which are almost exclusively 'black', and they participate very actively in the church services, organization and mission work.

Pacific Islanders feel very strongly that they are 'a forgotten people', whose origins and identity are unknown to most 'white' Australians. In 1974 the Australian South Sea Islanders' United Council was formed, principally to secure recognition for the Islanders as a separate and disadvantaged ethnic group.²³ The Council in particular, and the Islanders

21. One woman, Shireen Malamoo, successfully completed several subjects for an Arts degree at the James Cook University of North Queensland, but did not finish her studies.

22. In the general population at the last census, the churches with the largest followings were the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, followed by the Presbyterian church.

23. Previously Pacific Islanders (such as Faith Bandler and Patsy Kruger) had worked for the 'black' cause in Aboriginal organizations such as the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. There are, however, deep divisions and antagonisms between these two 'black' groups and Pacific Islanders.

in general, attracted extensive media coverage in the 1970s, which has been reasonably successful in fostering an awareness that not all the 'kanakas' were sent home.

Progress towards the Council's other objective, to secure eligibility for the financial assistance provided to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, has been much less successful. Pacific Islanders can (and do) receive such benefits as educational and housing grants by identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. Most do in fact have an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander parent or grandparent, but they resent this subterfuge. Under the socially conscious Labor Government, an inter-departmental committee was set up in 1975 to investigate the Islanders' situation. In light of the financial stringency of the present government, it was hardly surprising that, when the committee finally presented its report to this Government in 1978, it did not recommend the extension of such grants to Islanders - despite its conclusion that Pacific Islanders were a disadvantaged group whose standard of living was significantly below that of 'white' Australians.²⁴ In the wake of this defeat, the Australian South Sea Islanders' United Council has today lost much of its driving force, sapped by internal rivalries arising out of antagonism between those of different descent (that is, island of origin) and male resentment of the leading part taken by women.²⁵

24. The Government did accept the recommendation that the needs of Islanders should receive special attention from a social worker within the Department of Social Security. In 1976 the Queensland Government established an Aboriginal and Islander Commission as a special advisory authority to the Minister for Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement; Noel Fatnowna represents Pacific Islanders on this four person commission. Canberra Times 14 Sep.1978; Report into South Sea Islanders in Australia, p.24; Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', p.104.

25. For more on the Council and its problems, see Mercer and Moore, 'Australia's Pacific Islanders', pp.98-101.

The United Council's formation and the media coverage given to Pacific Islanders over the last few years have been part of a revitalization in the Islanders' sense of a separate identity. Pacific Islanders perceive themselves as a distinct group, with shared social and cultural traits which set them apart from other Australians. Many are keen to explore their origins by going back to their island (or islands) of origin and attempting to establish contact with their relatives. Some have done so successfully, others have insufficient information to enable them to find their kinfolk.²⁶ Such visits to the islands, however, have revealed the important differences between Australia's Pacific Islanders and their Melanesian contemporaries. While their values and cultural heritage are essentially Melanesian, they are Australians, leading very different lives from their relatives in the islands. The pride they feel in Australia and their disgust at 'white' Australians' racist attitudes and failure to recognize the Islanders' contribution to the country's development, is expressed by Noel Fatnowna (son of Harry Fatnowna, the Seventh-day Adventist pioneer in Mackay):

'Look, man, my name's Fatnowna. I have been in this town for nearly a hundred years, or at least my family has. You go out around Farleigh, go driving out from this town ... That's the places where we cleared the ground. That's where we grew the cane. That's where we came here nearly a hundred years ago and worked and slaved out there. And you wouldn't let us live in the town thirty years ago because there was no place for us.'²⁷

26. For greater detail on such trips, see Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', pp.102-5.

27. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.88.

APPENDIX A

A Note on Sources

As noted in the Introduction, the sources for this thesis fall into three broad categories discussed below.¹ Their usefulness for the family reconstitution approach used in this study is discussed in Appendix B.

A. Conventional Sources

These consist of the usual historical sources: manuscripts, published works, newspapers, government publications and archives. Manuscripts are numerous for the nineteenth century history of indentured Island labour but few are available for the twentieth century. By contrast, contemporary and recently published works are valuable sources for both periods. They provide information on diverse subjects: the labour trade, Melanesian society, Queensland (and Australian) politics and society, minority groups in Australia, the Pacific and elsewhere, demographic history in Australia and the Pacific and historical demography.

Newspapers, both local North Queensland and more widely distributed journals, were consulted for selected dates from the late 1870s through to 1940. Newspapers serving the Cairns, Townsville, Bowen and Mackay districts are available for most of these years, but those in the Port Douglas, Johnstone River, Herbert River and Burdekin districts have either not survived at all or only for short runs. This is partly compensated for by the availability, from 1912, of the North Queensland Register, a weekly newspaper which included notes on each district as well as local news.

Government publications contain the very useful and varied information collected by government agencies. For instance, Queensland Parliamentary Papers provided information on political proceedings, returns on crimes

1. Where relevant, the chronological period for which sources were consulted and any gaps in the coverage are noted.

committed and the prison populations, the chief protector's report on Aborigines, community health and education and the findings of and evidence collected by various commissions and inquiries into agricultural industries (particularly the sugar industry). Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers are useful mainly for the evidence of Commonwealth-appointed commissions on the sugar industry. For both Queensland and the Commonwealth, the parliamentary debates of the upper and lower houses, the government gazettes, the electoral rolls and the published volumes of statutes were consulted extensively. The reports on the Commonwealth censuses of 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947 were also valuable.

Both Commonwealth and State archives, but particularly the latter, provided important data. Records held by the Australian Archives were most useful for material on deportation and exemption and on Commonwealth/State relations. The Queensland State Archives contain a wealth of information on the system of indentured Island labour. But more importantly for my study, they hold abundant material on the lives of Pacific Islanders after 1908 - as, for instance, in the records of coroners' inquests and of District and Supreme Court trials, the files of intestacies, the case histories of lepers, the admission registers, yearly returns and correspondence of state schools, the bench record, summons and watch-house charge books, the letterbooks of clerks of petty sessions and correspondence and papers on Pacific Islanders who were paid a State indigence allowance in the 1930s. A further source is the material collected in connection with legislation which discriminated against non-Europeans; the most important of these, the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, is discussed in Appendix B.

The records of CSR are held in the Archives of Business and Labour at the Australian National University. These provided material on those Islanders amongst CSR's cane suppliers or employees, and also on the Company's actions during the years when the campaign to exclude non-Europeans from the sugar industry was most vigorous.

B. Local Records

Historians who venture outside the libraries and other public repositories find a wealth of information to be collected in the field,

with the only constraint usually being that of time. In all of North Queensland's major coastal towns, I discovered abundant records of which only the major types are described here.² Their usefulness for social history is invaluable and their importance for demographic data is discussed in Appendix B.

First, there are the records of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches.³ No records for the Pentecostal and Seventh-day Adventist churches (which attracted large Islander congregations from the 1920s and 1930s) have been located.⁴ Church records consist mainly of baptism and marriage registers, but may also include registers of burials, confirmations and services, minutes of church committee meetings, annual reports, account books and rolls of members. In North Queensland there is a great variation in the coverage and quality of record-keeping and preservation, but in terms of availability and careful recording church records were most useful in Mackay and the Herbert River districts and least useful in the Cairns district. The Anglican church kept the most complete records and the Holy Trinity Church in Mackay was the best example of this: the baptism and marriage registers of this church date from the 1860s to the present, with very few gaps, and from the early twentieth century there are burial, confirmation and service registers, minute and account books, annual reports and parishioners' rolls.

