



 **THE TERRITORY
REMEMBERS
75 YEARS**

Commemorating the Bombing of Darwin
and defence of Northern Australia

The Territory Remembers

Commemorating the Filipinos

By Paul A Rosenzweig

In February 2014, the Philippine Honorary Consul-General in Darwin hosted a significant ceremony to honour Filipino mariners who died north of Darwin during World War II. These men were killed when the cargo ships SS Florence D and SS Don Isidro were repeatedly attacked by Japanese aircraft on 18 and 19 February 1942. A commemorative plaque was jointly unveiled by Her Excellency Mrs Belen F Anota, Ambassador of the Philippines to Australia, and the Honourable Peter Styles MLA, then Northern Territory Minister of Multicultural Affairs – a long overdue commemoration of this wartime sacrifice by Filipino civilians.

These merchant mariners were Filipino nationals serving on commercial vessels which had been contracted to run the Japanese air-sea blockade of the Philippines. But how did this sacrifice well north of Darwin come to be included in the death tally for the Bombing of Darwin? Researching these Filipinos also led to the discovery that a Filipino sailor was killed in Darwin on that day, together with five civilians who were actually Filipino-Australians. Collectively, this service and sacrifice represents a significant contribution by the Filipino community to Australia's military history.

The Filipino Diaspora¹ In Northern Australia

The Filipino connection with Port Darwin dates back to the 'Manilamen' of the late 19th century, pearl and shell divers who became patriarchs of some notable Territorian families with a significant contribution to the two world wars.

While the Philippines was under Spanish colonial rule, many chose to seek a new life elsewhere. This ad hoc migration was ongoing from the 16th century, and from the 18th century their primary destination was Mexico and the Americas. They were known as 'Manilamen', people from the Philippines who had travelled to foreign lands seeking adventure or simply a better life. The modern identity as 'Filipinos' was not adopted until the 19th century.

The first wave of Filipino migration to Australia began in the third quarter of the 19th century after commercial quantities of pearlshell were first taken in Torres Strait in 1870. Hundreds of Filipinos came to the islands in the far north of the Colony of Queensland seeking employment as divers for pearlshell and bêche-de-mer (sea cucumber), also known by the Malay name trepang. They established a significant community on Thursday Island and the surrounding smaller islands.² The Japanese soon came to dominate the pearlshell industry. However, many Filipinos were drawn west to join pearling operations out of Palmerston (as Darwin was then known), or further west on the remote Kimberley coast.³

Any history of migration is a complex tale comprising intertwined threads of socio-economic, political and religious motivations. The reasons why various parties migrate at different times can usually be related directly to religious, economic, political or social motives. Each of these can have differing significance at different times, and they are not mutually exclusive. Usually at least two



of these reasons would prompt a decision to migrate. Many studies discuss migration in terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors: the circumstances that created a desire to leave the hardships of life at home, and the developing circumstances overseas offering religious or political freedom, security and perhaps affluence, that created a strong desire to migrate to that location. The Filipinos who came to northern Australia were both 'pushed' by poverty and lack of employment opportunities in their home barangays and villages, particularly outside of Manila, and 'pulled' by anticipated economic opportunities.

Late in the 19th century, Palmerston was a 'mestizo town' where the few European public servants and labourers were significantly outnumbered by Japanese, Filipino and Torres Strait Island pearl divers, Chinese traders and indigenous Larrakia people. Banjo Patterson wrote of Palmerston after a visit there in 1898, "it is filled with the boilings over of the great cauldron of Oriental humanity", listing 'Manilamen' among the eastern races to be found there.⁴ The Chinese had been the first to settle in the Northern Territory, and from 1878 Palmerston was basically a Chinese enclave – Chinese outnumbered the European population by more than four to one. The South Australian government brought in Indians and Singhalese, who came to number 150 by 1888. Twelve Japanese pearl divers came in 1884. By 1892 there were three Japanese-owned pearl luggers working from Port Darwin and by 1898 nearly 300 Japanese lived in Palmerston, mostly pearl divers.⁵ The pearling trade also attracted Indonesians, Torres Strait Islanders, Malays and Filipinos.

The Filipinos in particular were noted as excellent divers and proved to be a bonus to the pearlshell industry. They first came to Port Darwin as adventurous individuals, while from 1895 there was a more regulated influx of divers and pearlshell processors under the Indentured Labour Scheme. One of the first to come to Port Darwin was a Manilaman named Tassatio in 1878.

Tassatio lived in the camp outside town known as the 'Police Paddock', and died in 1929 after having lived in Darwin for 51 years. Others who became long-term residents were Catumba who died in 1938 (his Filipino wife Procupia died in 1939) and Juan Rodella, who lived in Darwin from 1899 until his death in 1939. Others were Carlos Ga, Tolentino Conanan, Elias Cesar, Antonio Spain, Ambrosio Pasquell, and another named 'Charlie Hadji' living at the 10 mile Railway Camp, who was better known as 'Shoal Bay Charlie'. Many of the older residents, all naturalised as British subjects, were evacuated when Darwin came under threat in 1942 including Alfonso Albolero and Antonio Peris (born in 1879), Pontallion Asor and Bennazio Bargos (1882) and Estiphan Cigobia (1884).

While the migration of Japanese, Indonesian and Chinese settlers in northern Australia and their relationships with local Indigenous people have been well documented, much less has been recorded about the early Filipino settlers. Following this first phase of individual migration, the next wave of migration of Filipinos to Palmerston commenced in 1895 with a small group from the central and southern Philippines who were employed as divers and processors of pearl shells under the Indentured Labour Scheme. These

Filipinos have been described as being 'culturally isolated'⁶ but so too was almost everyone in Palmerston. There really was no 'mainstream community' at that time. While their origins were disparate they maintained their customs and traditions, and initially communicated with Spanish as a common language to overcome the obstacle of different regional dialects. Gradually English overtook Spanish as the common language, particularly with the children and descendants. The men played music at social gatherings and actively participated in sporting activities such as boxing and football.

These were the first of the waves of migration by Filipinos to the Northern Territory documented by John Rivas in 2003.⁷ Three factors at the turn of the century, however, acted in concert to practically end this first wave of Filipino migration – the decline of the Australian pearling industry, the growth of the industry in the Philippines under American patronage and the passing of the *Immigration Restriction Act* following Federation. The Indentured Labour Scheme came to an end as the new immigration policies of the Commonwealth excluded non-Europeans from settling in Australia, and Filipino migration went into a hiatus until the 1950s.

When the Commonwealth assumed responsibility for the Northern Territory on 1 January 1911 and the town of Palmerston was officially renamed Darwin, there were 31 pearling boats operating from Darwin employing 138 men.⁸ The Northern Territory's population, excluding Chinese and Aboriginals, numbered about 2400, including some 52 Filipinos recorded as living in Darwin.⁹ The Commonwealth assumed responsibility for the various camps around Darwin town. Public servants lived in houses in town, single workers with money lived in hostels and Aboriginal people lived at Bagot Aboriginal Reserve, but the rest just made do with whatever accommodation they could manage.¹⁰ Those old camps on the fringes of Darwin have today become the suburbs of Stuart Park, Parap and ranging out to Nightcliff, while some of the old names are occasionally heard, such as Salonika and Police Paddock.

Life in these camps was communal living at its best, with no sewers but open drains and incinerator latrines. Conditions were tough but they were shared equally by all families, enhancing the community spirit the Filipinos were already used to from living in their barrios back home. A visitor to a small *barrio* or *barangay* in a remote province of the Philippines today can experience the lifestyle of the camps of old Darwin town. The Filipino families of that time such as the Cubillos and Conanans, mostly lived in the camp known as Police Paddock, which was where the suburb of Stuart Park is today, overlooking Frances Bay and Dinah Beach, which was known as Carl's Beach in those days.

It is now known that some 319 men from the Northern Territory volunteered for service in the Australian Imperial Force during World War I, including eight Filipino-Australians from the Ga, Conanan and Spain families, with six seeing active service overseas. Two were killed, two were wounded and one was decorated for bravery.¹¹ Notable among them are the sons of Carlos and Mary Anne Ga – all four brothers were volunteers, a significant contribution from a single Darwin family.

By the 1920s, the pearling industry was not so active and the Filipino divers sought work ashore. For example, Tolentino Conanan became a worker in the Darwin railway yards. Those who had arrived prior to 1901 were considered free men. The pearling industry soon regenerated, and by 1936 there were 27 luggers working out of Darwin, competing with 60-70 larger Japanese vessels.¹² Professor Alan Powell recorded that in the 1933 census there were 69 Filipinos recorded as living in Darwin and nearly all were pearlery.¹³ The Conanan, Chavez, Cubillo and Spain families in Darwin were all connected through their Filipino descent, with the men being waterfront workers and footballers. At the funeral of Ernie Lee in 1932, a supporter of Wanderers Football Club, the pall-bearers included Catalino and Felix Spain, Elias Conanan, Antonio and John Cubillo and Francisco Chavez.¹⁴

From the 52 Filipinos originally known to be resident in Darwin, there have come to be over 7000 people recorded today as members of the Northern Territory Filipino community.¹⁵ Other notable Territorians with a Filipino heritage include Zelma Garr (1897-1957) who served in 1914-1916 as Governess to the family of Administrator Dr John Gilruth. She was born on Thursday Island and christened 'Nuselma Ga' – the seventh child of Carlos Ga (1854-1931) from the Dinagat Islands near Leyte Gulf in the Philippines, and his wife Mary Anne (nee Bunyan; 1864-1909) from Carmarthenshire, Wales. A grandson of Carlos Ga, and son of Mary Espanias Ga (1888-1947), was Charles Tsang See-Kee OAM (1913-2002).¹⁶ Charles and his brother Bennett were among the seventeen Filipino-Australians with a Northern Territory connection who volunteered for military service during World War II, among them one of the Great War veterans. In addition, there were several Filipino-Australians working on the Darwin wharf in 1941-1942, five of them being killed during the first Japanese air-raid, including one of the 1915 volunteers. The casualty roll for the Bombing of Darwin is now known to also include one Filipino sailor from the *USS Peary*. However, there were a further 14 Filipino mariners also killed on 19 February 1942, and another two who later died of their wounds, who had no specific connection with Darwin. In fact, the *Florence D* and *Don Isidro* had never berthed in Darwin Harbour. But these men became inextricably linked with the Bombing of Darwin when their deaths were included in the Royal Commission tally.

Arafura Sea, 18-19 February 1942

On 19 January 1942, the US Army base commander in Darwin, Colonel John A Robenson, was instructed to fly to Java in the Netherlands East Indies to urgently organise ships, crews and cargo for prompt dispatch to the Philippine Islands. They were engaged for single missions – as blockade runners, to resupply the besieged troops on Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor Island in the Philippine Islands. These civilian cargo ships contracted by the US Army, eight in total, carried a combined cargo of 500,000 rations, 10,000 rounds of 3-inch ammunition, 250,000 rounds of .50-inch calibre ammunition and three million .30-inch calibre rounds. Only three of them were successful. These blockade runners are one of the least-known groups of heroes from World War II.

In a series of air attacks off Bathurst Island on 18 and 19 February 1942 Catalina flying boat PBY 2306 was downed, *Florence D* was sunk and *Don Isidro* was beached. Justice Lowe recorded 15 deaths from these incidents based on figures provided by the US Naval Liaison Officer, but it is now known that there were in fact 18 deaths attributable to these actions, including 16 mariners from among the 105 Filipinos crewing the two ships. They were civilians, serving under Articles of Agreement with the Master, but were drawn into the body count for the Bombing of Darwin even though they were never there.

