

# HARDWORK:

AUSTRALIAN SOUTH SEA ISLANDER BIBLIOGRAPHY

WITH A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY  
AND THE PACIFIC LABOUR TRADE



25th Anniversary since 1994 Commonwealth Recognition for Australian South Sea Islanders 2019



The design for the Australian South Sea Islander 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary t-shirt by Joshua Yasserie from Mackay. The Australian South Sea Islanders flag was created in 1994. The line of flags begins with the Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and Australian flags, along with the flags of the islands of origin found in ASSI heritage (Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, Fiji, Kiribati and Tuvalu). The central logo belongs to the Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) branch. It was designed by a founding member, artist Carriette Pangas (née Togo).

**CLIVE MOORE**



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**Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited (ASSIPJ)**

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## Abbreviations, Map, Tables and Graphs

### Abbreviations

*HCPP: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*

*PMB: Pacific Manuscripts Bureau*

*SLQ: State Library of Queensland*

*QPP: Queensland Parliamentary Papers*

*QVP: Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly*

### Map, Tables and Graphs

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### **Request for Further Sources:**

While this bibliography is extensive, it can never be complete. If you know of further relevant sources, please provide them and they will be added to a later edition. However, sources must be accurate and complete to be considered for inclusion. If they relate to a book, provide the full name of the author, the full title, the place of publication, the publisher (even if it is self-published) and the year of publication. If they relate to a digital publication, please provide full information including the digital reference and the year. If it is an academic journal article, the volume, issue number and pages are needed. If it is a chapter in a book, provide the name of the author, the title of the chapter, the title of the book, the names of the editor/s, the place of publication,, the publisher, the year, and the pages covered by the chapter. If they relate to a grant, as complete a reference as possible should be provided. If it is a reference to an exhibition, provide as much information as you can. The details can be sent to Clive Moore ([c.moore@uq.edu.au](mailto:c.moore@uq.edu.au)) or (Waskam) Emelda Davis ([assi.pj@gmail.com](mailto:assi.pj@gmail.com)).

We wish to acknowledge the following funding institutions





Map: The Pacific Islands from which Australian South Sea Islanders were recruited and the areas in New South Wales and Queensland to which they were sent, 1847-1908. Source: Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson), 2016.



**PHOTO ESSAY  
NINETEENTH CENTURY**



1. The recruiting ship *May* at Bundaberg, 1890s. Clive Moore Collection.
2. Recruits below deck. *Picturesque Atlas of Australia* (1886).



3. Guadalcanal Makira men on Foulden plantation, Mackay, 1870s. Clive Moore Collection.



4. Islanders posed on an early Mackay plantation mill. Clive Moore Collection.
5. Islanders' living quarters at Yeppoon plantation. Rutherford Armstrong Collection. University of Central Queensland Collection, Rockhampton.

**DEPORTATION, 1900s**

6. **Islander delegation to Governor of Queensland, Sir Harry Chermiside, Rockhampton, 1903.** Clive Moore Collection.



7. **“Be for I Go.” John Marlow of Homebush, Mackay, had this ‘memory’ photo taken in 1906.** Clive Moore Collection.



8. **Islanders on the *Moresby* at the time of deportation, 1906.** Clive Moore Collection.



TWENTIETH CENTURY



9. Emily May Enares (Innares) (née Senty/Santo), Moses Topay Enares (Innares) , and Janeese Corowa, Tweed Heads. Emelda Davis Collection.
10. Naru, Nasuven, Joyce and Nellie Enares, daughters of Emily May and Moses Topay Enares. Emelda Davis Collection.



11. Elaine Choppy (née Arrow), Elsie Kiwat (nee Andrew) and Thelma McLaren (née Arrow) at Harry and Phillis Andrew's House at Homebush, Mackay. Andrew family collection. Andrew & Cook 2000.
12. Tom Lamon and daughter Norah Byquar (Bikwai) and Mabel Cocho. Marrochydore Library Collection.



13. Fatnowna and Motto cricket team, Mackay, Christmas, 1930s. Clive Moore Collection.
14. Model of a recruiting ship made by Jack Marau, with Christie Fatnowna, 1980s, Mackay. Clive Moore Collection.



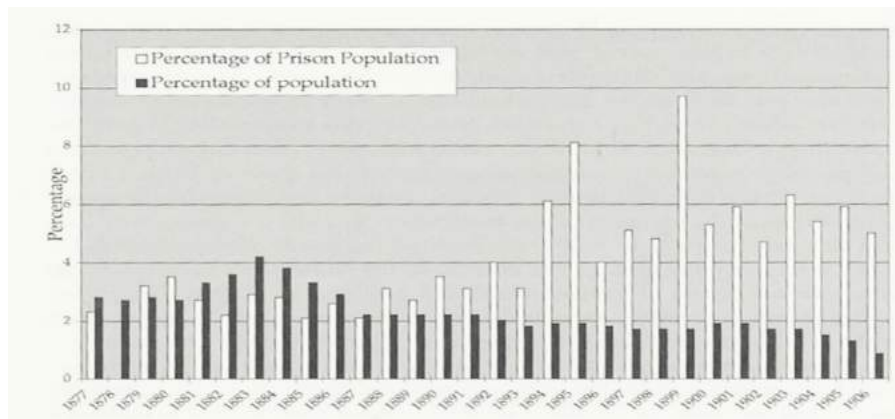
## Introduction

‘Hardwork’ was one of the slang terms used by nineteenth century South Sea Islanders to describe their work in the sugar-cane industry. The title also refers (with a little humour) to the effort involved in putting this bibliography together. I have collected these references since the mid-1970s, and in the 2000s migrated many of them from filing cards to an Endnote digital format. It is the largest bibliography ever created that revolves around Australian South Sea Islanders (ASSI), an Australian immigrant group descended from Pacific Islanders who entered New South Wales and Queensland between 1847 and 1904 as indentured labourers. After an academic lifetime using these sources, I feel obligated to make them more available. My own relevant publications are listed in the general section of the bibliography, and I also have access to an enormous range of sources relating to ASSI, most of which I hold as paper or digital copies. Listing these items will enable later researchers—hopefully including members of the ASSI community—to access a large range of sources without the ‘hardwork’ of collecting them again. The bibliography contains several subsections and a main general section.

Pacific Islanders from Vanuatu (the New Hebrides), Solomon Islands, Fiji (only from Rotuma), Tuvalu (Ellice Islands), Kiribati (Gilbert Islands), the Loyalty Islands (now part of New Caledonia) and the island provinces of Papua New Guinea (except Manus), and possibly a few from Niue and Samoa between 1868 and 1872, came to New South Wales and Queensland as indentured labourers, often under dubious circumstances. Once called Kanakas (from a Hawaiian name for ‘bush’ people and carrying a strong inference of inferiority), government records also called them South Sea Islanders or SSI. Today, their descendants prefer to be called Australian South Sea Islanders (ASSI), which differentiates them from the 300,000 to 500,000 more recent Pacific Islander immigrants living in Australia (Connell and McCall 1989; Rose, Quanchi and Moore 2009, 81-122). The total number of ASSI indenture contracts between 1847 (to New South Wales, only in that year) and 1860 to 1907 in Queensland and New South Wales is between 62,000 and 63,000. Given that it was a circular migration, usually over three or more years, large numbers also returned to their home islands, and some of them came to Australia on two or more occasions. The number of individuals involved is impossible to calculate with any certainty but my educated guess would be around 50,000, overwhelmingly males. Around 6.5 percent were females, and very little of the literature concentrates on them (Saunders 1980; Jolly 1987; Moore 1992 “A Precious Few”).

Academic research on the Queensland labour trade began in the late 1910s (Molesworth 1917, 1917) just a decade after its end. There was no statistical rigour to the study until Ralph Shlomowitz’s research in the 1970s and 1980s, and that of Price and Baker (1976), which enabled a much finer appreciation of the complexity. Initially (1863-68), all were on two or three year contracts, then, once Queensland legislation was passed in 1868 specifically to control the employment of Pacific Islanders, all initial contracts were for three years. Three distinct categories of labour emerged: first-indenture labourers; time-expired labourers; and ticket-holders. First-indenture labourers were those recruited in the islands and bound by three year indenture agreements paid at £6 a year. Australian folklore and some earlier academic writing on the labour trade accepted first-indenture labour as if it reflected reality for the working lives of the majority of immigrant Melanesians in Queensland and New South Wales over the final 40 years of the nineteenth century. Actually, a sub-category of these new arrivals were enlisting for a

second or even a third time, or had worked in other Pacific colonies. There is no exact way of knowing their numbers, nor to differentiate them from the larger first-indenture group. A Queensland Government Agent travelled on every voyage after 1870. The 1876 Select Committee into Melanesian labour examined the logs of 84 Government Agents on the ships, revealing that even at this early stage a large number of return trips occurred. Exact statistics are available only for the years between 1892 and 1904 when 28 percent (22,272 Islanders) arrived in Queensland. Twenty-two percent (6,236) of these had previously worked in Queensland and another six percent (1,336) had previously been employed elsewhere away from their island. To give one example, of 100 recruits who arrived in Queensland on the *Young Dick* in 1886, 45 had served as indentured labourers before (Moore 1985, 156). Re-recruiting labourers were always better paid, usually receiving about £8 to £10 a year. By the 1880s, an increasingly significant proportion of the first-indenture labourers brought with them a cash payment (known as a ‘beach bonus’) of several pounds sterling and were employed on a higher wage than the legal minimum of £6 per year (Moore 1985, 137-69).



**Graph 1: Comparison of South Sea Islander population with general and prison populations in the colony of Queensland, 1877-1906.**

Source: Banivanua-Mar 2007, 90.

The £6 a year pay rate continued for the entire labour trade, a great inequity that ignored inflation over forty years. Women were paid at the same rate as men on their first contracts, although women always received less on subsequent contracts. While first-indenture (‘new chum’) labourers were always the most numerous during the years of the labour traffic, two other large categories also arose. The first was time-expired labourers who had completed their first or subsequent three-year indenture agreements, opting to stay in Queensland and enter into new agreements, which could be for shorter periods. There was no legal mechanism to ensure they left the colony, although in the 1890s and 1900s if they did not re-engage the police used vagrancy charges to encourage them to return to their islands. More generally, Islander interaction with the legal system increased during the 1890s and 1900s (Graph 1), an indication that they were more aware of their work rights, indulged in behaviour that led to civil disorder and that the state was increasing its use of surveillance and control tactics. The main 1898-1906 charges were for offences relating to labour issues, property, assault, being drunk and disorderly, using obscene language, resisting arrest, and being of unsound mind (Banivanua-Mar 2007, 82-100; Moore 2004-05 ). There were well over 600 Islander incarcerations in Queensland during the 1890s-1900s, although we have no statistics on the length of sentences, where the sentences



were served (most would have been in the local prisons and lock-ups, not larger prisons (Moore 1989 “Mackay”), nor how many were repeat offenders.

By the 1900s, time-expired labourers in Queensland were being paid around £22 per year and as much as £25, plus food and limited medical care. This was still below the wages of an equivalent European labourer—which were between £30 and £50 a year, plus board and lodgings. One reason for the differences in the wages was the voyage costs to and from the islands (£25 in 1901) which were factored into any calculation, as were their capitation fees which were paid to the government, and their living and very basic medical costs. In 1901, the average annual cost of employing an Islander was calculated at £32.0.10, of which the re-enlisting Islanders received only about £8 to £10. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, re-enlisting and time-expired labourers formed an ever larger proportion of the total ASSI population. Time-expired Islanders made up 31 to 35 percent of the total between 1888 and 1892; 57 to 67 percent between 1893 and 1899; 42 to 46 percent between 1900 and 1901; and 31 to 39 percent between 1902 and 1904. When added to the ticket-holders they were actually the majority onwards from the late 1880s. Although some time-expired labourers did work on plantations, the majority worked in small groups for farmers who became more dominant in the 1890s and 1900s as the plantations declined and central mills flourished. It was a more personal experience and these men and women preferred the less regimented lifestyle on farms. Their experience in Australia was altogether different from that of first-indenture labourers. Evidence suggests that time-expired Islanders working in northern New South Wales in the 1880s and 1890s were paid at the same rate as European labourers (Lyne 1882, 161-62).

The ticket-holders were 835 Islanders resident in Queensland for over five years before 1 September 1884, who henceforth were under no restrictions on the type of work they undertook. They were issued with tickets of exemption. Some of them worked as overseers, or owned or leased small farms. Several owned boarding houses for Islanders in the towns. The ticket-holders would have been born before about 1860 and began to decline in numbers as they aged: 716 in 1892, 704 in 1901 and 691 in 1906. Expressed as a proportion of the overall Islander population, from 1885 to 1906, in any one year ticket-holders constituted between seven and 11 percent. Most of today’s ASSI families are probably descended from time-expired and ticket-holding Islanders, although this has not been preserved in their oral testimony. The main reason that so many were allowed to stay after the attempt by the new Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 to enforce deportation by 1906 was if they could prove more than 20 years residence in Australia. Only ticket-holders or time-expired labourers fitted this category.

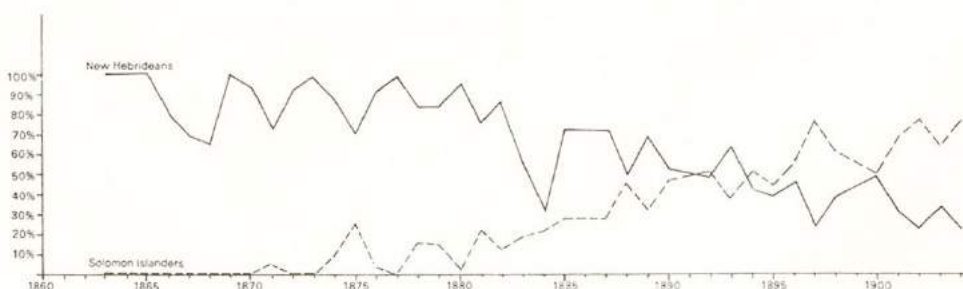
There were other subdivisions. First, under Clause 13 of the *Polynesian Labourers Act, 1868* (the early legislation uses Polynesian as the general term for Pacific Islanders, although most of the labour immigrants were from Melanesia) Islanders could have their indenture agreements transferred permanently, or could be hired out temporarily to another employer. This clause is not used in the general *Masters and Servants Act*. The 1868 Act specifies that transfers could only occur with the agreement of the transferor, the employer and the government, and had to be in the presence of a magistrate who had to explain the procedure and be certain that the transferor understood the process. However, it is unlikely that the Islanders involved—mostly first-indenture labourers—fully understood this clause. Ever since the labour trade began, allegations have been made that the whole process was a form of slavery. Part of this belief is based on the transfer and hiring system, which enabled employers to manipulate their work forces. Second, initially there were no occupational restrictions and Islanders were employed all over the colony in pastoralism, agriculture and maritime trades. Table 2 below lists their places

of residence in 1891 and 1901 and shows that even after the laws changed (restricting the nature of their employment), a significant number remained in pastoral areas, which in part explains their intermarriage with Aboriginal Australians. Their places of employment began to be restricted in 1880 and after 1884 they were supposed to be limited to unskilled work in tropical and semi-tropical agriculture. After 1892, non-ticket-holder Islanders were excluded from any work within sugar mills, although they could be employed handling sugar-cane as it arrived, and also to collect megasse (the cane fibre) after the crushing process, both tasks viewed as onerous work. The Islanders were limited to field work, and could work with horses and carts within the fields but not on public roads. Ploughing was another forbidden occupation, as was maize cultivation which was mainly in the hands of farmers on small holdings. These restrictions were intended to appease the early trade union movement and to calm Queenslanders who did not want any further importation of Islanders into the colony. However, these limits did not apply to ticket-holders. As a general conclusion, these conditions do not offer support to an interpretation of one amorphous workforce, brought to Queensland through kidnapping and deception (although this did occur, particularly in the early years). It is also not anything like a description of slavery, although there were restrictions placed on the Islanders that did not apply to other Queenslanders, and of course the racist attitudes of the day meant that they were looked down upon. They were a largely illiterate group at the bottom of the workforce.

The best list of the islands of origin of those that arrived in Queensland (1863-1904) was published by Price and Baker in 1976. The largest number came from Malaita (9,187) in Solomon Islands, Epi (5,084) and Tana (4,244) in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), Guadalcanal (4,188) in Solomon Islands, and Ambrim (3,464) in the New Hebrides. Jeff Siegel (1985) created an equivalent list for labourers imported into Fiji. Because of the deportation law passed in 1901 by the Commonwealth Government (Wright 1969; Corris 1972, Moore 2000; Mercer 1995; Megarrity 2001), with attrition during the early 1900s the 10,000 in Australia in 1901 sank back to about 7,000 to 8,000 in 1904, with several thousand deported between 1906 and 1908 and about 1,500 to 2,000 (including their children) remaining at the end of 1908. The Islander immigrants were mainly single men, although a few came with wives from the islands and others married into the Aboriginal and Torres Strait community. A small number of the original immigrants married Asian and European women. Those who remained were allowed to do so on humanitarian grounds after recommendations from a 1906 Queensland Royal Commission. They settled permanently in Queensland and northern New South Wales.

Table 1, drawn from Price and Baker (1976), lists the islands of origin of participants in the Queensland labour trade. Overwhelmingly, they are from what are now Vanuatu and Solomon Islands. Generally they were Melanesians, although some came from Polynesian Outliers in Melanesia. There were also a few from Micronesia and Polynesia. They spoke more than 180 different languages (Tryon 1976; Tryon and Hackman 1983). In recording these statistics I found to my consternation that Price and Baker list 20 from Samoa and 21 from Niue. For decades I have been telling people who have listed Samoa as a source of Queensland labour that they were wrong. As Price and Baker give no specific source for their Samoa or Niue figures, and I have never seen any other evidence, I remain doubtful. I note that Price and Baker say that their “estimates of island origins are admittedly rough, and some scholars may well reject them as positively misleading and dangerous” (page 108). They were collecting statistics without any wider knowledge of the records. I have used the names of islands provided by Price and Baker, although the modern spelling may be different. Even if there are minor errors in Table 1 it is a good indication of the approximate spread of the islands involved in the ancestry

of today’s ASSI. The table does not attempt to provide the years of recruitment, which can be an issue. If we take Loyalty Islanders as an example, they only came to Queensland in the 1860s and early 1870s. They were from a French territory and recruiting there was soon closed. Similarly, recruiting from the islands off New Guinea only occurred at the end of the 1870s and in the early 1880s, and recruiting in Solomon Islands began in 1870 and intensified in the 1890s and 1900s, a time when the number of labourers from the New Hebrides was declining (Graph 2; see Bedford 1973; Corris 1973 “Passage”). It is also worth noting that the names given to various islands have changed over time. The Price and Baker article includes a table of alternative island names, and there are two gazetteers of obsolete and alternative names for Pacific Islands (Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 1976, 1978) available online.



**Graph 2: The proportions of New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders, 1863-1904. After the early 1890s Solomon Islander labourers exceeded the number of New Hebrideans.**

Source: Dutton 1980.

	Islands	Numbers	Totals
<b>NEW CALEDONIA</b>			
<b>Loyalty Islands</b>			1123
	Mare	385	
	Tika	9	
	Lifu	715	
	Uvea	14	
<b>VANUATU</b>			
<b>New Hebrides (South)</b>			5800
	Aneityum	157	
	Tana	4244	
	Futuna	221	
	Aniwa	4	
	Eromanga	1174	
<b>New Hebrides (Central)</b>			9723
<b>Efate Island Group</b>			
	Efate	1762	
	Eradaka	4	
	Moso	9	
	Pele	15	
	Emau	288	
	Nguna	607	
	Mataso	5	
<b>Shepherd Islands</b>			
	Makura	121	
	Emae	692	
	Buninga	21	
	Tongariki	148	
	Tongoa	934	
	Evoso	1	

	Epi	5084	
	Lamenu	32	
<b>New Hebrides (South)</b>			17622
	Lopevi	47	
	Paama	803	
	Ambrim	3464	
	Malekula	2934	
	Pentecost	1960	
	Maewo	575	
	Omba	3658	
	Espiritu Santo	2806	
	Malo	1375	
<b>New Hebrides (Banks)</b>			5678
	Mera Lava	438	
	Merig	5	
	Gaua	2537	
	Vanua Lava	819	
	Mota	241	
	Valua	1036	
	Ureparapara	602	
<b>New Hebrides (Torres)</b>			1108
	Toga	510	
	Loh	172	
	Tegua	183	
	Metoma	20	
	Hiw	223	
<b>New Hebrides TOTAL</b>			39931

<b>SOLOMON ISLANDS</b>			
<b>Santa Cruz</b>			461
	Santa Cruz	429	
	Tikopia	32	
<b>Solomon Islands (Central)</b>			17033
	Bellona	65	
	Santa Ana	74	
	Santa Catalina	1	
	Santa Cristoval (Makira)	807	
	Ugi	9	
	Ulawa	147	
	Malaita	9186	
	Ndai	6	
	Floroida (Ngela)	2069	
	Savo	481	
	Guadalcanal	4188	
<b>Solomon Islands (Central)</b>			512
	Ysobel	208	
	Choiseul	58	
	Rannonga	15	
	Vella Lavella	85	
	Simbo	34	
	Lord Howe (Ontong Java)		112
<b>Solomon Islands (North)</b>			12
	Shortlands	12	
<b>PAPUA NEW GUINEA</b>			
<b>PNG (North Solomon Islands)</b>			311
	Bougainville	38	
	Buka	58	
	Nissan	215	
<b>PNG (Other Islands)</b>			2808

	Feni	37	
	Tanga	368	
	Lihir	649	
	Tabar	28	
	Nuguria	3	
	New Ireland	240	
	Duke of York	47	
	New Britain	765	
	Woodlarks	33	
	D'Entrecasteaux	109	
	Louisiades	529	
OTHER			
<b>FIJI</b>			35
	Rotuma	35	
<b>SAMOA</b>			20
<b>NIUE</b>			21
<b>KIRIBATI &amp; TUVALU</b>			208
	Gilbert and Ellice	191	
	Ocean	17	
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>			62475

**Table 1: The Island Origins of Pacific Islands Labourers in Queensland, 1863-1904.**

Source: Price with Baker, 1976.

### Ancestry and Numbers

Ancestry is complex and many Australians can claim diverse ethnic backgrounds. Today's younger ASSI generations have married into the wider Australian community, adding to this diversity. Although there are families whose line of descent is totally from one island group (mainly either Vanuatu or Solomon Islands), very few can claim only one island of origin, except some of the elderly. Even so, they may have married someone from a different island or another origin. I hesitate to 'type caste' them beyond saying that there are many members of the community whose descent is totally from the Melanesian labour trade, while others have diverse origins and descendants can be up to six generations away from the original Pacific immigrants. Much of the literature concentrates on the nineteenth century, with very little on the last 100 or so years. Mercer (1995) is the outstanding monograph on the community during the first half of the twentieth century, along with journal articles and Gistitin's research at Rockhampton (Mercer and Moore 1976, 1978, 1993; Moore and Mercer 1978; Moore, ed. 1979; Gistitin 1990, 1995, 1995), and of course the more recent family and community histories by ASSI (see the list early in the bibliography). Noel Fatnowna's book (1989) is overwhelmingly the best of the ASSI accounts, although others are extremely informative (Andrew and Cook 2000; Fatnowna 2002).

Today, although estimates vary widely, there are tens of thousands of Australians with some descent from the original immigrant ASSI generation. Government statistics have always underestimated the number and estimates from within the ASSI community often exaggerate wildly. There is a core community whose primary identity is as ASSI, and a secondary community who often have a primary allegiance to their Indigenous, Asian or European ancestry, while also acknowledging their Pacific ancestry. In recent decades it has become more usual for many members of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to acknowledge their joint heritage from the Pacific, and for ASSI to acknowledge their Indigenous heritage. There was once a time, even in the 1970s, when many ASSI with an Indigenous heritage chose not to include it in their identity, and vice versa. Today, individuals and families are more comfortable with revealing the complexity of the past. The national census now allows selection of ASSI ancestry, and another related change in the last few years is that Centrelink, hospitals and other health services now include an ASSI category on their forms. However, it all

depends on individuals identifying themselves and many do not provide full details. This was negotiated by ASSI.PJ, the most active ASSI organisation.

At the broadest level, there may be 40,000 to 60,000 Australians with some ASSI ancestry, with only half that number fully identifying as ASSI. It is not possible to know how many Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Australians have some degree of ASSI ancestry. Anecdotal evidence suggests that a high proportion of Aboriginal Australians from coastal Queensland (including the Gulf of Carpentaria, see Hopkins 1992, 2002) and northern New South Wales have some kin relationship with ASSI. A conservative guess would suggest 10,000 to 15,000. The largely male first generation of ASSI indentured labourers and the proximity of Aboriginal people led to many partnerships, some fleeting, some permanent. The map at the beginning and on the back of the bibliography reminds us of the number of Islanders who worked in pastoral areas, and the census statistics in Table 2 further remind us of the spread of their places of residence in 1891 and 1901. They could be found all through the Queensland mainland and in Torres Strait.