2. For reasons of space, those local records used most frequently are given in an abbreviated form in footnotes, as noted in the list of Abbreviations. For example, a marriage register held at the Holy Trinity (Anglican) Church in Mackay is abbreviated as AMR [Anglican Marriage Register], Mackay.

3. From oral evidence it was apparent that Pacific Islanders rarely converted to Roman Catholicism, and therefore Catholic church registers were not consulted. The records of the Anglican church in the Port Douglas district were not consulted as they are located in the Diocesan archives on Thursday Island.

4. The Pentecostal church, and especially in its earlier days, was not greatly concerned with record-keeping. See Chant, Heart of Fire, p.205. In the Seventh-day Adventist church records are not kept locally and it may be that there are records kept at the church's headquarters (in Brisbane); I have not explored this possibility.

Secondly, there are the cemetery registers kept by local authorities. These are held by city and shire councils, and their coverage and quality again varies very considerably. In Mackay the cemetery registers were supplemented by the records of a local undertaker, which included notebooks detailing funeral costs and next-of-kin as well as registers of burials.

Thirdly, there are the records of the state schools. Usually these are restricted to admission registers, but in some cases they include school correspondence and punishment registers. Admission registers for some schools have disappeared completely and for others there are gaps due to missing registers.⁵ Coverage was most nearly complete in the Herbert River district, and was reasonably full in the Burdekin, Proserpine and Mackay districts.

Fourthly, there are the records of admissions kept by local hospitals, usually known as 'history books'. These were valuable sources, although very time-consuming to use. Unfortunately these could be consulted only in Bowen and Ingham. In Ayr they were missing and in Mackay I was denied access; the exigencies of time prevented me from investigating hospital records in the far north.

Finally, there are the records kept by the local sugar mills. Once again, time did not allow me to visit all mills. Since mill records were most valuable for information on Islander farmers, I concentrated on mills in the Mackay, Proserpine, Burdekin and Herbert River districts, where such farmers were most numerous.⁶

C. Oral Sources

The other evidence which can be collected in the field is personal recollection. As noted in the Introduction, the strengths and weaknesses of oral sources as historical evidence have been discussed elsewhere. Oral evidence not only provides information on what people felt and experienced and why they acted in certain ways, but also deepens the collector's

5. Where schools have been closed, the admission registers (if they have survived) are kept in the Queensland State Archives.

6. One mill in the far north, the Mourilyan Mill in the Johnstone River district, was consulted but records dating before 1940 had been destroyed.

understanding of the people under study. It is essential for a fully rounded community study of a minority group, such as the Islanders, who have left few written records.⁷ Oral sources have normally been used as a complement, not an alternative, to written sources; only in rare cases are oral sources used without corroboration, as for example for evidence on the persistence of customary religious and magical practices.

During the 1960s and 1970s, some interviews were made both in Queensland and the islands with Pacific Islanders who had laboured on Queensland plantations or whose relatives had done so.⁸ Since 1974, in conjunction with Clive Moore, I have collected interviews with those descendants of the Islanders who live in the coastal towns of North Queensland, and especially in the Mackay, Bowen, Burdekin and Herbert River districts. Interviews with fifty-four Islanders have been recorded on eighty cassette tapes. These tapes and also typescripts of some interviews have been deposited as Section B of the Black Oral History Collection in the History Department of the James Cook University of North Queensland.⁹ The ages of informants ranged from about forty to over ninety, but most were elderly. Interviews were not structured, the intention being to allow informants to present their recollections without prompting or leading questions. Collecting and utilizing interviews is an extremely time-consuming process, involving making initial contacts, taping at least one interview (and usually several), listening back to the

7. Two Pacific Islanders, Faith Bandler and Noel Fatnowna, are now putting down their recollections.

8. The details of previous interviews collected are detailed in Moore, *Oral Testimony and the Pacific Island Labour Trade*, pp.2-3. For interviews with migrant and native-born Islanders which have been published (in part or whole), see Dutton, Queensland Canefields English; Moore, The Forgotten People.

9. Access to these tapes is at present limited, but it is intended to widen it when we have both completed our present research projects.

tapes and taking down extensive notes.¹⁰

The usefulness of this oral evidence is limited by several factors. First, the oldest people interviewed were young children in the closing years of the nineteenth century or the early years of the new century. Their recollections therefore relate almost entirely to the period after large-scale deportation took place; evidence on the plantation period is usually secondhand. In addition, the problem of 'feedback', of incorporation of material from external sources, is apparent; for example, some of our informants had read popular histories of the labour trade which may have influenced their stories of recruiting.¹¹

Oral sources are most useful for the period after 1908, and particularly for demographic and social data on how the Islanders lived, worked, married and raised families. But people's memories are notoriously unreliable on 'hard' facts like dates and figures (such as wages). Nor are their recollections very precise on subjects such as the local impact of legislation which discriminated against them.

Very often informants are descendants of migrants from several islands of origin: all four of their grandparents may have come from different islands. Very few Islanders today could be considered to be 'pure', in the sense of belonging to one island of origin. Most families also have some non-Islander forebears, usually Aboriginal. This means that it is usually difficult, and often impossible, to trace back customary

10. Transcribing all the tapes was not worthwhile, though some are now being transcribed. Tape references in footnotes have been abbreviated in the following manner. 'T1B' denotes the number of the tape in Section B (Pacific Islanders) of the Black Oral History Collection, while 'sa' or 'sb' indicates side a or side b, respectively, of the tape. Each side is divided into three parts of fifteen minutes' duration; '1' refers to the first fifteen minutes, '2' to the second and '3' to the final fifteen minutes. Thus 'T1Bsa:1' indicates that the reference will be found on Tape 1, side a, 0-15 minutes. Typescripts are identified by number and, where relevant, page number. Thus TyBp.1 denotes a reference to Type-script 1B, page 1.

11. See Mercer, 'Oral Tradition in the Pacific', p.148.

practices to a particular island or, more appropriately, a particular district of an island. In this sense, a generalized Melanesian culture has developed and great caution is needed when attempting to link traits or practices to a specific source of origin.

APPENDIX B

Historical Demography

Historical demography as a sub-discipline developed in the 1940s when historians began to take a greater interest in the reciprocal relationship between industrialization and demographic change. It was pioneered in France by Louis Henry and his colleagues and the approach was later taken up in England by the Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure. Seminal publications by the Cambridge Group include An introduction to English historical demography edited by E.A. Wrigley and Household and family in past time edited by Peter Laslett.¹

The aim of historical demography is to research population change and dynamics over time through investigation of the lives of individuals. The methods are not new: the statistical techniques are taken from conventional demography, and genealogy has often been used in studying the great and the wealthy. Historical demography, however, is concerned with reconstructing the total demographic history of a community of relatively small size. It also focuses on the lives of ordinary people through the medium of everyday records rather than merely the evidence of their 'betters'. The purpose of this Appendix is to briefly detail the techniques of historical demography and then examine the problems which arise and the usefulness of this approach in relation to a community study of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland between 1900 and 1940.

1. For these and some of the other chief works on historical demography, see I. Berkner, 'Inheritance, land tenure and peasant family structure: A German regional comparison', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E.P. Thompson (eds), Family and Inheritance in Rural Western Europe 1200-1700 (Cambridge, 1976); Glass and Eversley (eds), Population in History; P. Laslett, Family life and illicit love in earlier generations. Essays in historical sociology (Cambridge, 1977); P. Laslett with R. Wall, Household and family in past time Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe (Cambridge, 1972); K.A. Wachter with E.A. Hammel and P. Laslett, Statistical Studies of Historical Social Structure (New York, 1978); E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Identifying People in the Past (London, 1973); E.A. Wrigley (ed.), An introduction to English historical demography (London, 1966).

