

# The Japanese in Torres Strait<sup>1</sup>

by Yuriko Nagata

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## Introduction

The establishment of the Japanese presence in Torres Strait from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the Pacific War was, in many ways, parallel to other Japanese settlements formed in other parts of the Asia-Pacific region (more popularly referred to in Japan as *Nan'yô* before the Pacific War). These Japanese settlements were formed by labourers who were predominantly single men, or men who had left their families behind and who sought better economic opportunities outside Japan to help their families. Some small merchants were accompanied by their families, but mostly they were contract labourers in various primary industries – agriculture, fishing and mining. In 1935, 88 176 Japanese emigrants were living and working in various parts of *Nan'yô*, including Australia.<sup>2</sup>

Some young Japanese women were amongst early arrivals in many parts of *Nan'yô*. They were smuggled out of Japan by traffickers and sold to brothels to work as prostitutes to support their families. They were called *Karayuki-san*<sup>3</sup> and were mostly from poor farming and fishing villages in the south-west of the main island of Honshû and the south island of Kyûshû. According to Yano, *Karayuki-san* and peddlers often paved the way for later Japanese commercial activities and Japanese settlements in the region.<sup>4</sup> Before the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japanese communities became well-established, with Japanese clubs as central bodies to serve the close-knit societies, including the Japanese community in Torres Strait.

This chapter draws on existing scholarship<sup>5</sup> to provide an overview of the establishment and decline of the Japanese community in Torres Strait from the 1880s to the 1990s. It also seeks to integrate lives of women as wives, mothers and workers into the existing historiography of the Japanese in Torres Strait. As Bottomley argues, 'Women tend to disappear in discussion about migration, as immigrants often disappear in discussions about class and about women'.<sup>6</sup> In the early days, Japanese prostitutes in particular played a substantial role in the Japanese society on Thursday Island. Due to their small number and the illicit nature of their presence, they have been relegated to the periphery of the historiography of Japanese migration to Australia. This chapter will shed light on the significant role that Japanese women played in Thursday Island society, both economically and socially.

## Early arrivals

Before J. A. Miller of the Australian Pearl Co. brought 37 Japanese males to Thursday Island as the first contracted labour immigrants from Japan in 1883, 95 Japanese were already amongst other Asians working in the then developing pearl-shell and sea cucumber industries - 36 at Prince of Wales Island, 38 at Friday Island, 17 at Weiweer Island, three at Hammond Island and one at Goode Island.<sup>7</sup> The earliest Japanese arrivals in the region recorded in Hattori's report in 1894 are Kojiro Nonami of Shimane (known as Japanese

Nona) in 1878, Tomiji Nakagawa of Shizuoka ( known as Tommy Japan) and Yasugorô Tanaka of Tokyo in 1881, Kiryû Nakamura of Wakayama and Shunnosuke Watanabe of Hiroshima in 1882.<sup>8</sup> All, but Tanaka became divers in the pearl-shell industry. Tanaka went into business and later became the owner of three billiard halls on the island.

The success of these early Japanese divers eventually led to the use of large numbers of Japanese in pearling operations in the region by the latter half of the 1890s. Their involvement and achievements in the marine industries in Torres Strait and elsewhere in Australia have been extensively documented by historians and anthropologists in Australia, Japan and elsewhere.

## **Yokohama - Japtown**

The Japanese onshore settlement on Thursday Island gradually expanded as the Japanese population in the region grew. As other Japanese with commercial interests arrived, the Japanese quarter developed to provide services for Japanese labourers when they came ashore. Community leaders were keen to establish ‘a semi-official administrative body as well as a centre for social activity’<sup>9</sup> for the fast growing Japanese population in the region. In 1893 they established a community club called *Nihonjin-kai* (Japanese Club/Society). Foundation committee members included some of the first arrivals. Although it has not been substantiated, the Japanese quarter had probably been named ‘Yokohama’ by or around this time.<sup>10</sup> According to Hattori, in 1894 there were already 22 buildings occupied by Japanese on the island.<sup>11</sup> They included three Japanese shops, one boarding house (owned by Tommy Japan), three eateries, three billiard halls (owned by Yasugorô Tanaka), one laundry, one Japanese club house and ten family homes. Some of the private homes were used as brothels.<sup>12</sup> The buildings were wooden with tin roofs and each had a rain water tank. The houses were used in a western style with polished floors, table, chairs and beds.<sup>13</sup> By the late 1890s, Japtown was functioning well, both commercially and socially, and self-sufficient. By the 1910s, there were three soy-sauce factories and shops selling Japanese silk, draperies and furniture.<sup>14</sup>

In 1900, one visitor to the island described it as being ‘more a Japanese settlement than a British colony’.<sup>15</sup> In 1900, the onshore population on Thursday Island was recorded at 614 Europeans, 385 Japanese, 79 Filipinos, 74 Chinese, 48 Malays, 48 Cingalese, 39 Aborigines and 40 people who were classified as belonging to ‘other mixed races’.<sup>16</sup> However, there were other Japanese labourers who were stationed on other islands or working at sea. They were not included in this census. The Japanese population for the entire Torres Strait was 1 091, comprising 1 030 males and 61 females<sup>17</sup>.

Japanese marine labourers lived on their boats. When they came on shore during the ‘lay-up’ season, which ran from December to April, the Japanese presence was significant and had a strong impact on the island’s commercial and social life. Yokohama became a vibrant commercial, social and entertainment centre with boarding houses filled with hundreds of young men with sufficient money to entertain themselves with drink and in the gambling house and brothels. An eighteen year-old male could earn as much as a Japanese high school principal,<sup>18</sup> but living costs were very high and it took careful budgeting to make regular remittances home.<sup>19</sup> Gambling and drinking caused serious problems and Japanese were frequently prosecuted. Deep-sea diving for shells was physically demanding and dangerous, causing many deaths, but other causes included beriberi, malaria and tuberculosis. There were also some murders.<sup>20</sup>