SS Don Isidro

Robenson's team identified the cargo ship *SS Don Isidro* which had just arrived in Batavia, Jakarta, from Brisbane. The *Don Isidro* had been built in 1939 for the De La Rama Steamship Company in the Philippines and was engaged in inter-island services. In some accounts she is called *USAT Don Isidro* (United States Army Transport), but most commonly she is referred to as *SS Don Isidro* because she was contracted for this one mission, not commissioned into the fleet.

A contract covering compensation, insurance and other matters was drawn up, which included generous salary provisions and insurance through the Chief Finance Officer of the US Army for each man to the sum of \$US500 for the period required to accomplish their mission. In the case of those who were killed, this was paid to the nominated beneficiary.¹⁷ If the ship was lost as a result of enemy action, the owners would be compensated, and there was a stipulation that the Captain was to scuttle the ship rather than to allow it to fall into Japanese hands. The Master, Captain Rafael J Cisneros, assured Colonel Robenson that he and his men, "would do their best to deliver food and ammunition to the Philippine Islands".¹⁸

She departed Batavia on 12 February 1942 carrying flour, dry rations and ammunition, with a total complement of 84: Captain Cisneros and his crew of 67 fellow Filipinos plus a 16-man armed guard from the 453d Ordnance (Aviation) Bombardment Company commanded by Second Lieutenant Joseph Kane, US Army. The intention was to head through the Sunda Strait and then east through the Timor Sea, then through the Arafura and Banda Seas to then make a run direct to Mindanao in the southern Philippines where the Anakan Lumber Company would handle unloading operations. By noon on 18 February the *Don Isidro* was about 80 miles north of Wessel Island off eastern Arnhem Land when a Japanese bomber attacked her twice, but without causing damage. Cisneros changed course, ironically to seek shelter in Darwin Harbour.

She was 25 miles north of Bathurst Island on 19 February when seven fighter planes returning from the strike on Darwin suddenly strafed her. Despite the guard's defensive fire, several crew were wounded and all lifeboats were destroyed. Later a Japanese float plane dropped two bombs which missed, but several dive bombers and fighter planes then set the *Don Isidro* on fire. Captain Cisneros attempted to beach her but the engines failed about three miles offshore. The crew abandoned ship and reached the beach around 2am or 3am the following morning. The survivors initially found that four crew were dead and many were missing.

The corvette *HMAS Warrnambool* rescued the survivors from various parts of the island at about 10.30am on 20 February, herself under attack by enemy aircraft. Captain Cisneros found there were seven missing besides the four known to be dead:

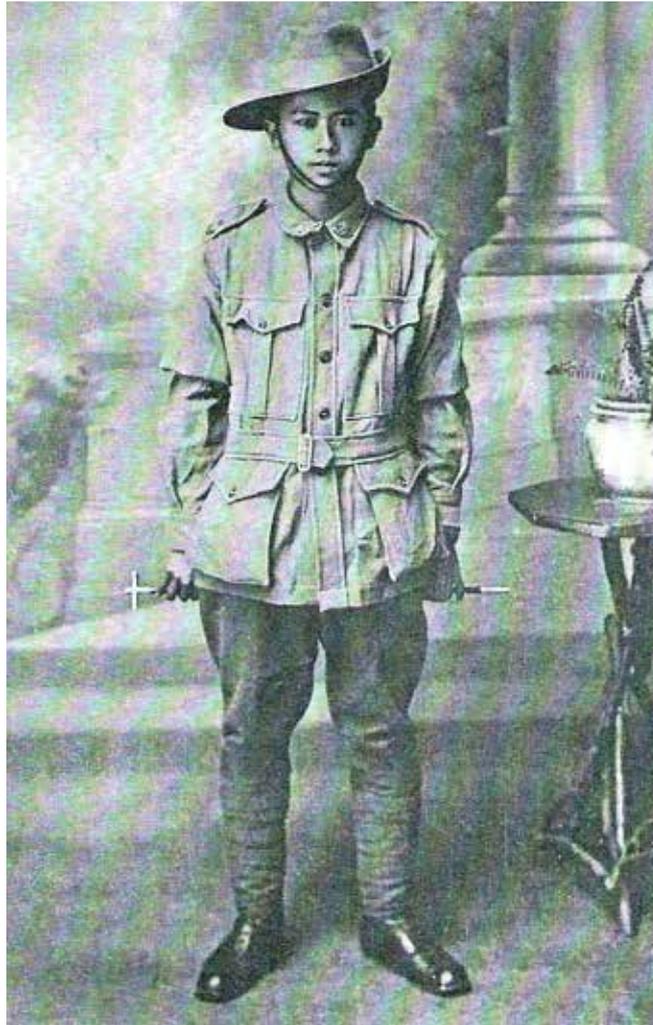
"Before we were brought in to the port of Darwin, we went and approached the ill-fated 'Don Isidro' in search of the Chief Engineer [Maximo Manga] and the Chief Electrician [Frederico Montralegra], as we were told they were still on board, very badly burnt and wounded. Once in there, we saw the deck was already under water and no trace of them whatsoever. In spite of this and besides the heavy explosion occurred all through the night and the following morning which we presumed that they were dead or drowned, being badly burnt and wounded. The Captain of the relief vessel gave up all hope of finding such persons due to these circumstances." ¹⁹

Douglas Lockwood stated in 1984 that "eleven died and were buried there" (on Bathurst Island).²⁰ His source was most likely Lieutenant Owen Griffiths RAN, a witness to the raids in Darwin from on board *HMAS Platypus*, who also recorded the fate of *SS Don Isidro*, although he was not actually a witness:

"She suffered five direct hits from dive-bombers. Eleven survivors died on the beach at Bathurst Island. Some had been in the water for ten hours. There were two parties of survivors, one on the beach and the second up a creek. Seventy-three were brought back to Darwin by Warrnambool, where two more died." ²¹

However the report by Cisneros clearly shows that four were known to have died during the attack and the other seven noted as missing were presumed killed, so it is safe to say that all 11 Filipinos died on the ship and their bodies were never recovered. Of the 73 survivors brought in by *Warrnambool*, one American and two Filipinos later died of their wounds. Three weeks after the attack, the US Naval Liaison Officer Captain Marshall Collins USN listed "Dead: 11" and "US Army dead: 1".²² In 1943, Collins reported to the Administrator of the Northern Territory: "It will be noted that one US Army killed is listed from the *SS DON ISIDRO*."²³ The Royal Commission report quoted the figure of 11 killed, mistakenly believing that it included the sole Army casualty, whereas in fact there were 11 Filipinos

killed plus the American (who actually died of wounds), plus a further two Filipinos who died of their wounds and were buried in a temporary cemetery. These two Filipino deaths were not recorded for the Royal Commission tally, and their names remain unknown.



The US Merchant Marine website correctly lists the casualties as 13 crew and one US Army while some other sites incorrectly list 10 dead.²⁴ Many of the Filipino names in various records suffer from having their spelling anglicised: in most Filipino dialects (and modern Tagalog) 'f' is pronounced as 'p' and 'v' as 'b', and 'o' is often pronounced as 'u'. So 'Jaruvilla' might variously be written as 'Jarubilla' or 'Jarobilla'. The 'g' is often silent, so 'Masangkay' might be written as 'Masankay'. Other names have been transcribed by English speakers not familiar with Filipino pronunciation, so 'Jaime' (with the Spanish-style soft 'j') has incorrectly been interpreted to be the English/American 'Jamie'. Table 1 was created to support the preparation of the commemorative plaque in Darwin, and this gives the most likely spelling of the names of the seamen who were killed.

In return for his service Captain Cisneros, his wife and their children, all born in the Philippines, were granted US citizenship. Ironically, after surviving five enemy attacks in February 1942, Rafael Cisneros died in 1958 of a heart attack while he and his wife were on a cruise.

SS Florence D

The *SS Florence D* was originally the steamship *SS Lake Farmingdale* built by the Superior Shipbuilding Company of West Superior in Wisconsin, USA and launched in 1919. From 1925 she was used in the Philippines by the Cadwallader-Gibson Lumber Company, and by 1942 she was owned by Madrigal and Company of Manila and had been procured under charter by the United States Navy. One of Colonel Robenson's team identified this small, fast cargo ship in Surabaya: after some considerable struggle, she was released to the Army on 2 February 1942.

She too was to be a blockade runner, under Captain Carmelo Lopez Manzano, on a secret mission to deliver primarily 3-inch artillery shells and .30 and .50-inch calibre ammunition to the Corregidor garrison. Manzano was a former Philippine Army Major who graduated in 1924 from the Philippine Nautical School and had 14 years of

seagoing experience behind him. On 9 February 1942, Colonel Robenson drew up a contract with Manzano covering compensation and insurance: Manzano was to receive 20,000 guilders, the Chief Engineer 10,000 guilders and each of the remaining officers 5000 guilders each (four times their normal salaries).²⁵

Some accounts wrongly imply that she was a US Navy ship with the designation *USS Florence D*. In other accounts she is called *USAT Florence D* (United States Army Transport), but most commonly she is correctly referred to as *SS Florence D*.

On the morning of 19 February 1942, the *Florence D* rescued the crew of Catalina flying boat PBY 2306 of Patrol Wing 10 flown by Lieutenant Thomas Moorer USN, which was shot down by a Japanese Zero (flown by Naval Air Pilot 1st Class Yoshikazu Nagahama) from the carrier-borne group heading towards Darwin. The Catalina had been conducting a morning patrol towards Ambon when it was suddenly attacked from above. The aircraft was ditched and the survivors rescued by the *Florence D*, which then began steaming towards Darwin.

After the *Don Isidro* was attacked, the *Florence D* responded to her SOS call and went to help. She was attacked at 2pm by a Japanese float plane approximately 60 nautical miles northwest of Bathurst Island, but the two 100-pound bombs both missed by a wide margin. She was attacked again at 3.30pm by nine dive-bombers coming down in a vertical line. These were from the aircraft carrier group's *Hiryu* squadron, who were returning to their carrier after attacking Darwin. The Catalina crew jumped overboard with the exception of Joe Shuler, who had gone forward. The *Florence D* suffered five direct hits from 500-pound bombs, including one to the forward cargo hold full of ammunition and, after a dramatic explosion, sank immediately in the Timor Sea west of Bathurst Island. Captain Carmelo Manzano was injured and three of the Filipino crew were killed, plus Joe Schuler from the Catalina's crew.

The survivors landed on Bathurst Island in scattered groups around midnight. A couple of shrewd Aboriginal boys identified them as Filipinos and brought them food.²⁶ A patrol aircraft spotted one party on 21 February, and the next morning *HMAS Warrnambool* rescued them and carried them to Darwin. Captain Manzano and ten other Filipinos, four badly burnt, were rescued by Brother Smith from Bathurst Island Mission Station in the lugger *St Francis*. Two days later Brother Smith returned and recovered a further 18 survivors who had made their way to the mission from the northwest coast, while an additional two wounded men were flown to Darwin by Flying Doctor Clyde Fenton.