Year	1891			1901		
District	Adults	Minors	Total	Adults	Minors	Total
Albert	55	10	65			
Aramac (w of Clermont)				2	0	2
Aubigny	1	0	1			
Barcoo	2	0	2			
Blackall (SW of Clermont)				3	12	15
Bowen	454	170	624	231	67	298
Brisbane				41	8	49
Brisbane, North	21	3	24			
Brisbane, South	32	2	34			
Bulimba, Brisbane	36	2	38			
Bundaberg	195	180	375	1,591	321	1,912
Burke (Gulf)	8	0	8	2	0	2
Burnett (W of Bundaberg)	4	0	4	4	0	4
Barrum	239	79	318			
Caboolture (N of Brisbane)				103	27	130
Cairns (& Innisfail)	249	3	252	943	187	1,130
Cambooy	1	0	1			
Cardwell (Ingham)				1,117	116	1,233
Carnavon	2	0	2			
Carpentaria	4	0	4			
Charleville				4	0	4
Charters Towers	1	0	1			
Clermont	3	0	3	8	1	9
Cloncurry				4	0	4
Cook (E Cp York incl. Mossman)	47	219	266	238	122	360
Cannamulla				1	0	1
Cunningham	1	0	1			
Darling Downs Central				2	0	2
Darling Downs East				1	0	1
Enoggera, Brisbane	2	0	2	3	0	3

Etheridge (W of Cardwell)				6	0	6
Fassifern (S of Ipswich)	1	0	1			
Fitzroy	1	0	1			
Flinders	3	0	3			
Fortitude Valley, Brisbane	3	2	5			
Gladstone				16	6	22
Gregory	1	0	1			
Herbert, Ingham	1,318	297	1,615			
Herberton (W of Cairns)				20	1	21
Ipswich	1	0	1	3	0	3
Kennedy (Charters Towers)	6	0	6	10	10	20
Leichhardt (W of Gladstone)	13	0	13	2	0	2
Logan (Brisbane)	69	7	76	36	1	37
Mackay	1,739	538	2,277	1,250	225	1,475
Maranoa (W of Darling Downs)	1	0	1	2	0	2
Marathon (S of Cloncurry)				2	0	2
Maryborough	90	51	141	41	7	48
Mitchell	6	0	6			
Moreton (Brisbane)	47	5	52			
Moreton East				90	10	100
Moreton West				9	0	9
Murilla	1	1	2			0
Musgrave, Innisfail	1,331	652	1,983			
Normanby	6	0	6			
Nunda, Brisbane	2	0	2	16	0	16
Oxley, Brisbane	11	1	12	7	1	8
Palmer (W Cape York)				1	0	1
Peak Downs (W of Rockhampton)				1	0	1
Port Curtis, Gladstone	26	3	29			
Rockhampton	9	1	10	9	0	9
Rockhampton North	92	9	101			
Rosewood	12	0	12			
Somerset (and Torres Strait)	264	n.a.		518	154	672
Springsure (S of Clermont)				14	0	14
Stanley (W of Caboolture)	1	0	1	1	0	1
St. Lawrence				1	0	1
Toombul, Brisbane	22	1	23			
Toowong, Brisbane	9	4	13			
Taroom (W of Burnett)				2	0	2
Tiaro (S of Maryborough)				71	42	113
Toowong, Brisbane				5	0	
Townsville	42	32	74	491	44	535

Westwood				154	56	210
Wide Bay,	26	3	29	705	129	834
Maryborough						
Woolloongabba,	3	1	4			
Brisbane						
Woothakata	37	9	46			
Gulf behind						
Cairns)						
TOTAL	6,739	2,127	8,866	7,780	1,547	9,537

**Table 2: Spread of Pacific Islanders in Queensland in 1891 and 1901 by Census District.**

Source: Census of Queensland, 1891, pp. 457–59, *QVP* 1892, Vol III, p. 1391; *QVP* 1901, p. 16, *QVP* 1901, Vol. II, p. 956.

As Graph 3 illustrates, in 1898 208 (10 percent) of all workers in the northern pearl industry based at Thursday Island in Torres Strait and operating around the tip of Cape York were South Sea Islanders. Table 2 shows that in 1891 there were 264 ‘Polynesians’ (South Sea Islanders) and in 1901 672 South Sea Islanders living in the Somerset electoral/census division, which included the north of Cape York and Torres Strait. Queensland’s northern outpost of government, Somerset on Cape York, began operating in 1864, replaced in 1877 by Thursday Island in the Strait. The original New South Wales northern border was a three mile limit off Cape York. When Queensland became a separate colony in 1859 the northern boundary remained the same, extended in 1872 and 1879 to eventually include all of the Torres Strait islands almost up to the New Guinea mainland.

The population of Torres Strait was no more than 5,000 when sustained contact with foreigners began in the mid-nineteenth century (Beckett 1987; Singe 1979, 2003; Mullins 1995; Sharp 1993; Moore 1998 “Tooree”). The first 60 Pacific Islanders were imported into Torres Strait as maritime workers in 1860: there were 150 in 1870 and about 500 by 1872. Most were legally recruited in Sydney or in Queensland ports and many were professional seamen, particularly from the Loyalty Islands (Howe 1977). They were hired under the New South Wales *Merchant Seaman’s Act*, not bound by the *Polynesian Labourers Act, 1868* which controlled immigrant Islanders on the Queensland mainland, replaced by a revised Act in 1884. Some of them became skippers of *bêche-de-mer* and pearling luggers. In 1872, when Queensland extended its Torres Strait border north to 100 km from the coast of Cape York, the government refused to issue licences under the 1868 Act, although by 1875 this was relaxed and mainland time-expired agricultural labourers with maritime backgrounds began to be engaged in Torres Strait. In 1876, 75 Solomon Islanders were engaged on licences issued in New South Wales, although the Queensland Government ensured that this never happened again. Over decades, the main South Sea Islanders employed in the Strait were mission-educated experienced men, quite different from the ‘new chums’ on the sugar plantations on the mainland. In the 1870s, South Sea Islanders earned £3 a month on pearling luggers, and a Pacific Islander elite became the ‘hard hat’ divers on the luggers, earning between £100 and £300 in a season. (Compare this to a magistrate’s salary of around £500.) The pearling elite were wealthy men living on most of the inhabited central and north-east islands, and as the century continued some South Sea Islanders began to work their own family luggers.

Onwards from 1871, European missionaries arrived in Torres Strait. They were accompanied by Pacific Islander evangelists and teachers from the Loyalty Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands and Rotuma. (Croccombe and Crocombe 1982; Hannan 2008, 2009, 2010), where evangelism was already advanced. These London Missionary Society (LMS) staff usually arrived married, but over time some local matches were made. The LMS teachers relied on their Loyalty Island links to bind them to the pearling elite. In 1875, a measles epidemic spread



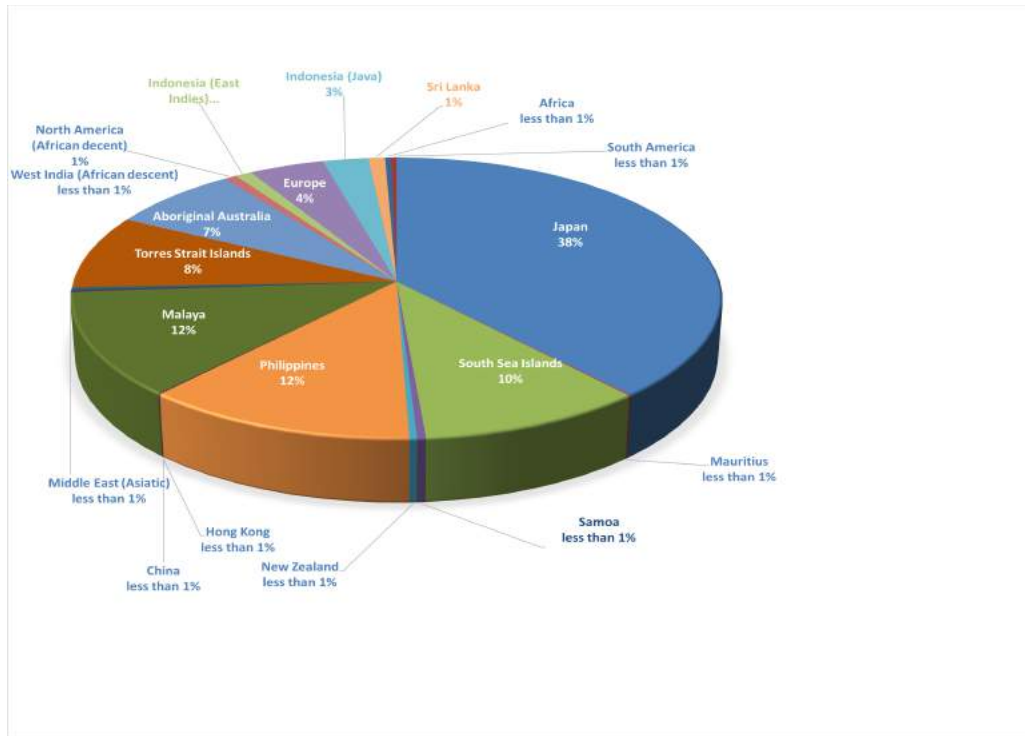
throughout the eastern Pacific, also affecting Torres Strait where around one-quarter of the population died. It was interpreted as a supernatural sign and led to large scale conversions. The LMS overall strategy was to use the Torres Strait islands as stepping-stones to their real target—the huge island of New Guinea to the north. The Catholics arrived in British New Guinea (later the Australian Territory of Papua) in 1885, the Methodists in 1889, and the Anglicans followed, somewhat reluctantly in 1891, the latter also employing ex-Queensland SSI (Joyce 1971; West 1968; Delbos 1985; Wetherell 1977; 1989, 1996; Langmore 1989).

In 1901, South Sea Islanders in Torres Strait faced the same deportation order as those on the mainland. One category of exemption that emerged in 1906 was those who had lived in Australia for more than twenty years, which applied to many of the Pacific Islanders in Torres Strait. A Pacific Islander reserve was established on Moa Island in 1904 which later became St Paul's Anglican Mission. In 1914, having long regarded the area as a backwater of its operations in Australian Papua, the LMS gave up its missionary work in Torres Strait. The Anglican Church accepted the challenge and an Anglican South Sea Islanders mission colony continued on Moa (Shnukal 2008; David, Manas, and Quinnell 2008). South Sea Islanders fell outside the *Aboriginal Protection Act* until 1934 when an amendment widened the terms of the Act to include Torres Strait residents of South Sea Island origin and others known locally as 'Thursday Island half-castes' (Shnukal 1992, 1992, 1996, 2010; Mullins 1990, 1995, 2019).

Anna Shnukal's analysis of Broken (Torres Strait creole) suggests that the dominant external influence in Torres Strait between 1870 and 1940 was not Europeans but Pacific Islanders, and that at an early stage the presence of Pacific Islanders began to alter the traditional languages, partly because they found it difficult to pronounce some words and substituted their own (Shnukal 1985).

Since the 1940s, Torres Strait Islanders have shifted to the mainland in large numbers, living in the same Queensland towns as South Sea Islanders who had worked in the sugar industry. They also worked in outback Queensland and Western Australia on the railways. During the decades since then, a large amount of intermarriage has taken place. The most famous case is that of Edward Koiki Mabo (1936-1992) from Mer (Murray) Island in Torres Strait and Ernestine Bonita Neehow (1943-2018) of Aboriginal and South Sea Islander descent, from the Gardens at Halifax near Ingham. Herself one of ten children, Bonita and Eddie raised ten children of their own. The 1992 'Mabo Case' in the High Court established customary ownership of indigenous land in Australia (Sharp 1996; Loos and Mabo 2013).

Establishing the extent of the interlinking between Australian South Sea Islanders and Torres Strait Islanders is difficult as most people from Torres Strait choose to identify as Torres Strait Islanders, regardless of their complex ancestry. Some Queensland South Sea Islanders also ended up in British New Guinea (later Australian Papua and now part of Papua New Guinea) (Moore 2003; Dutton 1985). In 2011, the Australia Bureau of Statistics identified 38,134 Australians as of Torres Strait descent, 24,386 of them in Queensland, with less than 5,000 still living on islands in Torres Strait. A conservative estimate would suggest that around half of the Torres Strait Islanders have some degree of Australian South Sea Islander (ASSI) ancestry, although the mix with LMS Pacific Islander workers is impossible to untangle.



**Graph 3: Nationalities of Men on Shipping Articles at Thursday Island in 1898.**

Source: "Nationalities of Men on Shipping Articles at Thursday Island in 1898." John Douglas, "Report of the Government Resident at Thursday Island for 1898." *QVP*, 1, 1899, p. 92. Graph courtesy of Ian Townsend.

### The Labour Trade: Understanding Recruiting and Enlistment

One of the key issues relating to ASSI is the ongoing arguments over the nature of Pacific indenture. Did the process resemble slavery, or was it another form of controlled labour? About 12.5 million Africans were imported to the Americas between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries through the African slave trade. At least one million died on the long voyages. Around 472,000 were brought to North America, nearly three-quarters of them before the start of the American Revolution (1775–83). British legislation came into force in 1807 prohibiting British ships from carrying slaves and onwards from 1808 no slave could be landed in a British colony. Further legislation passed in 1811 made the trafficking of slaves a felony. The final Bill passed through parliament in 1833 and manumission of the entire British slave population occurred in 1834, although the full rights of employers of ex-slaves over their labour continued. Ex-slaves were compelled to provide 45-hours on unpaid labour each week for their former masters for four to six years after supposedly being liberated. Further agitation cut short 'apprenticeships' in 1838. Britain had made its ex-slaves pay for their own manumission and gave financial compensation to the ex-slave owners, yet did not compensate or assist the ex-slaves.

How close was Blackbirding to slavery? The first Pacific Islander labourers were brought to New South Wales in 1847 in fairly sordid circumstances, and many accounts suggest that kidnapping of labour was rife in the Pacific in the 1860s and 1870s. But was it a universal practice and did it extend until the 1900s? Between 1862 and 1864, 3,634 Polynesians and Micronesians were 'recruited' to work in Peru. There is no doubt that this was a violent, totally disreputable exercise and that death rates were high. Historian Harry Maude (1981) labelled it a slave trade even although it was organised through indentures. The recruitment process and the transporting of these Polynesian and Micronesians was worse than for some shipments of African slaves, but

was it slavery or just indenture at its most disreputable? Even during this 1860s transition period it is not possible to argue that all labour movement was by illegal means. The beginnings of Pacific labour migration were often violent and involved deception, but we must also factor in that the labourers imported into Torres Strait and mainland Queensland in the early 1860s came from islands exposed to sandalwood and bêche-de-mer traders for 20 years and where Christian missionaries operated. It is likely that most of the Islanders who served in Torres Strait onwards from 1860 were an extension of crews from earlier Pacific ventures around the Loyalty Islands and the southern New Hebrides. In 1869, a New South Wales Royal Commission concluded that there were illegal recruiting methods used in remoter areas of the New Hebrides and acknowledged that crews were disciplined quite violently. Nevertheless, Loyalty Islanders were eager to engage as ships' crews.

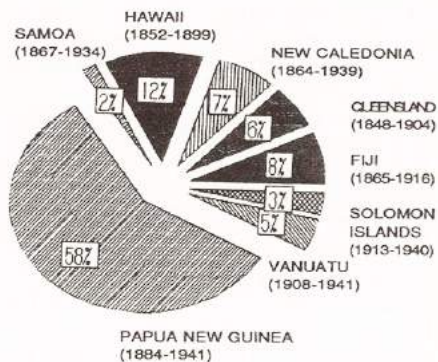
I have always argued that ASSI indenture was unsavoury but was not the same as slavery. The word 'slavery' has a specific legal meaning—that the individuals involved were purchased and owned, and could be sold, that they were not paid, and that their children were under similar restrictions. To use the word loosely is emotive and inaccurate. Similarly, I seldom use the word 'Blackbirding' as it has different meanings to different people. To some it means to kidnap labourers in the Pacific, while others use it to describe the entire 40 years of the Queensland labour trade. It is too imprecise to be used as a standard term.

Queensland's indentured labourers were on contracts, they were paid, and there was a government mechanism to ensure their return to their home islands if they chose. They and their children were not the property of their employers. Onwards from 1868, a Pacific Islands subbranch of the Immigration Department supervised the process. There were either Inspectors of Pacific Islanders appointed in each centre or the local Magistrate added their supervision to his tasks, the whole administration supervised by the Immigration Agent in Brisbane. Government Agents onboard the recruiting ships were also employed by the Immigration Department. All wage payments were made by the Inspectors, not the employers. That does not mean that it was an ethically sound labour recruiting practice, nor that the laws and regulations were always observed, nor that illegality was not involved at certain stages on the ships and in Queensland, particularly in the early years. Less is known about the administration of the system in New South Wales or in Torres Strait. In my own writing I have used the term 'cultural kidnapping', to try to indicate that the entire process was disreputable exploitation. However, it is also inescapable that many of the labour recruits travelled to Queensland, Fiji (Corris 1973 "Passage"; Siegel 1985; Bedford 1973; Etuati 2011), Samoa (Meleisea 1976, 1980) and New Caledonia (Howe 1977; Shineberg 1984, 1991, 1995, 1999) of their own volition, and that as the decades progressed there was a degree of agency involved as Pacific Islanders decided to participate for reasons related to their own societies. The work of historians over the last 50 years is largely in agreement over the nature of the recruiting and enlistment process. However, ASSI descendants and some of their kin in the islands disagree with the historians. I have written about this disjunction on several occasions (Moore 1978-79; 1981 "Kanakas", 1985, 332-43; 2015 "Australian").

We also need to come to terms with the 'Passage Masters', the indigenous collaborators, who organised the supply of labour in the islands (Corris 1973 "Kwaisulia"). The cycle of labour recruitment could never have continued for so long without their cooperation. It was seldom a matter of a labour trade vessel just sailing up to an island and 'stealing' or cajoling males and females, some of whom were teenagers, to come aboard and travel to a far off colony. As one academic said, it is demeaning to the intelligence of Pacific Islanders to believe that they stood

on their own beaches year after year, decade after decade, allowing themselves to be kidnapped by white men in rowing boats. As the decades progressed they became more canny about the conditions they would face. The recruiters relied on indigenous middle-men to do the organising and the ASSI community needs to understand that their own people were part of the organising process. Their own leaders aided and abetted the labour recruiters, having incorporated the labour trade into their indigenous economic system, and they profited significantly from it.

Another related issue is that indenture continued to be used as a key method to mobilize Pacific labour. The process was not confined to Queensland and New South Wales and needs to be considered in a wider context. Queensland's Pacific Labour Trade is often accused of being a 'slave trade' but this begs the question of why the same indenture process that continued into Fiji until the 1910s and internally in Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and Papua New Guinea until the 1940s is not similarly called a 'slave trade'? The movement of labour throughout the Pacific was an enormously complex process and in the colonial years very exploitative (Moore, Leckie and Munro 1990), but it was based on indenture not slavery.



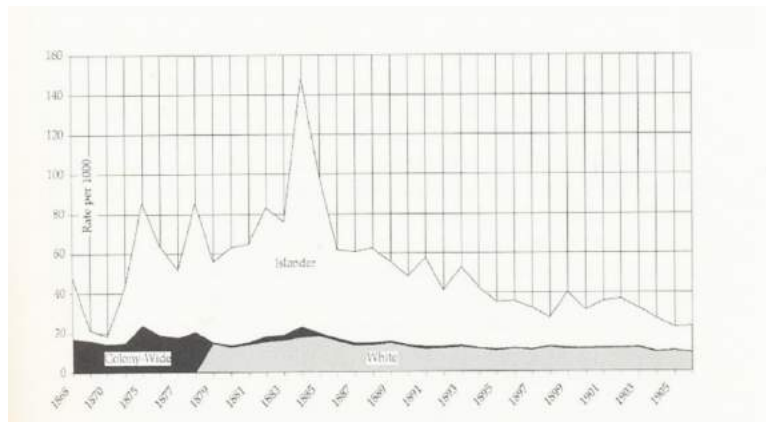
**Graph 4: Indentured Labour Migration: Eight Major Pacific Colonies, 1848-1951.**

Source: Moore 1992.

### A Disadvantaged Ethnic Group

Many of the current views are influenced by political activism and constant bombardment by the media which has for decades run a 'kidnapped slave' approach. While there is no doubt that ASSI are a disadvantaged immigrant ethnic group in Australia, and have been so recognised by the Australian (1993), Queensland (2001) and New South Wales (2013) Governments, the full picture is far more complex. ASSI are correct to continue to fight for recognition, an official Australian Government apology, and some form of compensation until their living standards are average with other Australians. I have always argued that their best weapon is a fuller knowledge of their own history. Hopefully, this bibliography might form part of their rethinking of their understanding of their history and the arguments they use. Concentrating on the recruitment process and arguments about kidnapping and slavery obscures a much longer story of deprivation. If I was constructing an argument, I would begin with the Melanesian labour trade which operated on the cusp between slavery and indenture, then I would give emphasis to the high mortality rate which is evidence in itself that the circular labour trade was a disaster. Death rates during the labour trade were extremely high, probably around 15,000 or 24 percent of the contracts (Shlomowitz 1986 "Mortality", 1986 "Indian", 1987 "Mortality and the", 1989 "Differential", 1989 "Epidemiology", 1990 "Differential"; Moore 2013). My conclusion is that

once the Queensland Government realised the extent of these death rates (which would have been by the end of the 1860s) they should have immediately closed the labour trade. The mortality rate in the mid-1880s, primarily among labourers from the east New Guinea islands was frighteningly high, which was part of the reason that the Queensland labour trade was closed in this area in 1885, although a colonial partition between Germany and Britain had occurred in November 1884. Economics overwhelmed humanitarianism and the labour trade continued, even though the trend was abundantly clear.



**Graph 5: Mortality rates of Pacific Islanders as compared to those of the entire colony or Queensland and those of Europeans, 1868-1906.**

Source: Banivanua-Marr 1993, 51.

I would also look at conditions on the pastoral properties, sugar plantations and farms and maritime industries where they worked, and the general racism of colonial and early Federation Australia. A close reading of the sources provides enough evidence to show violent and degrading behaviour by some employers (Saunders 1975, 192-207), as well as poor food and clothing rations, sanitation, and industrial safety (Moore 1985 266-67), deplorable living conditions and scant medical treatment (Saunders 1967; Moore 1985 200-73; Graves 1993, 74-137). The worst cases include a branding in 1867 (McDonald 1981, 206-07), beatings (Moore 1985, 268), being tied up and dying horribly, and violence from overseers leading to deaths (Saunders 1975, 195). There is also oral evidence of an Islander woman wearing leg irons, with consequent scarring that lasted a lifetime. While these examples are rare, and can be countered by references to model employers, the fact that horrific incidents can be found indicates that some Islanders faced conditions that were unacceptable in any British society in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are similar and worse examples from the same years of the way Aboriginal Australians were treated, including poisoning and shooting, that leave us in no doubt of the level of violence on the colonial frontier.

Add to this the Deportation years (1901-08) which are a national disgrace to Australia. There is no kinder way to describe what occurred. In 1901, as part of the White Australia Policy national legislation was passed with the intention of expelling the majority South Sea Islanders. There were close to 10,000 Pacific Islander migrants in Australia in 1901, spread from Torres Strait to northern New South Wales and west into pastoral districts. Only the 700 remaining 'ticket-holders' were exempt. After enforced attrition at the end of contracts, in 1904 around 7,800 remained. A 1906 Royal Commission estimated that some 4,000 to 5,000 were liable for deportation. Although a few extra exemption categories were added, thousands were deported. No other Australian immigrant ethnic group has ever suffered a similar indignity. Their

community was left in tatters, families divided, individuals traumatised (Wright 1969; Corris 1973 “Racialism”; Moore 2000 “Good-Bye”; Megarrity 2001, 2006). It was an outrageous blot on the Federation of the Australian colonies. For this alone the Australian Government owes ASSI and the people of Vanuatu and Solomon Islands a public apology.

Then, during the first half of the twentieth century the original Islanders were declared ‘aliens’ and unable to own parcels of land bigger than five acres, trade unions tried to keep their descendants out of the sugar industry (Hunt 1978; Saunders 1978), and the Christian denominations which had converted them, deserted them (Moore 2008 “Anglican”, 2009 “Florence”, 2013 “Peter”). The Islanders were forced to live on the fringes of conservative rural European society, their children were unwanted in the school system (Bliss 1996) and Islanders were relegated to the ‘coloured’ wards in hospitals. In the 1930s, some ASSI were placed on Indigenous Reserves and Church Missions and held under legislation designed to control Indigenous Queenslanders. The *Aboriginals Protection Amendment Act of 1934* broadened the category of ‘Aboriginal’ to include people of Pacific Islander heritage who lived with or associated with Queensland First Peoples, also including the grandchildren of ‘half-castes’, or anyone who the minister deemed to be unable to manage their own affairs. The ages during which ‘half-castes’ could be controlled was extended from sixteen to twenty-one years. Largely, this was intended to deal with Pacific Islanders living in Torres Strait, but there are also cases where ASSI on the mainland with Aboriginal spouses were placed under the Act. The *Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act of 1939* removed the provision controlling Queenslanders of Pacific Islander heritage but still included anyone with a preponderance of Aboriginal ancestry as well as any ‘half-blood’ declared to be in need of protection. Particularly in pastoral areas, there were large numbers of First Australians with South Sea Islander ancestry. South Sea Islanders in sugar-cane growing areas continued to be discriminated against until at least the 1960s, and as many Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have a ‘South Sea’ grandparent, the discrimination was much wider. It is no wonder that, even five or six generations after the original migrants, there are still health, education, employment and housing issues in the ASSI community. Descendants of immigrants, they were also part of the Queensland and New South Wales Black community.

An argument could be made that we must accept these historical circumstances as part of Australian history, just as we do with other disreputable aspects of the nation’s past. However, it is inescapable that circumstances are unique and that present-day ASSIs remain a distinct and disadvantaged community—all three relevant governments have declared them to be in this category. In 2019, Prime Minister Scott Morrison gave his support to the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ASSI recognition day, acknowledging the “immense hardship and discrimination” the community had endured, and their “survival and resilience” (see final page of this book).

Australia is still coming to terms with its Indigenous community, and an official apology has been given to Indigenous Australian over the ‘stolen generation’, when their children were taken from them and placed in institutions. In many ways ASSI have suffered similarly, except of course that they have no indigenous land rights in Australia. However, ASSI can argue that they too lost their land rights in the islands when they were taken away and become alienated from their families. One of my fascinations over decades has been watching State and Federal Government politicians and senior public servants attempt to show compassion while reacting almost fearfully to accusations of a past racist slave trade, and never really assisting ASSI in any long-term meaningful way. Clearly, they do not know how to deal with the issue. The governments refuse to contemplate the prohibitive costs of establishing separate units to assist

the tens of thousands of ASSI descendants, believing that a decade or so of special attention from more general social services will right the wrongs of 170 years. Given that this has been the attitude since the 1970s Whitlam years, with no sign of real success, it is time for a rethink.