There are two processes involved in historical demography.² The first is that of nominal record linkage. This is a clumsy but useful term describing the process by which records in which an individual is distinguished by name (that is, nominal sources) are brought together and compared in accordance with certain rules to establish the sum total of information on that individual. Not all nominal records can be linked with complete accuracy; the researcher must decide on rules to determine which links will be disregarded and which utilized when such links conflict with each other. In England, the chief nominal sources are parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials and lists of inhabitants, government birth, death and marriage registers and census schedules. The second process, family reconstitution, is dependent upon prior nominal record linkage. In family reconstitution, all the information on members of a particular family is gathered together in order to discover the family's chief demographic characteristics.

The work of the Cambridge Group has drawn sharp criticism from some historical demographers and historians who stress the variety of local experiences and the need for caution in interpreting results and generalizing about the history of populations from the evidence of a few parish studies. While Wrigley and others have been fairly cautious in their conclusions, Laslett has expounded sweeping interpretations of English demographic history since the sixteenth century on the limited evidence available. He contends, for example, that the evidence demonstrates that the nuclear or simple family household type was predominant in pre- as well as in post-industrial England. His critics argue that the English model by which he has predefined the household is inappropriate for comparative purposes and that such categories as simple, extended or multiple households may represent different phases of a developmental cycle rather than different types of family structure. Historical demographers have also been criticized for focusing on the family household to the near exclusion of the kinship system that extends beyond it.

2. For a detailed discussion of these processes and the problems which arise, see Wrigley, 'Introduction', in Wrigley (ed.), Identifying People in the Past, pp.1-16.

In transforming nominal records into population history there are numerous problems and only those most relevant to my work are discussed here. In Australia neither State birth, death and marriage registers nor Commonwealth census schedules are available to researchers.³ Quantifiable information on household composition is only available from residential listings such as census schedules, and therefore Australian researchers cannot perform studies of the kind for which the Cambridge Group is renowned. However, the absence of vital records can be circumvented by the exploration of unorthodox sources, since any source in which an individual is named can be used in nominal record linkage. For my study, the nominal sources consulted fall into two categories - first, those located in libraries and archives and secondly, those found in the field.⁴

In libraries and archives, nominal sources include newspapers, electoral rolls, intestacies, inquests, trials and bench record and summons books. Government departments, as shown in Appendix A, gathered (usually indirectly) very considerable information on the lives of Pacific Islanders in the twentieth century. One very important collection of data which requires special mention is that gathered in connection with the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913.⁵ Under this Act every non-European who

3. Through the medium of a judge of the Queensland Supreme Court I sought a waiver on the payment of search fees for birth, marriage and death certificates, but was not successful. The cost is prohibitive for any community study. The lack of access to vital records and census schedules is no doubt responsible for the limited interest shown by Australian researchers in historical demography, but some work is being done using local records such as parish registers. See I. Davey, 'Education and Social Mobility: The Hindmarsh Project', Australia 1888 A journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888 Bulletin No. 2, Aug. 1979, pp.85-87; P. Curson, 'Reconstructing Sydney's Past Demographic Environment', ibid., pp.93-98; J. Cole, 'Social Mobility and Local History: Ways and Means in the Boonah Project', ibid., pp.99-105.

4. These sources are discussed in greater detail in Appendix A.

5. This Act and its administration are discussed in Chapter 5.

wished to continue as a cane farmer or sugar worker had to apply to the minister for agriculture before 31 December 1913 for a certificate of exemption. Three kinds of applications were submitted in late December 1913 and early 1914. In North Queensland, 452 Pacific Islanders (409 migrants, including 2 women, and 43 native-born Islanders) applied for exemption (see Table 5.1). All three forms required similar information: name, birthplace, nationality, marital status, age, present and previous places of residence, date of arrival in Australia and occupation.⁶ These forms were filled out in the presence of a justice of the peace and the applicants signed or made their marks. Often additional information to strengthen the applicant's case for exemption was given, such as whether a man was legally married, the size of his family, the number of years he had been working in the sugar industry, or the number of acres he was farming, how many years he had held the lease and improvements made to the property. Pacific Islanders also put their case for exemption in individual letters and petitions.

The Sugar Cultivation Act stimulated the collection of additional information on Pacific Islanders and other non-Europeans. At the premier's request, the police commissioner in February 1913 instructed officers in the State's twelve police districts to obtain information on all non-European residents. Lists were forwarded for all police districts in North Queensland except Cairns.⁷ An additional list of 216 Pacific Islanders resident in the Mackay district was drawn up in 1913, possibly in response to a circular sent in August 1913 by the Department of

6. These applications are contained in AGS/N97, AGS/N100-8, AGS/N354-57, QSA.

7. It is presumed that a return for this district was not forwarded, since it is not enclosed with the other returns. See Returns of Coloured Residents, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA. The lists gave name, birthplace, age, number of years in Queensland, farmer or labourer, residence and whether the individual held an exemption ticket and/or was naturalized.

Agriculture to the managers of sugar mills asking for information on non-European sugar workers.⁸ All this additional information is not as valuable as it appears, since it does not correlate well with other nominal sources; for example there are individuals given as Islanders in the police lists who would appear by their names or from other evidence not to have been so.⁹ These lists were collected by Europeans who most probably did not have a good knowledge of the Islander population, and must therefore be treated circumspectly.

In contrast, the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act were filled out by Islanders, or more usually by Europeans such as mill managers and local justices of the peace, with whom the Islanders were well-acquainted. The applications provide extensive data on both individuals and families which matches well with other sources. Since the majority of Islanders were working in the sugar industry and most of these applied for exemption, it can be taken as a very full sample of the demographic data.

The second category of nominal sources are found in the field - these are local records and oral evidence as outlined in Appendix A. For individual and family reconstitution, the most useful are church registers, cemetery registers, hospital records and state school admission registers. Church marriage and baptism registers usually contain very full information - name, relationship, age, occupation and residence. Burial registers and cemetery registers give names and usually, but not always, age and residence - information which can be vital for uniquely identifying a person. In Mackay, undertakers' records were very valuable in that they often listed next-of-kin or other relatives or close friends. Hospital records provide details on a patient's marital status, partner's name and names and ages of children (living and dead), as well as age, birthplace, occupation and religion. School admission registers

8. Circular to Sugar Mills re Number of Asiatics Employed, 170G, AGS/N361, QSA; List of Kanakas in the Mackay District 1913, 160G, AGS/N359, QSA. This list only gave name, number of years in Queensland (or age for the native-born) and number of acres under cane for those farming.

9. For example, the List of Kanakas in the Mackay District does not correlate well with the Return of Coloured Residents in the district, and neither correlates well with the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act. See Return of Coloured Residents of the Mackay District, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA; List of Kanakas in the Mackay District 1913, 160G, AGS/N359, QSA; AGS/N97, AGS/N100-8, AGS/N354-57, QSA.

give not only the pupil's name, dates of enrolment and departure and progress through grades of schooling, but also the name of the mother, father or guardian, occupation, address and religion. Oral evidence assists by providing the information necessary to link nominal records and to explain complicated family relationships, such as illegitimacy and adoption.