The US Merchant Marine website confirms the deaths as three Filipino crew and one American aviator.²⁷ In December 1942, Carmelo Lopez Manzano received a commission as a Lieutenant-Commander in the Philippine Coast Guard Reserve after completing the US Navy's Submarine Chaser School. He was certified as being qualified to command patrol vessels, and went on to have a distinguished Coast Guard career: at one point he was the

highest ranking Filipino officer in the US Coast Guard, with the rank of Commander.

Darwin Harbour, 19 February 1942

While these civilian mariners were wrongly drawn into the Bombing of Darwin casualty statistics for 19 February 1942, it is worth noting that there was in fact one Filipino sailor killed in Darwin harbour that day, not previously identified as a Filipino simply because he was recorded as US Navy.

Cook Second Class Joseph Tapia²⁸ was an officer's cook on the warship DD226 *USS Peary*, who had enlisted in the US Navy on 8 October 1937 in Cavite in the Philippines. He survived the Japanese bombing attacks on the Cavite Navy Yard on 10 December 1941, in which the *Peary* sustained damage and lost some men. She was attacked again off Corregidor Island on 26 December and off Negros Island on 28 December. She escaped, camouflaged with Army green paint, and during daylight hours took refuge close to the islands covered with palm fronds to elude Japanese patrol bombers. As a result, she became nicknamed 'The Floating Island'. The *Peary* arrived in Darwin on 3 January 1942 and started conducting convoy and escort missions and anti-submarine patrols.

On 19 February 1942, the *USS Peary* was bombed where she was moored south of Darwin wharf. The ship was rocked by a massive explosion and sank stern first. Former Australian Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowen had been a naval volunteer reserve Sub-Lieutenant in 1941-1942, and returned to Darwin as guest speaker on 19 February 1992 during the Northern Territory's War Service Commemoration Year.²⁹ He recalled his impressions following the attack on Darwin:

*"Those of us who were here on that day have our special memories. I remember early morning talk in Naval headquarters about unidentified aircraft; suddenly the warning sounded and we streamed out to the trenches ... I remember listening that night to the talk of more senior officers about the imminent prospect of attack, which was assumed as a certainty."*³⁰

A witness to the *Peary's* final moments, Sir Zelman recalled:

*"I have a vivid memory of the old 'star-crossed' American destroyer Peary, ablaze from stem to stern, going down with a gun still firing, and with appalling loss of life."*³¹

From a total of approximately 130 crew, the US Naval Liaison Officer Captain Collins reported an estimated 40 accounted for, four in hospital and 10 on the hospital ship *Manunda*. He therefore estimated 80 dead for the *Peary* (including the Captain, Lieutenant-Commander John Birmingham USN), and this approximation was quoted as a firm figure in the Royal Commission. The following year Collins reported to the Administrator: "The estimate for the *USS Peary* is the best I could make at the time."³²

In 1989, *Peary* survivors Dallas Widick and John Patterson installed a plaque on the low wall near the Darwin Cenotaph in honour of 91 ship-mates who lost their lives. However this roll was later found to contain several inaccuracies.³³ For example: two men had been reported

as missing-in-action in Darwin but their names were not included on the casualty roll nor on this plaque. Some of those named on the plaque were never in Darwin harbour – two had been wounded at Cavite and were held prisoners as for the duration of the war, eight had died of malaria during the escape to Darwin, and two continued serving until war's end. One listed among the dead, Seaman 2nd Class Frank A Glover, was actually rescued by an Australian motor boat that day and remained AWOL for 18 months. It is now known that the USS Peary lost 88 officers and men in Darwin, including the Filipino Cook Second Class Joseph Tapia.

Darwin Wharf, 19 February 1942

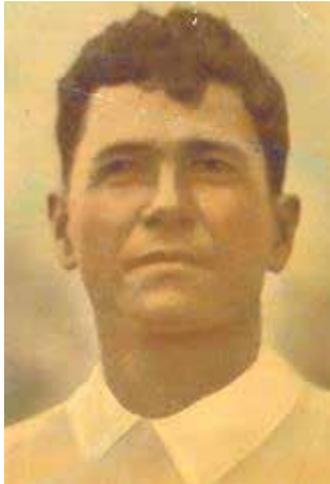
The two air raids on Darwin on the morning of Thursday 19 February 1942 constituted the first occasion in which the continent of Australia was genuinely threatened by an armed enemy. However, through a combination of factors, casualty figures were not very well documented. Beyond this though, a topic which has received almost no analysis until recently is the fact that among the waterside workers that day, and among the dead, were a number of Filipino-Australians.

By 1942, Port Darwin had become a vitally-important staging point for ship convoys. From the beginning of that year there were 18 registered gangs working on the wharf, of 14 members each, all members of the waterside section of the North Australia Workers' Union (NAWU). By February three shifts of six gangs were working around the clock. The port was especially congested on 19 February 1942, mainly due to a convoy carrying troops and supplies having just returned following an attack by Japanese aircraft and submarines. On that day, through an administrative error, just five gangs were rostered to work instead of the usual six: Gangs 1, 2, 3, 17 and 18 – 70 men in total.

These waterside workers had just commenced their shift and were starting to unload the cargo ships *MV Neptuna* and *SS Barossa* on the right-angled extension of the long pier. The large number of casualties suffered on the wharf in the air raid that morning has been directly attributed to the congestion of the port. Reporting on a commemorative service at the wharf in 1951, the *Northern Standard* in Darwin observed:

*"Many lives were lost that day, particularly on these death traps of wharves. It is a tragic fact that the first to die were the waterside workers for they had been the first Australians to protest and fight the sending of war materials to Japan."*³⁴

The circumstances of the Bombing of Darwin have been considered, dissected and analysed in considerable detail, from the tonnage of ships sunk in the harbour to their later recovery by a Japanese salvage firm, and the conversion to Christianity of the attack force commander Mitsuo Fuchida. A significant point of contention has always related to the number of casualties and the alleged 'cover-up'. For a number of reasons, casualty figures were not well documented at the time. In the report of the



Royal Commission concerning this first Japanese attack on Darwin, Mr Justice Lowe stated two figures which he believed to represent the number of known deaths at that time, these adding to a total of 243.³⁵ Subsequent analysis however has shown that many deaths were double-counted or miscounted, and many were never counted at all.

When all of the various known errors and omissions are taken into account the amended casualty roll, published by the Historical Society of the Northern Territory in 1994, lists 252 known deaths.³⁶ The list of casualties was re-published by *Australian Military News* in 1997, and was included by Tom Lewis as an appendix to his 1999 book *A War at Home*.³⁷

On the wharf in particular, the Royal Commission quoted 39 civilians killed, which has been perpetuated by subsequent authors.³⁸ This figure came from a 'Merchant Service Roll' made available to

Justice Lowe at the time of the Royal Commission, but there were many errors in this list.³⁹ Mariners on ships were counted including the two mentioned above which were not even in Darwin harbour. Lowe did not count two railway employees who later died of their wounds, and neither did he count 11 waterside workers on *MV Neptuna* or the merchant seamen from the hospital ship *Manunda*, *SS Mauna Loa* or two others from the *SS Zealandia*. The figure of 39 is anomalous because those killed while physically on board a ship were listed separately with that ship's casualty roll – and were also double-counted as 'civilian losses on the wharf'.

A more accurate number of civilians killed on the wharf is 22, comprising 20 men from the mercantile trading firm Burns, Philp & Co Ltd and the Commonwealth Railways, plus two railway employees who died of their wounds a week later on the hospital ship *Manunda*. Among them were five Filipino-Australians.

Francisco Augustus Chavez⁴⁰ was widely known in Darwin as 'Francis', although within the Filipino community he was known affectionately as 'Chico'. After his father's death, Francisco and his sister Beatrice became the step-children of Manilaman Mr Rafael Ponce, and they grew up with his children Pantaleona Mary (later Mrs Perez) and Eusebio Joseph ('Sibio').⁴¹ Ponce was noted as, "a very old resident of Darwin, having resided here for practically a lifetime".⁴²

During World War I, Francisco Chavez and his step-brother Eusebio made donations to the Belgian Nuns' Fund and also to the Daily Mail Tobacco Fund through the *Northern Territory Times* to provide gift parcels for British and Colonial soldiers at the front.⁴³ By 1918, Francisco Chavez was noted as a motor car proprietor, operating his business from Railway Gully with the telephone number '21'. He owned a Studebaker which was available for hire, registration number '39'.

The Ponce family were "active members of the community".⁴⁴ Francisco played in the Darwin Recreation Club band, was a patron of the Catholic Club in Smith

Street and held social activities in his home. Francisco's step-mother, described as "an old resident of Darwin", died in their Bennett Street residence on 22 June 1922. Mr Rafael Ponce died at Francisco's residence in McMinn Street in April 1928 aged 69.⁴⁵ Rafael left behind a sister Mary, two children (Pantaleona, Mrs Rafael Perez, and 'Sibio' or 'Joe' Ponce), two stepchildren (Francisco and Beatrice Chavez) and several grandchildren (among them, four who served during and after World War II).

In the 1920s and 1930s, Francisco Chavez was employed by the Commonwealth Railways on the town wharf. On 16 December 1941, the Administrator ordered the evacuation of all women and children, and in the ensuing eight weeks over 1000 women and some 900 children left Darwin by ship, aircraft, road and train. Francisco's sister Beatrice did not marry, and passed away on 22 November 1944 in Moore Park, NSW.

On 19 February 1942, Francisco was working as a winchman at the railway turntable at the right-angle of the wharf; Geoffrey Dangerfield was the wharf foreman, also employed by the Commonwealth Railways. One of the first sticks of bombs hit the right-angle of the wharf, throwing a locomotive and six railway trucks into the water. The explosion completely obliterated a large section of the decking and cut off access to the shore, directly killing four men. Earl 'Whitey' Shores, an American living on the beach at Fannie Bay, was working as a pinman on the turntable and was killed instantly. The explosion killed tractor driver Ernest Walter ('Ernie') Hodges, whose body was never recovered. Francisco Chavez and Geoffrey Dangerfield (wharf foreman) were also killed instantly and their bodies never recovered.⁴⁶

Dangerfield's mother-in-law Jessie Litchfield wrote to her daughter following the attack, and her words could equally apply to the others killed that day on the wharf:

*"It seems kinder to keep silence than to try and give any words of consolation . . . He could not have suffered anything, the blow coming so suddenly; and he is now asleep beneath the sea that he loved so well."*⁴⁷

Ricardo Warivin Da Souza Conanán's⁴⁸ father was one of the original 'Manilamen' of old Darwin, part of that first wave of Filipino migration to Australia in the third quarter of the 19th century – Tolentino Garcia Conanán (1858-1921), who had initially come to Thursday Island to be a diver for pearl shell and trepang. Tolentino's great-grandparents were Justo Conanán and Dominga Magallanes, both born in about 1797 in the village of Ybajay, in Aklan province in the north of Panay Island. Family history relates that the surname was originally spelt as 'Cunanán'. There have long been Cunanán families in Pampanga on the main island of Luzon, and reputedly one of Tolentino's forebears changed the spelling of their name to 'Conanán' to distinguish themselves from these northerners.