### **Active Agents**

The old style of imperial history with its focus on London, Berlin and Paris is no longer fashionable, viewed as hidebound, nostalgic, and upholding the greatness of the European empires that covered the globe during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, without any focus on the large portion of humanity who fell under their control. Anti-colonial nationalism became the dominant study and identifying with or sympathizing with the purveyors of empire became unfashionable. Although a few authors still write eulogies to the greatness of empires, a new more dominant type of imperial history emerged that presents the labour force as agents in their own history. This new style of history is more cultural than political or economic.

Over the last 40 years, academics have advocated the use of the concept of ‘agency’ to show that indigenous peoples were capable of using the new system to their advantage. When it was first introduced, the concept provided a positive explanation stressing that indigenous people did not suffer a ‘fatal impact’ and that however difficult the circumstances were they did manage to turn some aspects of the colonial experience—which valued indigenous labour—to their favour. However, overplaying indigenous agency risks underplaying the extent of the power differential between the colonists and the Pacific immigrants. Agency, a well-intentioned argument in the 1970s, became basic to interpretation in Pacific history and is still used in the literature. Undoubtedly there was a degree of agency, but the question is how much this made the indentured labourers autonomous and somehow in charge of their own lives in a situation where they had been transported from their own small-scale societies and put to work under legal agreements in commercial enterprises where the employers had all the obvious power. My *Kanaka* (1985) took this agency approach, although stressing collective rather than individual motivations. My *Making Mala* (2017) continued along the same road but took an even more indigenous path informed by Malaitan culture. Over the decades since agency came into vogue, the environment, feminism, gender, sexuality, religion, and the wider perspectives of marginalized peoples have become central themes in the ‘new’ style of history. The emerging discourse interrogated gender and race, and raised questions about knowledge, identity and power, and was anchored in linguistic and cultural and literary studies. History writing also became interdisciplinary, a very different approach to the old imperial history.

It has been argued that agency is primarily a European concept and part of a Western epistemological framework. That said, it is also true that the Islanders’ indigenous world-views were remarkably quick to incorporate aspects of participation in European economic life. However, to say that Pacific indentured labourers benefited from their participation in trade and labour and consumption of the products of European capitalism and industry, should not be argued in isolation, as it can end up being justification. The key question is, given that the Islanders were largely motivated by their own epistemologies and concepts of kinship and reciprocity, rather than a spirit of individualism and capitalism, what were their primary motivations? Is their exchange of labour for material goods and cash more closely associated with pre-colonial forms of reciprocity than is usually allowed for in the agency concept? One

factor is that in most cases they were acting for the wider good of their communities and families. Often they had been sent into indentured servitude by their elders for the collective good of the community, and when they returned home they were expected to share the proceeds of their labour in a foreign land. There were personal advantages, such as new possessions brought back in each trade 'boxis' (Graves 1983), the contents of which was distributed. These 'trade goods' obligated others to them in traditional ways. Possessing 'trade goods' enabled them to raise the necessary bride wealth payment with less long-term obligation to their fathers and uncles, or to obtain more senior positions in their lineages than their brothers who had stayed at home and proceeded along a more conventional customary path. Agency needs to be viewed just as much as an indigenous concept, not only within its individualistic and capitalist origins.

### **Plantation Cultures**

Pacific cultures survived, even flourished on the plantations and farms, although earlier academic researchers concluded that, lacking their magical and religious practitioners, the Islander labourers suspended observance of their beliefs and cultures (Corris 1973 "Passage") and turned to Christianity. Anyone who is familiar with Melanesia today can easily tell you that this scenario is unlikely. Some of the Islanders—particularly those from the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides—had contact with Christian mission on their home islands. In Queensland and New South Wales they adopted Christianity through missions from various denominations—Anglican, Presbyterian, Queensland Kanaka Mission, the Salvation Army, and the Churches of Christ (Hilliard 1969; Moore 1985; 2017: 139-82). Then in the twentieth century they were deserted by the original missions and became Seventh-day Adventists and members of the Assemblies of God, and now other Pentecostal churches (see Mercer 1995). Research in the 1970s amongst the children of the original immigrants suggested that regardless of Christian beliefs Melanesian religious and magical practices continued to figure prominently in the lives of the community in Queensland and New South Wales, and that they passed on knowledge of their traditional observances to their Australian-born descendants (Mercer and Moore 1976; Moore 1985, 233-34, 270-73, 2013, 179-81). This oral testimony was recorded at an opportune time and is now deposited in the National Library of Australia (Moore 1980). A sample of it, collected by Matthew Peacock, can be found in Moore ed. 1979. The 1980s writing of Noel Fatnowna (1989), one of the best known of the descendants, Teresa Fatnowna's 2002 book on the same family, and the memories of Cedric Andrew in Andrew and Cook 2000 (all largely based on oral testimony) have confirmed the earlier 1970s research. A cultural strength remained during the twentieth century which provided the backbone of the ASSI community.

During the nineteenth century their interactions varied, depending on their abilities to communicate. Island Melanesia is one of the most diverse linguistic regions on earth, with hundreds of distinct languages. Even on one island—for instance Malaita, the home of the largest numbers of labour recruits—inhabitants in the south could not necessarily communicate easily with those from the north. A new language developed in the islands and in the Pacific colonies—Pidgin English, which combined a Melanesian grammatical structure with English and German language words and some generic words from the Pacific. Queensland Kanaka Pidgin English is at the base of modern Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands Pijin English, Bislama in Vanuatu, and Broken in Torres Strait, and is closely related to creole languages spoken in Aboriginal Australia. Part of modern Melanesian nationalism—the unification of small-scale Pacific societies into nations—began with this common language on the ships and plantations and farms of Queensland and northern New South Wales (Mühlhäusler 1976, 1980,



1981 “Foreigner”, 1981 “Melanesian”, 1996; Mühlhäusler and Mühlhäusler 2005; Dutton 1980; Keesing 1988; Crowley 1990; Siege 2008). Their employers and missionaries had to learn the new language as well.

The first Pacific historian to recognise the continuum between resistance and accommodation on Pacific plantations was Brij V. Lal, writing on Indo-Fijians. He argued that accommodation was one of the strategies for survival, although their diverse social and cultural background reduced their potential for collective action (Lal 1983; Lal and Munro 2014; Lal, Munro and Beechert 1993). The Islanders behaved in a similar manner and negotiated their working conditions within the limits imposed on them by the legalities of indenture contracts, which did not allow strikes (although strikes occurred in Torres Strait).

The Islanders were never passive participants in contacts with the European and Asian settlers. I wrote a chapter in Lal, Munro and Beechert’s *Plantation Workers: Resistance and accommodation* (1993) on the methods of response of Islanders in Queensland, and there are several other Pacific chapters. There were few direct confrontations, although there were two riots, in Mackay and Rockhampton (Moore 1978; Gistitin 1993, 2006). The workers often adopted the ‘weapons of the weak’ that nevertheless were effective, sometimes devastatingly so. There were many ways to respond and the labourers were adept at using other cultural weapons. Most of the direct ways they resisted were small-scale, sporadic, and spontaneous. Time-expired labourers were well trained for the work and demanded higher wages, particularly as there was no new recruitment cost. They also showed their displeasure when treated badly and often resorted to causing industrial accidents: burning cane, releasing the brakes on drays on hills, placing rocks in cane going to the mills etc. (Graph 1 above; Munro 1993 “Patterns”; Moore 1993 “Counterculture”, 1993 “Methods”; Graves 1993?; see also Bennett 1993).

Occasionally, Islanders used the Court system, although they knew it was stacked against them and was culturally alien (Moore and Finnane 1992). Instead, they chose absconding, malingering and working slowly, sabotage, violence, and the supernatural, including magic and sorcery as their main responses. Some of their mechanism were outwardly-directed while others such as inter-tribal fighting and magic were directed within their ethnically diverse communities. The aim was re-establishing social and cultural equilibrium in a very ‘Pacific’ manner. I have also argued that they learnt to ‘work the government’ and were not as helpless as some have suggested (Moore 2004-05). As part of this, we need to explain how in the 1900s they were able to form the Pacific Islanders’ Association, the largest European-style political movement organised by Melanesians anywhere at that time. They developed a complex plantation society and used a variety of mechanisms, including Pidgin English, English and Christianity, to achieve a degree of control over their lives in what was a racist and oppressive colonial society (Keesing 1986 “Plantation”; Moore 1985, 2013).

### Standpoints

Standpoint Theory has been advocated as a better rubric than agency for analysis dealing with cross-cultural situations, particularly between indigenous peoples and colonists in settler societies like Australia. It seeks to value the perspective of marginalised peoples and utilises concepts of knowing (epistemology) within these groups. Standpoint Theory argues that the predominant culture—in this case that of white Australians—is not experienced in the same way by all persons and groups. Groups with more social power are validated more than those with marginal power (Nakata 2008; Moreton-Robinson 2013). Critics of standpoint theory say that it is based in essentialism as it relies on the dualism of subjectivity and objectivity, and that its

application may lead to over-balanced analysis of power. But for a doubly marginalised population like ASSI—black in a largely white Australia, with a Pacific culture, and juxtaposed awkwardly with Indigenous Australians—standpoint theory has its uses.

If we believe that knowledge stems from social position, then we need to understand where knowledge is situated and its complex nature. The argument over what constitutes recruiting of indentured labour from Pacific societies has many sides. The families involved have a different interpretation from that of academic historians, with beliefs that are much closer to the way Indigenous Australians view their uneasy incorporation into waged and coerced unpaid labour in the colonies and the Commonwealth of Australia, and their incarceration on government Reserve and Mission settlements. Another example comes from the spirit world and the Islanders relationship with their ancestors and spirit beings. No ASSI family needs to read academic articles (Mercer and Moore 1976) about the retention of Melanesian spirituality to know that the spirit world continues and operates alongside their avowedly Christian demeanour. Concepts like agency, resistance, accommodation, and standpoint theory all have a place in examining how ASSI have survived in Australia.

### **Diversity of Sources**

Back in the late 1970s when an old storage area at Queensland Parliament was cleaned out, I was given a stack of original ASSI-oriented government papers. Thus, I have ended up with an unusual number of documents in the form which they were originally submitted to parliament, as far back as the 1870s. My files are full of these crumbling pages, which has provided me with an interesting range of documents. They do not always have a final published source, beyond the name of the Government Printer of the day. I have included some of them within this bibliography and users may wish to seek out other published versions. My other major source of primary documents has been via the School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry at University of Queensland which possesses the only set of nineteenth and early twentieth century Queensland Government printed parliamentary documents outside a library or government department. The policy of the History Department, and its successor School has always been to allow these parliamentary papers to be photocopied (with care) as they are regarded as a working set of papers. The School also houses a quite remarkable collection of history Honours, Masters and PhD theses on Queensland and elsewhere. After more than 30 years using these government papers, theses and inter-library loans I have a great number of copies of the published and theses sources in my files. I have also accessed original documents in the Queensland State Archives (QSA) over the last 45 years and have many photocopies, and more recently digital copies. Although too many Islander-related primary documents were published or exist in the QSA to ever claim that they all have been retrieved, I have no doubt that I have the largest private collection. I have also collected all secondary sources published on ASSI that I have come across since the 1970s; and as an historian of the Pacific and Australia I have a good collection of books that include chapters or at least mention ASSI. I also have all of the academic articles published directly about ASSI.

It is worth noting here that the ‘Melanesian voice’ is unusually strong in the sources, going back 135 years. The 1884 Queensland Royal Commission interviewed 480 labourers (Sankoff 1985; Jamison 1990), with another 51 interviewed in the 1906 Queensland Royal Commission into the sugar industry. There were 1960s interviews by two academics (Peter Tan and Peter Corris); no copies have ever been located, although Corris incorporated his into his PhD (1970) and book

(1973). In 1971, Aduru Kuva interviewed surviving recruits from the Kwara`ae and Kwaio areas on Malaita still living in Fiji, some of whom may also have been to Australia (Kuva 1974?). Between 1973 and 1981 Patricia Mercer and I interviewed 77 Islanders (some several times) and in 1978 Matthew Peacock interviewed 22 for the ABC's set of three Broadband radio programmes, *The Forgotten People*, broadcast in 1978 and published the next year (Moore, ed. 1979). While there has been some recent rather self-serving criticism of what we accomplished in the 1970s (Fallon 2016), the oral testimony collected back then is unique because of its timing and content. It was an oral 'snapshot' of the thinking of the elders of a community just one generation away from the original immigrants. During my fieldwork on Malaita in Solomon Islands in 1976 and 1978 I conducted many interviews about the labour trade. I was too late to interview anyone who had worked in Queensland; one man had worked in Fiji and his father had worked in Queensland. Anthropologists working on Malaita, such as Roger Keesing (1986 "The"), Ben Burt (2002) and David Akin (2013, 1-49) have tapped into labour trade memories. The same must be true of anthropologists and mission workers all through Melanesia. More recently, Emelda Davis has also collected a bank of interviews for her MA thesis, mainly relating to northern New South Wales and Sydney, many of them made into transcripts. Since the 1970s, the media has also conducted many interviews with ASSI, and recent State Library of Queensland efforts have collected ASSI oral testimony. Altogether there is a large and fascinating collection of oral testimony. Added to the material published by ASSI families in recent decades, these oral and family sources provide substantial views from the original immigrants and their children and grandchildren.

In putting this bibliography together I have thrown my net wide. I am reminded that as well as scholarly concerns, ASSI have become the subject matter of several novels (Brinsmead 1965, Buettel 1977, Cato 1974, Crookes 1996, Ryan 1979, Devanny 1982, Watt 2000, Nunn 2013, Isaac 2017), creative writing (Roth 1915-16), two plays (Toro 1980, Craddock 1994), one Sherlock Holmes tale (Methold 1991), and a television mini-series (*Pastures of the Blue Crane* 1969), along with many television documentaries and exhibitions. The avenues provided in the references are worthy of pursuit at a level far beyond arguments about history or compensation from governments. I have divided the bibliography in several ways. First, I have listed publications by ASSI, then television documentaries, videos, digital sources, material culture and artistic exhibitions, curriculum materials, government documents and other primary sources. I have featured writing that has survived from the voyages, which remains one of the least researched aspects of ASSI history. It is worth drawing attention to the voyages. This is the first attempt to list all extant diaries from the Queensland labour trade. The list is an accumulation gathered over 40 years, although there may still be voyage diaries in private hands. Perhaps this list will help flush them out. The term 'Blackbirding'—meaning to steal black men and women from Pacific Islands—sends shivers down the spines of modern Australian citizens. Some are reticent to acknowledge the participation of their forebears in the labour trade. But it is also time to be dispassionate about this process and to judge it against the documentary and oral evidence. If I was a little younger, having located the surviving written evidence, and helped collect the large bank of 1970s ASSI oral testimony, I would take on the task myself. Instead, I lay down a challenge to the next generation to use these references to draw conclusions about the nature of the voyages.

Because most of the Islanders worked in the sugar industry, I have also listed major publications on the history of the industry in the various districts. For comparison, I have included a few references that relate more widely to indenture or to slavery, and to the labour trade elsewhere in the Pacific. The situation in Queensland and New South Wales should not be

looked at in isolation. There is value in comparative studies which include other colonies and other groups, such as Indian indentured labourers in Fiji, or Pacific Islander workers in New Caledonia, Samoa and Papua New Guinea, and other Asian labourers in the Pacific. Ralph Shlomowitz is the doyen of comparative Pacific labour studies: his publications are listed in the main bibliography. The best overall source on Pacific labour migration is still Moore, Leckie and Munro (1990).

The final short section of the bibliography is on diseases and epidemiology, mainly using references collected by Shlomowitz during his research. I have included them as an indication that one of the dramatic consequences of labour migration was exposure of ‘virgin soil’ populations to new disease environments. The circular nature of the movement of indentured labour in the Pacific meant that death rates were extremely high as new recruits were constantly exposed to new diseases and returning labourers introduced diseases such as measles, chicken pox, influenza and the common cold etc. into their home communities. The 1875 measles epidemic in the western Pacific Islands killed around one-quarter of the population in some areas such as Fiji and Torres Strait; it may have had a similar effect in other areas about which we have no information. There are multiple reasons for population decline and on some islands over several decades declines of 40 to 50 percent occurred (Moore 2017, 430–34).

I have added annotations under various subheadings, with the hope of making the material more usable, and I have also added notes after various bibliographic entries when I think they might be useful to provide clues for later researchers. The whole exercise is a little idiosyncratic, but my aim is not to become a late-life librarian or bibliographer. I am an historian providing paths for others to follow. Sometimes important references get lost in long lists and it is better to pull them out into shorter lists to give greater emphasis. On occasions my information is incomplete (i.e., I might have a volume but not an issue number for a journal article) but I am not about to spend the next six months in libraries trying to get everything correct. Occasionally my style of recording may vary a little from section to section: I have tried to be standard but I am conscious that there are minor variations. This is a bibliography assembled from sources that I hold in my personal library. I retired in 2015, and while I may write a little more about ASSI in the next few years, basically my academic career is in the past. I am consciously trying to make life easier for the next generation of researchers, and always for Australian South Sea Islanders trying to come to terms with more than 170 years of their own history. Please forgive my failings.

### **Governments and ASSI**

It may also be that the Australian, Queensland and New South Wales Governments will find the bibliography useful. If I can nudge these governments into owning up to their past and their responsibilities to the present ASSI generation, all the better. One basic suggestion: it would be useful if the sources could be collected in one library so that Australian South Sea Islanders can have easy access; and extending this to digital access should be easy to accomplish. All ASSI oral history collections should also be made available. That is my challenge to all three governments.

I would also like governments to take into consideration that since the 1967 referendum which enabled the Commonwealth to take control of Indigenous affairs and count Indigenous Australian in the national census there was a related erosion of the place of ASSI within the Australian Black community, and of acceptance of them as an integral part of that community. Onwards from the beginning of FCAA (Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement) in 1958,

references to Islanders were ambiguous, including Torres Strait Islanders and ASSI. By about 1970, FCAATSI (Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders) froze out of non-Indigenous members, including Faith Bandler, then the most prominent ASSI, who had played a leading role in the 1967 referendum. FCAATSI became less important once there was a National Aboriginal Consultative Committee in 1972 and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was established in 1973. FCAATSI ended in 1978. In 1980 the Aboriginal Development Commission was established, which in 1990 became the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), continuing until 2005. The creation of a modern bureaucracy to administer First Australians' affairs led to the alienation of ASSI, both at the level of actions by the public service and by definitions which left them outside schemes to provide special assistance. While no one begrudges the long overdue special assistance to First Australians, it has had inadvertent consequences in relationships at an individual, family, community and government level.

I have prepared this Introduction and bibliography at a time when Indigenous Queenslanders in July 2019 were awarded \$190 million as a settlement relating to *Hans Pearson v State of Queensland* in the Federal Court of Australia, which will supervise the financial distribution. This was a class action to recover wages taken from Indigenous Queenslanders over several decades, which detailed the extraordinary and draconian conditions under which Indigenous Queenslanders were forced to live, and the Acts of Parliament that controlled their lives. The original immigrant ASSI and their children were also bound by Acts of Parliament passed specifically to control their lives, and a 1901 Commonwealth Act aimed at deportation of the majority of ASSI. There are many similarities between the conditions faced by ASSI and Indigenous Queenslanders. This is not the place to argue the case; in a sense this whole Introduction and bibliography does that in outline. Over recent years, there have been discussions between lawyers and ASSI associations over the possibility of mounting a class action. It may well be that these discussions will continue, now in part fuelled by the July 2019 award by the Queensland Government. The misuse of the wages of dead Islanders held in the Pacific Islanders Fund and the possible misuse of Islander wages and bank accounts—just as with similar funds belonging to Indigenous Queenslanders—may yet drive a class action against both the Queensland and Australian Governments (Moore 2013). The Australian Government is implicated because it used Queensland's Fund to pay for the deportation process in the 1900s. ASSI intermarriage with both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples adds complexity, as does the involvement of various Pacific Islands' nations.

Finally, I would like to offer some suggestions for future researchers. There are three significant unknowns. One is life on the voyagers from and to Queensland. The lists of sources that I have provided make it relatively easy to research this further. These voyages were for between two and six months in small sailing ships of between 80 and 200 tons. The voyages were a significant part of the labour trade. Historians and the media have concentrated on the few famous voyages when kidnapping or some other disaster occurred. Even an uneventful voyage must have been a traumatic experience, as they were travelling on small schooners and brigs in crowded and unpleasant new surroundings. At best, conditions on the ships were basic, and at worst, horrific. During bad weather the Islanders were locked below with the hatches on. Being locked in a dark hold with another 100 frightened men for a week at a time during a cyclone, living in vomit and faeces, with food lowered down, would have been an indescribably difficult experience. They also feared pollution from women onboard, and as they could not speak each other's languages they

would have had to use sign language. We can only guess at their responses. However, Fijian Aduru Kuva's 1971 interviews with surviving recruits still in Fiji from the Kwara'ae and Kwaio areas on Malaita put a long-term positive spin on the experience (1974?).

A second area worth further study is ASSI in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. There is an unbalanced emphasis on the events in the nineteenth century, even though there are now fifth and sixth generation Australians ASSI descendants. The ASSI community's own histories to some extent deal with this, but seldom in detail, and academic studies are rare (Mercer 1995; Mercer and Moore 1978, 1993; Moore and Mercer 1978; Gistitin 1990, 1993, 1995 "South, 1995 "Quite"; Fallon 2012, 2015, 2016).

A third area is the history of South Sea Islanders in the Northern Rivers district of New South Wales. Sydney was a major Pacific port onwards from the 1790s, through which Islanders flowed constantly as boats crews, as well as worked on the wharves (Steven 1965; Chappell 1997; Russell, 2012). Some of the Northern Rivers ASSI families seem to have come north from Sydney, rather than south from Queensland. The first reference to Pacific Islanders working in the Northern Rivers is at Cudgen in 1869, possibly transhipped from Brisbane. Others may have come to the Northern Rivers of their own volition from southern Queensland as time-expired labourers in the late 1880s, 1890s and 1900s. Right from 1863, there was a substantial Islander population in the Brisbane region, mainly on cotton (1860s) and sugar plantations on the Logan River, around Redland Bay, and at Caboolture, just 100 kilometres north.

By the 1890s, there were about 100 Islanders employed on the Tweed, and there may have been others further south. The folklore in the community suggests that they were deliberately escaping from Queensland and its restrictions. While there may be some truth in this, the border was porous and I doubt that the Islanders had any real concept of colonial borders. The Commonwealth's deportation order in 1901 also applied to New South Wales, although how it was implemented there is still unknown. There has been so much concentration on Queensland that the flow over the border into New South Wales has been ignored. This affects a sizable community today and caused issues in negotiating with governments at State and Federal levels. There is some writing on the development of the New South Wales sugar industry (Wood 1965, 34–51; Higman 1968 "The", 1968 "Sugar"; Smith 1992) but very little has been written on or by Islanders there (Ithong 1994, 1995; Belleard; Mitchell *et al.* 1998).

I have sorted the bibliographic entries by surnames or organisations, then by years, and by the first alphabetic letter (excluding 'The' and 'A' at the beginning) of a title. The order may not be perfect, particularly where they are several entries under one surname, but it is as correct as I can manage. I should also note that although I have provided the bibliographic list, I have no facilities to make copies of the sources that I hold. Please do not ask me to provide copies as refusal may cause offence. Anyone wanting to access them is welcome to find them in libraries and archives elsewhere. My collection will end up in the Mackay Regional Council library at some time in the future.

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August 2019

## Australian South Sea Islanders Chronology

- 1788-1820s:** Marine products from the Pacific frontier were the most important economic element of British colonialism in eastern Australia until inland exploration opened up pastoral areas west of the coastal ranges. The routes via Torres Strait and west to Asia, or via New Guinea's South Cape and China Strait and through the eastern archipelagoes, were always dangerous because of reefs. They began to be used onwards from the mid-nineteenth century.
- 1790s:** The New South Wales convict settlement at Sydney began in 1788, and in 1793 a food trade in salted pork developed between Tahiti and Sydney. Legally, the Pacific Islands came under the authority of the Governor of New South Wales and were excluded from the monopoly of the British East India Company. There were two types of commodities available: luxury items such as sandalwood, *bêche-de-mer* (trepan), bird's nests and pearlshell which were valuable on the Asian market; and bulky goods such as pork, flax, and timber which found a market in the colony itself. Ships from Sydney also began to travel north to Asia via Melanesia, either traveling through or sailing east around the islands and New Guinea. Pacific Islanders also began to arrive in Australia, at Sydney and later Hobart (1800s), as boats' crews. Whalers and sealers also began operations in the Pacific, working out of New Zealand and other ports.
- 1840s-50s:** Sandalwood traders operated out of Sydney in the 1840s and 1850s, which enabled Pacific Islanders made their way to Sydney as boats' crews. There were always a few working on the docks in Sydney.
- 1847:** The first 122 indentured ASSI from the Loyalty Islands (now included in New Caledonia) and New Hebrides (Vanuatu) were brought to Eden in NSW by entrepreneur Ben Boyd to work on his pastoral properties. The whole venture was a disaster.
- 1860:** The first Pacific Islanders brought to work in Queensland were involved in the *bêche-de-mer* industry at Lizard Island on the Great Barrier Reef off Cape York in North Queensland, and in Torres Strait. Nearly 60 Pacific Islanders were on board William Paddon's *Julia Percy* when the ship arrived at Lizard Islands from Dillon's Bay, Erromango late in 1860, to establish a *bêche-de-mer* station. These men came from Maré, Lifu in the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, and Tanna, Erromango and Aneitym in the New Hebrides. Soon after, Paddon went into partnership with Sydney businessman Robert Towns in the venture. Towns already had pastoral interests in the Gulf of Carpentaria and had been using Torres Strait as a shipping route to India and Mauritius since the 1830s. In 1864, he quit his sandalwood trade in southern Melanesia and concentrated on shipping and his pastoral and agricultural investments in Queensland. Marine exploitation of Torres Strait soon changed from *bêche-de-mer* to pearl shells.
- 1863:** The first 67 South Sea Islanders arrived in Brisbane to work on Robert Towns' cotton plantation, Townsvale, on the Logan River near Beaudesert. There were the first of 62,000 indentured labourers brought in a variety of circumstances (ranging from kidnapping to voluntary enlistment) to work in the Queensland pastoral, maritime and sugar industries, 1863-1904. Quite large numbers came more than once and the overall number of individuals is thought to have been around 50,000. Ninety-five per cent were males aged in their teens to mid-thirties.
- 1863-1870:** All ASSI labourers in Queensland were from the Loyalty Islands (now included in New Caledonia) and the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu).
- 1868:** After pressure from the Emigration Commission and the Colonial Office in London the *Polynesian Labourers Act* was passed by Queensland Parliament, an attempt to regulate the labour trade. The owners of each ship had to enter a £500 bond to be forfeited if any illegal enlistment was proven.
- 1869:** The Queensland Government created a Select Committee on the operation of the *Polynesian Labourers Act*.
- 1870:** Government Agents were employed on all ships in the Queensland labour trade.
- 1871:** London Missionary Society missionaries and teachers arrived in Torres Strait.  
The first Solomon Islanders entered the Queensland labour trade.
- 1872:** Most of the Torres Strait Islands were annexed to Queensland (with a further extension in 1879). Britain passed the *Pacific Islander Protection Act*, an attempt to regulate the labour trade to Queensland and Fiji.