Names are the means by which nominal record linkage is performed. But both first names and surnames are very often abbreviated, modified, changed or spelt variously, while middle names are frequently not given and nicknames are common. It can be difficult to decide what are the variant forms of one name and what are different names. In nominal sources on the Islander population in my period, there is a high frequency of variant and disparate spellings of surnames and first names.¹⁰ Phonetic rendering of Melanesian names by Europeans was largely responsible for this - 'Sippie', for example, was variously recorded as 'Sepey', 'Seapee', 'Shippie' and 'Cippie'. In other cases the Islanders' surnames were modified or even completely changed through simplification or Anglicization, such as the transmutation of 'Fatnahoona' to 'Fatnowna'. Very few adopted common European names and it is the distinctiveness of their surnames which makes possible individual and family reconstitution.¹¹

There are special problems in identifying the single men. Particularly in the far north, many went under quasi-generic names such as Peter Tanna, so that there were often two or more men with the same name or names in a district. In addition, many of the single men were known by two or more different names, that is, their friends and relatives knew them by an 'island' name in addition to that by which Europeans knew them. Oral evidence is invaluable for supplying the different names by which an individual was known, but inevitably there will be some Islanders who have been noted twice under different names. Often, imaginative leaps are required to make connections between records - as, for instance, in recognizing that Kate Suvalissie was one and the same person as Gertie Stephens, by comparing the

10. See Chapter 9.

11. Pacific Islanders are by no means always identified as such in nominal sources; for example, they are generally not so identified in intestacies, electoral rolls and cemetery registers.

names and ages of the children of these two 'different' women.

Islander women generally adopted the European custom of taking their husband's surnames when they married, so it may be difficult to link sources on a woman before and after marriage. Pacific Islanders in the period under study also adopted the custom of passing on a parent's name to a child. Thus a mother and daughter often had the same first name, making it difficult to separate them in, for example, burial registers if ages are not given. A further confusing habit, also common amongst Europeans, was that of bestowing the name of a dead child on the next born of the same sex. Usually the middle names of family members with the same first name were different, but very often these middle names are not given.

Another problem is that the ages given for Pacific Island migrants tend to be very suspect. The migrants usually did not know their exact birthdate or even year of birth, and the great variation in ages recorded for individual Islanders on different occasions makes it clear that Europeans had difficulty in judging the age of Melanesians. Very often ages were rounded up or down, and this was particularly noticeable in the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act. Statistics on the age of the migrants at death are too flawed to be of value.

Assessing occupations also presents difficulties. Pacific Islanders were seldom engaged in urban pursuits and therefore the problem of alternative or different descriptions for the same occupation (such as classing a man as a carpenter on one occasion and as a cabinet maker on another) does not arise. However, Europeans, with their fixed ideas on the status of Pacific Islanders, tended to class all islanders as 'labourers' and did not always recognize that some were otherwise engaged (as in farming).¹²

Each source used in nominal record linkage has to be assessed for possible errors, defects and biases. The value of parish registers, for example, can be reduced greatly by careless recording or loss through decay, fire or flood. As mentioned in Appendix A, the Holy Trinity Church

12. This is suggested by several cases in which Islanders, known (from other evidence) to have been farming at a particular time, were given as 'labourers' in church registers or school records.

in Mackay holds the most complete set of records, and fortunately this church had the largest Islander congregation until the 1920s. Parish registers are also selective; as explained in Appendix A, none were available, for example, for those Islanders who joined the Pentecostal and Seventh-day Adventist churches in the 1920s and 1930s. Another defect of nominal records is that vital events are always under-registered: in particular, still-born children or those who died at birth or shortly after, often went unrecorded because they were not baptised and were buried without ceremony or civil notification.

Data on a considerable number of people is necessary if the undue influence of individual personality and circumstance is to be avoided. Moreover, in every society some people, in particular the poor, the highly mobile and the very young, are less stable and visible than others. A sample may also be distorted if movement to and from areas cannot be detected. From oral and written evidence it is apparent that in the period under study very few Islanders migrated outside North Queensland, although there was a considerable movement into and within the region.¹³ My work has concentrated on the coastal districts of North Queensland, since very few Islanders resided inland, and information is most complete for certain of the coastal districts - Mackay, Bowen and Proserpine, the Burdekin and the Herbert River. In these districts, the Islander population was most numerous and communities tended to be most cohesive. In the far north, the number of Islanders, and especially families, was much smaller and interaction and intermarriage with Aboriginals reduced their visibility. For the districts from the Herbert River to Mackay, my individual and family reconstitution accounts for the overwhelming majority of the Islander population. Complete family reconstitutions are possible for most families in these districts and partial family reconstitutions can also be used for certain purposes.

The value of this work is not confined to producing simple population figures, although such work does allow me to calculate figures for the number of migrants and also the populations in certain districts over time. The results demonstrate the consistent underenumeration of Pacific Islanders

13. See Chapter 4.

in the Commonwealth censuses. Family reconstitution provides data on matters such as average family size and choice of marital partners.¹⁴ Some correlation has been attempted of island of origin (and descent) with such activities as choice of marital partner, residence and occupation.¹⁵ This demonstrates relationships, such as the residential separation between Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans in Mackay.¹⁶

Such analysis continually brings particular names to the attention of the researcher and provides a sense of great familiarity with the population under study. I will conclude with two examples of the picture which can be built up - first, through nominal record linkage and secondly, through family reconstitution.

Peter Bolo was one of the few recruits brought from Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands (see Plate 9.2).¹⁷ He came to Mackay on the Lavinia in about 1887 and stayed permanently in this district. His first employer was Robert Martens of 'Mandarana'. By 1909, and into the 1920s, he was growing cane on twenty acres of land at Mount Oscar leased from J.R. Norris and was supplying cane to the Farleigh Mill. In the 1930s, he received the indigence allowance and by 1945 he was on the old-age pension. Originally baptised as a Presbyterian, he was received into the Anglican church and

14. See Chapter 4.

15. I have deliberately chosen not to embark on a more rigorous analysis of the data. The relatively small size of the population involved, which would have seriously limited the significance of any elaborate analysis, not only permitted the manipulation of the data by hand, but also allowed a continuous estimation of the reliability of the data. Such an estimation lies behind all the analyses attempted in this thesis. It will be clear from the discussion in this appendix that the errors in many ostensible statistics and the difficulties of completely reliable nominal record linkage obviate the value of any easily-won results. There is no point in the mere generation of figures, however sophisticated one's equipment. However, with the more reliable data now available as the result of systematic nominal record linkage and family reconstitution, it may prove worthwhile at a later date to correlate more variables than I have had time to do.

16. See Table 4.6.

17. The sources for Bolo's life-history include his application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, the List of Kanakas in the Mackay district, Farleigh Mill records, lists of Islanders receiving the indigence allowance, the baptism and confirmation registers of Holy Trinity Church in Mackay, the Mackay cemetery register and oral evidence.

confirmed in 1915. He could sign his name. Bolo did not marry and spent his last years living with the Marten family in North Mackay, where he died in 1949, aged in his seventies.

Tom Lammon, from Lamien Island in the New Hebrides, was brought to the Burdekin district in about 1884.¹⁸ After his initial three-year indenture, during which he worked as a 'house boy' and also as a stoker at Kalamia Mill, he returned to Lamien for a brief time. Recruiting for a second time in the early 1890s, he came to Cairns; on the voyage he met Annie Buka Buka, from Toga Island in the New Hebrides, and they married in Cairns. In the mid-1890s, Tom and Annie moved down to the Herbert River district. From about 1909, they grew sugar cane on twenty acres of land at Farnham (near Gairloch), leased from Bryan Lynn, a local farmer. In 1918, Lynn transferred this lease to land he owned at Victoria, and the Lammons farmed there until they moved down to the Burdekin district in the early 1930s.