## Japanese prostitutes

Japanese prostitutes were also early arrivals in Torres Strait. According to Sissons, the first recorded female who came to Thursday Island was twelve-year-old Mitsu Shigematsu, who was smuggled in by a trafficker in 1883. She spent eight years on Thursday Island and moved to the mainland of Australia where she worked for twelve years, then returned to Japan.<sup>21</sup> Other early arrivals include Mary Shime, a 22-year-old Japanese woman from Nagasaki, who in 1885 married Tommy Japan.<sup>22</sup> According to Sissons, by 1887 Japanese prostitutes were working in many places including Thursday Island, Darwin and Melbourne and, in the following year, Cossack and Geraldton in Western Australia.<sup>23</sup> According to Hattori, there were 32 Japanese women on the island and of those 21 were identified as prostitutes.<sup>24</sup>

By 1897, there were 54 Japanese prostitutes<sup>25</sup> offering their services to the male population on the island.<sup>26</sup> Their clientele were generally Japanese men, but they also served both 'Coloured' and 'White' populations.<sup>27</sup> Existing studies suggest that Japanese prostitutes entered Australia 'virtually without let or hindrance'.<sup>28</sup> In fact, only Western Australia had a 'statutory power to prevent the landing of prostitutes or persons living off them', which came into effect in 1897.<sup>29</sup>

By the early 1890s, the Queensland Colonial Government began to take notice of the presence of Japanese prostitutes throughout the northern regions of the colony and did have concerns about their activities, but did not restrict their entry. One reason was, according to Murakami, that the authorities could not assert how many were actually engaged in prostitution as their houses were 'not kept as brothels, but as a store, a boarding house, or a laundry'.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the government saw Japanese prostitutes as providers of 'a service essential to the economic growth of the north' and their sexual services 'made life more palatable for European and Asian men who worked in pearling, mining and pastoral industries'.<sup>31</sup> Because authorities considered 'sexual intercourse between White females and Coloured males as being a disgrace', the authorities accepted the Japanese brothels as a safety device which allowed Coloured men's sexual desires to be fulfilled, not by White, but by Japanese prostitutes'.<sup>32</sup>

John Douglas, the Government Resident on Thursday Island, was concerned about the spread of venereal diseases amongst the coastal Aboriginal tribes of Cape York.<sup>33</sup> However, he also saw some value in the activities of Japanese prostitutes on the island. In 1893, he observed that 'the establishments were well conducted with no rows, no drinking and there was no trouble with the women in public' and suggested that 'if they were prevented from carrying out their trade as they were at that time, it would not diminish the immorality which would exist in another and probably a more objectionable form'.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, one of the purposes of the establishment of the Japanese Club on the island in 1893 was to control the trade. In 1892, Sasaki Shigetoshi, a community leader, criticised their activities. But brothel owners replied:

... you have no grounds to point an accusing finger even if you had the authority of the Japanese government behind you. What's more, if the [Thursday] Island authorities continue to find no fault with our business, why restrain our activities? ... What you advise, we will not do.<sup>35</sup>

Japanese prostitutes also responded:

In Japan, poor people like us have sweat on our brow night and day working like beasts of burden. Far from having the wherewithal to cook our daily meals, we barely have that to rinse our mouths. Now that we are living overseas and engaged in such a profession, as for things heavy we pick up nothing more than a knife or fork. What's more, we wear gorgeous clothes and have our fill of fine food. All our wishes are respected. We have all that we desire. What could add to our happiness? We do, alas, regret most profoundly not to have been born daughters to such gentlemen as you.<sup>36</sup>

Douglas also reported: 'The profits are very considerable. ...Several Japanese women are known to have made a good deal of money and much of this has been invested in shares of shelling boats'.<sup>37</sup> In other parts of *Nan'yô*, Japanese prostitution also exerted a profound economic influence.<sup>38</sup> Japanese prostitutes in Australia earned more per capita than their counterparts in any part of *Nan'yô*: 400 yen per month in 1896, as opposed to 200 yen in India, 120 yen in Singapore, and 100 yen in Hong Kong.<sup>39</sup> Their remittances contributed significantly to the home economy.

Leading up to Federation in 1901, however, the Queensland Government, in consultation with the Japanese Consulate in Townsville, tried to control Japanese arriving without passports.<sup>40</sup> After a ban was placed on the immigration of all Japanese women into the Colony in 1898, some women attempted to enter Queensland by dressing as men.<sup>41</sup> The Japanese brothel business on Thursday Island and elsewhere in Australia peaked around 1897, while this happened during the 1910s in other places in Southeast Asia.<sup>42</sup>

## Stowaways

Thursday Island was on the regular Japanese shipping route to Australia, which began in 1896. Amongst the circle of Japanese brokers, hotel proprietors and traffickers based in Hong Kong and Singapore it was known as an easier entry point into Australia as well as 'a good place to make money'.<sup>43</sup> The Japanese prostitutes who entered Australia were normally smuggled out of Japan and brought in through northern ports via Hong Kong or Singapore. They were hidden in cargo ships and escorted by their traffickers.<sup>44</sup> One Japanese woman who left Japan without a passport was advised by a Japanese boarding house keeper in Hong Kong to go to Thursday Island as she 'could freely land there without passports [sic]'.<sup>45</sup> In August 1898, for example, the vessel *Yamashiro Maru* arrived at Thursday Island carrying twelve Japanese – eight males and four females. Two of the men were without passports, as were all the women. All of the females came through Hong Kong.<sup>46</sup>

## The Japanese Under the Immigration Restriction Act 1901

While the other Asian communities were, in general, directly affected by the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, the Japanese who were working in the pearl-shell and sea-cucumber fishing industries were exempted from the provisions of this Act because of their heavy dependence on the Japanese and other Coloured labourers. Japanese contract labourers continued to arrive and dominate the industry until the outbreak of World War II.<sup>47</sup> By 1904, the Australian Government had also relaxed the Act with respect to the entry of

other Japanese and allowed tourists, students and merchants to enter on passports, without being subjected to the dictation test.<sup>48</sup> According to Evans, officials on Thursday Island quietly allowed the arrival of additional Japanese merchants and family members of already established island residents.<sup>49</sup>