- 1874:** Britain annexed Fiji, which was ceded by paramount chief Cakabou.
- 1875:** Britain passed an amendment to the *Pacific Islander Protection Act* as a further attempt to govern the labour trade to Queensland and Fiji. This contained provisions for the establishment of the Western Pacific High Commission.
- 1875:** A measles epidemic swept through the eastern Pacific Islands. In some island groups around one-quarter of the population died.
- 1877:** The Western Pacific High Commission (based in Fiji) was established by Britain with jurisdiction over British subjects on specified Pacific Islands.
- 1880:** The Queensland Government passed the *Pacific Islanders Labourers Act*, the first major legislative revision since 1868. In 1879 after a high death rate amongst Islanders in Maryborough an investigation recommended that separate Central Hospitals for Islanders be constructed in each district with a substantial Islander population, with a designated doctor in charge. Before this, employers had either operated small hospitals on their plantations, or to call a doctor to attend sick Islanders: many did neither, preferring to save the money.
- 1882:** The Anglican Selwyn Mission was begun by Mary Robinson at Mackay.
- 1882-84:** Queensland labour recruiting was extended into the archipelagoes east of New Guinea.
- 1883:** Queensland attempted to annex South-east New Guinea.
- 1883-1890:** The first 'Polynesian hospital' was constructed in Maryborough in 1883 and the second at Mackay in 1884. The third was built at Geraldton (Innisfail) in 1885, although it operated as a ward in the town's central hospital, and a fourth was built at Ingham in 1886. Finances were provided from a capitation fee paid annually, with the wages of deceased Islanders diverted into public funds. However, the cost outweighed the funds available and when the closure of the labour trade was announced for the end of 1890 the government also closed all four hospitals. They were never a success medically as the mortality rate remained high. When the labour trade resumed in 1892, the Islander hospitals stayed closed.
- 1884:** Britain annexed south-east New Guinea as a Protectorate. Germany annexed north-east New Guinea as a commercial Protectorate.
- The Queensland Government passed an amendment to the 1880 Act to limit the employment of ASSI to tropical agriculture but created an exemption category known as Ticket Holders who had arrived before September 1879 and were exempt from all further special legislation. There were 835 in 1884, 716 in 1892, 704 in 1901 and 691 in 1906.
- 1884-85:** The Queensland Government established a Royal Commission which examined recruitment of labour in New Guinea and adjacent islands.
- 1885:** Queensland ceased labour recruiting in the archipelagoes east of New Guinea and henceforth recruited only from islands now included in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands, with a few also coming from Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) and Ellice Islands (Tuvalu).
- Because of the fiasco of New Guinea island recruiting, constant complaints about labour recruiting elsewhere and the number of immigrant Melanesians in Queensland, the government decided that the labour trade would cease at the end of 1890.
- Queensland introduced an amendment to the 1880 Act to begin the Pacific Islanders' Fund, partly to distribute the wages of deceased ASSI.
- 1886:** The Queensland Kanaka Mission was begun in Bundaberg by the Young family (more informally the mission had begun in 1882).
- 1888:** Britain and France established a joint naval administration in the New Hebrides.
- A Presbyterian mission to Islanders began at Mackay.
- 1892:** Faced with drought and economic depression, Queensland's Premier Griffith announced the extension of the labour trade "for a definite but limited period of, say ten years".
- A Churches of Christ mission to Islanders began at Childers.
- 1893:** Britain annexed the British Solomon Islands Protectorate; further expanded in 1899.
- A Salvation Army mission to Islanders began at Buderim.
- 1896:** A Baptist mission to Islanders began in Brisbane.



- 1901:** There were 9,327 ASSI in Australia, spread from Torres Strait to the Tweed District in Northern NSW. The new Commonwealth Government of Australia legislated for a 'White Australia Policy', including the *Pacific Islanders Act* which ordered the deportation of all ASSI. The Pacific Islanders' Association was formed in Mackay by Tui Tonga to argue against deportation and to achieve better conditions for ASSI.
- 1903:** Between 1903 and 1906, eight petitions were presented to the Queensland and Commonwealth governments on behalf of ASSI due to be deported. In March, 200 ASSI from Rockhampton petitioned the Governor of Queensland. In September, 3,000 ASSI signed a petition to King Edward VII. The Commonwealth Government introduced the *Sugar Bounty Act* to subsidize sugar produced only with white labour.
- 1904:** After attrition at the end of contracts, there were still 7,879 Islanders in Queensland and a few hundred in New South Wales.
- 1905:** The Governor of Fiji agreed to take some of Queensland's Islander deportees. Prime Minister Watson visited Rockhampton and received a petition from Islanders there.
- 1906:** A Queensland Royal Commission into the Sugar Industry recommended certain categories of ASSI be allowed to remain in Australia. The Pacific Islanders' Association was revived and wrote to Winston Churchill, Secretary of State. 200 Islanders attended a meeting to plan tactics at the Royal Commission. In September Henry D. Tongoa and Johnny Bomassy went to Melbourne to meet with Prime Minister Deakin to discuss the deportation order. In October 1906, the *Pacific Islanders Act* was amended, following the Queensland Royal Commission into the sugar industry. More categories were introduced which enable greater numbers of Islanders to remain in Australia. The QKM, Anglican and Presbyterian Missions to ASSI were closed. The QKM moved to the Solomon Islands and became the South Sea Evangelical Mission (later Church).
- 1907:** 427 ASSI left to work in Fiji. Along with the existing labour recruits there, they form the base of the present-day Solomoni community.
- 1907-08:** Except for the exempted categories, all remaining ASSI were due to be deported. Around 2,000 remained (some illegally) and form the nucleus of the present-day ASSI community.
- 1908:** Britain and France established the New Hebrides Condominium. The Pacific Islanders Branch of the Queensland Immigration Department was closed. Amongst the ASSI who remained, there were 150 farmers in the Mackay district. The trend had been since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to lease small plots of land on steep hill sides, shunned by Europeans, to the Islanders for cane growing.
- 1913:** Queensland's *Sugar Cultivation Act* required non-Europeans to apply for certificates of exemption in order to be employed in any capacity in sugar growing. They were forced to take a reading and writing test of 50 words in any language as directed by the Inspector before they were allowed to grow or cultivate sugar cane in Queensland.
- 1919-21:** Queensland's Arbitration Court ruled that no 'coloured' labour could be employed on cane farms, except where the farm was owned by a countryman, and in 1921 the Court granted preference in employment to members of the Australian Workers Union (AWU). The effect of the 1900s-10s occupational restrictions was to relegate ASSI, notably the original immigrant generation, to the more menial poorly paid and itinerant farm work.
- 1920s:** Banks refused to lend money to ASSI, leaving them increasingly insecure given increasing mechanization and farming costs in the sugar industry. In the 1920s and 1930s most of the ASSI followed prominent Islanders into the Assemblies of God and Seventh-day Adventist Churches. In Rockhampton several families remained Anglican.
- 1930s:** By the late 1930s only a handful of Islander farms remained. In Queensland, elderly ASSI were paid an 'Indigence Allowance' that was converted to an Old Age Pension in 1942 once the restriction on non-Europeans receiving the pension was removed.

- 1934-39:** In Queensland, Pacific Islanders were officially declared to be under the same Acts of Parliament that controlled the lives of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. This move was primarily to include Pacific Islanders living in Torres Strait, and it is unclear how much it was applied to mainland Pacific Islanders. It applied if they were married to Aboriginals, and their children came under the Act.
- 1940s-50s:** After the war occupational restrictions were lifted, however, the increasing mechanization of the harvesting process in the sugar industry meant that jobs as cane-cutters and field labourers disappeared and ASSI men were forced to find labouring or blue collar work (often less well paid), in the sugar mills, on the railways, or in the new coal towns in central Queensland. In the non-sugar areas, they engaged in cash-crop farming, in tropical fruit production (such as banana growing in northern NSW), or in seasonal employment in the meatworks in Rockhampton, Mackay and Bowen. Torres Strait Islanders began to migrate to the Queensland mainland as the maritime economy in the Strait declined.
- 1960:** University of Queensland history postgraduate student Peter Tan interviewed 19 ASSI, including some of the original immigrant generation. He did not complete his research or publish his findings. No copies of his interviews have been found.
- 1963:** Alex Daniel Solomon, from Guadalcanal Island, died at Mackay in 1963, the second last of the original immigrants there.
- 1964:** Ohnonee (Thomas Robbins) died at Mackay, the last of the original immigrant generation in that district.  
Linguist Tom Dutton recorded interviews with Peter Santo and Tom Lammon, two of the last survivors of the original immigrant generation in North Queensland. These interviews were published in 1980. Tom Lammon died on 11 August 1965 and Peter Santo died on 27 March 1966, the latter said to have been 105 years old.
- 1965:** The Queensland Government removed legislative restrictions imposed on non-Europeans, principally through the *Aliens Act of 1965*, which repealed legislation such as the *Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913*.
- 1967:** Faith Bandler, an ASSI from northern NSW, was one of the main activists involved in the Australian referendum which enabled Indigenous Australians to be included in the national census and for the Commonwealth Government to take control of Indigenous affairs, which previously had been under state control.  
Peter Corris, then a PhD student at the Australian National University, interviewed descendants of ASSSI in Solomon Islands, Fiji and Australia. None of his interviews have survived, although they are used in his thesis (1970) and book *Passage, Port and Plantation* (1973).  
George Dan (also known as George Melekula) died in Cairns, thought to have been the last of the original immigrant generation. (The death may have occurred early in 1968.)
- 1972:** The Australian South Sea Islanders United Council was established by Robert and Phyllis Corowa. By 1974 there were branches in several areas of NSW and Queensland.
- 1973-81:** Between 1973 and 1981, Clive Moore and Patricia Mercer (in the latter years, PhD students at La Trobe University and James Cook University (Moore) and the Australian National University (Mercer)), recorded more than 100 tapes with ASSSI, all in Queensland.
- 1975:** Papua New Guinea became an independent nation.  
The first national ASSIUC conference was held in Mackay in May. Delegates attended from Ayr, Mackay, Rockhampton, Townsville, Gladstone, Nambour, Bowen, Tweed Heads, Brisbane, Sydney and Canberra.  
Prompted by an ASSIUC delegation, in August 1975 the Commonwealth Government established an Interdepartmental Committee (IDC) to investigate ASSI claims of disadvantage.
- 1976:** The Queensland Government under Premier Bjelke-Petersen appointed Noel Fatnowna as Special Commissioner for Pacific Islanders (within a Commission for Aboriginals, Torres Strait Islanders and ASSI) and recognized ASSI as a “distinct ethnic group”. Noel Fatnowna held this position until 1984 when the Commission replaced by an Aboriginal Coordinating Council, the functions of which excluded ASSI.

- 1977:** Faith Bandler published *Wacvie*.  
An Australian Government Interdepartmental Committee Report into ASSI was published in July 1977. It concluded that “Their socioeconomic status and conditions have generally been below those of the white community thus giving the group the appearance of being a deprived coloured community.” Thirty-seven per cent of those surveyed lived below the poverty line (as defined by the Federal Commission of Inquiry into Poverty). The comparative figure for the total Australian community was 12.5 per cent.
- 1978:** Solomon Islands became an independent nation.
- 1979:** *The Forgotten People*, three hours of ABC Radio programs of interviews with ASSI, produced by Matthew Peacock, were put to air, and published as a book, *The Forgotten People: A History of the Australian South Sea Island Community*, edited by Clive Moore, in 1979.
- 1970s:** By the late 1970s, ASSIUC ceased to be a political force, beset by internal rivalries and splits, although in name ASSIUC continued to operate until about 1989.
- 1980:** Vanuatu became an independent nation.  
Faith Bandler and Len Fox published *Marani in Australia*.
- 1984:** Faith Bandler published *Welou: My Brother*.
- 1988:** The Queensland Government gave ASSI full access to the programs of the Department of Community Services, which primarily catered for Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders.  
Thomas Lowah published *Ebed Mer (My Life)*, about life in Torres Strait.
- 1989:** Beset by internal rivalries and splits, ASSIUC ceased to operate.  
Noel Fatnowna published *Fragments of a Lost Heritage*.  
Faith Bandler published *Turning the Tide: A Personal History of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders*.
- 1991:** Evatt Foundation released a report on ASSI.
- 1992:** The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission published *The Call for Recognition of ASSI*.  
Mabel Edmund published *No Regrets*.
- 1994:** The Commonwealth Government recognized ASSI as a disadvantaged ethnic group and recognition day became 25 August each year.  
An Australian South Sea Islander flag was created in 1994. This flag is part of the effort to achieve recognition and equity by the modern-day descendants of Pacific Islanders transported to Queensland and north coast New South Wales. Islander people often refer to themselves by the acronym ASSI (Australian South Sea Islanders), distinct from but often incorrectly associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait people. These “other” Islander people are also very much Australians: they have been prominent in public life including in sport and the movement supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples

### THE FLAG



The ASSI flag was first designed in 1994 by Tony Burton, of Flags Australia, in consultation with the executive of Australian South Sea Islanders United Council (ASSIUC). There was a recognised need for a simple flag that would stand with distinction alongside other flags and represent this distinct community. That was no small consideration at a time when the condition of the Australian South Sea Islanders was beginning to attract international attention—the ASSIUC President having addressed the UN Special Committee on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Geneva in 1994—and finally in August 1994, belated recognition by the Commonwealth Government. The flag was formally adopted in 1998 by ASSIUC. Initially, the flag was presented in the proportions 3x5, however it is now made in the proportion 1x2 as most flags in Australia are made longer so as to be the same size as the Australian national flag when displayed with it.

The flag is unique in design, incorporating colours resonant to people with forebears from the Solomons (blue, white, green and gold) and Vanuatu (green, gold and black), as well as some other parts of the South Pacific (blue and white).

### MEANING OF THE DESIGN

1. The BLACK column next to the flag pole—the most important part of any flag—is for the people standing strong in community and surviving despite the hardships and injustices of the past.
  2. The horizontal BLACK band stands for their continuing in the future.
  3. BRIGHT BLUE recalls their origins from the South Pacific, the sea and the sky.
  4. BRILLIANT GREEN is for the land and especially islander peoples' contribution to agriculture (including sugar cane) and to the development of our home, Australia. It also stands their hope for the future and for their children.
  5. Deep GOLD stands for the sunshine and the sand of their original island homes and that of their homeland now, Australia.
  6. The SOUTHERN CROSS reminds them of their home in the South Pacific, and as it is the badge that Australians associate with; it emphasises that they are also Australians.
- 1995:** An Australian Government ASSI historical exhibition toured in Australia and the Pacific. NSW Premier Bob Carr sent a memorandum to his departments asking that they support inclusion of ASSI as a special needs group.
- 1996:** Nasuven Enares began the ASSI Secretariat, located initially in Sydney.  
<http://www.assis.org.au/>  
 Jacqui Wright and Francis Wimbis published *The Secret: A Story of Slavery in Australia*.  
 Mabel Edmund published *Hello, Johnny!*  
 An exhibition, *Australian South Sea Islanders – Storian blong olgeta we oli bin go katem sugarken long Ostrelia*, was mounted by the Australian National Maritime Museum.
- 1997:** In collaboration with the ASSI community, Clive Moore, Max Quanchi and Sharon Bennett published two books of curriculum materials: *Australian South Sea Islanders: A Curriculum Resource for Primary Schools*, and *Australian South Sea Islanders: A Curriculum Resource for Secondary Schools*, funded by Australian Agency for International Development, in association with the Department of Education, Queensland.
- 2000:** The Queensland Government recognized ASSI as a disadvantaged ethnic community. Cristine Andrew and Penny Cook edited *Fields of Sorrow: An Oral History of Descendants of the South Sea Islanders (Kanakas)*. It featured Cedric Andrew, born in 1911.
- 2001:** *Refined White* – Centenary of Federation Project. Australian Sugar Industry Museum  
 This touring exhibition and secondary school resource examined the struggle that governments and the sugar industry had in meeting the demands of the White Australia policy and its social impact on Australia's the South Sea Islander people. The project celebrated the culture and contribution of the Australian South Sea Islander people. The exhibition toured 12 national, state and regional venues in ACT, Queensland and NSW, 2001–2004.
- 2002:** “Across the Coral Sea: Loyalty Islanders in Queensland” exhibition.

- A photographic exhibition based on historical images from the John Oxley Library within the State Library of Queensland, which portrayed the way in which South Sea Islanders arrived, lived and worked in Queensland in the nineteenth century.
- Marilyn Lake published *Faith: Faith Bandler, Gently Activist*.
- Teresa Fatnowna published *Faith of Our Fathers: A journey of Three Fatnownas, 1866-1999*.
- 2011:** “*My Island Homes*”, An exhibition at the Floating Lands Festival, Butter Factory Arts Centre, Cooroy, Sunshine Coast Regional Council.
- Collin Terare and the Brisbane community hosted an ASSI / ni Vanuatu delegate forum at Bald Hills Queensland which initiated the call for the establishment of a national voice.
- Australian South Sea Islander United Council Rockhampton and District Inc. <http://juwarki.org.au/?p=1286>
- ASSI (Port Jackson) were nominated the coordinating committee to deliver the first of a series of Wantok capacity building conference.
- 2012:** Cedric Andrew, born at Sandy Creek outside of Mackay in 1911, died on 16 October 2012. He was then the oldest ASSI in Australia. In 1931 he married Marva Rutha Malasum with whom he had seven children. His paternal grandparents Charles Querro and Lucy Zimmie were kidnapped from Ambae (Oba) Island in Vanuatu.
- The Wantok 2012 conference was held in Bundaberg. ASSI (Port Jackson) branch was elected as the Interim National Body, with the main coordinators Emelda Davis and Danny Togo.
- Sydney Lord Mayor, Clover Moore opened 2012—20 Years on since The Call for Recognition dinner for the ASSI.PJ.\
- 2013:** The 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the first ASSI in August 1863 was commemorated in various places in Queensland and New South Wales in various forms, from formal dinners to exhibitions and booklets.
- Joskeleigh: Homeward bound*, Joskeleigh Museum.
- Exhibitions as part of ASSI 150 SEQ Commemorative Program.
- Echoes ASSI 150*, The Centre, Beaudesert.
- The Australian South Sea Islanders*, State Library of Queensland.
- Journeys to Sugaropolis*, City of Gold Coast.
- Two islands, one home, the story of belonging*, Artspace Mackay.
- Sugar*, Queensland Art Gallery
- Journey blong yumi: Australian South Sea Islander 150*, Logan Art Gallery.
- Key Events as part of ASSI 150 SEQ Commemorative Program:
- Weaving the Way*, Multicultural Art Centre; *Memories of a Forgotten People*, Cultural Precinct, Brisbane; *This is Our Story, Commemorative Walk*, Harvest Point Christian Outreach Centre, Beaudesert.
- Publications as part of ASSI 150 SEQ Commemorative Program: *Journeys to Sugaropolis*, City of Gold Coast; ASSI 150 SEQ Newsletters August 2012 - November 2013, ASSI 150 SEQ Committee.
- ASSI 150 Website, ASSI 150 SEQ Committee <http://www.assi150.com.au>; ASSI Blog, State Library Queensland <http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/assi/>
- A Commemoration Ceremony was held in Port Vila on 28<sup>th</sup> July in remembrance of the anniversary of the first ni-Vanuatu to go to NSW and Queensland, hosted by the Vanuatu Government. The PM called for an apology for descendants. Guest speakers Dr Bonita Mabo, Emelda Davis and symposium participants Professor Clive Moore, and Associate Professor Doug Hunt. Over 100 ASSI community delegates attended the ceremonies.
- The New South Wales Government recognized ASSI as a disadvantaged ethnic group. The motion was put by the Member for Sydney, Alex Greenwich. There were seven recommendations that received bipartisan support.
- Sydney University partnered with the ASSI.PJ to deliver ‘*Sydney Ideas—Human Rights for a Forgotten People*’ Symposium in recognition of 150 years for ASSIs in Queensland.
- A digital media campaign focused on historical awareness of the atrocities faced by SSI/ASSI was produced by the ASSI.PJ in recognition of 150 years for Queensland.

The Commonwealth approved \$50,000 under the 'Community Cohesion' grants initiative to capacity build in ASSI communities. Over 1-3 November, the Wantok 2013 conference was held at the Queensland State Library in Brisbane. The result was nomination of a national representative secretariat and board.

Wantok Tweed Heads was held between 7-8 December in support of a national voice, supported by 200 community members. ASSI (Port Jackson) was elected the national secretariat.

**2014:** Wantok 2014 Mackay QLD was held between 28-31 March and saw the election of a national governance working group to develop a national constitution with the support of Gilbert and Tobin law firm, Sydney, NSW.

May 15<sup>th</sup> National Solomon Islands Museum 'Blackbirding' exhibition as a part of the International Museums day saw ASSI delegates participate, on invitation from the Solomon Islands Government, as a part of the opening ceremony speeches and in the day 2 symposium accompanied by Professor Clive Moore, Clacy Fatnowna, Emelda Davis and Marcia Eves.

Raechel Ivey (née Togo) was the first Australian South Sea Islander to obtain dual citizenship with Vanuatu, September under a new provision of the Vanuatu Constitution.

September 1<sup>st</sup> saw a Federal Parliament motion of regret and a call for inclusion of ASSI in census, education, training and health programs as well as diabetes research.

Emelda Davis, chairwoman of the ASSI.PJ travelled to Mauritius to present her paper "Australian South Sea Islanders: Indenture or Something Akin to Slavery?" at the 3-5 November Indentured Labour Route International Conference organized by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund. This was the first international academic presentation by an Australian South Sea Islander on the history of ASSI. ASSI (Port Jackson) supported by the Christensen Fund 'Melanesian project' coordinated the inaugural 'Findem Baek Famili' workshop Christensen Capacity-Building Workshop in Honiara, Solomon Islands between 28 November to 1 December.

**2015:** Wantok 2015 NSW Lismore from 19<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> January in collaboration with Shelly Nagas and ASSI.PJ an historical four day capacity building workshop hosted at the Historical Museum. On 15<sup>th</sup> August the National Australian South Sea Islander Association (NASSIA) constitution was adopted with Gilbert and Tobin law firm. The Tweed ASSI Association was nominated as the national body address and ASSI (Port Jackson) elected as the national secretariat and spokesperson. National ASSI Association round table working group was formed representing regions of QLD and NSW supported by the ASSI NSW State Alliance working party.

**2018:** Emelda Davis travelled to Guadeloupe to give a paper "Sugar, slavery and Blackbirding in Australia and the Pacific" at the inaugural Festival International de la Coolitude. Inner West Council Mayor Darcy Byrne move a motion that received bipartisan support to raise annually the ASSI Flag on the official Recognition Day in August, distribute educational resources and commit to a mural in the region. The flag raising was supported strongly by Metropolitan Aboriginal Land Council CEO, Indigenous Peoples Organisation chair and Lagaw Kodo Mir Torres Strait org. ASSI (Port Jackson) delegate spoke at the event.

**2019:** In January there was a meeting in Mackay to form a Queensland-based ASSI association, to be called Queensland South Sea Islanders Association. An interim executive was elected and incorporation procedures begun.

15-17 July, a group of ASSI coordinated by ASSI (Port Jackson) travelled to Fiji to attend the Forced Labour and Migration Conference at Fiji University. Emelda Davis facilitated the Blackbirding plenary.

17-24 August, Vanuatu's Napen Napen Women's Group visited the Museum of Australian Democracy in Canberra, followed by a series of events in Sydney, culminating in women's workshops and an appearance at the Sugar Fest, all coordinated by ASSIPJ.

24 August, inaugural Sugar Fest, Pyrmont Bay Park, Sydney, for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of recognition of ASSI. Performance by Torres Strait Islands Cultural, Group, and Vanuatu's Napen Napen Women's Group, plus music by Johnny Nicol, Shireen Malamoo, Gavin Ware, Cynthia Drummond, Ray Minniecon, Gracelyn Smallwood, Maggie Walsh, Alfred Henaway, Pat Powell, Yaw Glymin and Steve Clisby. ASSIPJ conception, planning and fund raising.

25 August: 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ASSI Recognition Day.

## **Print Publications and Archives by Australian South Sea Islanders**

(These publications are repeated in the General Bibliography. There are an ever increasing number of family history and genealogy booklets being produced for reunions. And over recent decades as government grant money has been made available for community development, a large number of reports and other publications have been produced. I have listed only a few of these family histories and reports that I know. Where I cannot recognise a ASSI author name I have listed the source only in the main bibliography. My apologies if I have slighted anyone. We would welcome advice on sources that should be added to this list.)

Andrew, Cristine, and Rosemary Kennedy.

1995 *A Community History of the Homebush Mission Hall, 1892-1996*. Mackay: Cristine Andrew.