Tom and Annie had five children, born between 1892 and 1907; the first boy (Henry) died as a young child, and the youngest girl (Frances) died of peritonitis at the age of sixteen. Their other three children all married native-born Islanders: Louis married twice, first, Emily Motlop and after her death, Agnes Meuban, and had altogether five children; Henry married Rhoda Backo and had five children; Norah married Ernest Byquar and bore seven children. The Lammons were staunch Anglicans; Tom and Annie, together with Louis and Henry, were all confirmed in 1905. Tom was the lay preacher at the Pritt Mission and, after 1908, at the Gairloch church until it closed in 1925 (see Plate 8.2). In the Burdekin, he converted to the Assembly of God church. He spoke good English and was able to sign his name and read the Bible; Annie, however, only spoke pidgin and was illiterate. Annie died in 1955 (age unknown) and Tom died in 1965 aged in his nineties; of their children, only Norah is still alive.

18. The sources for this family reconstitution include Tom's application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, CSR records, the baptism, marriage, burial, confirmation and service registers of the Holy Trinity Church in Ingham, the Northern Churchman, state school admission registers, the Ayr cemetery register, oral evidence and information supplied by Tom Dutton of the Australian National University.

APPENDIX C

Legislation concerning Pacific Islanders in Queensland*

TITLE OF ACT	NO.	PURPOSE
Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868	31 Vic., No.47	To remove abuses in the recruitment and treatment of Islanders in the colony.
Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880	44 Vic., No.17	To limit the engagement of indentured Islanders to tropical and semi-tropical agriculture;+ to extend supervision over recruitment and the treatment of Islanders in the colony.
Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1884	47 Vic., No.12	To limit the employment of all Islanders (except those who secured exemption) to fieldwork in tropical and semi-tropical agriculture; to tighten control over recruiting.
Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1885	49 Vic., No.17	To set a closing date of 31 December 1890 on recruiting for Queensland.
Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1886	50 Vic., No.6	To amend the definition of the term 'Pacific Islander'; to place liability for medical and burial costs on employers.
Pacific Island Labourers (Extension) Act of 1892	55 Vic., No.38	To re-open the labour trade indefinitely.
Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 [‡]	No.16 of 1901	To set a closing date of 31 March 1904 on recruiting for Queensland; to provide for the deportation from Australia of non-exempted Islanders after 31 December 1906.
Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1906 [‡]	No.22 of 1906	To relax the criteria for exemption from deportation.

* Not including legislation relating to Pacific Islanders engaged in the pearl-shell and beche-de-mer industries in the Torres Straits.

+ This gave legislative authority to executive regulations issued in December 1876 by the then Premier of Queensland, John Douglas.

[‡] Commonwealth of Australia legislation (otherwise Queensland legislation).

APPENDIX D

Commonwealth legislation discriminating against non-Europeans, 1900-1940

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER AND CLAUSES	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Apple Bounty Act of 1918	No. 21 of 1918 ss. 4(c), b	bounty only payable if grown by 'white' labour (or by Australian Aborigines or 'half-castes').*
Commonwealth Electoral Acts of 1918 and 1925	No. 27 of 1918 No. 20 of 1925 ss. 5, 39(1)(b); s. 5(a)-(c) (1925)	aboriginals of Australia, Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands disqualified from electoral privileges.
Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 (repealed by the Electoral Act of 1918)	No. 8 of 1902 ss. 3(b), 4	as above.
Defence Acts of 1903, 1909 and 1910	No. 20 of 1903 No. 15 of 1909 No. 37 of 1910 ss. 37, 59; s. 138(1)(b) (1909); ss. 61(h), 147(b) (1910)	persons not substantially of European origin or descent exempted from wartime service and peacetime training (but not from duties of a non-combative nature in time of war); non-British subjects ineligible to attend military colleges.*
Emigration Act of 1910	No. 26 of 1910 <u>passim</u>	Aboriginals of Australia (including those with one Aboriginal parent) prohibited from leaving Australia without a permit.*
Immigration Acts of 1901 to 1905	No. 17 of 1901 No. 17 of 1905 <u>passim</u> ; s. 3(1)(a) (1905)	prohibiting the immigration into Australia of any person who is submitted to and fails to pass a dictation test in any prescribed language.
Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Acts of 1908 and 1926	No. 17 of 1908 No. 44 of 1926 ss. 16(1)(a), (c), (2), 21(a), (b), (2); ss. 16(1)(c), 21(1)(b) (1926)	Asians and aboriginals of Australia, Africa, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands (except (from 1926) British Indians and native-born Asians) disqualified from receiving the old-age or invalid pension.

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER AND CLAUSES	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Maternity Allowance Acts of 1912, 1926 and 1927	No. 8 of 1912 No. 48 of 1926 No. 34 of 1927 s. 6(2); s. 6(2) (1926 and 1927)	Asians and aboriginals of Australia, Papua and the Pacific Islands disqualified from receiving the maternity allowance; changed in 1926 to 'aliens' and aboriginals of Australia, Papua and the Pacific Islands.
Nationality Act of 1920	No. 48 of 1920 <u>passim</u>	certificates of naturalization to be granted to 'aliens' only at the discretion of the governor-general.
Naturalization Act of 1903 (repealed by Nationality Act of 1920)	No. 11 of 1903 ss. 5, 9, 10	aboriginals of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands disqualified from applying for certificates of naturalization.
Navigation Acts of 1912 and 1921	No. 4 of 1913 No. 1 of 1921 ss. 17, 26(a), (b), 341; s. 47A(1921)	only British subjects fluent in English to be examined for certificates of competency or engaged as officers in ships registered for Australia; 'aliens' not to be engaged in any capacity on ships registered in the United Kingdom or Australia.
Pacific Island Labourers Acts of 1901 and 1906	No. 16 of 1901 No. 22 of 1906 <u>passim</u>	all aboriginals of the Pacific Islands (except those exempted) liable to be deported after 31 December 1906; no Pacific Island labour to enter Australia after 31 March 1904.
Post and Telegraphs Act of 1901	No. 12 of 1901 ss. 16(1), (2)	contracts to carry mails on behalf of the Commonwealth only entered into on the condition that 'white' labour only will be employed.*

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER AND CLAUSES	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Public Service Act of 1902 (repealed by Public Service Act of 1922)	No. 5 of 1902 s. 26(1), (2)	only natural-born and naturalized British subjects eligible to join the Commonwealth Public Service (except with the governor-general's permission).
Public Service Act of 1922	No. 21 of 1922 ss. 33(1)(a)	only natural-born and naturalized British subjects eligible to join the Commonwealth Public Service.
Sugar Bounty Act of 1903	No. 4 of 1903 s. 2	bounty only payable if sugar cane or beet grown and manufactured by 'white' labour only.*
Sugar Bounty Acts of 1905 and 1912 (repealed by Sugar Bounty Abolition Act, No. 26 of 1912)	No. 23 of 1905 No. 12 of 1912 ss. 2, 10, 12	bounty only payable if sugar cane or beet grown and manufactured by 'white' labour only (with the exception of Australian Aborigines or, in special cases, 'half-castes').*
Sugar Bounty Act of 1913	No. 7 of 1913 s. 2	bounty only payable to growers of 'white'-grown cane (from 1 May to 26 July 1913) or beet (from 1 January to 26 July 1913).*
War Precautions Acts of 1914 and 1915	No. 10 of 1914 No. 2 of 1915 ss. 5, 9; ss. 5(2), 6(6), 9 (1915)	providing for certain powers over 'aliens', such as the power to deport them, require them to register and to reside within certain places and districts.
Wood Pulp and Rock Phosphate Bounties Act of 1912	No. 32 of 1912 ss. 4(d), 6	bounty only payable if manufactured by 'white' labour (with the exception of Australian Aborigines or 'half-castes').*

* applicable to non-Europeans born in Australia.