The Act, however, specifically prohibited the entry of ‘any prostitutes or person living on the prostitution of others’.<sup>50</sup> No new young *Karayuki-san* were to be recruited and business for Japanese brothels became less profitable. However, according to Sissons, young women continued to be smuggled into Australia until the late 1920s. One former diver who worked at Thursday Island recalled the arrival of seven or eight young girls in the 1910s:

The girls had their hair all done up and dressed in a Japanese *hakama* with black socks in black high heel shoes. They strode on the main street. Residents all came to watch them. The girls were just like movie stars or *Takarazuka* performers. They didn’t look like they were stowaways.<sup>51</sup>

According to Sissons, ‘no Japanese woman was ever charged as a prohibited immigrant’.<sup>52</sup> Some were, however, subjected to the dictation test which was provided for under the Act to control entry of undesirable immigrants. This test could be administered to anyone in the first year after arrival. The one-year period was extended to two in 1910, three in 1920 and five in 1932.<sup>53</sup> Some Japanese prostitutes were deported on these grounds, but generally speaking, Japanese prostitutes ‘enjoyed a remarkably prosecution-free existence’.<sup>54</sup>

By 1920, trafficking was curtailed elsewhere in the *Nan’yô* region due to the Japanese government’s intervention. Japan had established its economic foundations in the region and the government began to recognise the adverse effect on national prestige that the presence of Japanese prostitutes caused.<sup>55</sup> In 1912, when Japan signed the Convention Against Traffic in Women and Children, many women were repatriated by the Japanese Government. This resulted in a drastic reduction in numbers of Japanese prostitutes in *Nan’yô* by 1926. In his report compiled in 1916, Tsubotani described how one petroleum factory at Balikpapan in East Borneo got special consideration from the local government and managed to keep some *Karayuki-san* so that they would not lose their labourers.<sup>56</sup> However, this special arrangement, too, was ended in 1922. Some *Karayuki-san* in *Nan’yô* were repatriated, while others married and stayed on. In Macassar, for example, 70 to 80 per cent of the women married local Japanese and the rest married local Chinese or Indonesians.<sup>57</sup>

## **Marriages and relationships**

The *Karayuki-san* who came to Thursday Island also married, but this number was small. According to the author’s research, they married Japanese nationals on the island. Most of the former *Karayuki-san* who stayed on, however, remained single. The only women who were able to stay on were those who arrived before 1901. As they aged, they started other businesses that catered to the domestic needs of single men on and off the island, playing a uniquely maternal role for the Japanese community.<sup>58</sup>

They were not only running boarding houses and a small eatery, but also washing clothes and mending work clothes for Japanese marine labourers.<sup>59</sup> As a nine year-old child, Sadako Ike (nee Yamashita) remembers them. She spoke in Japanese:

They were getting old. Onobu Obâsan was running a bathhouse, Oyone Obâsan was running her own boarding house and others were quiet and doing odd jobs for the workers. Otomo Obâsan was living in a small house behind Kushimoto boarding house... They could hardly speak English. We didn't need English. They used to call me and ask me to pick out husks from rice grains.<sup>60</sup>

In 1941, when the war broke out, five single Japanese women were included among the internees from Thursday Island - Tomi Hamasaki, Nobu Ide, Chie Yukawa, Yone Nagata and Masu Kusano.<sup>61</sup> They were former *Karayuki-san*.<sup>62</sup> Chie Yukawa moved to Thursday Island from Broome just before the war and was subsequently interned.

**Table 6-1: Former *Karayuki-san* resident on Thursday Island in 1941<sup>63</sup>**

<b>Name (approximate age in 1941)</b>	<b>Year of Arrival in Australia</b>	<b>Occupation in 1941</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>
Hamasaki, Tomo (56)	unknown, but sometime before 1901	laundry, mending clothes for marine workers	Single
Kusano, Masu (unknown, but similar age to others) died in the internment camp	as above	as above	Single
Ide, Nobu (51)	1899 at the age of 19	Bath house	Single
Yukawa, Chie (64)	1897 at the age of 20	moved from Broome before the war	Single
Nagata, Yone (59)	1897 at the age of 15	Boarding house	Single

**Table 6-2: Japanese families on Thursday Island in 1941<sup>64</sup>**

<b>Husband (approximate age in 1941) [occupation]</b>	<b>Birth place/ Arrival in Australia.</b>	<b>Wife (approximate age in 1941)</b>	<b>Birth place/ Arrival in Australia.</b>	<b>Children</b>
Fujii, Tomitarô (34) [diver]	Wakayama , Japan, 1907	Josephine Chin Soon (24)	Torres Strait (Chinese, Samoan and Torres Strait Islander)	2
Fukushima, Shôji [Ebisu & Co]	Wakayama arrived 1916	Tomie	Japan arrived 1924	1
Mana, Tsuneichi (30) [diver]	Wakayama , Japan, 1932	Tanaka, Kiyô (46)	Thursday Island	0
Matsushita, Tomijirô [Miwasaki boarding house ]	unknown	Uno	unknown	unknown
Nakata, Jirokichi ( 60) [formerly diver ]	Wakayama , Japan, 1898	Shigeno (43)	Queensland, but went back to Japan and re-entered in	4

			1927	
Nishi, Yasubê died in the internment camp in 1944	unknown	Tame (64) widow	Japan, arrived around 1898	0
Sakakibara, Isekichi [Shiojima &Co] [Hiroshima boarding house]	unknown	Shigeno	unknown	1
Shibasaki, Kyûkichi (41) [diver]	Wakayama , Japan, 1925	Jena Ah Boo (32)	Horn Island	6
Takemoto, Iwakichi (36) [diver]	Japan, 1922	Yaeno, Shiosaki (32)	Thursday Island	2
(Takai, Iwazô) deceased in Japan before the war [diver]	Wakayama , Japan, unknown	Sopia Barba	Thursday Island Malay	1
Yamashita, Haruyoshi (55) [Soy sauce factory, guest house owner, President of Japanese Club]	Ehime, Japan, 1898	Tei (40)	Thursday Island, but grew up in Japan	8
Yamamoto, Tsunejirô (66) died on a repatriation ship in 1946	Japan, 1899	Kisu ( 58)	Japan, arrived 1902	0

Japanese wives also did work for the Japanese labourers while they were busy as homemakers within their own houses. The only male Japanese migrants who were able to lead married lives were either on commercial visas or resident Japanese men who married local women of either Japanese or non-Japanese descent. In 1941, there were twelve households of Japanese heritage, including three of mixed marriage.