Andrew, Cristine, and Penny Cook, eds.

2000 *Fields of Sorrow: Oral History of the Mackay South Sea Islanders (Kanakas) and their Descendants*. Mackay, Qld: Cristine Andrew.

Australian South Sea Islanders United Council (ASSIUC).

1975-2008 SLQ 28617, Boxes 1794-17300.

Documents, research papers, photographs, video tapes, diaries and interviews.

documents, research papers, photographs, video tapes, diaries and interviews. Box 17294: material about the establishment of the Australian South Sea Islanders United Council Incorporated; the Constitution of the Australian South Sea Islanders United Council Rockhampton and District Branch Incorporated; correspondence; material relating to conferences; meeting minutes; presidents' reports; branch reports (1975-2000); documents created before 1991 (mainly correspondence). Box 17295: documents and correspondence (1992); documents, correspondence, meeting notes (1993); various papers, press releases, conference papers and conference programmes, branch reports, correspondence (1994). Box 17296: various papers, press releases, conference papers and conference programmes, branch reports, correspondence (1994); grant applications, conference papers (1995); documents (1996). Box 17297: documents (1997 to 2008); diaries, notebooks; ASSIUC newsletters (1991 to 1997); publications and school resources about Australian South Sea Islanders. Box 17298: documents relating to the Australian South Sea Islanders United Council's application for membership of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization; articles and material relating to the teaching of Australian South Sea Islander history at primary and secondary schools; photographs; Nasuven Enares Interview 1975 (35 minutes). Box 17299: publications and brochures; newspaper cuttings; Enares family photographs; a video tape. Box 17300: 9 videotapes (V-60H).

1988, 2003 SLQ 28603 Box 16807.

Thirteen micro-cassettes, one fax printout, photographs and four copies of letterhead stationery. This collection comprises thirteen micro-cassettes, possibly meetings conducted with Australian South Sea Islander communities by the Evatt Foundation in North Queensland towns. According to the accompanying handwritten list the micro-cassettes cover Weipa, Ayr, Mackay, Rockhampton, and the Evatt Foundation. Also included are two photographs of the Santo Family Park and the plaque commemorating the Santo family at Biggara Creek, Gold Coast. Also, four sheets of letterhead stationery

- for the Australian South Sea Islanders United Council Inc., and, National Secretariat Service for Australian South Sea Islanders.
- ASSIUC Rockhampton and District Branch.
- 1997 *Resource Book: Introducing South Sea Islander Culture into Child Care Centres/Family Day Care*. Rockhampton.
- Bandler, Faith.
- 1977 *Wacvie*. Adelaide: Rigby.
- 1984 *Welou, My Brother*. Sydney: Wild and Woolley and Aboriginal Artists Agency.
- 1989 *Turning the Tide: A Personal History of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Bandler, Faith, and Len Fox.
- 1980 *Marani in Australia*. Adelaide: Rigby.
- 1983 *The Time Was Ripe: A History of the Aboriginal-Australian Fellowship*. Chippendale: Alternative Publishing Cooperative.
- Bellar, S. *et al.*
- nd *Tweed in Harmony: Bridge to the Past. Stories from ASSI in the Tweed district. Tweed Heads*.
- Doyle, Justin Grahame Fatnowna, Teleai Ketchell.
- 2000 *Three Among Many: A Collection of Life Stories from Mackay's Aboriginal, Torres Strait and Australian South Sea Islander Elders*. Mackay: Info Pub.
- Edmund, Mabel.
- 1992 *No Regrets*. St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.
- 1996 *Hello, Johnny!* Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press.
- Fatnowna Family Archive.
- Noel Fatnowna (1929 to 1991), from Mackay, was well known among the Australian descendants of the Solomon Islanders indentured labourers in the late nineteenth century. He was paramount in re-establishing links between the Malaita and Mackay. His book, *Fragments of a Lost Heritage* (1989), written with Roger Keesing, tells the story of reuniting his family and of his childhood in Mackay.
- These items belonged to Noel Fatnowna, son of Harry Norman Fatnowna, the Australian-born son of Kwailui and Orrani, who were labour recruits from Fataleka, East Malaita, Solomon Islands. A short history of the family is included in the accounts book listed below. *Archive Location: 6L: NF/1 Family accounts and notebook 1939-1960; NF/2 Family Bible. Dated 1921, St. Margaret's Missions.*
- <http://libserver.jcu.edu.au/specials/Archives/fatnowna.html> [I think this should be St Mary's Anglican mission church, not St Margaret's.]
- Fatnowna, Noel.
- 1989 *Fragments of a Lost Heritage*. Roger Keesing, ed., Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Fatnowna, Teresa.
- 2002 *Faith of Our Fathers: A Journey of Three Fatnownas 1866-1999*. Christine Fatnowna, ed. Mackay, Qld: Info Pub.
- Ithong, Johnny.
- 1994 *History and the South Sea Islanders on the Tweed*. Coolangatta, Qld: Johnny Ithong.
- 1995 *Memoirs of My 80 Years of Work in the Areas of Tweed-Brisbane*. Coolangatta, Qld: Johnny Ithong.
- Lowah, Thomas.



- 1988 *Eded Mer (My Life)*. Kuranda, Qld: Rams Skull Press.
- Manaway, Julie, Tracey Manaway, Cynthia McCarthy, Stephen Tatow, eds.
- 1996 *Viti Family, Descendants of Charlie Viti*. Mackay: Viti Book Committee.
- Mitchell, Elayne, Christine Salisbury, Phyllis Corowa, Bronwyn Mitchell and Wendy Foley.
- 1998 *Australian South Sea Islanders in the Tweed Valley*. Lismore: Northern Rivers Institute for Health Research.
- Morris, Lyn, and Leonie Yow-Yeh, eds.
- 1992 *The Yow-Yeh Family: the Australian Generations, 1878-1992*. Rockhampton. Philipoom, Toni.
- 2008 *The History of Joskeleigh and its People, Including the Full Register of the Joskeleigh State School*. Joskeleigh: Joskeleigh Community Association.
- Santo, William Charles
- 2016 *Maggie and Charley Santo: The History of the Santo Family of Charters Towers*. Southport, Qld: Keeaira Press.
- South Sea Islanders Tree Naming Project Committee.
- 1998 *The South Sea Islander Garden of Memories*. Mackay: Mackay City Council.
- Stone, Mariam, and Stephen Baggow.
- 1994 *Coming Together: A Reconciliation Project of Mackay City Council*. Mackay: Mackay City Council.
- Waite, Sue.
- 2000 *Drumming the Story: It's Our Business: Mackay & District Australian South Sea Islander Association Protocols Guide*. Mackay: Mackay & District Australian South Sea Islander Association.
- Willie, Lloyd, ed.
- 1998 *History of Kanaka Town*. Rockhampton: Kanaka Town Committee.
- Wright, Jacqui, in association with Francis Wimbis.
- 1996 *The Secret: A Story of Slavery in Australia*. Gin Gin, Qld: Wimbis and Wright.

### **Television and Radio Documentaries, Video Series, Blogs and Websites**

(Not repeated in the main list. As the digital age progresses there are a growing number of sites that mention ASSI.)

- 1899 South Sea Islanders Cutting Cane. This clip filmed in 1899 is one of the few pieces of footage of Melanesian labourers cutting cane in Queensland. The clip is held by National Film and Sound Archives. The workers stack the cane onto a wagon while their supervisor keeps a watchful eye. This footage was taken by the official photographer of the Queensland Department of Agriculture, Frederick Charles Wills, and his assistant Henry William Mobsby. The department commissioned them to capture scenes of Queensland agricultural life using a static Lumière Cinematographe <https://aso.gov.au/titles/historical/ssisland-cutting-cane/clip1/>. [I am not sure quite where to position this item, but its worth including as the first moving pictures of ASSI.]
- 1969 *Pastures of the Blue Crane*. 6 x 30 minute episode. Producer: Brett Porter. This series was based on a children's novel by Hesba Brinsmead (1965). The series was filmed around Tweed Heads, New South Wales. Storyline: After her father dies, feisty Melbourne teenager Rhyll Mereweather discovers a family property and estranged

grandfather she never knew existed. She moves to the run-down family property on the north coast of New South Wales with her grandfather and together they begin a new life of rural adventure. She realises that she must work hard to save the farm and is shocked to discover much more about her past than she bargained for.

A reviewer on IMDb says: “Based on the novel by Hesba Brinsmead, this was the first Australian TV series to address racism in any meaningful way. Ryhl Merewether, played by Jeannie Drynan, finds herself dumped on a northern NSW banana plantation after her father dies. She hates it and hates the people, including a half-caste labourer (Harold Hopkins) who wants to go to university and his crippled old Melanesian grandfather, on the plantation, even more.

Her journey of discovery, including her realisation only after the death of the old man, that he was her grandfather and she is the sister of the plantation labourer, was handled remarkably well for a time when Australia was still pursuing a white-only immigration program and discrimination against black Australians was endemic.

Jeannie Drynan’s best line in the series “Now I know what it’s like to be coloured and it doesn’t feel any different” was a big step for Australian TV and signalled a move away from comfortable drama in prime time.”

Also see the quest for re-release: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-10-28/pastures-of-the-blue-crane-revived-for-fans/10419244>

- 1975 Interview with Faith Bandler in the De Berg Tapes (839) held by the National Library of Australia.
- 1975 *The Islanders*. Australian Broadcasting Commission Television (“Peach’s Australia”).
- 1978 *Forgotten People*. Australian Broadcasting Commission Television (“Big Country”).
- 1978 *The Forgotten People: A history of the Australian South Sea Island community*. This ABC Broadband radio series researched and presented by Matt Peacock was first broadcast 10–12 January 1978. [The programs were published in 1979, edited by Clive Moore.]
- 1989 *Kidnapped*. Milson’s Print, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), July. Authors David Leonard and Ron Drynan.
- 1990 *Kidnappers in Paradise: The Story of Slavery in the Pacific*. A three part docu-entertainment series for television, using documentary, drama, comedy, prints, drawings, anthropology, tribal dance and Pacific Islands theatre. Sydney: Lucky Country Productions. [This is the script, but as far as I know the series was never made.]
- 1992 *Dark Cargoes: The Australian Slaving System*. Warwick, Qld: Greenapple Media. Video cassette (VHS). Writer/Director Tony Matthews; Executive Producer Lensie Matthews; Narrator: Ray Marsh. UQ Library HD4875.A84 D38 1992.
- 1992 *Gammin Paradise*. Sydney ABC. Producers and Directors Daniel Bobongie and Martin Rooke; Narrator and post-production Llew Cleaver. UQ Library HD4875.A84 G36 1992.
- 1993 *Return to Vanuatu*. SBS Television (“Dateline”), September.
- 1994 *Faith Bandler*. SBS Television (“Australian Biographies”).
- 1995 *Sugar Slaves: History of Australia’s Slave Trade*. Sydney: Film Australia. Director and Co-Producer Trevor Graham; Producer Penny Robbins; Writer Jean-Jacques Portail. UQ Library HD4875.A84 S84 1995.
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=I4\\_zbkffAY4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=I4_zbkffAY4)
- 1995 Australian South Sea Islanders Discover the Past. Joe and Monica Leo travel from Rockhampton to Vanuatu to explore their family connections. [This is suitable for use in

- the National Year 9 and 10 Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship. Historical Perspectives. <https://dl.nfsa.gov.au/module/699/> The video clip can be downloaded.]
- 2004 *Moreton Sugar Mill. The Last Crush: Closure of the Moreton Mill.* Maroochy Shire Council.
- 2006 *Stori Blong Yu Mi.* Crossroad Arts, Mackay, documentary, launched 17 May.
- 2008 Emelda Davis, Producer, Roots Music funding \$180,000: An Indigenous perspective on the prolific world music scene in NSW, 28 X 58 minute episodes broadcast on NITV Foxtel network in 2008 – 2009 and in reruns, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HBdNOAWJjA>
- 2008 Emelda Davis, Producer, Director; NITV, National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Basketball Association (NATSIBA) Championships \$540,000. Series1: Darwin 2008, Series2: Victoria 2010, Series3: Adelaide 2011. (18 x 56min series per location inclusive of 3 minute local stories per ep), 2008-2011 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uED7Z31cTwA>
- 2009 History of the Australian Sugar Industry compiled by Kim Thackeray, Cane growers. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqX4K1E8NOM>
- 2010 Emelda Davis, Producer, Wiritjiribin the lyrebird dance funding \$10,000, choreographed by Mathew Doyle, story by Francis Bodkin. Western Sydney educational distribution, 2010 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xoPrz6CgfnE&t=65s>
- 2010 Emelda Davis, Producer, Department of Health & Aging funding \$54,000; Closing the gap Campaign. 'Indigenous Chronic Disease'. South & Western Australia Medical Centre's web-clip series, 2010.
- 2010 Emelda Davis, Producer, Screen Australia, ABC TV development funding \$30,000 for trailer 'Black is inclusive' the Carole Johnson story. Production companies Onyx Management Group, Bower Bird Films, 2010 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ARwut0xqcw>
- 2010 Emelda Davis, Producer, Department of Health & Aging funding \$54,000; Closing the gap Campaign. 'Indigenous Chronic Disease'. South & Western Australia Medical Centre's web-clip series, 2010
- 2011 Islanders Hand cutting sugar cane, Home Hill, Queensland. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6bLA8LjqJow>
- 2012 *Mabo.* 1 hour and 43 minutes. A TV movie directed by Rachel Perkins, about the life of Eddie Koiki Mabo and his successful quest to claim Mer (Murray) Islands in Torres Strait as indigenous land, thus overturning the legal fiction of *terra nullius*. Mabo is played by Jimi Bani. His wife Bonita Mabo, from Halifax near Ingham and of Australian South Sea Islander descent, is played by Deborah Mailman. However, to the disgrace of an otherwise good film, never once is her ancestry identified.
- 2013 Blackbirding anniversary marked in Queensland. SBS Television. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ekt4arD4Ts>
- 2013 The Australian South Sea Islander Collection. Queensland State Archives. [Video of accessing ASSI records in QSA. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmz4e2flozU>]
- 2013 Dennis Bobongie: Australian South Sea Islanders 150 years: what does it mean? State Library of Queensland video. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1Yk7zX-2\\_U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1Yk7zX-2_U)
- 2013 Mal Meninga and his brother Jeffrey: Heritage as Australian South Sea Islanders.

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0NABf4pvO0>
- 2013 Joe Eggmosses: Australian South Sea Islanders: what does it mean? State Library of Queensland. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v3emME6J1X0>
- 2013 Sonia Minniecon: Australian South Sea Islanders, 150 years: what does it mean? State Library of Queensland. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eg7tpZ\\_U9ss](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eg7tpZ_U9ss)
- 2013 Marion Healey, My Stori as an Australian South Sea Islander. <https://www.pinterest.com.au/mystoriblongme/my-stori-as-an-australian-south-sea-islander/>
- 2013 Emelda Davis, South Sea Islander Heritage in Australia, for Wantok 2013 Australian South Sea Islanders National Forum, November 1-3, 2013. Waskam opening speech <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thKVtqJhddU>
- 2013 Emelda Davis, Writer, Commonwealth Government Grant of \$50,000 awarded in 2013 to deliver three capacity building workshops across the Australian South Sea Islander communities in Brisbane, Tweed Heads and Mackay. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/acquittal-wantok-capacity-building-project.pdf>
- 2014 State Library of Queensland Blog: Australian South Sea Islander. <http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/assi/>
- 2014 Blackbirding Exhibition: Solomon Islands National Museum, 2014. Video by Emelda Davis. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQPGmWktGyk> [38 minutes: a good video of a visit by ASSI to Honiara for the opening a Blackbirding exhibition at the National Museum.]
- 2014 Emelda Davis, Tanna Island, Vanuatu chief naming ceremony at Half Road Nakamal in Port Vila with Middlebush clan. Recognition of leadership giving right to speak amongst the chiefs. ‘Waskam’ Woman Tanna, Ambae, Santo 2014
- 2014 Emelda Davis, Writer, Christensen Fund Philanthropy Grant of \$34,000 awarded in 2014 to deliver two capacity building workshops in Vanuatu and The Solomon Islands, highlighting reconnection for families by collaborative exchange between descendants and the sharing of screen culture findings of Wantok 2012/2013 and ideas of cultural reconnection. Applications supported by the Solomon Islands National Museum, with the assistance of Professor Clive Moore and the Vanuatu Indigenous Descendants Association.  
Vanuatu: <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/great-yarn-with-the-womens-group-today/>  
Solomon Islands: <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/solomon-island-workshop-2014/>
- Emelda Davis, Writer, Community Relations Commission NSW Grant of \$20,000 awarded in 2014 to host capacity building workshops for Australian South Sea Islanders in NSW, to further demographic work in the three locations of Tweed Heads, Lismore and Sydney. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/multicultural-advantage-grants-program.pdf>
- 2015 Emelda Davis, Writer, NSW Multicultural, Youth Opportunities Grant of \$49,950 awarded in December 2015 to workshop youth-led and youth-driven community project: Bold Leadership Acknowledgement Culture and Kaston (B.L.A.C.K.). <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/islander-awareness-on-agenda/>
- 2015 Emelda Davis, NSW Council for Pacific Communities (NSWCPC), Award categories ‘Stronger Families’ and ‘Community engagement’ <https://www.facebook.com/nswcpc/posts/880392052032541>

- 2015 Archibald prize entry portrait subject Emelda Davis by Miranda Kichenside. Artwork of a community leader championing the rights of Australian South Sea Islanders – nomination <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/blackbird-archibald-prize-entry-portrait-emelda-davis/>
- 2015 Emelda Davis, Event Manager/Coord, Vanuatu cyclone Pam disaster relief procured \$700,000 dollars of ‘specific need resources, exported 5 x 40HC (forty foot) containers working with Vanuatu Government (NDMO), Overseas Disaster Resources and Tafea Aust. Connection Community, Action Aid Australia, Greenpeace-Rainbow Warrior. [www.ASSI PJ.com.au/rainbow-warrior-arrival-in-port-vila/](http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/rainbow-warrior-arrival-in-port-vila/)
- 2015 Emelda Davis, Vanuatu National Disaster Management Office regarding distribution of procured goods value \$700,000. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/meeting-today-with-national-disaster-relief-office/>
- 2015 Subject, Vanuatu to setup makeshift housing, medical infrastructure. National Indigenous Radio Service, 17 March 2015. <http://www.nirs.org.au/NEWS/Vanuatu-to-set-up-makeshift-housing-medical-infrastructure>
- 2015 Emelda Davis, Writer, NSW Multicultural, Youth Opportunities Grant of \$49,950 awarded in December 2015 to workshop youth-led and youth-driven community project Bold Leadership Acknowledgement Culture and Kastom (B L A C K) <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/islander-awareness-on-agenda/>
- 2016 *Mal Meninga: Who Do You Think You Are?* Season 8. SBS Television. . [https://www.sbs.com.au/programs/who-do-you-think-you-are/article/2016/08/22/mal-meninga-who-do-you-think-you-are-season-](https://www.sbs.com.au/programs/who-do-you-think-you-are/article/2016/08/22/mal-meninga-who-do-you-think-you-are-season-8)
- 2016 Emelda David, NSW Women of the Year (Sydney) <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/sydney-local-women-of-the-year-2016/>
- 2016 Emelda Davis, Facilitator/Coord, Certificate of Appreciation in recognition of services to the community during the 2016 Census of Population and Housing awarded by David Keys, Manager, Targeted Strategies (CaLD), Australian Bureau of Statistics <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/inclusion-of-australian-south-sea-islanders-on-pg18-for-the-2016-census-form/>
- 2016 Event Manager/Coord, Fiji cyclone Winston disaster relief procured 1.5 Million dollars of ‘specific need resources, exported 13 x 40HC (forty foot) containers working with Fiji Consulate, Fiji Government (NDMO) and Overseas Disaster Resources. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10156756934550434&set=pcb.1264726550221991&type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2017 Australia’s Hidden History of Slavery: The government divides to conquer. Sydney Democracy Network. <http://sydneydemocracynetwork.org/tag/australian-south-sea-islanders/>. [Blog site.]
- 2017 Blackbirding: Australia’s history of luring, tricking and kidnapping Pacific Islanders. Will Higginbottam. ABC News Radio, 17 September 2017.
- 2017 Emelda Davis, Rotary Inspirational Women of the Year Award 2017 (NSW & ACT districts) <https://events.humanitix.com.au/inspirational-womens-awards-2018>
- 2017 Blackbirding History. Researched and presented by Nance Haxton. [The programme won silver and bronze awards at the New York Festival’s World’s Best Radio Program. <https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/pm/summer-special-blackbirding/9282632>



- Awards. <https://app.secure.griffith.edu.au/news/2018/06/19/nance-wins-silver-and-bronze-at-new-york-festivals-worlds-best-radio-program-awards/>]
- 2017 Emelda Davis, Sydney Peace Prize Award – nomination, Rotary Inspirational Women of the Year Award 2017 (NSW & ACT districts)  
<https://events.humanitix.com.au/inspirational-womens-awards-2018>
- 2017 SSI PJ Inspirational Wall & Medal – Ultimo Primary School, Sydney NSW.
- 2017 Emelda Davis and Shola Diop: Inspirational Wall & Medal, Ultimo Primary School, Sydney, NSW.
- 2018 Worlds Best Radio Awards Manhattan NYC - Silver & Bronze for ‘Blackbirding’ History documentary Nance Haxton ABC journalist. (see ASSIPJ website resources) <https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/pm/summer-special-blackbirding/9282632>
- 2019 South Sea Islanders. Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Sea\\_Islanders](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Sea_Islanders)
- 2019 ASSI Stories. [https://www.facebook.com/pg/ASSIstories/posts/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/ASSIstories/posts/?ref=page_internal)
- 2019 The Australian South Sea Islanders Secretariat (ASSIS). <http://www.assis.org.au/>
- 2019 Blackmores – Mercie Whellan, Women+Wellbeing Award to Ms. Shireen Malamoo founder ASSIPJ, \$2,000 prize money.
- 2019 ASSIPJ Celebrating Diversity Grant, \$15,000 – Minister for Multiculturalism NSW – Hon Ray Williams (Educational resources/Website).
- 2019 ASSIPJ Stronger Communities Grant, \$20,000 recommended by Hon Tanya Plibersek (Hardware/Office refurbish).
- 2019 Australian South Sea Islander (Port Jackson) Branch, Sydney, Website. This is the most detailed website on ASSI. The site has existed for many years. <http://www.ASSI.PJ.com.au/>;  
[https://www.facebook.com/australiansouthseaislandersportjackson/videos/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/australiansouthseaislandersportjackson/videos/?ref=page_internal)
- 2019 Blue Water Empire. A dramatized-documentary series giving a unique insight into the compelling history of the Torres Strait Islands, told through key stories by the men and women of the region. Three-part series first screened on the ABC in June 2019. [Unfortunately, ASSI barely rate a mention.] <https://iview.abc.net.au/show/blue-water-empire>
- 2019 Kidnapped and Coaxed onto Boats’: A window into Australia’s slave trade, by Ella Archibald-Binge. NITV 29 June.  
<https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2019/06/28/kidnapped-and-coaxed-boats-window-australias-slave-trade>
- 2019 SL Blogs: Australian South Sea Islander. [From the State Library of Queensland.]  
<http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/assi/author/myles/>
- 2019 Documentary ‘Footprints’ made in collaboration with Emelda Davis in support of Australian South Sea Islander 25th Anniversary since 1994 Commonwealth Recognition. Producer, Director, Editor Warwick Moss. <https://youtu.be/m02GMck26B0>

## **(Waskam) Emelda Davis: Presentations, Publications, Key Creative Roles, Author**

- 2008-11 Producer, Director; NITV, National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Basketball Association (NATSIBA) Series1: Darwin 2008, Series2: Victoria 2010, Series3: Adelaide 2011. (18 x 56min series per location inclusive of colour stories), 2008-2011. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEwgZkXP\\_vY&t=34s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEwgZkXP_vY&t=34s)
- 2009 Producer, videography 'Marella the Hidden Mission' Exhibition curator Zona Wilkinson. Penrith Regional Gallery. <http://www.penrithregionalgallery.org/marella-the-hidden-mission/>
- 2010 Producer, 'Black is inclusive' the Carole Johnson story. Contemporary Indigenous Dance documentary funded by Screen Australia, ABC TV, Screen NSW. Production companies Bower Bird Films, Onyx Management Group. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ARwut0xqew>
- 2010 Kevin Coombes story – National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Basketball Association. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oE5KfncUQEM>
- 2012 Guest Speaker as Producer for documentary BLACK IS INCLUSIVE – The Carole Johnson Story, at Groundswell – Creative Thinkers, Creative Solutions, Forum at Carriageworks, Sydney, April 13-14. <http://onyxmanagementgroup.com/2012/04/groundswell-creative-thinkers-creative-solutions/>
- 2013 Invited by the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. Recommendations went through to New York preparatory meeting. <http://www.ASSI.PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/extract-WCIP-recommendations-pg13.pdf>
- 2013 Moderator and Coordinator for symposium The Call For Recognition Of The Australian South Sea Islander Peoples: A Human Rights Issue For A 'Forgotten People', Sydney Ideas lecture, University of Sydney, August 20. Co-presented with Macleay Museum, Australian South Sea Islanders Port Jackson and Australian Association for Pacific Studies (AAPS). <http://sydney.edu.au/news/84.html?newsstoryid=12151> Symposium video: <http://www.ASSIPJ.com.au/sydney-ideas/>
- 2013 Guest presentation (via Skype), 6th Annual International Maroon Conference: Maroons, Indigenous People and Indigeneity, Charlestown Maroons Council, Jamaica.
- 2014 Recommendations to The Pacific Declaration of the Preparatory Meeting for Pacific Indigenous Peoples on the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples, Emelda Davis and Shireen Malamoo, The National Centre for Indigenous Excellence (NCIE), Sydney, 19-21 March.
- 2014 Guest presentation of blackbirding history presentation panel at Oceanscapes: Cooperation across the Pacific, biennial conference of the Australian Association of Pacific Studies, University of Sydney, 22-26 April. (download) Page 13 <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/research/aaps-conference.shtml>
- 2014 Subject, 40,000 Islander descendants finally recognised by Gerry Georgatos, *The Stringer Independent News*, 5th September.