FOOTNOTE: In the case of amending legislation, only those Acts with further discriminatory clauses are cited, and the Sections given refer to the principal Act.

APPENDIX E

Queensland legislation discriminating against non-Europeans, 1900-1940

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts of 1897 and 1934	61 Vic., No. 17 25 Geo. V, No. 38 <u>passim</u>	'half-caste' to whom the Act applied defined as the off- spring of parents or grand- parents of whom one is an Aborigine, and also (from 1934) as any person of Aboriginal or Pacific Islander extraction who lives or associates with Aborigines.*
Adoption of Children Act of 1935	26 Geo. V, No. 37 s. 5(6)	non-British subjects pro- hibited from adopting children.
Agricultural Bank Acts of 1904, 1905 and 1911	4 Edw VII, No. 13 5 Edw. VII, No. 15 2 Geo. V, No. 25 s. 3(3); s. 3(3) (1905 and 1911)	no advance to be made to any aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands; changed in 1905 to any 'alien' and in 1911 to any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.
Agricultural Bank Act of 1923	14 Geo V, No. 41 s. 17; regs 1 Sep. 1924, 19(i),(ii), 20	no advance to be made to any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.
Albert River, Burketown and Lilydale Tramway Act of 1900	64 Vic., No. 19 s. 7	no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.
Aliens Act of 1867	31 Vic., No. 28 <u>passim</u>	'aliens' permitted to acquire, hold and dispose of personal property but not to hold real property.
Banana Industry Preservation Act of 1921	12 Geo. V, No. 3 <u>passim</u> ; regs 4 Nov. 1921, 22 Jun.1922	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a pre- scribed language, from engaging in or carrying on the cultivation of bananas.*

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Dairy Produce Act of 1904 (repealed by Dairy Produce Act of 1920)	4 Edw. VII, No. 18 s. 30	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any dairy or dairy factory.*
Dairy Produce Act of 1920	10 Geo. V, No. 15 s. 35	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any registered dairy produce premises or factories.*
Elections Acts of 1885 and 1905 (repealed by Elections Act of 1915)	49 Vic., No. 13 5 Edw. VII, No. 1 s. 6(1); s. 9(1)(b), (2) (1905)	aborigines of Australia, Africa, Asia or the Pacific Islands disqualified from being enrolled on any electoral roll.
Elections Acts of 1915 and 1930	6 Geo. V, No. 13 21 Geo. V, No. 39 ss. 9, 11, 35(b); s. 11A (1930)	as above; changed in 1930 to except British Indians and naturalized Syrians.
Factories and Shops Acts of 1900, 1908 and 1916	64 Vic., No. 28 8 Edw. VII, No. 4 7 Geo. V, No. 14 s. 4; s. 2 (1908); s. 58C-K (1916)	all furniture manufactured in factories to be stamped 'European labour only', 'Chinese labour' or 'European and other labour', according to the labour used.*
Gladstone to Callide Railway Act of 1900	64 Vic., No. 13 s. 6	no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.
Glassford Creek Tramway Act of 1900	64 Vic., No. 21 s. 6	as above.
Government Savings Bank Act of 1916	7 Geo. V, No. 17 s. 25	prohibiting any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from obtaining an advance from the Government Savings Bank.

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Jury Act of 1929	20 Geo. V, No. 19 s. 7(a), (d)	disqualifying persons who are not natural-born or naturalized subject or who are unable to read and write English, from jury service.
Land Act of 1897 (repealed by Land Act of 1910)	61 Vic., No. 25 regs 21 Feb. 1907	making any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, ineligible to select or acquire any land.
Land Act of 1910	1 Geo. V, No. 15 ss. 59, 62, 94(2)(a); regs 27 Jun. 1912, 5 Mar. 1925, 1 Jun. 1929	as above, with an additional requirement that any 'alien' who has acquired a selection will forfeit it unless he becomes naturalized within five years.
Leases to Aliens Restriction Act of 1912	2 Geo. V, No. 31 <u>passim</u> ; regs 1 Nov. 1912, 22 May 1913, 29 Jun. 1922	making it unlawful for any person to lease more than five acres to an 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.
Legislative Assembly Act of 1867 (repealed by Elections Act of 1915)	31 Vic., No. 21 s. 2	qualifying any person who is qualified to vote, to stand for election to the Legislative Assembly.
Liquor Act of 1912	3 Geo. V, No. 29 s. 71(2)	providing penalties for any person convicted of supplying liquor to an aboriginal of Australia or the Pacific Islands or a native-born Pacific Islander.

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Local Authorities Acts of 1902 and 1910 (repealed by Local Government Act of 1936)	ss. 14, 24(1); s. 137A (1910)	qualifying any male ratepayer who is a natural-born or naturalized subject and is qualified to vote, to be a member of a local authority; with a provision added in 1910 prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance, management or working of any tramway or omnibus service of a local authority.
Local Government Act of 1936	1 Geo. V, No. 1 s. 7(1), (7)(i)(a)	qualifying any resident of the area who is on an electoral roll, to be a member of a local authority.
Margarine Act of 1910	1 Geo. V, No. 9 s. 23	prohibiting any person who is not of European descent (except for Australian Aborigines) and who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any licensed margarine factory.*
Miners' Homestead Leases Acts of 1913	4 Geo. V, No. 14 4 Geo. V, No. 28 ss. 3; ss. 40, 41	disqualifying any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from obtaining a lease.
Mining Act of 1898	62 Vic., No. 24 ss. 15, 17, 24, 30	restricting 'aliens' from Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands from obtaining a miner's right or mineral lease.

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Mt. Garnett Freehold Mining Company's Railway Act of 1900	64 Vic., No. 22 s. 7	no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.
Pearl-shell and Bêche-de-Mer Fishery Acts of 1898 and 1913	63 Vic., No. 3 4 Geo. V, No. 12 s. 2; s. 7(1),(2) (1913); regs 19 Feb. 1914, 8 Jan. 1915	restricting licenses for any ship or boat to natural-born and naturalized British subjects; from 1913, making it unlawful for any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, to hold a lease or any license in respect of any ship or boat.*
Petroleum Act of 1923	14 Geo. V, No. 26 s. 10(i), (v)	disqualifying any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a pres- cribed language, from obtaining a permit to prospect for petroleum or a petroleum lease.
Port Norman, Normanton and Cloncurry Railway Act of 1901	64 Vic., No. 16 s. 7	prohibiting any person not of European descent who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.*
Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act of 1915	6 Geo. V, No. 5 ss. 12, 16; regs 14 Oct. 1915, 28 Jan. 1916	providing that the Sugar Cane Prices Board may take into account, when determining the prices for raw sugar under the award, different labour conditions under which the cane was grown, harvested or delivered to the mills, and that the minister can issue regulations to pay a lower price than that specified in the award, to growers whose labour conditions are considered unsatisfactory.*

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Sale and Use of Poisons Act of 1891	55 Vic., No. 31 s. 13	prohibiting the supply of opium to aboriginals of Australia or the Pacific Islands or to 'half-castes'.*
Shearers and Sugar Workers' Accommodation Act of 1905-6 (repealed by Workers' Accommodation Act of 1915)	5 Edw. VII, No. 9 s. 6(c), (g), (h)	providing for sleeping and dining accommodation separate from Europeans for Asian or Pacific Islander sugar workers.*
State Advances Act of 1916	7 Geo. V, No. 17 s. 25	no advance to be made to any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.
Sugar Acquisition Act of 1915	6 Geo. V, No. 2 ss. 6, 11; regs 5 Aug. 1915	providing that, in any pro- clamation under this Act, different prices for raw sugar may be set, having regard to different circumstances or conditions of production and manufacture of sugar, and that returns from persons or classes of persons with regard to such production or manufacture may be prescribed.*
Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913	4 Geo. V, No. 4 <u>passim</u> ; regs 16 Oct. 1913, 9 Apr. 1915, 21 Sep. 1917, 21 May 1924, 25 Jul. 1929	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from engaging in or carrying on the cultivation of sugar cane.
Sugar Workers' Selection Act of 1923	14 Geo. V, No. 20 s. 3(2)	disqualifying any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from applying for a license to occupy a selection.