Tame Nishi ran a little shop where she did sewing for the men and made Japanese sweet buns and lemon juice for the divers during the lay-up season.<sup>65</sup> Tei Yamashita, did seamstress work while bringing up her eight children. Tei was born on Thursday Island in 1907 to the Shiosaki family, one of the early Japanese settlers on the island, but when she was two years old she was taken to Japan where she grew up. She returned at the age of twenty when it was arranged for her to marry Haruyoshi Yamashita, a resident soy sauce factory owner and community leader on the island. It was common among Japanese immigrants in various parts of the world to send their children to Japan for education in the pre-war years. Shigeno Nakata, the wife of Jirokichi Nakata, is another example from this category.



The number of Australian-born women of Japanese descent available for marriage was very small. Evans's study, which covers 1878-1914, claims that 'there was a severe shortage of non-European women apart from mainland Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the community'.<sup>66</sup> According to the author's investigation, there were only five divers who married and became permanent residents on the island – two married Japanese and three women of other heritage. This is surprisingly low considering the thousands of young Japanese males who came and worked in the region for almost half a century. The availability of sexual services on the island may have encouraged this low rate of marriage. The sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by Japanese marine labourers was also noted by White administrators in various parts of Australia's northern coastal regions. According to Evans, prostitution and the abduction of Aboriginal women were widespread.<sup>67</sup>

There are only three families whose descendents are still on the island: Kyûkichi Shibasaki who arrived in 1918 and married Jean Ah Boo, born on Horn Island of Malay and Aboriginal parents in 1930; Tomitarô Fujii, who arrived in 1925 and married Josephine Chin Soon, of Chinese, Samoan and Torres Strait Islander origin in 1938; and Iwazô Takai who married Sopia Barba of Malay origin and who had three children, but who became ill and returned to Japan where he died before the war.<sup>68</sup>

Informal interracial unions, however, were not uncommon. Sopia Barba and her sister Leah said, 'Japanese divers were very popular amongst girls on the island and some girls were living with Japanese divers, but only a few married.'<sup>69</sup> The sisters did various jobs in Yokohama, including working as shop attendants in a Japanese refreshment shop and washing clothes for workers. Leah had three children from different Japanese fathers. According to Leah and Sopia, de facto relationships between Japanese men and local women were common and sometimes babies were born. Some of these men were married and had wives in Japan.

### **Interruption – internment** <sup>70</sup>

When Japan entered World War II in December 1941, almost all the Japanese nationals and their descendents were interned by the allied Governments. Australia, too, took the same measures and interned 1 141 Japanese, including second- and third-generation Japanese. Of those, 359 were from Torres Strait. Yokohama was turned into a temporary internment camp surrounded by barbed wire, with machine guns on each corner of the town. Sadako Ike, born on Thursday Island, recalled that day:

My friend and I used to race each other home after school and I came running round the corner and there was a soldier standing guard there with a rifle and bayonet. We just stopped. ... My friend started crying... We didn't know what was going on.<sup>71</sup>

Former Japanese divers recalled: 'We were not allowed out, but that wasn't any different to usual. We were only permitted within Yokohama before then anyway'.<sup>72</sup> Japanese onshore residents (23 adults and 24 children) and indentured labourers (312 men) were taken into custody there until they were transferred to the mainland of Australia.<sup>73</sup>

The Thursday Island Japanese were later interned with other Japanese on the mainland of Australia in three permanent camps – marine labourers at Hay, in N.S.W., other unattached males at Loveday in South Australia, and women and family groups at Tatura in Victoria. Australia accepted other Japanese internees from colonies of Allied Governments, including

the Netherlands East Indies, New Zealand, New Hebrides and New Caledonia. When they arrived, the Japanese numbers exceeded 4 000, the largest number Australia had ever had.

Thursday Island was a vulnerable point for national security and the authorities were concerned that Aborigines in the region might aid the Japanese during the war. In a civilian evacuation, 280 Coloured and twenty Chinese were removed from Thursday Island.<sup>74</sup> Amongst them were the Shibasaki and Fujii families of mixed marriage. Although the wives and children were regarded as 'Japanese' under the Nationality Act of 1920 and the Alien Registration Act of 1920,<sup>75</sup> the non-Japanese wives were given the option of accompanying their husbands to internment camps, or remaining behind. Many Chinese residents went to Cairns and the Fujii family stayed there. The Shibasaki family were included in the Coloured group and were taken to Cherbourg Aboriginal Reserve in January 1942.

In the early months of 1943, however, Jean, the wife of Kyûkichi Shibasaki, and three other Coloured evacuees from Thursday Island, including Leah Barba, were again removed from the reserve as they were thought as being 'pro-Japanese' and, therefore, deemed a security risk. The authorities thought they might be a bad influence on the others on the reserve. They were imprisoned from March 1942 to April 1943 at the Gaythorne Prison in Brisbane.<sup>76</sup> In February 1943, at a Security Service hearing, Jean said that 'I am not taking any side, either the Japanese or our own Australian side. I am just on my own with my children, not thinking of anything'.<sup>77</sup> Jamel, the oldest son of the Shibasaki Family, was fifteen years old. He recalled:

You live on Thursday Island. You never been anywhere else. There are three hundred Japanese divers living there. They talk to you. You talk to them. Then all of a sudden, it's wartime and you're picked out as a spy or mixing with the enemy. Makes you think, I was born in this country. I don't speak Japanese. I know nothing about spying. As a young fellow, I was so confused. So we were all shipped off south. When we got there, there were other people from T.I. There was a woman there that used to live with a Japanese bloke years and years ago. There was Leah. She wasn't married to this Japanese bloke, but her sister was, but he went back to Japan years ago and died there. They couldn't speak Japanese.<sup>78</sup>