- <http://thestringer.com.au/40000-islander-descendants-finally-recognised-8403#.W2gI TRN97OR>
- 2014 Writer, Australian South Sea Islanders: Indenture or Something Akin to Slavery?: The legal framework for criminal activity, Media Release provided by ASSIPJ, 31 October. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/mauriti-us-presentation->
- 2014 Guest presentation, Australian South Sea Islanders: Indenture or Something Akin to Slavery?, Emelda Davis, keynote presentation at Towards the establishment of the Indentured Labour Route, International Conference, Port Louis, Mauritius, 3-5 November, in acknowledgement of the 180th Anniversary of the first arrival of Indian indentured labour at Aapravasi Ghat on November 02, 1834. Conference was organized and attended by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and UNESCO delegates. This was the first international academic presentation by an Australian South Sea Islander on the history of ASSI, on 2 November. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/mauriti-us-2014/>
- 2015 Writer, 7th Annual International Maroon Conference: Maroons, Indigenous People and Indigeneity, Charlestown Maroons Council, Jamaica, 2—23 June. ‘Blackbirding’ Shame yet to be acknowledged in Australia, Emelda Davis, published as article, June 03. Page 8 <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/7th-conference-magazine-wide.pdf>
- 2015 Guest speaker delivering symposium talk and videography presentation at Competing Voices: The Status Of Indigenous Languages In The French Pacific And Australia, symposium followed by public forum, University of Sydney, 25 May. Presented by the Embassy of France in Australia and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research Network in the Office of the DVC (Indigenous Strategy and Services) <http://sydney.edu.au/arts/french/about/events/index.shtml?id=3627>
- 2015 Guest speaker as audience participant on ASSI history and movement, presenting information packages and ASSI show reel to all speakers, at Indigenous Peoples and Globalization, Sydney Ideas Lecture (Keynote Speaker Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, Special Rapporteur for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations) at the University of Sydney, co-presented by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in conjunction with the Sydney Environment Institute, as part of the Worldwide University Network (WUN) and International Indigenous Research Network (IIRN) events on campus. Following the Symposium Defense of Country: Aboriginal people dealing with the impacts of globalization in Australia, Thursday 30 July. <http://sydney.edu.au/environment-institute/publications/indigenous-peoples-and-globalisation-with-victoria-tauli-corpuz/>
- 2015 Writer, ‘Blackbirding’ shame yet to be acknowledged in Australia, Emelda Davis, The Sydney Morning Herald, 3 June. Contacted by the SMH National to write article after ABC TV Q&A aired statement on blackbirding, 1 June. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/blackbirding-shame-yet-to-be-acknowledged-in-australia-20150603-ghfn9c.html>
- 2015 Writer, 7th Annual International Maroon Conference: Maroons, Indigenous People and Indigeneity, Charlestown Maroons Council, Jamaica, 20-23 June. ‘Blackbirding’ Shame yet to be acknowledged in Australia, Emelda Davis, published as article, 3 June. Page 8 <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/7th-conference-magazine-wide.pdf>



- 2015 Recommendations to the United Nations Human Rights Council - Universal Periodic Review, Sydney based Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) (ASSIPJ) and the ASSI NSW State Alliance, Emelda Davis and Professor Clive Moore, University of Queensland. Inclusion supported by National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/recommendations-United-nations-human-rights.pdf>
- 2016 Subject, President Emelda Davis supports Keep NSW Safe campaign. The NSW Government should protect us all against extremists who promote violence based on race, colour, descent or national, ethnic or ethno-religious origin. Video no4: <http://www.keepnswsafe.com/videos/> Statement: <http://www.keepnswsafe.com/statement/>
- 2016 Guest speaker at Solomon Islands' Honorary Consul General Sir Trevor Garland's annual Solomon Islands' Independence Day celebrations at The Oaks Estate NSW, 38th Anniversary of Independence 9 July. <http://www.ASSI PJ.com.au/solomon-islands-independence-2016/>
- 2017 Pacific Island Mobility Annual Meeting (PLMAM) - Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) - Seasonal Workers Scheme. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10159761470895434&set=gm.1910005739027399&type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2017 Black Lives Matter Yarning Circle with Sydney Peace Foundation and USA founders co-founder Ms. Patrisse Cullors along with co-founders for Toronto chapter - Rodney Diverlus and Longbeach chapter Dawn Modkin. <https://www.firstnationstelegraph.com/socialreigniting-a-global-conversation->
- 2017 'She Is The Real Hero', Sydney World Humanitarian Day march – ActionAid Australia. <https://www.facebook.com/ActionAidAustralia/photos/gm.697203763783449/10159339042860601/?type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2017 Federation des Association de Provinces de Vanuatu en New Caledonia ('FAPVNC'). <https://www.facebook.com/australiansouthseaislandersportjackson/posts/1701908523381639>
- 2017 RARE program gives minority creatives a major advantage [a four-day master class for 80 unusual minds](https://rare-syd.com/) (Google Exec Tara McKenty). <https://rare-syd.com/> (2:58min) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=An-AQDBHvEU>
- 2018 Caribbean Social Forum Woolwich guest speaker – London, UK. [https://www.facebook.com/emelda.davis.1/videos/10161002529735434/?fb\\_dtsg\\_ag=AdwQG4oohTEasFeE1sgAp0WEJV5YQ59nKvRTeVBpP0\\_K\\_Q%3AAAdywEliJujgOCTFdDot6BFoLEh806t0X\\_8--MeNw20pvnA](https://www.facebook.com/emelda.davis.1/videos/10161002529735434/?fb_dtsg_ag=AdwQG4oohTEasFeE1sgAp0WEJV5YQ59nKvRTeVBpP0_K_Q%3AAAdywEliJujgOCTFdDot6BFoLEh806t0X_8--MeNw20pvnA)
- 2018 National Aboriginal Islander Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) events themed 'Because of her we can' at Christian Brothers Catholic school Sydney NSW and Burdekin Dinner – Ayr Queensland <https://www.facebook.com/groups/ASSI PJ/search/?query=shireen%2C%20burdekin>
- 2018 Diaspora Forum with the Australian High Commissioner to Solomon Islands, Queensland - Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10216610372111310&set=a.3190501641008296420.1219884733&type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2018 South Pacific Islander and Australian Reflections on 'Blackbirding Forum' at the Hawke Centre, University of South Australia, Adelaide.

- <http://www.unisa.edu.au/Business-community/Hawke-Centre/Kerry-Packer-Civic-Gallery/2018-Exhibitions/South-Sea-Islander-and-Australian-Reflections-on-Blackbirding/>
- 2018 World Law Forum on Modern Slavery, University of Notre Dame, Sydney.  
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10160715906225434&set=pcb.2178323105528993&type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2018 International Council of Jewish Women's Convention Program (ICJW) Quadrennial Convention, Sydney Australia 'Evolving beyond tradition, the impact of women's perspectives and developing roles'  
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10160628521075434&set=gm.2145054748855829&type=3&theater&ifg=1>
- 2018 International Festival de la Coolitude-Guadeloupe (IFC), French Caribbean.  
[http://www.potomitan.info/ki\\_nov/coolitude\\_2018.php](http://www.potomitan.info/ki_nov/coolitude_2018.php)
- 2018 Australia's Hidden History of Slavery: Government divides to conquer  
<https://theconversation.com/australias-hidden-history-of-slavery-the-government-divides-to-conquer-86140>
- 2019 SBS and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) for our recent roundtable discussion on multicultural Australia as part of the Australian Government's Soft Power Review.  
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10161347630180434&set=gm.2427867467241221&type=3&theater>
- 2019 Queensland State Funeral, Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Honorary patron Dr. Bonita Mabo speech read by Professor Gracelyn Smallwood.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FRIUvZhKE4&t=209s>

## Exhibitions and Catalogues

(Not repeated in the General Bibliography. All of these exhibitions had ASSI content.)

- 1994 Australian South Sea Islanders. A touring exhibition from the Australian National Maritime Museum Sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Sydney, ANMM. Curated by Kevin Jones.
- 1996 Storian Blong Olgeta We Oli Bin Go Katem Sugaken Long Ostrelia. Port Vila, Vanuatu Cultural Centre/Australian National Maritime Museum.
- 2000 Refined White: The story of how South Sea Islanders came to cut sugar cane in Queensland and made history refining the White Australia Policy. Innisfail: Australian Sugar Museum. Curated by Michael Berry.
- 2001 Embarque pour le Queensland: Des Loyaltiens en Terre Australienne/Across the Coral Sea: Loyalty Islanders in Australia (A travelling display of 32 historic images and the catalogue). Noumea: Consulat général d'Australie.
- 2003 Australians All? Jennet Cole-Adams and Judy Gauld. Canberra: National Museum of Australia.[ "Cheap Labour", 6-9.]
- 2005 Across the Coral Sea: Australian South Sea Islanders in Queensland: A photographic exhibition based on historical images from the John Oxley Library, which portray the

way in which South Sea Islanders arrived, lived and worked in Queensland in the nineteenth century.

- 2006-07 Exposition Kanakas: Exposition Photographique, 6 December to 1 April 2007. Noumea: Tjibaou Cultural Centre.
- 2013 Memories from a Forgotten People: 150 Years of Australian South Sea Islanders. State Library of Queensland, Southbank, Brisbane. <http://www.slq.qld.gov.au/showcase/ASSI>
- 2013 Echoes ASSI 150, The Centre, Beaudesert
- 2013 Joskeleigh: Homeward Bound, Joskeleigh Museum.
- 2013 Journey Blong Yumi: Australian South Sea Islander Logan Art Gallery. Logan Central, Queensland.
- 2013 Journeys to Sugaropolis: The Australian South Sea Islander Story of the Gold Coast Region. City of the Goldcoast, pp 62. [Catalogue for the exhibition.]
- 2013 Two islands, one home, the story of belonging, Artspace Mackay.
- 2013 Sugar, Queensland Art Gallery
- 2013 Sydney University partnered with the ASSI.PJ to deliver ‘Sydney Ideas—Human Rights for a Forgotten People’ symposium in recognition of 150 years for ASSIs in Queensland.
- 2013 Journey blong yumi: Australian South Sea Islander 150, Logan Art Gallery
- 2013 Head & Sole. Logan Art Gallery. Logan Central, Queensland.
- 2013 Jasmine Togo- Brisby exhibition. Jugglers Art Space. Brisbane, Queensland.
- 2013 Krishna Nahow: set of 8 paintings completed in 2013 when she was artist in residence at Brisbane Girls Grammar.
- 2014 DNA: Deadly Nui Art. Black Dot Gallery. Melbourne, Victoria.  
May 15th National Solomon Islands Museum ‘Blackbirding’ exhibition as a part of the International Museums day saw ASSI delegates participate, on invitation from the Solomon Islands Government, as a part of the opening ceremony speeches and in the day 2 symposium accompanied by Professor Clive Moore, Clacy Fatnowna, Emelda Davis and Marcia Eves.
- 2015-17 Fish hooks & Moving Trees Touring exhibition. BEMAC, Brisbane. Bundaberg Regional Art Gallery, Bundaberg, Queensland.
- 2015-16 From Here to There. Touring exhibition. Pine Rivers Museum, and Noosa Regional Art Gallery Queensland.
- 2016 Fifty Shades of Blak. Black Dot Gallery Victoria, Australia.
- 2016 Handle with Care Te Uru—Waitakere Contemporary Gallery. Auckland, New Zealand.
- 2016 Vai Niu Wai Niu: Coconut Water. Caboolture Regional Art Gallery, Caboolture. Queensland.
- 2016 A Unique History: Australian South Sea Islanders in Queensland. Queensland State Archives. [Exhibition.]
- 2016-17 Influx Touring exhibition. St Paul Street Gallery, Auckland. Pataka Art + Museum, Porirua, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 2017 Colonial Sugar. Curated by Tracey Moffat and Jasmine Togo-Brisby, Wellington City Gallery, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 2017 Blackbird: An emotional film that tells the untold history of Australia’s sugar slaves. A film by Australian Solomon Islander Amie Batalibasi. It was shot at Mackay in 2015 and

first screened on NITV 13 October 2017.

<https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2017/10/12/blackbird-emotional-film-tells-untold-history-australias-sugar-slaves>

- 2018 Oceania. 14 September to 12 December. Beaudesert Regional Gallery, Beaudesert, Queensland. Jasmine Togo-Brisby, artist.
- 2018 Plantation Voices: Contemporary Conversations with Australian South Sea Islanders. State Library of Queensland. <http://blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/assi/2018/11/28/australian-south-sea-islander-exhibition-coming-to-the-state-library-of-queensland/>
- 2018 From Where I Stand, My Eye Will Send a Light to You in the North. Te Tuhi Centre for the Arts. Auckland, New Zealand. Jasmine Togo-Brisby, artist.
- 2018 Wantok. Māngere Arts Centre - Ngā \_Tohu o Uenuku, Auckland, New Zealand. Jasmine Togo-Brisby, artist.
- 2019 Jasmine Togo-Brisby Artist in Residence, Dunedin School of Art, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 2019 Plantation Voices: Contemporary Conversations with Australian South Sea Islanders. Running between 16 February and 8 September the Queensland State Library mounted a multi-media exhibition of Australian South Sea Islanders using its own resources, plus those of the Queensland Museum, the Queensland State Archives, and the Australian National Archives.

**Trove:** <https://trove.nla.gov.au/>

Also see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trove>

One of the most remarkable advances in accessing documentary and photographic sources is Trove, an Australian online library database aggregator, a free faceted-search engine hosted by the National Library of Australia, in partnership with content providers including members of the National and State Libraries Australasia. There are a large number of ASSI photos available and many newspapers can now be searched for ASSI material.

The scope of the project is to help “you find and use resources relating to Australia” and therefore the content is Australian-focused. Much of the material may be difficult to retrieve with other search tools as it is part of the deep web, including records held in collection databases, or in projects such as *Picture Australia*, *Music Australia*, the *Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts*, *Australia Dancing*, *Australian Research Online* and the *PANDORA web archive*. Trove includes content from many libraries, museums, archives and other organisations.

The site's content is split into “zones” designating different forms of content which can be searched all together, or separately.

- **Books:** allows searching of the collective catalogues of institutions findable in Libraries Australia using the Australian National Bibliographic Database (ANDB).
- **Diaries**
- **People:** allows searching of biographical information and other resources about associated people and organisations, from resources including the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

- **Journals:** searching of academic periodicals.
- **Maps**
- **Music, sound and videos:** allows searching of digitised historic sheet music and audio recordings. Replacing the previous “Music Australia” website. Also includes searchable transcripts from many ABC Radio National programs.
- **Newspapers:** allows text-searching of digitised historic newspapers. Replacing the previous “Australian Newspapers” website.
- **Pictures:** Including digitised photographs, drawings, posters, postcards etc. Considerable numbers of images on Flickr with the appropriate licensing are donated as well. This replaces the previous “Pictures Australia” website.
- **Websites:** the primary search portal of the PANDORA web-archiving service, which itself includes the “Australian Government Web Archive”.
- **Government Gazettes:** allows searching of official publications written for the purpose of notifying the public of government business.
- A final “zone” called Lists allows logged-in users of Trove to make their own public compilations of items found in Trove searches.
- There is also a facility to join the Trove community and make contributions to the resources such as tags, comments and corrections.

## Curriculum Resources

(Repeated in the General Bibliography.)

Bennett, Judith A.

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## **Acts of the British, Queensland and Australian Parliaments, Judgements, Regulations, Select Committees and Royal Commissions pertinent to the lives of ASSI.**

(Not repeated in the General Bibliography.)

### **British Government**

- 1864 Correspondence Respecting the Removal of Inhabitants of Polynesian Islands to Peru. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP)* 1864 (3307), pp 36. [Available online.]
- 1867-68 South Sea Islanders (Queensland): Copy of Extracts of all Correspondence relating to the Importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland. HCPP 1867-68 (391), (496). [Numbering unclear. Available online.]
- 1868-69 Correspondence Respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders. HCPP 1868-69 (4222), pp 78. [Available online.]
- 1868-69 Queensland (South Sea Islanders), Copy of Extracts of all Correspondence relating to the Importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland. HCPP 1868-69 (408): 1006-89. [Available online.]
- 1870 Thirteenth General Report the Emigration Commissioners, 1870. HCPP 1870 (C.1960, pp 182. [Available online.]
- 1871 Further Correspondence respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders. HCPP 1871 (C.399), 302-514. [Available online.]
- 1871 South Sea Islanders: Copy of Extracts of Correspondence between the Board of Admiralty and the Commanders of the Australian and South Pacific Stations in regard to the Deportation of South Sea Islanders, subsequent to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of August 1869. HCPP 1871 (79), pp 37. [Available online.]
- 1871 South Sea Islanders (Queensland) Further Correspondence relating to the Importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland. HCPP 1871 (468), 155-293. [Available online.]
- 1871-73 South Sea Islanders. Copies of extracts of any correspondence respecting outrages upon Natives of the South Sea Islands which may have been received from the Governors of any of the Australasian colonies, from the Senior Naval Officers Commanding the Australia and China, or from Her Majesty's Consuls in the Pacific, since the last papers on the subject. HCPP 1871-73. [This copy came from the British Museum.]
- 1872 *The Kidnapping Act* (35 & 36 Vic. C.19). Date of assent, 27 June 1872.
- 1872 New South Wales. Correspondence between the Governor of New South Wales and the Earl of Kimberley respecting certain statements made by Capt. Palmer R.N., in his book 'Kidnapping in the South Seas. HCPP 1872 (C.479). 685-709. [Available online.]
- 1872 South Sea Islanders. Further Correspondence respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders. HCPP 1872 (C.496), 711-843. [Available online.]
- 1873 Polynesian Labourers. Correspondence relative to the introduction of Polynesian Labourers into Queensland. HCPP 1873 (C.793), 39-49. [Available online.]
- 1873 Report of the Proceedings of H.M. Ship 'Rosario,' during her cruise among the South Sea Islands, between 1<sup>st</sup> November 1871 and 12<sup>th</sup> February 1872. HCPP 1872 (C.5420). [Available online.]
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- the Governors of any of the Australasian Colonies, from the Senior Naval Officers Commanding in Australia and China, or from Her Majesty's Consuls in the Pacific, since the last issue of papers on the subject. HCPP 1873 (244). [Available online.]
- 1874 South Sea Islanders (outrages upon Natives). Copy of correspondence respecting Outrages upon Natives of the South Sea Islands. HCPP 1874 (232), 507-624. [Available online.]
- 1875 *Amendment to the Kidnapping Act of 1872* (38 & 39 Vic. C.51). Date of assent 2 August 1875.
- 1877 Queensland (South Sea Islanders). Return of South Sea Islanders introduced into Queensland from the Commencement. HCPP 1877 (29) (29-1), 615-24. [1868-1876 statistics. Available online.]
- 1877 Western Pacific Order in Council, 1877. [This established the Western Pacific High Commission to extend British authority over British subjects in the islands of the southwest Pacific, then outside any formal colonial control.]
- 1893 Pacific Order in Council, 1893. [This replaced the Western Pacific Orders, 1877 to 1880. It enabled the declaration of a Protectorate over Solomon Islands. It is an extensive 49 page document with an index. My copy was presented to Queensland Parliament in *QVP* 1894.]

### **Royal Navy Australian Station**

(The records of the Royal Navy Australia Station and its 'Correspondence respecting Outrages' series are another useful source. The relevant period of Australia Station records that I have used is from Vol. 13 (1857) to Vol. 19 (1900). The Outrages reports seem to go from 1889 to 1896. The reports provide details on investigations of Royal Navy ships from the Australian Station in the Pacific Islands. Many of the cases investigated relate to the labour trade. These records can be found in many libraries, often not in a complete set. See Bach 1986; Cleland 1966.)

### **New South Wales Government**

- 1868-69 Importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland. Report No. 1 From Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Officer administering the Government of New South Wales, pp 63.
- 1869 Report of the Royal Commission into certain cases of kidnapping of natives of the Loyalty Islands, &c.; Minutes of Evidence And Appendix. Sydney: Government Printer, pp 90.

### **Queensland Government**

(Not repeated in the main list. It is impossible to produce anything more than a sample of the nineteenth century sources available in printed form from the Queensland Government or in the Queensland State Archives.) The best published statistics on Islander numbers are:

August 1863 to February 1868 (*QVP* 1868-69, 553-57)

March 1868 to March 1878 (*QVP* 1878, 2, 39)

January 1880 to June 1884 (*Q Legislative Council* 1884, 1, 1287)



1895-1904 (Annual Reports of the Pacific Islanders Immigration Department, published in QVP ever year. They give a summary of the Government Agents' reports on Islanders recruited from each island visited.)

1868 to 1904 (QSA Register of Pacific Island Labourers, which lists the name, village, island and the recruiting ship.)

The reports to Parliament do not always tally with the Register, and Price and Baker 1976) found it unreliable after 1875. The Register is also only part complete between 1885 and 1894.)

### General

- 1861 *Masters and Servants Act* (25 Vic. No. 11). [Agreements between 1861 and 1868 were made under this Act. Any before that would have fallen under the equivalent New South Wales Act.]
- 1866 "Return relating to Polynesian labourers." *QVP* 1866: 359.
- 1867 "Introduction of South Sea Islanders into Queensland." *QVP* 1867 2: 119-45.
- 1868 *An Act to regulate and control the introduction and treatment of Polynesian Labourers* (31 Vic. No. 47). Date of assent, 4 March 1868. *Queensland Government Gazette* 9, No. 30, 29 February 1868. Act 47.
- 1868 "Return relating to Polynesian labourers." *QVP* 1868: 359.
- 1868-69 "Report from the Immigration Agent on the working of the Polynesian Act, including a Progress Report from the Select Committee on the operation of "The Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868", together with the proceedings of the committee and Minutes of Evidence." *QVP*, 549-59.
- 1869 "Correspondence respecting alleged kidnapping of natives of the Loyalty Islands." *QVP* 1869 2, 11-
- 1869 "Correspondence respecting the alleged kidnapping of Natives of the Loyalty Islands. Despatch respecting Polynesian Immigrants in Queensland." *QVP* 1869 2, 11-17.
- 1869 "Progress report of the Operation of "The Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868", " *QVP* 2: 23-24.
- 1869 "Report from the Immigration Agent on the working of "The Polynesian Labourers Act". " *QVP* 1869: 549-55.
- 1869 Select Committee to take evidence and report on the operation of the *Polynesian Act of 1868. An Act to regulate and control the introduction and treatment of Polynesian Labourers*. Appointed 14 May 1869. The Minutes of Evidence are in *QVP* 1869 (volume not certain:1-71. A Progress Report can be located in *QVP* 2: 23-24.
- 1871 "Correspondence respecting Polynesian immigration." *QVP* 1871 (only one volume): 877-86.
- 1871 "Further despatches respecting the importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland." *QVP* (only one volume): 875.
- 1871 "Polynesian Labor. Return of a copy of a despatch from Lord Kimberley, 20 April 1871, on the subject of payment of expenses of prosecutions on charges of kidnapping South Sea Islanders; together with a copy of a reply from the Queensland Government." Brisbane: Government Printer, pp 3.
- 1876 "Alleged abuses connected with Polynesian labor." *QVP* 1876 3: 25-31.
- 1876 "Instructions to Government Agents." *Queensland Government Gazette*, 23 December 1876.

- 1876 “Report of the Select Committee on the general question of Polynesian labour; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings of the Committee.” *QVP* 3, 51-155. [The 1876 Select Committee examined the logs of 84 Government Agents on the ships.]
- 1876 “South Sea Islanders in Queensland. Return to an order made: A full return of the number of S.S. Islanders introduced into Queensland; number returned to the Islands; number of deaths reported; and the estimated number remaining in the colony since the passing of “The Polynesian Laborers Act”. Also, for a return (as far as it is known) that were introduced before the passing of “The Polynesian Laborers Act”. Also, a return (as far as it is known) of the number of S.S. Islanders still remaining in the Colony, not employed under the provisions of “The Polynesian Laborers Act”.” *QVP* 3: 47-49
- 1877 “Particulars of complaints made by Kanakas to the Polynesian Protector, Maryborough.” *QVP* 2: 1,229-31.
- 1878 “Recruiting Agents, and introduction of Polynesians.” *QVP* 2: 47-57. [This includes the Instructions to Government Agents, 55-57. I have never seen an earlier list and it seems likely that this is the first amalgamated list.]
- 1878 “Select Committee on the general question of Polynesian labour.” Appointed 7 September 1876. Report dated 14 November 1876.
- 1880 *Pacific Islanders Labourers Act* (44 Vic. No 17). Date of assent, 18 November 1880.
- 1881 “Moneys received under the “The Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868” and “The Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880”.” Brisbane: Government Printer. [Original document, no pagination.]
- 1882 Commodore Wilson’s Report on the Labour Trade in the Western Pacific. *QVP* 2, 575-610. [This remarkably thorough document was prepared by the Commodore of the Royal Navy Australia Station in Sydney. It includes Notes in Re Kidnapping and Slavery in the Western Pacific, by N. De Miklouho-Maclay, There are also extensive statistical tables which cover the Queensland and Fiji labour trades, and Pacific trade out of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand. It was also published as: Labour Trade in the Western Pacific. Despatch from the Right Honourable The Secretary for the Colonies, transmitting a copy of a report on the subject of the labor trade in the Western Pacific. Melbourne: Government Printer. [Pages 1,041-78 in the *Victorian Parliamentary Papers*, and presumably other colonies, 1882. It contains a letter by Commodore Wilson, and notes from N. de Miklouho-Maclay, plus statistics from Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Fiji.]
- 1884 *Act to prevent the improper employment of Aboriginal natives of Australia and New Guinea on ships in Queensland waters* (48 Vic. No. 20). Date of assent, 17 November 1884.
- 1884 “The alleged kidnapping of Pacific Islanders by the ‘Ceara’.” *QVP* 2: 735-43.
- 1884 “Correspondence respecting the temporary closure of the hospital for Pacific Islanders at Mackay.” *QVP* 2: 697-723.
- 1884 *Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act* (48 Vic. No 12). Date of assent, 10 March 1884.
- 1884 “Pacific Island Labourers introduced into Queensland.” *QVP* 2, 769-70, 1884.
- 1884 “Polynesians holding Certificates of Exemption under “The Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880 Amendment Act”.” *QVP* 2: 849-51.