Tolentino's grandfather Juan Conanán was the *Gobernadorcillo* ('Provincial Governor') of Ybajay in the 1850s. Tolentino's father, Antonio Gelito Conanán, married Gregoria Dalisay Garcia of another large notable family from Ybajay, and they had eight children between 1855

and 1884. In about 1881, aged 23, Tolentino relocated to Thursday Island where he worked as a diver. In 1890, he sailed to Hong Kong and there on 16 May he married Emelia Constantina Da Souza (1864-1902), the daughter of Portuguese nationals Felipe Da Souza and Annie (nee Da Silva), who were probably from Macau. Emilia went to Thursday Island with Tolentino, where they had five children – all christened in the Filipino manner (drawn from the Spanish tradition, but also reflecting the Portuguese custom) with Emelia's surname as an additional 'middle name': Gertrude Maria Da Souza Conanán (born in 1891), Emelia Da Souza Conanán (1893), Ricardo Warivin Da Souza Conanán (1894-1942), Elias Joseph Da Souza Conanán (1896-1945) and Salvador Modeste Da Souza Conanán (died in infancy in 1901). Meanwhile, Tolentino was naturalised as a British subject in 1892.

After his wife Emilia died in 1902, Tolentino took his children to Palmerston where he was again a diver. Tolentino Conanán's first daughter Gertrude married Catalino Puerte Spain (1887-1942) on 9 February 1909, the son of fellow Manilaman Antonio Spain and his English wife Elizabeth. Tolentino and Emelia's second daughter Emelia married Mr Henry Lee of Darwin, but they had no children. From 1928, Gertrude Conanán (Mrs Catalino Spain) and her sister Emelia (Mrs Henry Lee) were managing the 'Canberra Café' in Cavenagh Street.⁴⁹ When Tolentino Conanán could no longer dive he became a pearl shell processor. He then worked in the Darwin railway yards, and in later life he enjoyed fishing with hand-lines from the wharf. In his obituary in 1921 it was noted that: "He was well respected and a good-living man."⁵⁰ Another recorded: "He was a friendly and obliging man and was a scholar both in Spanish and English."⁵¹

Ricardo Conanán (1894-1942) was born on Thursday Island on 14 August 1894, Tolentino and Emelia's third child and first son. In Darwin as a young teenager, Ricardo began working as a pearl shell diver. He attended an AIF recruiting meeting on 20 September 1915, volunteered immediately and was enlisted on 6 October, having recently turned 21.⁵² While undergoing training in Brisbane with 'A' Company, 8th Depot Battalion, Ricardo was discharged on 17 December 1915 as permanently medically unfit. He suffered from sciatica and diver's palsy as a result of being a pearl shell diver for at least the past six years, a common disability found amongst former divers in the Philippines even today. Ricardo Conanán did not get to serve overseas in this war and he lost his life in the next one.

His medical condition did not suppress his adventurous nature however. In July 1924, Ricardo volunteered to join a police expedition to Arnhem Land to search for supposed survivors of the SS *Douglas Mawson*, a ketch-rigged wooden steamer which had been wrecked by a cyclone in the Gulf of Carpentaria on 29 March 1923, lost without a trace.⁵³ Ricardo Conanán was described as a fisherman and bushman, who spoke the language of the district. Together with his brother Elias, Ricardo was a noted billiards and snooker player in Darwin, as well as a footballer and an accomplished accordion player – he would support the Cubillo Brothers rondalla orchestra and the Manila String Band, together with Dick Butler on the mouth organ.

Butler was the husband of Antonio and Elizabeth Spain's granddaughter Louisa Fanny Spain.⁵⁴

Like the other waterside workers whose families had been evacuated, at the beginning of 1942 Ricardo and his brother Elias were among those who continued to work on the wharf. On the morning of 19 February 1942, Elias had swapped his shift with a fellow worker and fortuitously escaped the air raid unscathed. He later joined his family in Brisbane, although he died on 5 April 1945 of a lung disorder, probably related to his wartime service. Ricardo's wife Lucy was part-Aboriginal and they had no children. She had been recorded in 1926 as being aged 30 and working as a laundress. Lucy was also evacuated from Darwin before the raids, and died in Adelaide on 13 April 1944.⁵⁵

A roll of known casualties as at 23 March 1942⁵⁶ confirms that Ricardo Conanan, John Cubillo and Domingo Dominic were employees of the mercantile trading firm Burns, Philp & Co Ltd, which had also established itself as a significant tourism operator. With all the women and children evacuated from Darwin, on the night of 18 February

many of the wharf labourers enjoyed a social night and had a few drinks. In addition, No. 3 gang had just finished a stretch of working night shift and were due to commence day shift at 8am on 19 February. That Thursday morning, Ricardo Conanan had apparently forgotten that he was rostered on to work and his gang was undermanned. As Lockwood recalled: "one of his colleagues was sent to retrieve him. He was found asleep at home in Cavanagh Street and came to work thirty minutes late."⁵⁷

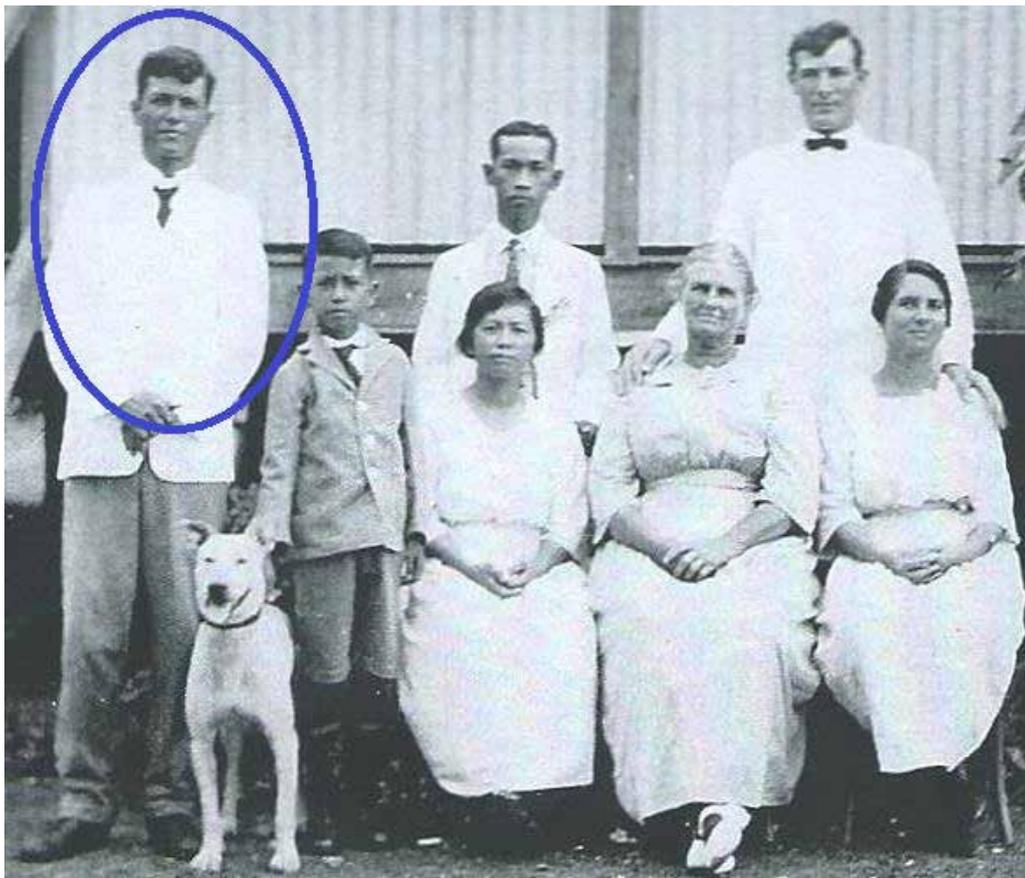
Ricardo was a hatchman, and began to unload the cargo ship *Barossa* of the Adelaide Steamship Company Ltd, which ironically was loaded with timber for a new wharf in Darwin. The *Barossa* was moored on the inner berth, opposite *Neptuna* which was heavily laden with defence stores, depth charges and anti-aircraft ammunition.

As Ricardo Conanan took a break for smoko the raid commenced and the bombs started raining down. The

Barossa was obstructed by a naval oil lighter moored on her seaward side, so could not escape. Three bombs from the first high level attack landed in the shallow water on the shore side of *Barossa*⁵⁸ while the next three were direct hits on the wharf. These were followed by a direct hit on the *Barossa* from a stick of three bombs from an Aichi Type 99 carrier bomber, and soon she was immobilised and on fire. *Barossa* was heavily damaged and sank but was later re-floated and towed to Brisbane by a tug.⁵⁹ Ricardo, aged 47, was killed immediately on his way to the recreation hut and his body was never found. His last words were reputedly "Good-bye boys, I'll see you in the next world".⁶⁰ This was a double tragedy for the family. Gertrude Spain (Conanan) lost her brother Ricardo that day, as well as

her husband Catalino.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Darwin expected to be struck yet there were no safety precautions on the wharf, no one person was in overall control of the wharves and incomplete records were kept. The Americans posted armed guards on the wharf and used troops to unload cargo. And all this time many people in



Darwin maligned the wharf labourers for their militancy, yet were among the first to flee Darwin after the raids while the wharfies remained on duty). In December, the wharf labourers had started working shifts lasting as long as 20 hours to facilitate unloading. They were still not meeting the requirements, however, so the federal Minister for Labour flew in up to 160 men to supplement the gangs in Darwin. It is likely that Domingo Dominic⁶¹ was one of these relief workers flown in to increase the capacity of the gangs. On 19 February 1942 he was also working with No. 3 Gang together with John Cubillo and Catalino Spain.

As the first bombs started falling, No. 3 Gang had just opened the No. 1 hatch on the *MV Neptuna* on the outer berth to prepare to unload the ship's cargo. While the prime target for the Japanese attack force may have been the destroyer *USS Peary*, the *Neptuna* was the most dangerous ship in port that morning. *Neptuna* had arrived

in Darwin a week earlier with general cargo, defence stores, 200 depth charges and anti-aircraft ammunition, and the Chief Engineer was going to use this opportunity to replace a damaged piston in the port engine. To make her more attractive as a target, the cargo ship *Barossa* was moored on the inner berth directly opposite.

Neptuna came in to the outer berth at about 9am on 19 February using only the starboard engine and the wharf labourers commenced discharging the cargo onto the wharf. *HMAS Swan* came alongside on the starboard side to collect the anti-aircraft ammunition. As the raid commenced, No. 3 Gang had just opened a hatch to prepare to unload the ship's cargo. Catalino Spain, John Vernon Sundstrom and John Hynes were among the labourers on the wharf, and Andrew De Julia was on the wharf as a shunter pushing the railway truck up to the ship. 'Johnny' Cubillo was on *Neptuna* as a mid-ship winchman and Domingo Dominic was inside the hold.

The first bombs, from a high level attack, fell into the harbour on the shore side of *Barossa*, but the second group hit the right-angle of the wharf forward of *Neptuna*, and the ship began taking in water even before the air-raid sirens had commenced on shore. *Swan* cast off immediately. A dive-bomber then came in over the harbour and released a bomb directly through the bridge and into the saloon. Another followed immediately and its bomb struck the engine room, setting the ship on fire. As the crew of the *Neptuna* prepared to abandon her, the depth charges began exploding. Forty-five men on board were killed – 11 European and 34 Chinese crew members. One of the bombs had landed directly on the hold where the men were working. Domingo Dominic was killed instantly when the bomb struck, trapped within No. 1 hold as the *Neptuna* sank beside the wharf.

