

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. MN 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. Palfrey 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		Schoolwork and behaviour in classroom	Behaviour outside classroom and General	Immoral or indecent offences	Total no. of Islanders punished	Total no. of pupils punished	% of Islanders in total no. punished
		M	F						
Punishments									
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. NQR 12 Jul.1930, p.35. For other such examples, see PDMR 15 Nov.1907; NQR 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 Goondi. 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. PDT 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 Fatnahoon, 16 Sep.1900, ABR, Mackay; Harry Fatnahoon, 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!

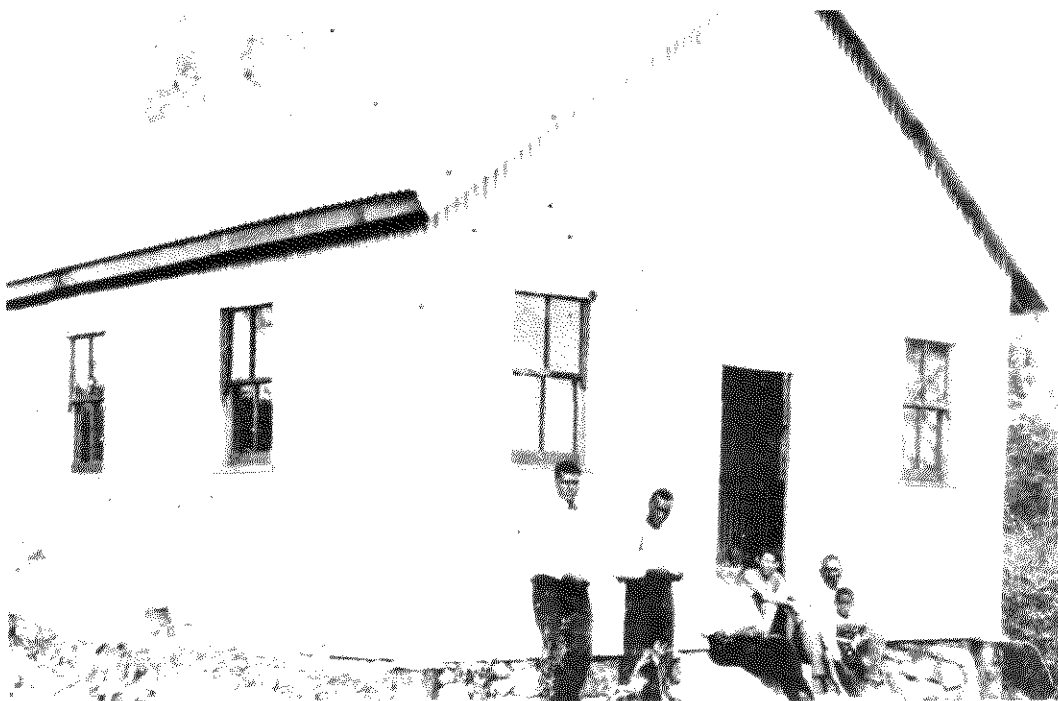


PLATE 8.4: Harry Fatnowna (second from the left) with other Islanders and European helpers at the newly-completed Seventh-day Adventist Church at Farleigh near Mackay, c. 1925.

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 Poolar 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, Ty4Bn: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. Tippet, 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 millennarian 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, waggon 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. T28Bsa: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, Aborigines.

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, NPC; 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, A1 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, QSA; 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 NM 11 Sep.1918, MPC, 7 Jul.1937, Circuit Court, objection by A.S. Lilley; BI 16 Mar.1914, Bowen Police Court.

225. NM 26 Nov.1907, MPC. For other examples, see NM 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. NM 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; NM 17 Mar.1932, Circuit Court. Islanders were often undefended and openly admitted their guilt. See NM 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/N1, 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 Gammi, 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.

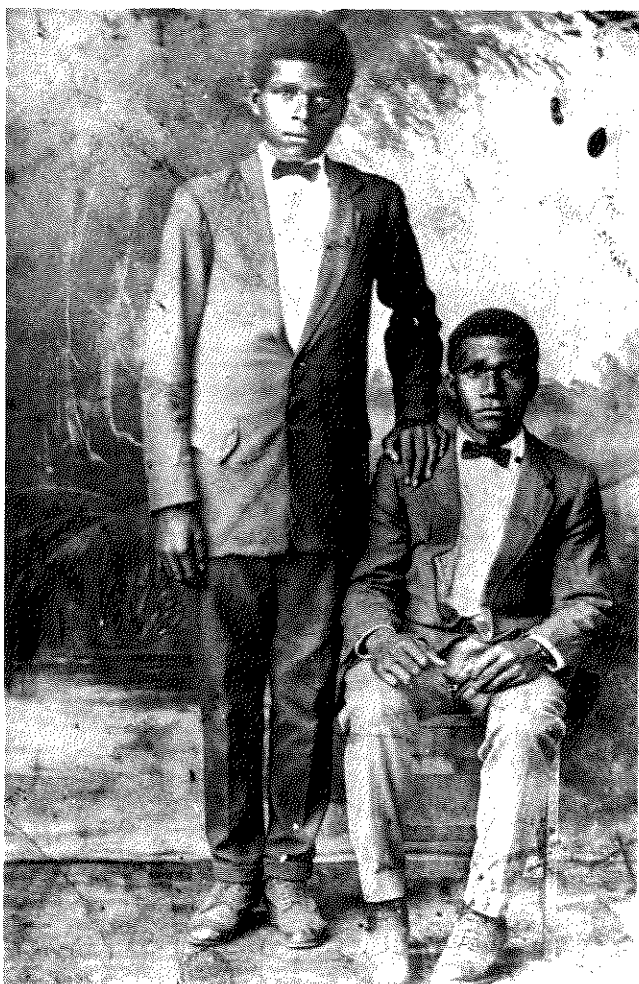


PLATE 9.3: Two native-born Islanders, Edward Nahow (on the left) and Cecil Cawoot, in Ayr in the early 1920s.



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 Womai, 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; PDNR 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; CNP 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 Nabel 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; PDNR 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, forw. 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; FM 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-officeholding 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; 'linguaging 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 'Bernghalla' 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 n1.

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 (Yessarrie, Yassirrie, Yasserrie, 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 cliquey ... 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 Wattoom, 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 Farleigh 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 NQR 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; MM 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; MM 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; Tippet, 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 Tippet, 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; Tippet, 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 Tongan 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; Tippet, *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; Tippet, 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; TylBp.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, Tippet, 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; Tippet, 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. Burridge, 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 Burridge, 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; Tippet, Solomon Islands Christianity, p.15; R.M. 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 Burridge, 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; Burridge, *Mambu*, p.60; Iane, '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. MM 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; TylBpp.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; TylBp.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 Burridge, 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.