## Starting Anew

During the early months of 1946, everyone, except for Australian-born Japanese or Japanese nationals whose wives or children were Australian born, was repatriated or deported to Japan, regardless of their length of residency. Among them were former *Karayuki-san*. Those who were brought from other countries were also returned to Japan. Some internees died during the war, including Masu Kusano and Yasubê Nishi. They are buried in the Japanese War Cemetery at Cowra, New South Wales.<sup>79</sup>

Before repatriation, some former divers appealed to former employers to return to their pre-war jobs, but their hopes were not realised. All, except for Fujii, Shibasaki and Mana, who were married to Australian-born wives, were sent back to Japan. Of the shore-based families, the Yamashita and Nakata families were the only two who remained in Australia. When the island was placed back under civilian control on 1 April 1946, those who were allowed to remain in Australia gradually made their way back to Thursday Island.<sup>80</sup> During the war,

Thursday Island had been used as one of the principal naval bases for the Commonwealth and much of Yokohama had been demolished to make way for the construction of military barracks. Occupying soldiers had looted their vacant homes as well as other evacuees homes on the island.<sup>81</sup>

In spite of the general suspicion prevalent in Australia during the immediate postwar years, the Japanese who returned to Thursday Island seemed to have been well accepted by other residents. The experiences of Japanese in other parts of Australia during the same period were more difficult. The Japanese returning to Broome and Darwin, for example, received a much more antagonistic reception from their communities.<sup>82</sup> Although both Broome and Darwin also had a long history of Japanese involvement in their pearling industries, they had been bombed during the early months of the war. Thursday Island itself was never bombed by the Japanese, although nearby Horn Island was bombed several times. The re-establishment of normal life by the Japanese does not seem to have been substantially different from the experiences of other residents, whose lives had been similarly interrupted.<sup>83</sup> Amira Mendis, a Sri Lankan, who went to live on the island for the first time in 1947, observed that as people came back to the island they all seemed happy to see each other again, including former internees of Japanese descent. She recalled:

There were about 50 people on the island and there was a feeling of 'let's start all over again'. There was a small group of White people who placed themselves above others, but the rest were living in harmony.<sup>84</sup>

The first Japanese resident to return was Tamiya, the eldest son of the Nakata family. He was nineteen years old in 1947. He said:

I arrived on T.I. on 3 June, 1947. I was amazed at the desolation; there used to be six hotels ... I stayed with the Dewis family [of Malay-Islander origin] who I knew before the war. They welcomed me.<sup>85</sup>

Evelyn Suzuki, the eldest daughter of Haruyoshi and Tei Yamashita, was nineteen years old in 1946. She explained how the family was assured of accommodation and a job to facilitate their release to Thursday Island. She spoke about the way a Chinese friend of her father helped him to start a shop. She said:

My father contacted his Chinese friend who was only too pleased to assist. Before the war, my father had helped him when his father died. He [the Chinese friend] was still quite young and was left to support his mother, younger brother and sister. The '*On*' [return of gratitude] is only my interpretation of the circumstances.<sup>86</sup>

According to the author's investigations, 38 people, comprising six families, one couple, one widow and one single man, resettled on the island after the war. More than two-thirds were *Nisei* (second generation), and many were young children. Of the 25 *Nisei*, eleven were of mixed descent. These 38 returnees were a link, albeit small and tenuous, between the pre- and post-war Japanese presence on the island. Small though this number was, it was still the largest concentration of Japanese in Australia after the war. This remained the case until the gradual easing of restrictions to allow limited entry from Japan for specific purposes, following Japan's signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951.

**Table 6-3: Japanese residents who returned to Thursday Island**

Family Surname in alphabetical order	Husband	Wife/ (Widow)	Children	Single	Total
<b>Fujii</b>	1	1	*2		4
<b>Mana</b>	1	1	0		2
<b>Nakata</b>	1	1	5		7
<b>Shibasaki</b>	1	1	*6		8
<b>Tanaka</b>	dec.	(1)	0		1
<b>Takai</b>	dec.	1	*3		4
<b>Yagura</b>				*1	1
<b>Yamashita</b>	1	1	9		11
		7 (1)	25	1	38

\*Mixed descent

The *Issei* (first generation) were not only dispossessed of what they had built before the war, but also lost the social and economic infrastructure on which their lives depended. The financial loss was great for some families, but they were not compensated. Under the then National Security (Enemy Property) Regulations and the Peace Treaty in 1951, the Australian government was empowered to seize and liquidate ‘enemy property’ and to distribute Japanese moneys retained under the Treaty to the Australian POWs who had been held by the Japanese.<sup>87</sup> The *Issei* maintained their silence on the subject and occupied themselves with family life and avoiding potential problems. Many of the *Nisei* (second generation), too, wanted to put the war behind them. In 1999, Tomiya Nakata reflected on the time:

I wanted to get along well with people and didn’t want to stir up things. I didn’t speak about it a lot myself, but people asked me what the internment camp life was like. I answered ‘No ill treatment’... diplomatically handled.<sup>88</sup>

The *Nisei* on Thursday Island seemed to have rehabilitated themselves well into the post-war Thursday Island community. The pre-war Japanese community was physically destroyed, but socially they were not completely uprooted. Unlike other *Nisei* former internees who resettled on other parts of Australia, they did not have to resort to concealing their ethnicity by changing their surnames. They were known to the Thursday Island community and their Japanese surnames were already socially established names in the community. Harumi Ahloy, The second eldest daughter of the Yamashita, was sixteen in 1946. She said:

People who knew us from before the war were always good to us after we came back. Old Islanders sort of protected us. They told their sons, ‘Don’t touch them [Japanese girls]’<sup>89</sup>

## **Newcomers**

After the war, a complete ban was placed on the entry of Japanese into Australia. It was not until the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed in 1951 when the Australian government

allowed a few categories of Japanese to enter, including wool buyers and war brides. The arrival of war brides meant that for the first time there were a majority of female Japanese on the mainland, although this was not the case on Thursday Island.