Six members from No. 3 Gang died during the raid: Domingo Dominic, John Hynes, Catalino Spain and John Vernon Sundstrom (labourers), Andrew De Julia (shunter) and John Cubillo.⁶² De Julia had been born in Russia in 1905 and sought naturalisation in 1935, giving his name as Andrew Ivanovich DeJulia – stating he had been born in Vladivostok, and that time had been resident in the Northern Territory for 10 years.⁶³ John Hynes from north Queensland, secretary of the waterside section of the NAWU, was blown off the wharf into the sea. He was evacuated but died of his wounds on 24 February on board the hospital ship *Manunda* and was buried at sea the following day. Because he had in his pocket the only comprehensive list of workers for that day, the union was unable to provide relatives with accurate information regarding who had been lost.⁶⁴

Catalino Puerte Spain (1887-1942)⁶⁵ was the son of the pearl shell diver Antonio Spain from the Philippines. Dionisio Antonio Puerte was born in Cebu on 9 October 1863. As a teenager in the late 1870s, Antonio was a pearl and shell diver on Thursday Island. His surname 'Puerte' could not be understood or pronounced so he was instead called 'Antonio from Spain', his homeland still being a Spanish colony at that time, and 'Spain' became his adopted surname. In time, Antonio progressed to diving for pearls and through this became reasonably wealthy. In

Cooktown north Queensland on 12 May 1885, 23-year-old Antonio married a 19-year-old English girl named Elizabeth Massey (1866-1951) who had come out from London the previous year. They raised four sons on Thursday Island – Anastasio, Catalino, Hignio and Felix – each given the name 'Puerte' as a middle name. Antonio was naturalised as a British subject on 4 April 1889.

In Philippine tradition (drawn from the Spanish custom), a mother's surname is typically given to a child as a middle name. Because this custom was foreign to Elizabeth, Antonio instead gave their children his father's surname 'Puerte' (but for the first three children, officials incorrectly recorded the name as 'Portia').

In 1894, Antonio and Elizabeth moved to Palmerston (Darwin). Antonio continued as a pearl diver and, in his later life, was a popular barber in Cavenagh Street. Elizabeth was a local businesswoman and was very active in fund-raising. In 1900, Elizabeth secured a contract to provide stone for the new Christ Church. Antonio and his first four sons worked in quarrying, cutting and carting the stone: the foundation stone was laid in July 1902 and the church was consecrated later that year. While all of Darwin's Filipino families were Roman Catholic, the Spains were Church of England through Elizabeth's influence. Antonio himself was baptised at Christ Church on 2 June 1906.

In total Antonio and Elizabeth had 11 sons and one daughter, although five sons died in infancy. Elizabeth Spain became known as the 'Queen of Darwin' for her extensive work for charitable organisations. At the time of her death in Brisbane on 3 April 1951 at the age of 85, 'Granny Spain' was described as 'a grand old lady', survived by three sons and a daughter, and more than 20 grandchildren and about 35 great-grandchildren. Elizabeth had been predeceased by her husband Antonio, who had died of bowel cancer in Darwin on 21 July 1926, aged 64:

*"Another well known old identity passed away on Wednesday in the person of Antonio Spain. He was a native of the Phillipines [sic] but came to Australia about 50 years ago. His age is given as 64. He leaves a widow and a grown up family of five sons and one daughter."*⁶⁶

Antonio was buried in Garden Road Cemetery near the Botanic Gardens, in an unmarked grave in row 708. His son Harry was also buried there in 1957. In 1962, Darwin City Council registered Spain Place, off Cavenagh Street in Darwin city, in memory of the Filipino diver and hairdresser Antonio Spain.⁶⁷

Catalino Spain was the second son of Antonio and Elizabeth, born on Thursday Island on 25 November 1887. Catalino married Tolentino Conanan's first daughter Gertrude Maria Da Souza Conanan (1891-1955) on 9 February 1909 in the Roman Catholic chapel. The wedding was followed by a celebration at the Spain residence on the Esplanade, as would be expected at a Filipino ceremony of this nature. "There was music, dancing, singing, and oratory, and the festivities were kept going merrily till about midnight."⁶⁸

Catalino Spain was an employee of the Commonwealth Railways and became a notable member of the Darwin community. He and Gertrude lived in McMinn Street and had two children: Christina Liboria Spain and Daniel

Cathalino Spain. Catalino, aged 54, was a labourer with No 3 Gang unloading cargo from the cargo motor vessel *Neptuna*. As more bombs fell, the Japanese fighters came in machine-gunning the wharf where men had become trapped. George Tye was a member of No. 3 Gang who survived: he later recalled that they went over the side of the wharf and swam for their lives.⁶⁹ Spain, together with John Hynes, was machine-gunned on the wharf and thrown into the harbour. His mate Jack Rogers found him floating face-down but still barely alive: despite being wounded himself, Rogers supported Catalino in the water before he passed away.⁷⁰

Moments later the *Neptuna* exploded, raining debris and flames over a wide area, and sank beside the wharf. Catalino's body was later recovered, washed up on the shore, and was buried in one of the collective graves on the beach. These bodies were all reinterred at East Point the following day, and on 1 July they were exhumed and taken to Adelaide River War Cemetery for burial.

Catalino's son-in-law Raymond Brooks was lucky to survive the bombing – he had just left the Post Office before it was destroyed in a direct hit. The *Sydney Morning Herald* noted that when Brooks was evacuated from Darwin he had the unpleasant duty of informing his wife Christina that both her father and uncle (Ricardo Conanan) had died in the raid:

*"Grim stories of the two attacks by Japanese aircraft on Darwin were told by 400 evacuees who arrived in Sydney by train yesterday. Most of the evacuees were men and some bore scars, as mementoes of their experience ... Mr Raymond Brooks was met by his wife carrying her six-month-old baby in her arms. He had to tell her that her father, Mr. Catalino Spain, and her uncle had been killed. Mr Spain was machine gunned, and his body was hurled into the harbour by a bomb blast."*⁷¹

The Cubillo family of Darwin is descended from the Filipino pearl-diver Antonio Pedro Cubillo (1875-1945)⁷² who was part of the second wave of migration – the divers who came to Darwin as indentured labourers from 1895 onwards. They did not have the time to achieve naturalisation before the coming of federation, and then took some considerable time to achieve it due to the restrictions imposed by the *Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act*.

Antonio was the son of a Filipino-Spanish sail-maker Innocencio Cubillo from Calape on Bohol Island in the Visayas group, who gave his date of birth as 30 June 1875 and his nationality as 'Spanish'. Family history records that Antonio left home in 1890 as a 15 year old and travelled to Europe as a cabin boy on a Spanish ship, learning to dive for clam shell. In Singapore during his return voyage in late 1894, aged 19, Antonio met fellow Filipinos who told him about the opportunities diving for pearls, pearl shell and trepang. He signed on under the Indentured Labour Scheme and came to Palmerston on the *SS Darwin* which arrived in Port Darwin on 19 January 1895 with 50 tons of cargo.⁷³

Antonio was indentured to a Scottish pearl lugger owner George McKeddie, who was married to Minnie ('Annie') Duwun (1878-1934), an Aboriginal woman of the Larrakia people whose traditional country was around Delissaville

across the harbour from Darwin. George and Annie lived with their two children Jack and Magdalena (known as 'Lily') in a house near the intersection of Mitchell and Peel Streets in Darwin. The large banyan tree which still grows in grounds of the Transit Centre was reputedly planted by them.

In 1897 Antonio Cubillo met Lily, and from 1899 they produced five children during their long courtship. Antonio and Lily married at Saint Mary's 'Star of the Sea' Catholic Church in Darwin on 8 September 1910, and had several more children – a total of ten – all essentially Larrakia but with typically Filipino names such as Christina, Alberta, Ponciano, Juan, Lorenzo, Martina, Eduardo, Delfin, Anna and Felipe. The family lived in the camp outside Darwin town known as the Police Paddock.

While the origins of the Filipino divers in Palmerston were quite disparate, they maintained their customs and traditions with a common bond established through food, music and sport. Members of the family today still recall family meals of dinaguan and pork adobo. One descendant recalled of Antonio:

*"He hosted visiting Filipino and Spanish ship's crews at his house and taught his sons to play the 14-string mandolin, octavina, the 8-stringed Spanish guitar, the ukulele, concertina and the bass. Before long the Cubillo Brothers 'orchestra' was entertaining official guests and visiting dignitaries at Government House and at numerous other social functions."*⁷⁴

One of Antonio Cubillo's lasting legacies was to bring the rondalla music tradition to Australia. Rondalla is an old Spanish form of guitar orchestra (*ronda* meaning 'to serenade'), and Antonio Cubillo's sons were all proficient with the 14-string mandolin and the 8-stringed Spanish guitar.

Antonio made a return visit to Bohol in 1921-25. He went again in 1929, intending to stay for three years. Because he was not yet naturalised, he required a certificate under the *Immigration Act* to allow his return entry into Australia.⁷⁵ On this occasion however he deferred his return. Lily was well looked after by her children in Darwin until her death in 1934. Antonio was ultimately unable to return to Darwin due to the Japanese occupation of the Philippines and he died in Bohol in 1945. The Cubillo name is strongly represented in Darwin today, and is perhaps the Top End's most numerous and best known family. *Keep Him my Heart* (1993) was a play written by Gary Lee of Darwin as a Larrakia-Filipino Love Story based on the life of his great-grandfather Antonio Cubillo with Magdalena 'Lily' McKeddie – described as 'a Larrakia-Filipino love story spanning 100 years of a family's history in Darwin'. It was first performed at Darwin High School in August 1993 and then adapted for touring. Today, Antonio and Lily Cubillo's descendants number around 400, with the majority living in Darwin.

Juan Roque Cubillo (1906-1942)⁷⁶, Antonio and Lily's fourth child and second son, was known variously as 'Johnny' or 'Rocky'. He married Louisa Agatha Lee who had been born in Darwin on 16 February 1902, the daughter of Widji Nelson, a Wadaman woman from Brock's Creek, and a Chinese man Ah Lee, a descendant of Su Lee (from

Guangzhou province in Southern China) and Su-e Arase (from Nakarno prefecture in Kumamoto, Kyushu, Japan).

On the morning of 19 February 1942, Cubillo was the mid-ship winchman with No 3 Gang unloading cargo from *Neptuna*.

John Cubillo had faced death once already in his life. He was swimming in Rapid Creek on a Sunday afternoon in 1933 when he was seized with cramp; Miss Bethany ('Betty') Litchfield dived in to rescue him and with the help of Mr Paddy Hickey got him ashore. Mrs Bethany Dangerfield (nee Litchfield), described as a 'modest heroine', was presented with the Royal Humane Society's Certificate of Merit by his Honour the Administrator, Lieutenant Colonel Weddell at Government House on 22 September 1934⁷⁷.

Nine years later, Betty Litchfield's husband Geoffrey Dangerfield was the wharf foreman, also employed by the Commonwealth Railways.

John Cubillo was last seen running on the wharf before he was lost in a bomb blast.⁷⁸ Cubillo's daughter Mary later recalled hearing of the incident from George Tye of No. 3 Gang: "One of the wharfies who survived saw my father running after the boat and it got a direct hit ... they never ever found his body."⁷⁹ Soon after Captain Michie ordered the ship to be abandoned, and moments later the *Neptuna* exploded, raining debris and flames over a wide area and producing a smoke plume which became an iconic image of that morning.