SHORT TITLE OF ACT	NUMBER, CLAUSES & REGULATIONS	NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION
Sugar Works Guarantee Act of 1911	2 Geo. V, No. 8 s. 9(4), (8), (9)	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance, management or working of any sugar works, and also the purchase of cane from any such person.*
Wee Macgregor Tramway Amendment Act of 1912	3 Geo. V, No. 31 s. 2(c)	prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction of the tramway.*
Workers' Accommodation Act of 1915	6 Geo. V, No. 30 ss. 6(2)(iii), (vii), (viii), 14(2)	providing for sleeping and dining accommodation separate from Europeans for Asian or Pacific Islander sugar workers.

* applicable to non-Europeans born in Australia.

FOOTNOTE: In the case of amending legislation, only those Acts with further discriminatory clauses are cited, and the Sections given refer to the principal Act. Nineteenth century legislation with discriminatory clauses which were unaltered in amending legislation, or which was repealed after 1900, is included.

APPENDIX F

Police Reports on non-European sugar workers in North Queensland

Centre	Number of non-Europeans	Number with Exemption Certificates	May 1919
			Names of Principal Employers
<u>Mossman</u>	17	17	Mossman Central Mill.
<u>Cairns</u>	50	20	See Chin; Munro Estate; McMannis & Painter; W. Stewart; E.C. Earl.
<u>Edmonton</u>	60	45	Munro Estate; Scanlon Bros & Hilder; A.W. Brown; B. Reghenzani; W. Windsor; E.A. Atherton; F.C.W. Curlewis; A.T. Walker; C.C. Collins; W. Cooper.
<u>Gordonvale</u>	90	about 40	S.H. Warner; A.J. Draper; Vievers & Hodel; Stewart & Thomasson; J. Trembath; J. Cannon; Mann & Carlson; J. McCarthy; J. Low Choy; W. Cartwright; M. Kerr; Ting Fay; CSR (Hambledon).
<u>Babinda</u>	400- 450	266- 300	Dr. Reid; Dr Knowles; W.C. Abbott; F.W. Davids; Chan Chin Wing; S.H. Warner; Munro Estate; Pollard & Stager; P. Zammitt; G.R. Mayers.
<u>Innisfail</u>	50	27	G. Hing; J. Doherty; T. Wilcox; C. McGowan; Mrs Armstrong; CSR (Goondi).
<u>South Johnstone</u>	40	25	G. Elucca; R. Blennerhassett; A. McRobbie; H. Cuthel; W. Callow; G. Basso.
<u>Mourilyan</u>	41	37	Australian Sugar Co; Fang Yuen; J. Enchong; Goodna Sing; E.C. Eden; E. Walker; E.R. Campbell; C. Castor.
TOTAL	798	511	
<u>Ingham</u>)			CSR (Victoria & Macknade).
<u>Halifax</u>)			A. Barbi; D. Pearson; S. Prandolini.
<u>Brandon</u>)	Totals only		Brandon Estate; Sun Sam Wah; Radcliffe; Jimmy Ah.
<u>Ayr</u>)	given:		Kalamia Estate; A.E. Duggan; J.H. Huskinson; T. Lyons; Wing Fong; Look Hop.
	333*	329	
<u>Proserpine</u>)			T. Yoshida.
<u>Mackay</u>)			Palms Mill.
<u>Homebush</u>)			H. Harris; CSR (Homebush).
<u>Sarina</u>)			A.E. Atherton; A. Innes.
TOTAL	333	329	
GRAND TOTAL	1131	840	

*including 59 farmers

APPENDIX F

Police Reports on non-European sugar workers in North Queensland

Centre	<u>May 1920</u>		Names of Principal Employers
	Number of non-Europeans	Number with Exemption Certificates	
<u>Mossman</u>	5	5	W. Johnstone.
<u>Cairns</u>	11	6	E.C. Earl; W. Cannon.
<u>Edmonton</u>	4	4	K. Kishikawa.
<u>Gordonvale</u>	24	24	Low Choy; M. Thelmann & Abraham.
<u>Babinda</u>	69	64	Dr Reid; Chun Wing; S.H. Warner; Munro Estate; W. Cannon; Collie & Co.
<u>Innisfail</u>	11	11	J. Doherty; F. Armstrong; CSR (Goondi).
<u>South Johnstone</u>	2	2	L. Sugden; R. Blennerhassett.
<u>Mourilyan</u>	22	22	Australian Sugar Co; Fang Yuen; Gundah Singh; E. Campbell; E. Eden; J. Enchong.
TOTAL	148	138	
<u>Ingham</u>)			CSR (Victoria & Macknade);
<u>Halifax</u>)			Kensaki Mori; D. Pearson; M. Felice.
<u>Brandon</u>)			Luke Hop; Wing Fong; A.P. Hoskerson.
<u>Ayr</u>) 178*	177		Pioneer Mill; Inkerman Mill.
<u>Proserpine</u>)			-
<u>Mackay</u>)			Palms Mill; W. Murphy; W. Pratt.
<u>Homebush</u>)			H. Harris; CSR (Homebush).
<u>Sarina</u>)			A.E. Atherton; J.C. Nicholson; A. Innes.
TOTAL	178	177	
GRAND TOTAL	326	315	

*45 farmers, 1 without exemption, in Mackay.

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Those for which specific years are given were read only for those years. The remainder were read for selected dates over the period 1876 to 1940, depending on the availability of the newspaper, periodical or year book. The North Queensland Register was read thoroughly for the period 1912-34.

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Burdekin district-

All Saints Church,* Ayr.

Baptism Registers, 1894-1954.

Burial Registers, 1925-77.

Marriage Registers, 1895-1941.

Minute Book, 1894-1916.

* includes St John's Church, Brandon.

Cairns district-

St John's Church, Cairns.

Baptism Registers, 1884-1943.

Burial Registers, 1928-40, 1945-65.

Confirmation Register, c. 1910-35.

Marriage Registers, 1886-1928, 1932-40.

Herbert River district-

Holy Trinity Church, Ingham.

Baptism Registers, 1884-1947.

Burial Registers, 1901-11, 1922-77.

Confirmation Register, 1922-36.

Churchwardens Account Book, 1903-14.

Marriage Registers, 1884-1971.

Parochial Returns, 1890-1941.

Service Registers, 1892-1930.

The Ingham and Halifax Church Monthly, 1894-95.

All Souls' Church, Victoria.

Baptism Register, 1922-37.

Minute Book, 1918-22.

St Saviour's Church, Halifax.

Minute Book, 1908-21.