With the arrival of male workers again in the pearl-shell industry, the post-war Japanese community on Thursday Island had the same demographic pattern as the pre-war years. The pearl-shell industry was eager to bring back Japanese to revive the industry<sup>90</sup> and in 1958, 106 Okinawans were permitted entry. Okinawa was then an American mandated territory. The entry of Okinawans could then, according to Ganter, 'satisfy Australian master pearlers without offending anti-Japanese sentiments'.<sup>91</sup> However, the Okinawans were salvage divers, without appropriate diving skills for pearling and most of them were soon sent back.<sup>92</sup> Only three Okinawan men from this original recruitment remain in the region today, two on Thursday Island and one in Bagama on Cape York. They married local Thursday Islanders, including a daughter of the Shibasaki family.

In the 1960s, the pearl-shell industry declined as a result of the use of plastic for the manufacture of buttons. However, during the same period, Japanese companies started to invest in cultured pearls.<sup>93</sup> With the arrival of Japanese cultured-pearl technicians in the region, the Japanese presence in Torres Strait grew again, although this time on a much smaller scale. By this time, the Federal Government had already relaxed its entry restrictions on Japanese and numbers were growing slowly on the mainland too. However, the newly-revived industry again declined when Japanese companies gradually withdrew from the region and pearl-farming operations declined in the 1980s. In 2003, only one small pearl-farming operation survived on Friday Island, run by Kazuyoshi Takami, who originally came to Thursday Island to work as a cultured-pearl technician in 1973.

The development of the post war Japanese presence was again industry-specific, but the Japanese technicians who came were sent by their companies. Single men lived in their company boarding house on Friday Island and married men commuted between Friday and Thursday Island where their families lived. Only a few had their families with them. Shoji Takizawa had his family with him. In 2003, Yachiyo, his wife, recalls of her life on the island:

We had two children. I was busy looking after them. There were other Japanese on the island, but I didn't have much in common with them. I sometimes went to Yamashita san's shop to buy this and that. That's about it. I and my children were there for three years and moved to Brisbane for their schooling. All the Japanese food was regularly supplied from Japan by the company and there was a plenty of fresh fish and prawns. Vegetables were a bit scarce. It was a very isolated world.<sup>94</sup>

The men worked and socialised with their own workmates. In 1999, the late Gwen Moloney, editor of the Torres Strait News, reflected: 'They didn't mix with us. They came and went'.<sup>95</sup> Forming such a 'corporate boundary', in the words of Kazuyoshi Takami of Friday Island, 'was perhaps necessary to protect industry secrets from others'.<sup>96</sup> Most of them didn't speak English well and had little to do with the wider community.

## **Conclusion – Japanese Thursday Islanders**

With the withdrawal of Japanese companies from Torres Strait in the 1980s, Japanese trade with the Thursday Island community has greatly diminished. Today, the region is left with no distinct Japanese ethnic presence, but fragments of Japanese language and culture survive in various ways (see Shnukal Chapter 10, this volume), and they are an integral part of the region's daily life. There are also some physical reminders of the Japanese influence both before and after the war. Japanese tombstones remain as the most tangible reminder of the Japanese presence. Because visitors to Thursday Island usually visit the cemetery to see these graves, Islanders of Japanese descent regularly cleaned their ancestors' graves to present a tidy image to these visitors until the Torres Strait Shire Council decided to take it over as their Community Development Project around 2001.<sup>97</sup> Although these graves are seen as proof of the contribution of Japanese men to the pearling industry, not all of the 640 tombstones belong to men, but this has tended to be left out of academic history. Unfortunately the burial list does not register the causes of death, and furthermore, almost half of the 640 gravestones have not been identified. At least twelve tombstones have been identified as belonging to women, some of whom were likely to have been *Karayuki-san*.

The *Karayuki-san* have left little reminder of their strong presence in the community. In the historiography of the Japanese on Thursday Island, these women existed only as occasional statistics, or as passing references in official reports. The only permanent physical reminders are the handful of graves in the cemetery and the Japanese bathtub (*ofuro*) excavated in 1999 at Onobu san's bathhouse in the pre-war Japanese quarter. Just as with most male Japanese, most of the prostitutes only intended to stay for a short time before returning home with their hard-earned savings. Their existence was, however, socially and economically an integral part of the Japanese labour settlement in Torres Strait in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Some of the current Thursday Islanders who can trace their lineage to the pre-war Japanese era are descendants of the *Karayuki-san*. While some of them may not be comfortable with this fact, it is part of the reality of the early Japanese experience in the region. To give the concept of 'Japanese-Thursday Islanders' its full historical integrity, it is essential to understand the links between pre- and post-war Japanese communities as well as to recognize all who have participated in making that history.

After several generations of intermarriage, the Japanese presence has become an integral part of the Thursday Islander identity. This 'localised' Japanese ethnic heritage will continue to live not only in those who identify with Japanese culture, but also will survive indefinitely in the island's hybrid community. In 1975, Sugimoto, a researcher from Japan, found 110 second- and third-generation Japanese in Torres Strait, eight-five of whom lived on Thursday Island.<sup>98</sup> Today, all original *Issei* are long gone and only the three Okinawans remain. Some of the *Nisei* have also passed away. It is difficult to estimate what the numbers are today. According to the author's investigation, the eight *Nisei* of the Shibasaki family alone produced 26 *Sansei* (third generation), who then produced 26 *Yonsei* (fourth generation). The Yamashita family has also expanded from eight *Nisei* to 44 *Sansei* and *Yonsei* and so have the Nakata, Fujii and Takai families. However, the increasing number of descendents does not necessarily mean a stronger ethnic continuity in the region. While they are proud of their Japanese ancestry, they are more proud of belonging to a wider, essentially multicultural community which identifies itself as Thursday Islander.

## Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge all the Japanese Thursday Islanders who have provided me with information and personal stories, particularly Evelyn Suzuki, Sadako Ike and Bill Shibasaki. My special thanks to Anna Shnukal for offering me information from her Torres Strait genealogical database, and Anna Shnukal and Guy Ramsay for commenting on my drafts.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Substantial parts of this chapter have appeared in two of my published articles; 'Japanese-Australian in the Post-war Thursday Island Community', R. Ganter (ed.), *Queensland Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1999); and 'Gendering Australia-Japan Relations: Prostitutes and the Japanese Diaspora in Australia', *Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, Vol. 11 (March 2003). I acknowledge gratefully the permission of the publishers.