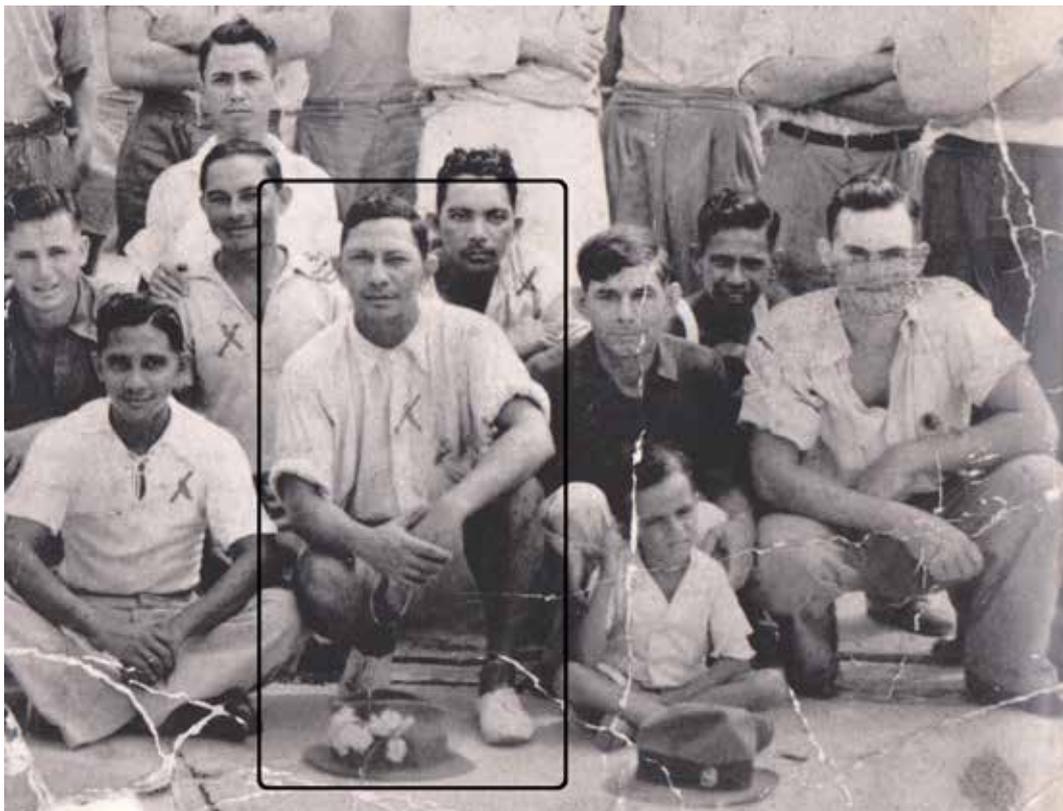
Louisa and the children had evacuated from Darwin in February 1942, and they were camped in Katherine when they heard the news of the first bombing of Darwin and that John had been killed. Cubillo's daughter recalled: "George [Tye] told us that he jumped into the water and called out for Dad to jump too, but Dad couldn't swim."⁸⁰

The Cubillo family ultimately went to Balaklava in South Australia where they lived until the end of the war. They returned to Darwin in 1946 and became prominent in Northern Territory affairs, particularly sport. On 7 April 1971, Cubillo Street in the suburb of Wanguri was registered by Darwin City Council in honour of Mrs Louise Cubillo who had died in Darwin on 29 August 1967.⁸¹

Commemoration

The *Don Isidro* drifted and came ashore north of Cape Fourcroy on the west coast of Bathurst Island, still burning, on 20 February 1942.⁸² The exact location of the wreck

of the *Florence D* however was unknown until 2008. She is now known to have sunk approximately 85 nautical miles northwest of Darwin.⁸³ Both vessels are today protected



historic shipwrecks, undersea war graves, under the *Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976*.

Eight soldiers from the defence detachment aboard *Don Isidro* were wounded and Second Lieutenant Kane was seriously wounded in the leg and foot. He died of gangrene in hospital in Darwin on 26 February 1942 and was posthumously awarded the Purple Heart. The Purple Heart was an American decoration established on 22 February 1932 to be awarded in recognition of singularly meritorious acts of extraordinary fidelity or essential service. Wounds received in action against an enemy of the United States were considered as resulting from such acts. Purple Hearts for meritorious service were also bestowed upon all 15 enlisted men of the detachment. Kane was buried at Adelaide River, but was later reburied in the US in 1949.⁸⁴ A Bombing of Darwin plaque installed on the Esplanade near Government House, Darwin, on 19 February 2001 quotes the correct figures for the actions off Bathurst Island on 19 February 1942.

On 18 February 2013 the then Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, the Honourable Terry Mills MLA, and Mr Brian Winspear AM (a WWII Air Force veteran) officially opened a Memorial Wall to the Allied Fallen at the Darwin Military Museum at East Point. This wall was intended to be a focal point for all allied personnel and civilians who died as a result of combat action in northern Australia in World War II. On 18 February the following year, this memorial wall was the venue for the ceremony to honour the Filipino civilian mariners who had lost their lives.

Of particular significance, the Filipinos on board *Don Isidro* were actually attacked by Japanese aircraft the day before the raids on Darwin, although she suffered no damage at that time. For this reason it was considered appropriate to hold the 2014 commemoration and plaque unveiling in Darwin on 18 February – marking the day these Filipinos first came under enemy attack. The Philippine Embassy in Canberra reported: “The solemn and meaningful commemoration truly served as a testament to the significant contribution of the Filipino community to the military history of Australia.”⁸⁵

Joseph Tapia was also posthumously awarded the Purple Heart in recognition of meritorious service and wounds received in action resulting in his death. In Darwin, his name is recorded on the plaque honouring those from DD226 who lost their lives. In addition, his name is inscribed on the Tablets of the Missing – large rectangular limestone piers in the Manila American Cemetery and Memorial in Fort Bonifacio, Manila. Although it is known that Joseph Tapia died when the *Peary* was bombed and sank in Darwin Harbour, his body was never recovered. His name therefore remains on a roll maintained by the Defense POW/Missing Personnel Office (DPMO), which was established in 1993 after the US Senate called on the Department of Defense to form a single office to oversee and manage POW/MIA issues.⁸⁶

Ironically, the *Peary* and some other ships sunk in Darwin Harbour in the same raid were salvaged by a Japanese firm in 1959. The company accepted no payment apart from the value of the metals recovered as their contribution to war reparations. Local Darwin diver Carl Atkinson salvaged one of the *Peary*'s 4-inch guns and installed it at Doctors Gully. In November 1991 the gun was taken to Darwin Naval Base for restoration, and in 1992 was installed in Bicentennial Park overlooking the harbour – its barrel pointing towards the *Peary*'s resting place in the harbour. During his first visit to Australia in November 2011, American President Obama visited Darwin and laid a wreath at the *USS Peary* Memorial and addressed Australian and American troops on the enduring ties between Australia and the United States and their long-standing cooperation.

In the post-war years, in addition to the regular Anzac Day service, commemorative services were held at the Soldiers' Memorial on 19 February for those killed in the bombing of Darwin. Commemorative services were held on 19 February 1947 at the wharf and at the Soldiers' Memorial, within sight of the post office which had been singled out as a special target. In speaking at the Soldiers' Memorial, the President of the RSSAILA (Mr Luke) paid a tribute to the civilians killed in the raids on Darwin: “They were all killed in action”.⁸⁷ Notably, at the wharf on this morning, the tide was right out as it had been five years earlier, “making more difficult the escape tactics of the ships in port, and more difficult still the valiant attempts of men in the water to get ashore”.⁸⁸ Wreaths were thrown into the water from the old wharf towards the wreck of the shattered *Neptuna*. Similar commemorative services continued to be held each year at the wharf and at the Soldiers' Memorial⁸⁹ as a new generation went to war in Korea.

On 19 February 1947, when acting Government Secretary Mr Reg Leydin gave the main address at the Darwin Cenotaph. He said that: “in spite of the published reports about a public holiday, the people of Darwin had decided to stop work for a few minutes only, to remember their dead and then resume”⁹⁰. The attitude of the Administrator Mr ‘Mick’ Driver was recorded after the 1948 service:

“...the newspapers in southern states were inclined to deprecate the holding of the ceremony of February 19 in Darwin and tended to forget the sacrifices made by those who died on that day ... He deplored the lack of recognition of the significance of the date by the Government of the country for whom the dead had lost their lives.”⁹¹

Similarly during the 1951 ceremony, Administrator Mr Driver directed the lowering of the flag at Government House to half-mast as a mark of honour for the dead even though “February 19 was not a Commonwealth-recognised holiday”.⁹² As the Administrator intimated, gradually the national significance of this day faded in the government and public memory ‘down south’, although it progressively grew stronger in Darwin.

Ultimately, the 50th anniversary of the Bombing of Darwin was formally marked in 1992 as part of the Northern Territory's ‘Frontline Australia’ commemoration, with high-profile guests including the Australian Prime Minister and former Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowen AK GCMG GCVO QC. A large Bombing of Darwin descriptive plaque was installed on the Esplanade near Government House in Darwin on 19 February 200, correctly stating that 22 men were killed on the wharf.

This national oversight was finally rectified on 7 December 2011 – in time for the 70th anniversary of the Darwin attack the following year – when the Governor-General declared the date 19 February in each year to be a national day of observance known as ‘Bombing of Darwin Day’.

Immediately preceding the annual Bombing of Darwin commemorative service, a small private service was always held at the wharf where families would cast wreaths onto the water in memory of the waterside workers, civilians from Burns, Philp & Co and the Commonwealth Railways: among them five Filipino-Australians. A report on the 1952 wharf-side service observed:

“... representatives of the Waterside Workers cast wreaths onto the water in memory of Watersiders who were killed in the blitz. As the floral tributes drifted away on the waves, those present stood silent and bare-headed in memory of their fallen comrades.”

The son of Johnny Cubillo later recalled:

“The Cubillo families and other Darwin families keep the tradition of commemorating the Bombing of Darwin Ceremony on the 19th of February every year. Our family has attended every Bombing of Darwin Ceremony since 1946 down at the Wharf and at the Cenotaph in memory of all civilians and service personnel killed. Lest we forget.”⁹⁴

On Stokes Hill Wharf on 19 February 2012, two special memorials were installed to mark the 70th anniversary of the raid. The Mariners' Mural was erected by the Darwin Port Authority⁹⁵, while the Wharf Memorial

commemorates the civilians from the Commonwealth Railways and Burns, Philp & Co Ltd known to have been killed on the wharf, plus the two who later died of their wounds, as well as the merchant seamen who died. Under the title, 'United in Struggle, United in Sacrifice', the memorial observes:

"Annually, the families of the deceased, as well as wharfies and seafarers, meet here to pay their respects and to remember the workers who were killed when the wharf was bombed on 19 February 1942.

"We will never forget the sacrifice waterside workers and their families have made for Australia. We will never forget the hundreds of merchant seamen who lost their lives working on the ships destroyed by mines, torpedoes, shelling and bombing while carrying cargo and troops for our country."