Johnstone River district-

St Alban's Church, Innisfail.

Account Books, 1914-16.

Baptism Registers, 1900-66.

Burial Registers, 1911-76.

Marriage Registers, 1918-66.

Minute Books, 1900-33.

Service Registers, 1912-38.

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C.W. Tomkins, Easter Letters, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908.

Mackay district-

Holy Trinity Church,* Mackay.

Baptism Registers, Pioneer, 1883-1906.

Baptism Registers, Holy Trinity Church, 1867-1948.

Burial Registers, 1914-63.

Confirmation Register, 1906-48.

Marriage Registers, 1869-1973.

Minute Books, 1915-30, 1944-57.

Parish Roll, n.d.

Service Registers, 1883-1931.

* including St Mary's Church, Farleigh.

Christ Church,⁺ Walkerston.

Baptism Registers, 1930-46.

Marriage Registers, 1896-1963.

⁺ includes St Giles Church, Marian.

St Luke's Church,# Sarina.

Active Communicants Register, n.d.

Baptism Registers, 1911-77.

Burial Registers, 1933-77.

Confirmation Registers, 1910-68.

Marriage Registers, 1907-76.

includes Church of the Ascension, Sunnyside and St John Baptist Church, Eton.

Churches - Other

Burdekin district-

St Andrew's Church (Presbyterian), Ayr.

Baptism Registers, 1906-43.

Marriage Registers, 1907-53.

Methodist Church, Ayr.

Baptism Registers, 1912-63.

Marriage Registers, 1912-64.

Salvation Army Hall, Ayr.

Ayr Corps Soldiers Roll, 1919-64.

Burial Registers, 1935-74.

Dedication Register, 1935-74.

Marriage Registers, 1937-77.

Cairns district-

Methodist Central Church, Cairns.

Baptism Registers, 1909-52.

Marriage Registers, 1891-1935, 1941-45.

Herbert River district-

Methodist Church, East Ingham.

Baptism Registers, 1963-1977.

Marriage Registers, 1897-1963.

Johnstone River district-

St Andrew's Church (Presbyterian), Innisfail.

Baptism Registers, 1918-42.

Marriage Registers, 1937-46.

(information supplied by the Reverend P. Painton.)

Mackay district-

Methodist Central Church, Mackay.

Baptism Registers, 1915-54.

Marriage Registers, 1901-53.

St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Mackay.

Baptism Registers, 1911-40.

Walkerston Presbyterian Church.

Baptism Register, 1898-1934.

Cash Book, 1920-28.

Church Offertories, 1900-17.

Communion Roll, 1900-27.

Management Committee Minute Books, 1885-1913.

Minute Book, 1900-27, 1925-40.

The dates given demonstrate the years for which records were available, and illustrate gaps in the coverage.

District Hospitals

Ayr District Hospital. Ledger Book, 1917-19.

Bowen District Hospital. Admission Registers ('History Books'), 1913-40.

Ingham District Hospital. Admission Registers ('History Books'), 1927-36.

State Schools

Bowen district—

Bowen State School. Admission Registers, 1940-78.

Don Delta State School. Admission Registers, 1913-48.

Inverdon Road State School. Admission Registers, 1922-42.

Merinda State School. Admission Registers, 1909-78.

Proserpine State School. Admission Registers, 1897-1947.

Burdekin district—

Ayr State School. Admission Registers, 1918-47.

Brandon State School. Admission Registers, 1888-1978.

Home Hill State School. Admission Registers, 1913-30, 1935-78.

Jarvisfield State School. Admission Registers, 1915-78.

Maidavale State School. Admission Registers, 1910-78.

Cairns district—

Babinda State School. Admission Registers, 1914-78.

Cairns North State School. Admission Registers, 1935-78.

Freshwater State School. Admission Registers, 1923-66.

Gordonvale State School. Admission Registers, 1897-1978.

Hambleton State School. Admission Registers, 1929-69.

Parramatta State School. Admission Registers, 1932-60.

Septimus State School. Admission Registers, 1937-79.

Walkerston State School. Admission Registers, 1886-1953.

Corporal Punishment Registers, 1925-40.

The dates given indicate the years for which records were consulted. In many cases, the earliest (or later) registers have been lost. The admission registers of schools which have been closed are located in the Queensland State Archives and details of those which were consulted are given under the EDU/AA series; however, the registers of several schools which have been closed are missing.

Sugar Mills

Amalgamated Sugar Mills, Pleystowe, Mackay.

Farm Records, 1925-49.

Record of Wages, 1928-29, 1930-43.

Farleigh Co-operative Sugar Milling Association, Farleigh, Mackay.

Farmers' Cane Accounts, Jul. 1913 - Mar. 1917.

Farmers' Record Cards, 1926-35.

Individual Ledger of Farmers, 1912-16.

Membership Certificates of Shareholders, 1927-40.

Report. The Farleigh Co-operative Sugar Milling Association Ltd, 1926-27, 1929-36.

Wages Book, 1925-27.

North Eton Mill, North Eton, Mackay.

Register of Shareholders, 1886-1919.

Proserpine Co-operative Sugar Association, Proserpine.

Cane Credits Register, 1905-30.

Cane Journals, 1914-36, 1943.

Ledger, 1899-1901.

The records of the Pioneer Mill in the Burdekin district are deposited in the Library of the James Cook University of North Queensland, and those of CSR in the Archives of Business and Labour at the Australian National University.

Undertakers

Mackay Funerals, Mackay.

Registers of Funerals, 1895-1959.

Notebooks, 1928-65.

7. INTERVIEWS

Interviews with Pacific Islanders

Interviews with fifty-four Pacific Islanders have been recorded on Tapes 1-80 and Typescripts 1-13, and deposited as Part B of the Black Oral History Collection in the History Department of the James Cook University of North Queensland. The method of footnoting was outlined in Appendix A, n10.

The names of informants are listed below under the district in which they reside or resided. Since much of the material collected is of a sensitive nature, these names are not correlated with tape or typescript numbers.

Bowen district—

Alf Corowa; Arthur Corowa; Eva Corowa; Fred Parter; Jessie Willie; Les Womal; Alf and Caroline Yasso; Eddie and Esther Yasso.

Burdekin district—

Bell Backo; Trixie Cole; Percy and Olive Darr; Esther Henaway; Jessie Heron; Rhoda Lammon; Shireen Malamoo.

Herbert River district—

Ishmael ('Smile') and Melba Backo; Betty Barrett; Rennie and Louisa Cassidy; Ada Geesu; Christina Kinch.

Mackay district—

George and Gladys Andrews; Tom Ambertel; Dennis Bobongie; Henry Bobongie; Sam and Flo Bobongie; Noel and Minnie Fatnowna; Norman Fatnowna; Valroy and Joan Fatnowna; Ishmael Itea; Ada Marlla; Winnie Miller; Des Mooney; Grace Motto; Beccy Quakawoot; Myra and Bill Quakawoot; Noah Sabbo-Toga; Andrew Satini; Henry Stephens (Quaytucker); Cecilia Tarryango; Winnie Tass; Ivy and William Thomas; Phil Tonga; Joe Viti.

Interviews with Europeans

The following people were interviewed on the dates given and notes of these interviews are in the possession of the author.

Mr G. Chataway, 1 Aug. 1977, Mackay.
 Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay.
 Mr B. Jackson, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay.
 Mrs D. Jones, 21 Feb. 1978, Tully.
 Mr R.V. Pearson, 16 Aug. 1977, Lucinda.
 Mr G. Ross, 8 Apr. 1978, Cairns.

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