<sup>2</sup> T. Konno and Y. Fujisaki ed., *Iminshi II*, Shinsensha, 1985, pp. 236-237.

<sup>3</sup> Trafficking young Japanese women for prostitution emerged in the rapid socio-economic changes occurring in the 19th century Japan. Over 300 000 Japanese were working overseas in 1906 and it is estimated that between 20 000 and 30 000 women were engaged in prostitution around the world. See J. Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940*, Oxford University Press, 1993, and also see Sogojoseishi Kenkyukai ed., *Nihonjosei no Rekishi: Sei Ai Kazoku*, 1992, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> T. Yano, *Nanshin no Kêfu*, Chûkô Shinsho, Tokyo, 1975, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Major works on the history of the Japanese in Torres Strait include: D. C. S. Sissons, 'The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry', *Queensland Heritage*, Vol.3, No.10, 1979, pp.8-27, 'Karayuki san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916 II', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 69 and 'Karayuki san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916, I', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 68, 1977; R. Ganter, *The Pearl-Shellers of Torres Strait, Resource Use, Development and Decline:1860s-1960s*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1994; 'Wakayama Triangle', *Journal of Australian Studies, Imaginary Homelands*, No.61, 1999; and T. Ogawa, *Arafura Kai no Shinju*, Ayumi Shuppan, 1976; and K. Haig, 'By the Bounty of the Sea: Industry, Economy and Society in Maritime Japanese Immigrant Communities in Hawaii and Australia, 1890s to World War II', Honours Thesis, Harvard University, 1999; and Y. Nagata's *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia During WW2*, University Queensland Press, 1996. Other works include J. P. S. Bach, 'The Pearlshelling Industry and the White Australia Policy', *Historical Studies*, Vol.10, No.38, 1962, pp.205-213; J. Armstrong, 'Aspects of Japanese Immigration to Queensland Before 1900', *Queensland Heritage*, Vol.2, No.9, 1973, pp.3-9;; and G. Ohshima, ed., *Toresu Kaikyô no Hitobito*[People of the Torres Strait], Kokon Shoin, Tokyo, 1983.

<sup>6</sup> G. Bottomley, 'Women on the move: migration and feminism', G. Bottomley and M. De Lepervanche, eds., *Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, 1984, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Sissons, Pearling Industry, Endnote 39, p.23.

<sup>8</sup> T. Hattori, *Nankyû no Shinshokumin*, Hakubunsha, Tokyo, 1894, pp.9-12.

<sup>9</sup> Haig, p. 64.

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<sup>10</sup> Yokohama was and is a major international port near Tokyo and it is unknown when it was first named. The quarter was bordered by Victoria Parade and the waterfront on one side, and by Milman, John, and Hargrave streets further inland.

<sup>11</sup> Hattori, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Haig, p.61,

<sup>15</sup> Kyûhara, p. 1. According to Kyûhara, in the early stage pearling stations in Torres Strait were located at approximately ten sites, including Somerset on Cape York Peninsula, Albany Island, Roko Island, Possession Island, Friday Island, Goode Island, Waiweer Island, Prince of Wales Island and Mabuia Island.

<sup>16</sup> G. Evans, 'Thursday Island 1878-1914: A plural Society', Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1972, Tables inserted between pp. 26-27.

<sup>17</sup> S. Mullins, *Torres Strait, a History of Colonial Occupation and Culture Contact, 1864-1897*, Central Queensland University Press, 1995, p. 157.

<sup>18</sup> R. Ganter, 'Images of Japanese Pearl-shellors in Queensland', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, 1991, p. 269.

<sup>19</sup> Hattori, p.25.

<sup>20</sup> Sissons, 'Pearling Industry', p.19.

<sup>21</sup> Sissons, 'Karayuki san II', p. 478; J. Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940*, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 86.

<sup>22</sup> S. Kyûhara, *Remains of Japanese Settlers on the Torres Strait Islands*, 1977, unpublished paper in possession of Yuriko Nagata, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Sissons, Karayuki san I p. 328 and Karayuki san II, p. 488.

<sup>24</sup> Hattori, p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> Telegraph from J Douglas to Under Secretary Home Office as at 18 July 1898, PRV 11136, Queensland State Archives (hereafter QSA).

<sup>26</sup> Evans, Thursday Island, pp. 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.



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<sup>28</sup> See Sissons, Karayuki san I, p. 474. R. Ganter, 'Wakayama Triangle', *Journals of Australian Studies*, No.61, 1999, p. 57.

<sup>29</sup> Sissons, Karayuki san I, p. 474.

<sup>30</sup> Y. Murakami, 'Civilised Asian: Images of Japan and the Japanese as viewed by Australians from the early 19th century to 1901, PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1999, p. 168.

<sup>31</sup> Murakami, Civilised Asian, p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170. According to Ogawa's interviews with former divers, White prostitutes also came to work during the lay-up season. T. Ogawa, p. 175.

<sup>33</sup> Evans, Thursday Island, p. 49.

<sup>34</sup> J. Armstrong, 'The Question of Japanese Immigration to Queensland in the 19th Century', MA Qualifying Thesis, University of Queensland, 1970, p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Mihalopoulos, 'Ousting the "prostitutes"', p. 182.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Sissons, Karayuki san II, p. 331.

<sup>38</sup> S. Sone, The Karayuki-san of Asia, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Sissons, Karayuki san II, p. 323.

<sup>40</sup> August 1899, PRV11136, QSA.

<sup>41</sup> Armstrong, J., 'Aspects of Japanese Immigration to Queensland before 1900', *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (1973), p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Sogojoseishi Kenkyukai. *Nihonjosei no Rekishi: Sei Ai Kazoku*. 1992, p. 194.

<sup>43</sup> Letter to Government Resident Thursday Island, 13 Dec. 1897, PRV11136, QSA.

<sup>44</sup> Sissons, 1976, pp. 339-40.

<sup>45</sup> The same letter as above included in Ganter, p. 57.

<sup>46</sup> Telegraph memo from John Douglas, 10 August 1898, PRV11136, QSA.