In 1962, St Mary's Star of the Sea Cathedral was opened on Smith Street, as the seat of the Bishop of the Diocese of Darwin, designed and built as a War Memorial Cathedral. The original timber and iron church which dated back to the 1880s, built by the Jesuit Fathers using Chinese labour, had been a focal point for Darwin's Filipino community in particular. The father of Francisco and Beatrice Chavez had served here at Mass around the turn of the century, and in 1919 Francisco officiated here as best man at the wedding of his step-sister Pantaleona Mary Ponce to Mr Rafael Perez.⁹⁶ Antonio Cubillo married Lily McKeddie here in 1910, and their children were all christened here. A funeral service was held here for Carlos Ga when he died in 1931. The funeral of a Mrs Rodellas in April 1935 gives some indication of the extent of the Filipino community in Darwin at that time: those who paid their respects included the Alfonso, Angeles, Cardona, Cesar, Cigobia, Conan, Cubillo and Perez families, as well as Beatrice and Francisco Chavez.⁹⁷

On 19 February 1942, Japanese aircraft had repeatedly strafed the church with machine-gun fire. The new cathedral was designed to be a War Memorial and Shrine of Thanksgiving, erected to commemorate those Australian and Allied Service personnel who lost their lives in Darwin as well as those Darwin residents killed during the air raids. At Mass on and around 19 February each year special prayers are given for those who fell or suffered bereavement in the air raids. In 2012, for the 70th anniversary of the bombing, among those remembered were:

*"The 22 workers killed on Darwin Wharf, and we offer a prayer of thanks for the constancy of their work comrades and families, who have kept their memories alive over the past 70 years."*⁹⁸

During this 70th anniversary commemoration, it was reported that: "A bombing survivor is in intensive care after she collapsed at the Darwin Cenotaph during Sunday's memorial service." Mrs Mary Lee had just placed a wreath in honour of her late father, John Roque Cubillo, when she collapsed due to a heart attack.⁹⁹ The previous November Mrs Lee had appeared in newspapers around the country being hugged by the US President during his brief visit to Darwin. She was nine years old when her father John was killed, and she later married a soldier named Herbert Lee when she was 18. In 2011, at the age of 80, she had the

privilege of meeting US President Barack Obama after he laid a wreath at the USS Peary Memorial in Bicentennial Park. She recalled of the occasion: "He gave me a big hug when I told him how I lost my dad that day on the wharf. He put his arm around me like a big brother and said how sorry he was and I started to cry."¹⁰⁰

To specifically honour the civilians killed during the first raids, Darwin City Council erected a large plaque beside the doorway to the council offices. This plaque was unveiled on 19 February 1971 by the Governor-General Sir Paul Hasluck. Just 54 civilians were listed however. Some, but not all, from the merchant services are named, one man is listed twice, one name is listed but there is no mention of him in any of the official records and there are listed the names of two men who were indeed killed during a Japanese bombing raid, but on 15 June 1942.¹⁰¹ Notably, this plaque includes the names of the five Filipino-Australians killed on the wharf during that first raid on Darwin.

Small plaques were later installed beneath trees in Bicentennial Park, but these also posed a number of difficulties. There were several men who had two separate plaques, while not every known casualty had one. In the early 1990s, considerable numbers of the plaques had been removed from the park and several mangled remains were found at the base of their tree buried in grass cuttings, apparently the victims of a council lawnmower.

Today, based on the comprehensive roll of all people who were killed or died afterwards of wounds, an online Roll of Honour has been provided by the Northern Territory Library Service¹⁰² which includes the names of the five Filipino-Australians killed on the wharf during that first raid on Darwin and one Filipino who died in the harbour, as well as the names of fourteen of the 16 Filipinos who died in waters north of Australia.

Military anniversaries continue to be commemorated in Australia on particular days of significance each year, such as Anzac Day, Long Tan Day and Remembrance Day, while specific regional events have been locally commemorated including the Bombing of Darwin and the Battle of the Coral Sea. Four Filipino-Australians are listed on the national Roll of Honour at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra as having lost their lives in the two world wars while serving in the armed forces, while a Roll of Honour in Darwin recalls the five Filipino-Australian waterside workers who were among the civilians killed by enemy action on 19 February 1942.

The Bombing of Darwin attracted only local commemoration each year, particularly on key anniversaries, until finally in 2011 it gained national recognition. Among Darwin's casualties were civilian wharf labourers, the news of their deaths being received by their families after they had been safely evacuated to Katherine, Brisbane and Sydney.

In these commemorations, heroes both decorated and unknown have been honoured. But too easily overlooked in the past have been the Filipinos who died as a result of the first Japanese air attack on Darwin on 19 February 1942.



Some were merchant sailors killed while serving on US Army supply ships on secret 'suicide missions' to deliver rations and ammunition to General MacArthur's besieged garrison on Corregidor Island. Others among them were Filipino-Australians with a connection back to the first Manilamen who had

settled in Port Darwin in the late 19th century. They were not decorated, and were barely written into any official history – in fact, any reference to the two cargo ships casually implies they were in Darwin Harbour when in fact they were well to the north, in the Arafura Sea.

These civilians, many without a known grave, are of the nature of the Unknown Soldier – humble men doing their duty, but whose noble service was cut unreasonably short by enemy action. The service and sacrifice of the Filipino community to Australia's military history should not be forgotten.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful for the assistance and encouragement of Mr Januario John Rivas, Philippine Consul-General ad honorem in Darwin. I would also like to thank Mrs Leanne Wood, Mrs Isabel Conanan Silva Lagas and all of the Ga, Conanan, Cubillo and Spain family descendants for kindly providing photographs and information. Mr Bert Caloud, the Assistant Superintendent at the Manila American Cemetery in the Philippines, has an admirable and indefatigable commitment to honouring the fallen, and his support for this project is greatly appreciated.

The names of the fourteen Filipino merchant sailors who were killed in the Arafura Sea north of Darwin on 19 February 1942, giving the most likely spelling of their names:

SS Don Isidro

- Antonio Cordova (Oiler)
- Raul Delgado (Machinist)
- Loreto Jaime (2nd Engineer)
- Melchor Jaruvilla (3rd Engineer)
- Alberto Jimenea (Oiler)
- Amado Logno (Cook/Waiter)
- Maximo Mangan (Chief Engineer)
- Agapito Masangkay (Pantryman/Steward)
- Frederico Montalegra (Chief Electrician)
- Antonio Reynes (Extra Engineer)
- Quirino Sabando (Oiler)

A further two of the crew (unidentified) later died of wounds in Darwin.

SS Florence D

- Francisco Beltran (Sailor)
- Librado Briones (Carpenter)
- Mariano Reyes (Messboy)

References

- Abbott, C L A (1950) Australia's Frontier Province. Angus & Robertson, Sydney.
- Bryan, B J (2011) The Ship That Never Was: A Story of U.S. Armed Guard and the Merchant Ships of World War II. Xlibris Corporation.
- Distor, E & D Hunt (2006) 'Keep Him My Heart: A Larrakia-Filipino Love Story'. Kasama, 20(2), Solidarity Philippines Australia Network.
<http://cpcabrisbane.org/Kasama/2006/V20n2/KeepHimMyHeart.htm>
- Gatbonton, M (1988) 'Filipinos in Queensland'. In Brandle, M and S Karas eds (1988) Multicultural Queensland: the people and communities of Queensland: a bicentennial publication. Ethnic Communities Council of Australia and the Queensland Migrant Welcome Association, Brisbane: 59-64.
- Griffiths, O (1947) Darwin drama. Bloxham & Chambers.
- Grose, P (2009) An Awkward Truth: The Bombing of Darwin, February 1942. Allen & Unwin, NSW.Hall, T (1980) Darwin 1942. Australia's Darkest Hour. Methuen Australia.
- Lee, G (2007) 'Bohol Dreaming. Cubillo Family Reunion: May 12, 2007'. Kasama, 21(3). Solidarity Philippines Australia Network.
- Lewis, T (1999) A War at Home : A Comprehensive Guide to the First Japanese Attacks on Darwin. Tall Stories. Lockwood, D (1984) Australia's Pearl Harbour. New Edition. Rigby.
- Lockwood, D (2005) Australia under attack: the bombing of Darwin – 1942. New Holland, Frenchs Forest, NSW.
- Lowe, Hon Mr Justice C J (1942a) Commission of Inquiry under the National Security (Inquiries) Regulations. In the matter of an inquiry concerning the circumstances connected with the attack made by enemy aircraft at Darwin on 19th February 1942. First Report (27 March 1942).
- Lowe, Hon Mr Justice C J (1942b) Commission of Inquiry under the National Security (Inquiries) Regulations. In the matter of an inquiry concerning the circumstances connected with the attack made by enemy aircraft at Darwin on 19th February 1942. Further and Final Report (9 April 1942).
- McCarthy, S & Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences (1992) World War II shipwrecks and the first Japanese air raid on Darwin, 19 February 1942. Technical report series, no. 1. Northern Territory Museum of Arts & Sciences, Darwin.
- Mercene, F L (2007) Manila Men in the New World: Filipino Migration to Mexico and the Americas from the Sixteenth Century. UP Press.
- Northern Territory Library website, 'Roll of Honour': <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh>
- Northern Territory Street Names. Place Names Committee, NT Department of Lands & Housing, Darwin, 1992.

Patterson, A B (1898) 'The cycloon, Paddy Cahill and the G.R'. The Bulletin, 31 December 1898.

Powell, A (1982) Far Country. Melbourne University Press.

Rivas, J (2003) History of the Settlement of Filipino Families in the NT from 1895 to 2003.

Rosenzweig, P A (1989) 'Honouring the Northern Territory's War Dead'. Sabretache, XXX (1): 3-5.

Rosenzweig, P A (1994) '50 years on: a reassessment of the first raid casualties'. Journal of Northern Territory History (Historical Society of the Northern Territory), 5: 1-19.

Rosenzweig, P A (1995) For Service. Awards of the Order of Australia for service to the Northern Territory 1975-1995. Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin, NT.

Rosenzweig, P A (1996) Government House Darwin; The House of Seven Gables.

Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin, NT.

Rosenzweig, P A (2007) 'Adventurous Roving Natures. Northern Territory volunteers of 1914'. Historical Society of the Northern Territory Occasional Paper Series, No. 5.

Rosenzweig, P A (2013) 'Filipino AIF volunteers from the Northern Territory: Part 1 – The Garr family'. Sabretache LIV-4 (Journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia, October-December 2013): 40-53.

Rosenzweig, P A (2014a) 'Filipino AIF volunteers from the Northern Territory: Part 2 – The Conan family'. Sabretache LV-1 (January-March 2014): 35-47.

Rosenzweig, P A (2014b) 'Filipino AIF volunteers from the Northern Territory: Part 3 – The Spain family'. Sabretache LV-2 (April-June 2014): 17-29.

Rosenzweig, P A (2015) 'Darwin's Filipino Volunteers for the Australian Imperial Force : In the Tradition of José Rizal'. Northern Territory Historical Studies (Historical Society of the Northern Territory), 26: 1-24.

Shnukal, A (2009) 'Pre-war Filipino communities in Torres Strait'. Kasama 23(2), Solidarity Philippines Australia Network.

Shnukal, A (2011) 'A double exile: Filipino settlers in the outer Torres Strait islands, 1870s–1940s'. In: Konishi, S & M Nugent, eds (2011) Aboriginal History, Volume 35.

'St Mary's Star of the Sea War Memorial Cathedral – Darwin', Church centenary edition, 1982.