- 1884 “Regulations under ‘The Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880,’ and instructions to Government Agents. Tabled in the Legislative Assembly by command, and ordered to be printed 8 July 1884.” Brisbane: Government Printer, pp 5.
- 1884-85 “Royal Commission on the recruiting of Polynesian labourers in New Guinea and adjacent islands. Appointed 23 December 1884. Report presented 10 April 1885.” [The Royal Commission was published in *QVP* 1884 4. The Crown Solicitor’s Briefs and Associated Papers contain the Government Agent’s log books for *Ceara*, *Heath* and *Lizzie*. The vessels investigated were the *Ceara*, ex-Brisbane 31 December 1883, the *Lizzie* ex-Townsville 22 December 1883, the *Ceara* ex-Townsville 13 March 1884, the *Lizzie* ex-Townsville 14 March 1884, the *Hopeful* ex-Townsville 3 May 1884, the *Sybil* ex-Mackay 22 April 1884, the *Heath* ex-Mackay 19 July 1884, and the *Forrest King* ex-Brisbane 21 October 1884. For evidence see *QVP* 1884 2, 725-844. The judgement by Chief Justice Lilley against McMurdo and Davies of the *Stanley* was published as a Supplement to the *Queensland Government Gazette*, 28 June 1884, 34 (103). Also see *QVP* 1884 2, 745-844. This contains 480 interviews with Islanders, and along 51 interviewed during the 1906 Royal Commission they form an extensive bank of early oral testimony. Refer to Fowler (1968), Corris (1968) and Jamison (1990) for research into these events.]
- 1885 *Pacific Islanders’ Employers Compensation Act* (49 Vic. No. 3). Date of assent, 26 August 1885.
- 1885 *Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880 Amendment Act* (49 Vic. No. 17). Date of assent, 10 November 1885.
- 1886 *Act to further amend the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880* (50 Vic. No. 6). Date of assent, 4 September 1886.
- 1887 “The Pacific Islander Hospitals.” *QVP* 3: 623-29.
- 1887-1908 Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough, 1887-1908, Circulars. *QSA* IPI/3/35. [This can be download from the *QSA* website. Most of the items are typed. It is the Brisbane Office instructions to the regional offices.]
- 1888-89 Royal Commission to inquire into and report upon the general condition of the sugar industry in Queensland. Appointed 29 November 1888. Report dated, 11 April 1889.
- 1892 “Additional Instructions to Government Agents, 4 August 1892.” Brisbane: Government Printer. [See 1892 “Instructions” below.]
- 1892 “Correspondence Respecting Kanaka labour in New South Wales.” [Original copy pp 3. I think it is from *QVP*, although the heading says: Legislative Assembly New South Wales.]
- 1892 *Imperial and Colonial Acts relating to the recruiting, Etc., of Pacific Island Labourers, and Regulations made thereunder; Together with instructions for the guidance of Government Agents appointed to accompany vessels licensed to carry Pacific Islanders*. Brisbane: Government Printer.
- 1892 “Instructions to Government Agents, 20 May 1892.” Brisbane: Government Printer.
- 1892 *Pacific Island Labourers (Extension) Act* (55 Vic. No. 38). Date of assent, 14 April 1892.
- 1892 “Regulations under “The Pacific Island Labourers Acts, 1880-1892.” 20 May 1892. [See 1892 “Additional” above.]
- 1893 “Correspondence respecting outrages by natives on British subjects, and other matters, which have been under inquiry during the year 1893, being continuation of reports of

- cases dealt with in former years, Together with other cases which have since arisen.” QSA COL/A807, In Letter 06266 of 1894.
- 1893 “New Hebrides: Correspondence respecting Outrages by natives, disturbances, etc., which have been the subject of inquiry by Her Majesty's ships in the New Hebrides.” QSA COL/A807, In Letter 06266 of 1894.
- 1894 “New Hebrides, 1894, Correspondence .... Outrages.” QSA COL/A793, 1894.
- 1894 “Outrages by natives on British subjects, and other matters which have been under inquiry during the year 1894 by Her Majesty’s ships.” QSA COL/A795, 1894.
- 1898 “Proclamation extending the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific over certain islands now incorporated in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (Despatches from the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Transmitting).” In *Legislative Council*. (volume unknown), 1898.
- 1906 Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Port Douglas Letterbook, 12 August 1906 to 11 February 1908. QSA IPIO 2/G1, Item No. 18874. [This is of interest as it is one of the few ASSI QSA documents that can be downloaded. It is from the end of the labour trade and covers the deportation years. It is a carbon copy on rice paper and is difficult to read.]
- 1906 “Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report regarding the number of Pacific Islanders to be deported from Queensland at the end of the current year. Appointed 2 April 1906. Report dated 6 June 1906. Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire regarding the number of Pacific Islanders to be deported from Queensland at the end of the current year, the most efficient manner of repatriating them, with the probable cost thereof; whether there are in Queensland any Pacific Islanders whose compulsory deportation would be inconsistent with humanity or with good faith; and whether sufficient labour for carrying on the Queensland sugar industry is likely to be available when Pacific Islanders can no longer be lawfully employed, and, if sufficient labour for such purpose is not likely to be locally obtainable, the best means of supplying the deficiency, together with the Minutes of Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commission, and Appendices. Brisbane: Government Printer.” [Pacific Islanders were interviewed, from Ayr, Beenleigh, Bundaberg, Cairns, Childers, Ingham, Innisfail (Geraldton), Mossman, Proserpine, and Rockhampton.]

The following 51 Islanders were interviewed by the Commission. Along with the interviews in the 1884 Royal Commission they form a substantial bank of early oral testimony.

#### **Ayr**

Ally Keena (Santo, 13 yrs in QLD), page 379, and Jemima (Aboriginal mixed-race wife), 379; Cum Cum (Malayta, 19 yrs in QLD), 378; Ferrugie (Tanna, 24 yrs in QLD), 379; Taller (Santo), 379; Tarrie (Aoba, 15 yrs in QLD), 378; Tarrim Dooley (Aoba, 12 yrs in QLD), 379.

#### **Beenleigh**

Colombi, Charlie (Api, 20 yrs in QLD), 409; Kruman, Peter (Buka Buka, 20 yrs in QLD), 409-10; Molu, John (Api, 23 yrs in QLD), 410; Numakata (Torres, 23 yrs in QLD), 410; Roach, Alexander (Santo, 17 yrs in QLD), 409; Sarakwa, Charlie (Santo, 16 yrs in QLD), 400.

#### **Bundaberg**

Lumacona (Uru, Malaita, 12 yrs in QLD) 62-3; Maluini (Malaita, 22 yrs in QLD) 60-61; Manatah (Uru, Malaita, 12 yrs in QLD) 61-2; Sassack (Ambrym, 22 yrs in QLD), 63.

#### **Cairns**

Assool (Tanna, 29 yrs in QLD), 283; Delamo, Harry (Malayta, 22 yrs in QLD), 314; Ererow (Malayta, 6 yrs 4 mths in QLD), 315; Foonah (Gladalcanar, 18 yrs in QLD), 284; Keeseree (Malayta, 13 yrs in QLD), 314; Keree, Sam (Hambledon) (Tanna, 20 yrs in QLD), 308; Low, Tom (Malo, 15 yrs in QLD), 283-84; Quiramoo (Fiu, Malayta, 5yrs, 1 yr home and 5 more years in QLD), 315; Soona, Dabie (Malayta, 5 yrs in QLD), 314; Tommy (Malayta, 3 yrs 6 mths in QLD), 315.

#### **Childers**

Ailee, Jimmy (Gala, 37 yrs in QLD), 85; Evi (Santo), 83; Bagoah (Sandwich, 23 yrs in QLD), 84; Bittoon (Api) 83-85; Gaymoona (Savo), 84; Laffa (Tanna, 23 yrs in QLD), 84; Lontal (Api), 83; Tow (Ambrym, came as young boy to QLD), 85.

#### **Ingham**

Suonelea (Qui, Malayta, 13 yrs in QLD), 367; Telly Velly Mi (Malayta, 5 yrs in QLD), 366.

#### **Innisfail (Geraldton)**

Tanna, Fred (Tanna, 26 yrs in QLD), 335.

#### **Mackay**

Sabbot, Noah, 203-4 (native of QLD, Homebush); Sigges, (French subject, Homebush) 203; Tongoa, Henry, 151-52, 155.

#### **Mossman**

Ackar (Vanua Lava), 269.

#### **Proserpine**

Yasserie, George, (father from Malicolo, mother from New Ireland, native of QLD) 250-51.

#### **Rockhampton**

Arroo, Peter (Aoba, 20 yrs in QLD), 131; Ewed, John (Lifu, French subject), 133; Malezieux, Alfred (New Caledonia), 128-9, 131; Narto, Goliern, 132 (Aoba, wife of Alick Long); Pentecost, Jimmy (Pentecost, 18 yrs in QLD), 132; Toysin, Andrew (Motlap, 21 yrs in QLD), 132-3; Waytour (28 yrs in QLD), 132; Wween, Peter (Lifu, French subject, 14 yrs in QLD), 127-8; Wooltam, Billy, 131.

- 1908 *Statue Law Revision Act amending the Aliens Act of 1867 (31 Vic. No. 28)* (8 Edw. 7 No. 18).
- 1912 *Act to Restrict the Leasing of Land to Aliens (2 Geo.5 No. 31)*. Date of assent 12 January 1912.
- 1913 *Sugar Growers Act (4 Geo.5 No. 2)*. Date of assent 25 July 1913.
- 1913 *Sugar Growers' Employment Act (4 Geo.5 No 3)*. Date of assent 25 July 1913.
- 1914 *Sugar Cultivation Act (4 Geo No. 4)*. Date of assent 25 July 1913.
- 1919 Judgement of the Industrial Arbitration Court (No. 50 of 1919). Gazetted 2 July 1919.
- 1933-34 "Polynesian Provisional School, Walkerston." QSA EDU/Z22.47. See also A. Abbott, letter to *Daily Mercury*. 16 September 1932; M.A McColl, letters to editor *Daily Mercury*, 14, 17 September 1932. [There should be other similar files in the QSA.]
- 1934-39 Australian South Sea Islanders were officially declared to be under the same Acts of Parliament that controlled the lives of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders.
- 1948 *Aliens Act and another Act amendment Act (13 Geo.6 No. 10)*.
- 1952 *Aliens Act and another Act amendment Act (1 Eliz.2 No. 22)*.
- 1956 *Statutes Amendment Act (5 Eliz2 No. 18)*.
- 1958 *Aliens Acts Amendment Act (7 Eliz.2 No. 57)*.
- 1965 *Act to revise the Statute Law of Queensland so far as it relates to Aliens (14 Eliz.2 No. 19)*. Date of assent 27 April 1965.

### Queensland Pacific Islanders' Fund

(Not repeated in the General Bibliography. My records are incomplete as sometimes I have copied from *QVP* without recording exact details of volume and page numbers. However, they are important proof of the balances in the Pacific Islanders Fund. It contained money collected by the government for return passages, capitation tax and the wages of deceased Islanders. See Moore 2013.)

Pacific Islanders Fund Report.

1886 *QVP* 2: 937.

1887 *QVP* 3: 609.

1892 *QVP*.

1895 *QVP*; see also *Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator* 1895 5 (15 July): 148-49.

1896 *QVP*

### Queensland Immigration Agent's Annual Reports

(Not repeated in the main list. These are one of the most regular and useful sources. My copies begin in 1889, but the Immigration Agent's reports go right back to the 1860s.)

1889 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 3, 203-08, 1889.

1890 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 1555-60, 1890.

1891 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP*.  
[Original copy, pp 6]

1892 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 819-23, 1892.

1893 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 535-39, 1893.

1894 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP*.  
[Original copy, pp 3.] [May be the back pages are missing from my copy.]

1895 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 1007-12. Also in *Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator* 1895 5 (15 July): 148-49.

1896 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP*.  
[Original copy, pp 6.] Also in *Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator* 1897 7 (15 July): 6-7.

1897 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 1085-90, 1897.

1898 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 2, 727-31, 1898.

1899 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP*. [No volume number, pp 6. ]

1900 "Pacific Island Immigration (Immigration Agent's Annual Report Upon)." *QVP* 5, 679-84, 1900.

- 1901 “Pacific Island Immigration Annual Report (Immigration Agent’s Annual Report Upon).” *Queensland Parliamentary Papers (QPP)*, the new name for *QVP*. [Original copy, pp 5]
- 1902 Pacific Island Immigration Annual Report (Immigration Agent’s Annual Report Upon). *QPP* 1, 1,115-21.
- 1903 “Pacific Island Immigration Annual Report (Immigration Agent’s Annual Report Upon).” *PP* 2, 443-50.
- 1904-05 “Pacific Island Immigration Annual Report (Immigration Agent’s Annual Report Upon).” *QPP* 1, 61-68.
- 1905 “Pacific Island Immigration Annual Report (Immigration Agent’s Annual Report Upon).” *QPP*. [Original copy, pp 5.]
- 1978 “Report of the Aboriginal and Islander Population. Brisbane. [The Queensland Government appointed a five-person Commission (two Aboriginals, two Torres Strait Islanders, and one South Sea Islander).” [Noel Fatnowna was the Commissioner for Pacific Islanders, 1977-83. This is the first time since the 1930s that ASSI in Queensland were grouped with Indigenous Queenslanders.]
- 1997 “Index to Records of Inspectors of Pacific Islanders & related records.” Queensland State Archives, pp 6.
- 2000 Australian South Sea Islander Recognition: The Queensland Government Formally Recognises Australian South Sea Islanders as a Distinct Cultural Group. Multicultural Affairs Queensland, Department of Premier and Cabinet. [This four page brochure was prepared for the formal launch at Parliament House.]
- 2000 The Queensland Government adopted a formal [Recognition Statement \(PDF, 445 KB\)](#) [Recognition Statement \(DOC, 26 KB\)](#) in July.
- 2001 *Queensland Government Action Plan: Australian South Sea Islander Community*. Department of Premier & Cabinet.
- 2006 Australian South Sea Islander Kastom Collection. Brisbane: Queensland Museum.
- 2006 *Australian South Sea Islander Training Package*. Department of Premier & Cabinet. <http://www.premiers.qld.gov.au>
- 2014 The Queensland Australian South Sea Islander Community Survey, 2014: Full Report, pp 65, and Survey Responses, pp 37.
- 2019 Australian South Sea Islanders. Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs. <https://www.dlgrma.qld.gov.au/multicultural-affairs/multicultural-communities/australian-south-sea-islanders.html>

### Labour Trade Voyages

(Not repeated in the General Bibliography. There were about 807 labour trade voyages out of Queensland ports, travelling to more than 80 Pacific Islands between 1863 and 1908. These voyages, which usually covered several months, and were the first point of contact between the Islanders and Europeans, are one of the most unresearched aspects of the labour trade. Aside from primary sources and the few books based on voyage diaries, contemporary analysis of voyages is limited to Saunders (1979) and Edmundson (1981, 1984), and archaeological analysis (Gesner 1991; Beck 2009, 2017) from the wreck of the *Foam*. I have tried to provide access to written material on many voyages, concentrating on the voyage diaries and logs that have survived. The list covers about 105 voyages, which is one-eighth of the total number, a remarkable large portion to survive.

Saunders (1974, Appendix 1, pp. 1-73) made an attempt to list all voyagers of Queensland labour trade vessels. It was a valiant but flawed early effort, I have found many of Saunders' references inaccurate. Use them with care. The best constant source is the 'Polynesian' Immigration and Emigration records published annually in the *Statistics of Queensland* (1869-1903) and the Reports of the Immigration Agents published in *Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Parliament* (QVP). Annual statistics for 1863 to 1868 do exist but are in various sources, mainly published in Report of the Immigration Agent on the working of the Polynesian Act, in *QVP* 1868-69, 553-56.)

- 1863 *Don Juan*. [Although Pacific Islanders were brought to Queensland via Sydney to work in Torres Strait as early as 1860, the *Don Juan* brought the first Islanders to the Queensland mainland in 1863, to work on Robert Towns' cotton plantation, Townsvale, at Beaudesert, near Brisbane. There is no one file on this. It is written about by Moore 2015 and Rolley 2010. Moore 2015 is available online and its footnotes contain all relevant sources.]
- 1867 *King Oscar*. There are various records for this voyage under Captain Gibbons, with Ross Lewin as recruiter. The labourers went to Robert Towns' Townsvale cotton plantation near Brisbane. QSA COL/A93- 67/1977, telegram A. McDonald, Health Officer to A.W. Manning, 10 August 1867; QSA COL/A93 – 67/2006, Health Officer's Report, 14 August 1867; QSA COL/A97 – 67/2928 Health Officer A. McDonald, telegram, 13 November 1867; QSA COL/A97 – 67/2959; Report of Muster and Inspection, 67/2959; death of passenger in Depot, 67/2989; also see *Brisbane Courier* 22 August 1867, 21 November 1867, 2, and *Mackay Mercury* 20 July 1867.
- 1870 *City of Melbourne* and *Mary Campbell*. A recruiter's diary by W.G. Farquhar, grandfather of W.G. Farquhar of Mackay. It was obtained by James Cook University Library in 1980. There appears to be another typed copy of the diary in the Farquhar papers in the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau PMB 498 in Canberra. The diary begins in 1861 with his travel to Australia from England. He is in Queensland by 1866 and then moved to Maryborough. He seems to have set out on a labour trade voyage on *City of Melbourne*, which floundered at the mouth of the Mary River, with returning Islanders onboard, all returned to shore. They set out again on *Mary Campbell* on 2 December 1870, with Captain C.G.B. Monatt. The diary is not totally complete and it has been typed, with a few pages still hand-written. There is no clear record of this voyage. However, there is a *Mary Campbell* voyage under Captain Monatt and recruiter W.G. Farquhar which returned to Maryborough on 17 February 1871. Comprehensive record-keeping only began in 1869-70.]
- 1871 *Jason*. Inquiry into the *Jason* Case. [My document is an original 11 pages as tabled. It will also be in *QVP*. There were irregularities and mal-treatment of the Government Agent John Meiklejohn by Captain Coath. Meiklejohn had been locked below in irons, had a nervous breakdown and was unable to give evidence. The *Jason* left Maryborough on 26 April 1871 with nine male labourers whose contracts had expired and returned to the same port with 97 labourers (96 males) on 14 July. In the New Hebrides, Meiklejohn, an ex-pastoralist of good character, objected to blatant kidnapping and was treated as a government spy by the crew. Coath is supposed to have threatened him, saying that it was easy for an accident to happen and that it would be unfortunate if he fell overboard. Off



Ambrym, Coath captured two canoes containing nine men and a boy, after shots were fired. When Meiklejohn remonstrated with Coath, he was drugged and chained to a ring-bolt in the ship's hold alongside the Islanders, and kept there for three weeks without bedding. There was an inquiry, with the members nominated by W.H. Walsh, Queensland Minister for Works in the Government of Premier Arthur Palmer, who supported the choice. The ship was owned by Walsh's political campaign secretary, a man named Travis. The defence was that Meiklejohn was a drunk and unfit for the position, and had threatened to shoot Coath, who had no option other than to detain him.

After one of the crew made allegations about the master, Coath, the mate, J.C. Irving, and four of the crew, were tried in Brisbane for assault and kidnapping, under 12 and 13 Vict., cl. 96, which allowed offenses within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty to be tried in the Supreme Court of any British colony. They were acquitted of charges from one voyage, but Coath was sentenced to five years in prison and a £50 fine for the events of the Meiklejohn voyage. The government took no action to withhold the £500 bond the ship had paid and admitted that it had been returned. See Saunders 1974, 32-33, 1982, 21, Parnaby (1964) 88-89, Mortensen 2000.]

- 1871 *Petrel*. W.G. Farquhar set out again, this time as Government Agent on the *Petrel*, with John Rees as Captain, out of Maryborough on 18 September 1871. The *Petrel* returned to Bundaberg on 16 January 1872 [The dairy ends 13 January).
- 1873 *Petrel*. There is a letter from Rev. R.H. Codrington of the Anglican Melanesian Mission (13 February 1873) to Immigration Agent Gray, complaining about the activities of the *Petrel* at Vannu Lava. QSA COL A/182, In letter 948 of 1873.
- 1875 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 20 May 1875 and returned to Maryborough 22 August 1875, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent A. Mortimer. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 1-53).
- 1875 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 18 December 1875 and returned to Maryborough 27 November 1875, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent A. Mortimer. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 54-65).
- 1875-76 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 18 December 1875 and returned to Maryborough 24 March 1876, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent W.G.S. Andrews. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 66-82).
- 1876 *Chance*. Report of Government Agent of the Schooner *Chance*. *QVP* 1876 3, 43-46; and Case of the Schooner *Chance*. *QVP* 1877 Vol. 2, 1,233-44. [The returning Islanders on the *Chance* were from the Herbert River (Ingham) and were shipped down to Maryborough, where the ship anchored in the river. The Islanders were not permitted to go ashore but the *Stanley*, also owned by the same company (Messrs Corser & Co.) hove alongside and sold them trade goods. The Islanders managed to come ashore and complained to Charles Horrocks, Polynesian Inspector. The reports include full financial details of wages and transactions and list each item purchased and the price. This is the most detailed list that I know of the type of materials that would have been found in the trade boxes.]
- 1876 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 13 April 1876 and returned to Maryborough 8 August 1876, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent F.S. Alliott. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 83-108).

- 1876 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 4 September 1876 and returned to Maryborough 20 November 1876, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent F.S. Alliott. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 109-118).
- 1876-77 *Stanley* was ex-Maryborough 16 December 1876 and returned to Maryborough 23 March 1877 with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent F.S. Alliott. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973).
- 1877 *Bobtail Nag* left Rockhampton on 14 April 1877 and returned to Rockhampton on 29 July 1877. The Government Agent's diary is in QSA COL/A252, 291 of 1878. Also refer to Giles (1968), which covers the same voyage.
- 1877 *Lucy & Adelaide*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary 17 May 1877 ex-Brisbane to 15 August 1877 to Brisbane under Captain R.J. Belbin, is in Marwick (1935) 50-63.
- 1877 *Stanley*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary ex-Maryborough 13 September 1877 returning to Mackay 13 November 1877 under Captain C.S. Kilgour, is in Marwick (1935), 63-68.
- 1877-78 *Isabella*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary ex-Mackay 29 November 1877 to Mackay, 25 January 1878, under Captain W. Rosengren, is in Marwick (1935), 68-71.
- 1878 *Mystery*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary ex- Mackay 18 February 1878 to Mackay 30 May 1878, under Captain W.A. Inman is in Marwick (1935), 73-79.
- 1878 *Mystery*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary ex-Mackay 11 June 1878 to Mackay 23 August 1878 is in Marwick (1935), 79-86.
- 1878 *Mystery*. Government Agent Jack Renton's diary ex-Mackay 18 September 1878 to Mackay 8 November 1878, under Captain W.A. Inman, is in Marwick (1935), 86-93. [Renton was killed on this voyage.]
- 1878 *Stormbird* was ex-Maryborough 12 June 1878 and returned to Maryborough 30 September 1878 with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 150, 155-170).
- 1878 "The True Story of a Recruiting Voyage." *Brisbane Courier*, 23 January 1878. Queensland Government. [I am not sure which ship this was.]
- 1878-79 *Stormbird* was ex-Maryborough 18 November 1878 and returned to Maryborough 23 March 1879 with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 171-188).
- 1879 *Lucy & Adelaide*, ex-Maryborough 25 March 1879 and returned 24 May 1897, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 187-194).
- 1879 *Lucy & Adelaide* ex- Bundaberg 17 September 1879, returning to Brisbane 17 November 1879, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent E. Soilleux. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973).
- 1880 *Jabberwock* ex-Brisbane 22 May 1880, returning to Mackay 31 August 1880, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent Walter Hore. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 195-214).
- 1881 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 11 January 1881 and returned 3 May 1881 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]

- 1881 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 31 May 1881 and returned 16 August 1881 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary].
- 1881 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 2 September 1881 and returned 3 December 1881 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]
- 1881 *Stanley* ex-Maryborough 17 March 1881, returning to Maryborough 25 July 1881, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent T.E. Arnam. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 215-241).
- 1881 *Stanley* ex-Maryborough 3 August 1881, returning to Maryborough 24 November 1881, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent T.E. Arnam. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 242-250).
- 1881-82 *Janet Stewart*. This voyage was ex-Cardwell on 12 October 1881, with Captain S.R. Thomas and Government Agent W. Lochhead. See Moore (1985), 349 and QSA COL/A337, No. 2839/1882. [There was a massacre on the *Janet Stewart* 12 February 1882 at east Malaita. The ship was pillaged and burnt, and almost the entire crew including six Europeans killed. Only those out in the recruiting boats and the cook (who hid in a water tank) survived. One man from Epi Island in the New Hebrides was made prisoner at Kwai. The massacre occurred while the ship was anchored between Leli and Kwaikaru. Several of the attackers spoke Pidgin English.]
- 1882 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 4 March 1882 and returned 2 June 1882 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]
- 1882 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 23 June 1882 and returned 4 October 1882 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent H.H. Robinson. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]
- 1882 *Jabberwock* ex-Brisbane 4 March 1882, returning to Maryborough 26 June 1882, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent C.F. Browne. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 251-263).
- 1882 *Lavinia*. Journalist George Ernest Morrison (aka, 'Morrison of Peking') published a series of articles in the *Leader* (Melbourne) in October, November and December 1882, and a letter in the *Age* (Melbourne) on 9 June 1883, making accusations against the Captain, Government Agent and crew. "Charges by Ernest Morrison in Connection with the Polynesian Vessel 'Lavinia'." In *QVP* 1883-84, Vol. 2, 1,433-44. [The charges were investigated and dismissed. The voyage under Captain J. Smith and Government Agent L. Gould, was from 27 May 1882 ex-Mackay, returning to Mackay, 9 September 1882.]
- 1882 *Lochiel*. Diary of Captain William Hamilton ex-Brisbane 20 September 1882, returning to Brisbane 29 December 1882. Held by State Library of Queensland, Diaries and

- Pearling Logs of William Hamilton, 1882-1905. Manuscript 42621. [The Polynesian Emigration list for 1882 says *Lochiel* was ex-Brisbane 19 September 1882 under Captain E. Evans and Government Agent J. Lane, and returned to Brisbane 2 January 1883.]
- 1882-83 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 28 October 1882 and returned 19 February 1883 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent J.B. Jones. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]
- 1882-83 *Fanny* ex-Maryborough 28 September 1882, returning to Mackay 2 February 1883, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent H. Hornbrook. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 264-278).
- 1883 *Alfred Vittery*. The Trial of the *Alfred Vittery* prisoners. Lord Derby to Governor Sir A. Musgrave, 9 June 1884. *QVP*, 1884, Vol. 2, 745. [The letter refers to a despatch enclosing extracts from the *Brisbane Courier*. The date Musgrave sent them was 10 April 1884, so presumably they can be found in the newspaper close to that day. The voyage was from 7 July ex-Maryborough and returning to Maryborough on 7 November 1883. The trail was of the Master and crew for the murder of two Islanders, and of the prosecution of the Master and boatswain of the *Jessie Kelly* for kidnapping Islanders in the Torres Group.]
- 1883 *Borough Belle* ex-Mackay 5 April 1883 and returned 13 August 1883 to Mackay, with Captain Robert James Belbin and Government Agent J. Navine. See Robert James. Belbin 1881-83 "Papers, 1881-1883." National Library of Australia. [I have not examined these Belbin papers but I am presuming that they include all of his 1881-83 voyages, so I have listed them here. More investigation is necessary.]
- 1883 *Fanny* ex-Mackay 12 March 1883, returning to Mackay 16 July 1883, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent F.W. Fowler, The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 279-308).
- 1883 *Forrest King*. Jock Cromar (1935, 25-91) was part of the crew on a voyage of the *Forest King*. The voyage was ex-Brisbane 5 May 1883, returning to Bundaberg 13 October 1883, Captain H.W. Wigmore and Government Agent C.F. Browne. [The recruiter was a Dane, Alec Monrad, assisted by a mixed-race Samoan.]
- 1883 *Heron* ex- Maryborough with Captain J. Meaney and Government Agent C.L. Eastlake. "Labour Vessel *Heron*." In *QVP*, 445-50 (only one volume in 1883) [Eastlake complained about his accommodation. He was not allowed to leave with the ship and was dismissed. He was replaced by J. Thompson and the ship departed on 22 February 1883, returning to Maryborough 30 April 1883.]
- 1883 *Jessie Kelly* left Brisbane on 22 March 1883 and returned to Brisbane on 29 June 1883, under Captain J. Bowers and Government Agent J. H. Cooper. Log of Captain William Hamilton held by State Library of Queensland, Diaries and Pearling Logs of William Hamilton, 1882-1905. Manuscript 42621.
- 1883 *Lizzie* left Townsville on 25 May 1883 and arrived back in Townsville on 5 November 1883. [Julian Thomas ('The Vagabond') was on board and wrote about the voyage (1886), 323-368.]
- 1883 *Stanley*. Inquiry into conduct of the Crew of Queensland Schooner Stanley, at Laughlan Islands, in April 1883. QSA CRS/138 1886. Document from the Western Pacific High Commission, pp. 4. [Original copy held.]