<sup>47</sup> Sissons, Pearling Industry, p. 16; Ganter, Images of Japanese Pearl-shell-ers, pp. 107-09.

<sup>48</sup> P. H. Frei, *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia: from the sixteenth century to World War II*, Melbourne University Press, p. 84.

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- <sup>49</sup> Evans, Thursday Island, p. 145.
- <sup>50</sup> Immigration Restriction Act, No. 17 of 1901, Section 3(f), in A. I. Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, Appendix 1, p. 157.
- <sup>51</sup> Ogawa, p. 175. *Hakama* is an ankle length pleated skirt. *Takarazuka* is a women only theatre company in Japan which was established in 1913.
- <sup>52</sup> Sissons, *Karayuki san I*, p. 477.
- <sup>53</sup> C. Y. Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Sydney University Press, 1975, p. 39.
- <sup>54</sup> R. Frances, 'The History of Female Prostitution in Australia' in Perkins, R., *et al.*, (eds) *Sex Work And Sex Workers in Australia*, University of New South Wales, 1994, p. 52.
- <sup>55</sup> Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san*, p. 86.
- <sup>56</sup> Tsubotani, Z., "Nan'yo Shisatsudan", *Saikin Ishokumin Kenkyû*, Nihon Iminkyokai, 1916, in T. Konno and Y. Fujisaki, *Iminshi II*, 1996, Shinsensha, p. 195.
- <sup>57</sup> S. Nakabayashi's interview included in 'Shirochôgai no Umi ni moguru', *Aruku Miru Kiku*, Vol. 237 (1988), pp. 12-13.
- <sup>58</sup> Haig writes that the women who occupied a unique maternal role within the Japanese community were wives, however, my investigation shows that single women who were former *Karayuki-san* were also amongst them.
- <sup>59</sup> Haig, *By the Bounty of the Sea*, p. 62; Sadako Ike, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, 6 June 2003.
- <sup>60</sup> Ike Sadako, pers. comm. June 6, 2003.
- <sup>61</sup> Japanese Internment Action - Nominal Roll of Japanese Internees EX Thursday Island, Q39362, c1924-1954, BP242, CA 753, Australian Archives.
- <sup>62</sup> I have been able to substantiate this fact with the information I gathered from many interviews I conducted with both current and former residents of the island from the late 1980s to 1990s. The interviewees include the late Toshi Nishi, the late Ted Loban, the late Mitsuru Sano, Capri and Leah Barba, Sadako Ike and Evelyn Suzuki.
- <sup>63</sup> Japanese Internment Action - Nominal Roll of Japanese Internees EX Thursday Island, Q39362, no date, BP242, CA 753, Australian Archives.
- <sup>64</sup> This chart has been tabulated with three information sources: Anna Shnukal's private Torres Strait genealogical database; Japanese Internment Action, Q39362, BP242/1, AA and List of Japanese Civilian Internees included in Repatriation File, 46/6/72, CRS A 437, AA, 4 January 1947.

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- <sup>65</sup> Haig, *By the Bounty of the Sea*, p. 63.
- <sup>66</sup> Evans, *Thursday Island*, p. 53.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> Sophia Caprice, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, Mackay, 6 July 1992.
- <sup>69</sup> Lear Lam Sami, nee Barba, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, 6 July 1992.
- <sup>70</sup> See Y. Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia during WW2*, University of Queensland Press, 1996, for further details.
- <sup>71</sup> *The Courier-Mail*, July 31, 1995, p.7.
- <sup>72</sup> Ogawa, *Arafurakai no Shinju*, p. 248.
- <sup>73</sup> Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p.68.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p.89.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.91.
- <sup>77</sup> Transcription of Jean Shibasaki's court hearing for release of 24 February 1943, Q24780, BP242/1, CA753.
- <sup>78</sup> J. Staples and K. O'Shea, 'Thursday Island's Asian Heritage: An Oral History', unpublished research paper in possession of Yuriko Nagata, 1995, p. 15.
- <sup>79</sup> Cowra Japanese War Cemetery Burial list. .
- <sup>80</sup> Thursday Island State High School (hereafter T.I.SHS), *Torres Strait at War: a recollection of wartime experience*, 1987, p. 32.
- <sup>81</sup> E. Osborne, *Torres Strait Islander Women and the Pacific War*, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1997, p.85; T.I.SHS, *Torres Strait at War*, 1987, p. 33.
- <sup>82</sup> Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, pp. 226-29.
- <sup>83</sup> T.I.SHS, *Torres Strait at War*, pp. 33 & 43.
- <sup>84</sup> Amira Mendis, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, 6 April 1999.
- <sup>85</sup> Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 230.
- <sup>86</sup> Evelyn Suzuki, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, 14 August 1992.

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<sup>87</sup> Memo of 1 Aug 1956 from Controller of Enemy Property Memo to the Secretary of Department of External Affairs, A 1379/1, Item EPJ 1142, QSA.

<sup>88</sup> Tamiya Nakata, pers. comm., to Yuriko Nagata, December 1999.

<sup>89</sup> Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 231.

<sup>90</sup> Y. Nagata, 'A Foot In The Door: The Evolution of Australian Policy with regard to Japanese Immigration post WWII', unpublished paper, 1991 in possession of Yuriko Nagata.

<sup>91</sup> Ganter, *Images of Japanese Pearl-shellshers*, pp. 280-81.

<sup>92</sup> Sadako Ike, pers. comm., 1 April 1999.

<sup>93</sup> J. Singe, *The Torres Strait: People and History*, University of Queensland Press, 1989, p. 161. The companies include Kakuta Shinju, Union Shinju, Nisshin Shinju and Taiyô Gyôgyô.

<sup>94</sup> Yachiyo Takizawa, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, June 2003.

<sup>95</sup> The late Gwen Moloney, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, November 1999.

<sup>96</sup> Kazuyoshi Takami, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, December 1999.

<sup>97</sup> Billy Shibasaki, pers. comm. to Yuriko Nagata, May 2004.

<sup>98</sup> S. Kehoe-Forutan, 'Effectiveness of Thursday Island as an Urban Centre in Meeting the Needs of its Community' PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1990, p. 79.