Stephenson, P (2007) The Outsiders Within: Telling Australia's Indigenous-Asian Story. University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

Underbrink, R L (1971) Destination Corregidor. US Naval Institute, Annapolis;

Cited at <http://www.maxstandridge.net/civhero.htm> – 'Civilian Heroes of the Pacific War in World War II'.

US Coast Guard – 'Asian-Pacific Americans and the U.S. Coast Guard':

<http://www.uscg.mil/HISTORY/ASIANPACIFICAMERICANS.ASP>

US Merchant Marine – 'US Merchant Marine Casualties during World War II':

<http://www.usmm.org/sunkaz.html#anchor9759>

Wilde, E A (2007) 'The USS Peary (DD-226) in World War II, Manila to Darwin, 12/10/41–2/19/42: Documents and Photographs'. Privately published:

http://destroyerhistory.org/assets/pdf/wilde/226peary_wilde.pdf

Notes

AANT = Australian Archives Northern Territory

AWM = Australian War Memorial

NAA = National Archives of Australia

NTG = Northern Territory Gazette

NTLS = Northern Territory Library Service

NTTG = Northern Territory Times & Gazette

1. A demographic group of Filipino people who have settled in other parts of the world.
2. Shnukal (2011).
3. For example, there was a seven-man band in Broome descended from Thomas Puertollano from Mindanao who married an Aboriginal woman in the 1880s; Puertollano was closely involved with the Catholic missions at Disaster Bay and Lombadina.
4. Patterson (1898).
5. Powell (1982), pp. 113-117.
6. http://www.dcm.nt.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0019/44920/FilipinoCommProfiles08Final.pdf
7. Rivas (2003).
8. Powell (1982) pp. 113-117.
9. Powell (1982) pp. 113-117; NAA: A1/15 11/16191 – Census figures for Darwin, 5 mile radius.
10. <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/publications/papers-and-podcasts/social-history/no-place-like-home.aspx#50> – 'Darwin – no place like home: A history of Australia's northern capital in the 1950s through a study of housing'. Public lecture for the National Archives of Australia, Dr Mickey Dewar, 28 October 2008.
11. See Rosenzweig (1989), (2007), (2013), (2014a), (2014b) and (2015).
12. Powell (1982), p. 174.
13. Powell (1982), p. 175.
14. Northern Standard (Darwin) 1 November 1932, p. 8. See also 28 October 1932, p. 2: 'Death of Mr E H Lee'.
15. Rivas (2003).
16. See Rosenzweig (1995) and (1996).
17. <http://www.gao.gov/products/B-132259#mt=e-report> – B-132259, 16 August 1957.
18. Underbrink (1971) p. 67.
19. Master USAT 'Don Isidro' to Colonel Johnson, 3rd Base USAFIA, Brisbane, dated 21 February 1942, 'Report of bombing and sinking of U.S.A.T. 'Don Isidro'.
20. Lockwood (1984) p. 63.
21. Griffiths (1947) p. 74.
22. AANT: CRS F1 1942/364 – Captain M Collins USN, Summary dated 9 March 1942.
23. AANT: CRS F1 1942/364 – Captain M Collins USN, Letter to the Administrator dated 8 January 1943.
24. For example: <http://warmemorial.us>
25. Underbrink (1971) p. 67.
26. Griffiths (1947) p. 75.
27. <http://www.usmm.org/sunkaz.html#anchor9759> – 'US Merchant Marine Casualties during World War II'. See also: <http://www.usmm.org/casualty.html>; McCarthy & NT Museum of Arts and Sciences (1992); Bryan (2011).
28. NTLS – <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/tapia>
29. The Rt Hon Sir Zelman Cowen AK GCMG GCVO QC, pers comm, 15 June and 2 July 1993.

30. The Rt Hon Sir Zelman Cowen AK GCMG GCVO QC DCL, address for the 50th anniversary commemoration service, 19 February 1992.
31. The Rt Hon Sir Zelman Cowen AK GCMG GCVO QC DCL, address for the 50th anniversary commemoration service, 19 February 1992.
32. AANT: CRS F1 1942/364 – Captain M Collins USN, Letter to the Administrator dated 8 January 1943.
33. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:USS_Peary_DD226_-_Roll_of_Honour.jpg
34. Northern Standard (Darwin) 23 February 1951, p. 7.
35. Lowe (1942a), (1942b).
36. Rosenzweig (1994).
37. Rosenzweig, Paul A (1997) 'Roll of honour – Bombing of Darwin', Australian Military News, February 1997, p. 18; Lewis (1999) pp. 63-67.
38. For example: Abbott (1950) p 84; Lockwood (1984) p 66.
39. NAA: CRS F1 1942/364 – 'Merchant Service Casualties resulting from enemy action at Darwin, 19th February, 1942' (author unknown).
40. NTTG 4 February 1915, p. 18; 20 July 1919, p. 5; 24 June 1922, p. 7; Northern Standard (Darwin) 2 June 1936, p. 2; 23 February 1951, p. 11; 24 February 1950, p. 12; Lockwood (1984) p. 74.
41. NTTG 20 July 1919, p. 5; 24 June 1922, p. 7; Northern Standard (Darwin) 13 April 1928, p. 4.
42. Northern Standard (Darwin) 13 April 1928, p. 4.
43. NTTG 4 February 1915, p. 18.
44. NTTG 24 June 1922, p. 7.
45. Northern Standard (Darwin) 13 April 1928, p. 4.
46. Lockwood (1984) p. 74. Geoffrey Dangerfield was honoured in Darwin with the naming of 'Dangerfield Street' in the suburb of Parap in his memory in January 1969 (NTG 3, dated 15 January 1969).
47. <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/archive/files/6349f292b466ed432fcbde89f411f88a.pdf> – Northern Territory Library: Mrs Jessie Litchfield, letter dated 10 March 1942.
48. See Rosenzweig (2014a); NAA: B2455, 'CONANAN R', item barcode 3275491.
49. NTTG 3 April 1928, p. 2.
50. Northern Standard (Darwin) 12 April 1921, p. 3.
51. NTTG 12 April 1921, p. 3.
52. NTTG 7 October 1915, pp. 6, 15; 23 September 1915, p. 18; 7 October 1915, p. 18; 14 October 1915, p. 18.
53. NTTG 1 August 1924, p. 5; The Register (Adelaide) 1 August 1924, p. 13; The Brisbane Courier 5 September 1924, p. 7; Northern Standard 14 October 1924, p. 2; The Advertiser (Adelaide) 9 December 1924, p. 13; The Register (Adelaide) 9 December 1924 p. 10.
54. Louisa Fanny Spain (1911-1974), daughter of Antonio and Elizabeth Spain's first child Anastasio Puerte Spain and Fanny Louisa (nee Chapman).
55. NAA: Series E659 File 1945/2493 – 'Northern Territory to Racecourse at Balaklava, South Australia'.
56. www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/air_raids/AWM127_16.pdf – AWM127_16.
57. Lockwood (1984), p. 72; Lockwood (2005), p. 66.
58. Griffiths (1947), p. 79.
59. The Barossa continued with a second life until she was wrecked in a typhoon and was scrapped in Hong Kong in 1969.
60. Lockwood (1984), p. 72; see also Griffiths (1947) p. 79; Lockwood (2005), p. 66.
61. NTLS – <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/dominic>; Hall (1980), p. 48; Lockwood (1984) pp. 69-70, 71-72; AWM: AWM127_16.
62. Lockwood (1984), pp. 71-72.
63. Northern Standard (Darwin) 2 August 1935 p. 9.
64. <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/hynes>; Lockwood (1984), p. 71.
65. Griffiths (1947) p. 79; Hall (1980) p. 48; Lockwood (1984) pp. 69-71; Rosenzweig (2014b).
66. NTTG 23 July 1926, p. 3.
67. NTG No. 46, dated 3 October 1962.
68. NTTG 12 February 1909, p. 3.
69. Hall (1980) p. 48.
70. Lockwood (1984) p. 71.
71. The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW) 4 March 1942, p. 11; see also Powell (2007) p. 215.
72. NAA: E752, 1928/2A, 'Certificate of Exemption from Dictation Test - Antonio Cubillo', item barcode 7172128; NAA: A1, 1920/5541, 'Antonio Cubillo - Naturalization Certificate', item barcode 38548; NTTG 25 January 1895, p. 2; South Australian Marriages Index 244/739 (1910); Distor & Hunt (2006).
73. NTTG 25 January 1895, p. 2
74. Lee (2007).
75. <http://www.naa.gov.au/about-us/media/images/family-journeys/p71.aspx>
76. NTTG 25 January 1895, p. 2; Northern Standard (Darwin) 28 October 1932, p. 2; 1 November 1932, p. 8; 25 April 1933, p. 2; 25 September 1934, p. 4; NAA: A1/1 File 26/5350 – 'Half-castes and Quadroons in the Northern Territory, 1926'; Cubillo-Carter (2000); Distor, E & D Hunt (2006); Lee (2007).
77. Northern Standard (Darwin) 25 April 1933, p. 2: 'Round About'; 25 September 1934, p. 4: 'Territorians Honored'.
78. Lockwood (1984) pp. 69-70.
79. <http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/underattack/bombed/tragedy.asp>
80. <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/cubillo>; see also Lockwood (1984), p. 70.
81. <http://www.ntlis.nt.gov.au/placenames/view.jsp?id=5793>; NTG 14, dated 7 April 1971.
82. <https://apps5a.ris.environment.gov.au/shipwreck/public/wreck/wreck.do?key=3424>
83. <https://apps5a.ris.environment.gov.au/shipwreck/public/wreck/wreck.do?key=3445>
84. NTLS – <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/kanej>
85. Philippine Embassy, Canberra – <http://www.philembassy.org.au/>
86. Defense POW/Missing Personnel Office – http://www.dtic.mil/dpmo/wwii/reports/all_m_t.htm
87. Northern Standard (Darwin) 21 February 1947, p. 7.
88. Northern Standard (Darwin) 21 February 1947, p. 7.
89. Northern Standard (Darwin) 20 February 1948, p. 1; Northern Standard (Darwin) 25 February 1949, p. 8; Northern Standard (Darwin) 24 February 1950, p. 8.
90. Northern Standard (Darwin) 21 February 1947, p. 7.
91. Northern Standard (Darwin) 25 February 1949, p. 8.
92. Northern Standard (Darwin) 23 February 1951, p. 1.
93. Northern Standard (Darwin) 22 February 1952, p. 1.
94. Stephen Cubillo, pers comm dated 2 February 2014.
95. Barry Shackleton (Art Director) and Alex Lehours (Illustrator).
96. NTTG 20 July 1919, p. 5.
97. Northern Standard (Darwin) 26 April 1935, p. 8
98. <http://www.catholiccathedraldarwin.org/bombingofdarwin1942.htm>
99. http://www.ntnews.com.au/article/2012/02/23/290271_ntnews.html – Northern Territory News, 23 February 2012: 'Bombing of Darwin survivor collapsed' by Sarah Crawford.
100. The Courier-Mail, 18 February 2012: 'The bombing of Darwin: 70 years on' by Ian McPhedran.
101. Mr E R Harvey for Works Director, telegram to Director-General of Works, Department of the Interior, dated 16 June 1942 (Australian Archives Northern Territory, CRS F1 1942/364).
102. NTLS – <http://www.ntlexhibit.nt.gov.au/exhibits/show/bod/roh/bibliography>