- 1883-84 *Fanny* ex-Townsville 22 December 1883, returning to Townsville 7 February 1884, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent J. Lane. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973).
- 1883-84 *Lizzie*. Log of Government Agent James Lane, ex-Townsville 24 December 1883, returning to Ingham, 17 February 1884, Captain W.T. Wawn. QSA COL/A252. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 309-324). [Edmondson (1981, 488) says the ship returned on 23 January 1884.]
- 1883-84 *Madeline*. Jock Cromar (1935, 92-144) was part of the crew on a voyage of the *Madeline*. The voyage was ex-Bundaberg 7 November 1883, returning to Mackay 29 February 1884, Captain H.W. Wigmore and Government Agent Captain A.E. Crichton. [The recruiter was Bill Rollins.]
- 1883-84 E.W. Young and F.H.A. Whitcombe, 1899-1900, "The Log of the "Blackbird" Schooner." 11, 18, 25 Aug, 1, 8, 16, 23, 30 Sept, 7, 14, 21 Oct, 4, 11, 25 Nov, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Dec 1899, 6, 20, 27 Jan, 3, 10, 17, 24 Feb, 3, 10 Mar 1900, *Western Mail* (Perth, WA). [It is not clear which ship this is, but the log was not published until 1899 and appears to come from 1883 or 1884. The ship travelled to the New Guinea islands, which was illegal after 1884, and the *Forrest King* is mentioned, which was only in the labour trade in 1883 and 1884. A close examination of the other New Guinea voyages should be able to provide a definitive answer. I am not aware of this log being published elsewhere, but it is probably from one of the ships in the 1884 Royal Commission.]
- 1884 *Ceara*. Log of Government Agent J.A. Burrows, ex- 3 January 1884 to Townsville 16 February 1884, captain W.A. Inman. QSA COL/A252. [Edmondson (1981, 488) says the ship left on 31 December 1883 and returned on 17 February 1884.]
- 1884 *Ceara*. Log of Government Agent James Lane, ex-Townsville 14 March 1884 to Townsville 29 April 1884, Captain W.A. Inman. QSA COL/A252.
- 1884 Correspondence respecting the Pacific Islanders on the Barquentine *Heath*. *QVP* 1884 2, 747-765. QSA CRS/144 contains the log of Government Agent A.J. Duffield.
- 1884 *Ethel*. Log of Government Agent Christopher Mills ex-Maryborough 22 January 1884 to Maryborough 14 August 1884, Captain J. Loutitt. QSA COL/A252.
- 1884 *Forrest King*. The Seizure of the *Forrest King* by H.M. Gunboat *Swinger* and subsequent proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court in connection therewith. *QVP* 1884 2, 853-915 and it also appears to come from *QVP* 1885 3. Other pages in the report are numbered 672-713.
- 1884 QSA COL/A252. The voyage appears in Wawn (1893/1973, 339-358). 1884  
*Helena*. Jock Cromar (1935, 157-227) was recruiter. The voyage was ex-Maryborough 8 August 1884, returning 27 November 1884, Captain Agislaus Turner and Government Agent A.E.W. Blackburne.
- 1884 *Heron* left Maryborough on 2 June 1884 and returned to Rockhampton 1 September 1884, with Captain Robert Smith and Government Agent Douglas Rannie. Rannie included the voyage in his book *My Adventures* (1912), pp 20-61.
- 1884 The *Hopeful* case is the most voluminous file in QSA on any labour ship voyage. The voyage was under Captain Louis Shaw and Government Agent H. Schofield, ex-Townsville 3 May 1884 and returned to Ingham 17 July 1884. The records can be found in COL/409-410, and COL/A380, In letter 895 of 1884.
- 1884 *Lizzie* ex-Townsville 14 March 1884, returning to Townsville 2 June 1884, with Captain William T. Wawn and Government Agent J.A. Borrows. The voyage appears in Wawn

- (1893/1973, 325-338). Edmondson (1981, 488) says 3 March 1884 to 16 June 1884. QSA COL/A252.
- 1884 Report and evidence taken at inquiry held into the alleged kidnapping of Pacific Islanders by the *Ceara*. *QVP* 1884, Vol. 2, 735-743.
- 1884 Royal Commission into Recruiting in New Guinea Waters, published in *QVP* 1884, Vol. 4. The Crown Solicitor's Briefs and Associated Papers contain the Government Agent's log books for *Ceara*, *Heath* and *Lizzie*. The vessels investigated were the *Ceara*, ex-Brisbane 31 December 1883, the *Lizzie* ex-Townsville 22 December 1883, the *Ceara* ex-Townsville 13 March 1884, the *Lizzie* ex-Townsville 14 March 1884, the *Hopeful* ex-Townsville 3 May 1884, the *Sybil* ex-Mackay 22 April 1884, the *Heath* ex-Mackay 19 July 1884, and the *Forrest King* ex-Brisbane 21 October 1884. For evidence see *QVP* 1884 2, 725-844. The judgement by Chief Justice Lilley against McMurdo and Davies of the *Stanley* was published as a Supplement to the *Queensland Government Gazette*, 28 June 1884 34, No. 103. Also see *QVP* 1884, Vol. 2, 745-844. [Also see articles by Fowler (1968) and Corris (1968) and the thesis by Jamison (1990). Along with the 1906 Royal Commission the interviews conducted in 1884 form a significant bank of oral testimony.]
- 1884 Recruiting Kanakas in New Guinea and adjacent islands. *QVP* 1884 2, 921-924.
- 1884 *Stormbird*. Jock Cromar (1935, 145-156) was part of the crew. The *Stormbird* had sailed earlier but the Government Agent died and the ship returned to port, then sailed again. The voyage was ex-Maryborough 28 March 1884, returning to Mackay 11 September 1884, Captain A. Paesch and Government Agent C.L. Eastlake.
- 1884-85 *Emily* left Brisbane on 3 October 1884 and returned to Brisbane 3 January 1885, with Captain William McQuaker and Government Agent Douglas Rannie. Rannie included the voyage in his book *My Adventures* (1912), 62-115.
- 1885 "Correspondence respecting the Return of the New Guinea Islanders." *QVP* 1885, 2, 1053-73.
- 1885 *Ethel*. 34 pages of Case Notes from the Justice Chubb in the case of George R. Burton, tried and convicted of kidnapping in relation to an incident on the *Ethel*. Burton received a two year sentence. A petition requesting clemency was sent to the Governor on 11 February 1885, with letters of support from Government Agent Christopher Mills and the Captain (Louitt) and others on board, as well as a statement from Duke of York Islanders. QSA COL/410, top letter dates 18 March 1885 by J. Harrison Byrne. The voyage was ex-Maryborough between January and August 1884. The incident occurred off New Ireland in June.
- 1885 *Flora* left Brisbane on 6 February 1885 and returned to Innisfail on 2 July 1885, with Captain J.B. Robertson and Government Agent Douglas Rannie. Rannie included the voyage in his book *My Adventures* (1912), 207-244.
- 1885 *Forrest King*. Petition and Select Committee into the seizure of the schooner *Forrest King*. *QVP* 1885, 3, 667-713. John Thompson Government Agent's Report on the *Forrest King* voyage, date is unclear, QSA COL/410.
- 1885 *Eliza Mary*. Douglas Rannie was Government Agent on the *Eliza Mary* ex-Brisbane 15 October 1885, returning Townsville 23 December 1885, with Captain R.L. Hullman. [A typescript on this voyage is held in the Rannie Papers at the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1885 SS *Victoria* was hired by the Queensland Government to return of 420 New Guinea Islands labourers to their homes. A detailed report entitled "The Return of the New

- Guinea Islanders” is in *QVP* 1885, 2, 1,053-1,073. The voyage appears in Wawn 1893/1973, 359-399; Romilly 1893, 218-247. [The ship does not appear in the official emigration statistics. Hugh Romilly, Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific High Commission was in charge, above the Captain and the Pilot William T. Wawn.]
- 1886 *Helena*. Jock Cromar (1935, 228-250) was recruiter and Captain Turner was supposed to be in charge but became ill. Cromar says the voyage was theoretically under Captain Government Agent William Murrie (also spelt Murray) who was young and also a drinker. The ship was ex-Bundaberg 30 April 1886 and returned Bundaberg 24 September 1886. [Note: Cromar calls this the voyage of the *Fearless*, although it begins talking about the *Helena*. Cromar’s account appears to be an amalgamation of two voyages.]
- 1887 *Ceara*. Correspondence and report of Special Commissioner, New Guinea, respecting the return of Louisiade Islanders to their Native Homes, 1887, 1-9. They were recruited by the *Ceara* on a voyage departing 3 January 1884 and returning 16 February 1884. I hold an original copy as presented to Parliament, but it would also be in *QVP* 1887, 3: 611-19. They were returned on the *Wentworth* and all names are listed.
- 1887 *Fearless*. Jock Cromar was recruiter (1935, 276-303) [There is not much internal evidence to date this voyage, nor to know the Captain. One clue is that Cromar said they were returning to Mackay. A.C. Cecil was Government Agent and G. Norman seems to have been captain again. This would appear to be the voyage ex-Maryborough 13 April 1887 and back to Mackay 1 August 1887, with Norman and Cecil.]
- 1887 Return of Louisiade Islanders to their native homes. *QVP* 1887, 3: 611-19.
- 1887-88 *Fearless*. Jock Cromar was recruiter (1935, 304- 318). [There is not much internal evidence to date this voyage. It is probably with Captain G. Norman and Government Agent A.C. Cecil, which was ex-Mackay 17 December 1887, and arrived back at Townsville 12 March 1888.]
- 1888 *Ariel*. Private log of the voyage by Captain W.T. Wawn, ex-Bundaberg 18 July 1888 to Bundaberg 22 December 1888, Government Agent T.S. Armstrong. Mitchell Library, Sydney. The voyage appears in Wawn 1893/1973, 400-422. [Armstrong was killed on the voyage.]
- 1888 *Madeline* left Maryborough on 27 February 1888 and was wrecked on 16 April 1888 off Tongao Island, New Hebrides. The captain was W. Connell and the Government Agent was Douglas Rannie. [The recruits were transferred to the *Dauphin*, which landed them, and the new recruits were carried to Sydney on HMS *Diamond*, and then via SS *Rodondo* to Maryborough arriving on 2 June 1888.] Rannie included the voyage in his book *My Adventures* (1912), 207-244.
- 1888 *Roderick Dhu*. Diary of John Augustus Paesch, held in John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, JOL 38407666. In 1888, Paesch was Captain of the *Roderick Dhu* on two voyages, the first ex-Townsville on 29 January 1888, returning to Townsville of 3 March 1888, with Government Agent Robert McMurdo. The second voyage was also of the *Roderick Dhu*, ex-Cairns 6 July 1888 and returning to Maryborough on 17 August 1888. The Government Agent was Robert McMurdo. [I have not checked the manuscript to see which of the voyages this is.]
- 1888-89 *Fearless*. Jock Cromar was recruiter (1935, 251-275), the Captain was G. Norman and the Government Agent was Archibald Sinclair. The ship left Mackay 24 September 1888 and returned to Mackay 21 January 1889.

- 1889 *Lochiel*. The diary of Government Agent Medland Mitchell covers the voyage, ex-Bundaberg 16 February 1889, returning to Bundaberg and Maryborough 30 June 1889, Captain Robert Pearn. [The copy of the diary is held by the Queensland Maritime Museum, Brisbane. Edmundson (1981, 489) references the voyage as 16 February 1889 to 16 June 1889.]
- 1889? *'Seashell'*. Cromar (1935, 319-344) claims to have served in the *'Seashell'* in 1889 as recruiter. [He says the captain was a Canadian named John Caith and the Government Agent was an elderly man named Burke, and the mate was Dick Butters. No captain or Government Agent by those names ever served in the Queensland labour trade. He says the ship was 350 tons, which would have been larger than any other in the Queensland labour trade in the late 1880s or early 1890s. It is either a total fiction or carefully disguised.]
- 1890-91 *Borough Belle*. Private log of the voyage by Captain W.T. Wawn, ex-Mackay 21 October 1890 to Mackay 24 April 1891, Government Agent H.H. Robinson. Mitchell Library, Sydney. The voyage appears in Wawn 1893/1973, 423-440.
- 1891 *Roderick Dhu*. Diary of John Augustus Paesch, held in John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, JOL 38407666. In 1891 Paesch was Captain of the *Roderick Dhu* ex-Maryborough on 26 May 1891, with Government Agent J. Thompson. [There is no record of labourers being returned to Queensland. This was year when the labour trade was supposed to close down, which is probably the reason, although it is odd as there are other statistics from voyages between March and December 1891.]
- 1892 *Empreza* left Townsville on 26 July 1892 and returned to Brisbane on 14 December 1892, Captain F.F. Malcolm and Government Agent Douglas Rannie. "Douglas Rannie to IA, 19 December 1892, from Barque *Empreza*." In QSA COL/A783, top-numbered 11572 of 1894.
- 1892 *Helena*. Peter Corris ed. and Intro, Joseph Dalgarno Melvin, *The Cruise of the Helena: A Labour-Recruiting Voyage to the Solomon Islands*. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1977. [The voyage report by Melvin was originally published in the *Argus* (Melbourne).]
- 1892-94 *May*. The papers of Douglas Rannie (1995) contain a diary of a voyage on the *May*, but there is no record that this was made by Rannie. The *May* was in the labour trade between 1892-94 under several other Government Agents.
- 1893 *Helena* left Maryborough 10 February 1893 and returned to Bundaberg 13 July 1893, Captain W. Reynolds and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1893-94 *Helena* left Bundaberg 22 August 1893 and returned to Bundaberg 1 January 1894, Captain W. Reynolds and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1894 *Ariel* left Bundaberg 14 January 1894 and returned to Bundaberg 14 June 1894, under Captain W. Connell and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1894 *Fearless* left Cairns 30 July 1894 and arrived back in Cairns 28 August 1894, as the ship was turned back by the Government Agent as he was ill. The Captain was A. Thomson and the Government Agents were Sydney Mercer Smith, replaced by G. McArthur. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]



- 1894 *Para*. Private log of Captain W.T. Wawn ex-Brisbane 21 April 1894 and returning to Brisbane September 1894. [Wawn had been banned by this stage, and his role was as mate. The Captain was J. Mackay and the Government Agent was W.H. Lawrence.] Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- 1894 *William Manson* was the last Queensland labour trade ships to have allegations of kidnapping made against it. There was a protracted Court case, uniquely brought by an Islander Peter Ambu`ofa from Malaita, Solomon Islands. The crew was found not guilty but the Queensland Government banned them all from further participation in the labour trade. There is a large file in QSA SCT/CC116 with the evidence and newspaper cuttings which follow the trial. See also Moore (2013) and *COL/A795*.
- 1894-95 *Rio Lodge*. Diary of Newton Barton. The ship left Bundaberg on 15 October 1894 and returned to Bundaberg on 19 March 1895. Captain was William Spence, Government Agent was D. Shepherd. The diary is held by the State Library of Queensland, Manuscript 3299.
- 1895 Report on Voyage *Roderick Dhu*. In *QSA COL/A792*.
- 1895 *Roderick Dhu* left Maryborough 1 January 1895 and returned to Maryborough 15 May 1895, under Captain G. Norman and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1896 *Rio Lodge* left Bundaberg 9 April 1896 and returned to Bundaberg 7 August 1896, under Captain W. Spence and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1896-97 *Sybil* left Maryborough 14 November 1896 and returned to Townsville 30 January 1897, with Captain J. Anderson and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1897 *Lochiel* left Bundaberg 27 March 1897 and returned to Mackay 29 August 1897, with Captain Robert Pearn and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1897-98 *Fearless* left Cairns 19 December 1897 and returned to Mackay 16 May 1898, with Captain G. McArthur and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1898 *Roderick Dhu*. Log of Government Agent F. Goodling, ex-Maryborough 3 September 1898 and returned to Dungeness (Ingham) 29 November 1898, Captain J. Anderson. QSA IPI 3/21.
- 1898-99 *Sybil* left Maryborough on 8 October 1898 and returned to Maryborough 27 January 1899, with Captain and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1900 *Sydney Belle* left Bundaberg on 12 February 1900 and returned to Bundaberg 9 July 1900, with Captain A. Gray and Government Agent Sydney Mercer Smith. [The log of Sydney Mercer Smith is held by the Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.]
- 1904 *Clansman*. Log of Government John Kirkpatrick Craig, 13 July 1904 to 12 October 1904. QSA PRE/91. [I also hold part of a typed report by Craig of 10 pages, also pertaining to the *Clansman* voyage, also QSA PRE/91. I do not hold the 1904 Return of Immigration and Emigration, which would be necessary to check this and provide ports.]

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responsible for the 1884 Royal Commission into recruiting in the New Guinea islands. He ordered the labour trade closed, then reopened it in 1892. He was also on the bench of the High Court that heard the case which determined that the 1901 order of Deportation was legal (Prince 2017). His main enemy in Queensland politics was Sir Thomas McIlwraith (Beanland 2013).]

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**Emeritus Professor Clive Moore** is equally at home in Australian and Pacific history. One of the most experienced practicing historians in Queensland, he is an advocate for Pacific Studies in Australia and is internationally regarded as a leading scholar of the Pacific, particularly of Melanesia. His research covers Queensland, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, and the Pacific labour diaspora. He has worked at James Cook University, the University of Papua New Guinea and the University of Queensland, where he held the McCaughey Chair of History until he retired in 2015.

A specialist in the history of ethnic and minority groups in Australia, for forty years he has been the major scholar of the history of Australian South Sea Islanders (ASSI). In the 1970s, with Patricia Mercer, he inaugurated the collection of oral testimony and photographs in the ASSI community and recently has been involved in establishing protocols for further research with the community. He has also completed consultancies relating to Australian Indigenous communities and ASSI, and on tertiary education in Papua New Guinea.

He is author, co-author or editor of sixteen books and four special issues of academic journals, plus several reports and bibliographies and more than eighty refereed academic articles and chapters. In 1979, he edited *The Forgotten People: A History of the Australian South Sea Island Community*. His *Kanaka: A History of Melanesian Mackay* (1985) is regarded as a classic text on the Pacific labour trade. In the 2000s and 2010s he has specialised in the history of Solomon Islands. His *Happy Isles in Crisis: The Historical Causes for the Failing State in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004* (2004) is a major study of contemporary Solomon Islands. In 2013, he published a digital 270,000 word, 1,000 image *Historical Encyclopaedia of the Solomon Islands* (<http://www.solomonencyclopaedia.net/>). He is editor of Sir Peter Kenilorea's autobiography *Tell It As It Is* (2008). His most recent books are *Making Mala: Malaita in Solomon Islands, 1870s-1930s* (2017) and *Tulagi: Pacific Outpost of British Empire* (2019). His work connects contemporary Melanesia with the Melanesian diaspora in Australia and he has remained involved with Australian South Sea Islanders associations, helping to press their case for contemporary disadvantage.

His New Guinea history writing is best exhibited in *A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle, 1967-1991* (1998, edited with Mary Kooyman), his *New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History* (2003)—the only current history of the whole island of New Guinea—and through *Andrew Goldie in New Guinea, 1875-1879: Memoir of a Natural History Collector* (2012, edited with Steve Mullins and Martin Bellamy). His wider Australian interests are most evident in *1901: Our Future's Past* (1997, with Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders and Bryan Jamison) and *Sunshine and Rainbows: The Development of Gay and Lesbian Culture in Queensland* (2001). In 2000, he coordinated the Queensland section of the National Archives of Australia 'Founding Documents Website Documenting a Democracy: Australia's Story'. In 2000-01, he coordinated a UNESCO-funded Feasibility Study on Distance and Flexible Learning in Papua New Guinea, for the Office of Higher Education, Department of Education, Research, Science and Technology, Papua New Guinea, and participated in a separate review of the University of Papua New Guinea. He is co-convenor of the University of Queensland's Solomon Islands Partnership (<https://law.uq.edu.au/research/our-research/uq-solomon-islands-partnership/uq-solomon-islands-partnership>).

In 2005, he was awarded a Cross of Solomon Islands for his historical work on Malaita, Solomon Islands. In 2011, he became a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. In 2012, he was made Outstanding Alumni of the Year at James Cook University, and in 2015 he was awarded the John Douglas Kerr Medal of Distinction by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland and the Professional Historians Association (Queensland).

**Dedicated to:**



**Faith Bandler**



**Esther Henaway and Shireen Malamoo**



**Malcolm Cole**

Sources: *Sydney Morning Herald*; Carol Ruff photograph (of Esther Henaway and her daughter Shireen Malamoo with Esther's image in the mural on the side wall of the Townsville Aboriginal and Islanders Health Services, 1980); and a sketch of Malcolm Cole by Carol Ruff, 1980.



**Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Founders and Community Representatives**

Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) was formed in 2009 with the official registration under ASIC in 2010. Founding board members bound by the constitution were Shireen Malamoo, Emelda Davis, Shola Diop, and Binette Diop.

Founding elders: Patricia Corowa (who requested via email the reformation of a Port Jackson branch), Nellie Enares, Shireen Malamoo, Graham Mooney, and Carriette Pangas (née Togo).

The initial meetings started with community leaders Lesley Yasso, Carmen Parter, Sonya Parter, Graham Mooney, Markou Panga, Fatou N’Doye, Binette Diop, Shola Diop, Domonic Kanak, Matt Poll, Victor Corowa, Avis Deugarra, Nellie Enares, Shireen Malamoo, Eloise Watego, Lola Forester (née Meniga / Fosala), Jane Chapman, Sarina Vojnar (née Mussing), and Carriette Pangas (née Togo) and Kodi Corowa.

**Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson)**  
*founders and community representatives*



Shola Diop, (Waskam) Emelda Davis, Jane Chapman, Sonya Parter, Markou Pangas (née Togo), Matt Poll (née Watego), Graham Mooney, Eloise Schnierer (née Watego), Victor Corowa, ← image 2010 by Ms. Lola Forester (née Meninga / Fosala)  
Shireen Malamoo, Avis Deugarra, Nellie Enares



Carriette Pangas (née Togo)



Dr Bonita Mabo AO



Melina Fakatava (née Togo)



Binette Diop

← Location: Sugar Wharf, Port Jackson (Sydney Harbour), Pirrama Park (Pymont) NSW



PRIME MINISTER

**MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER**

**AUSTRALIAN SOUTH SEA ISLANDER RECOGNITION DAY  
25<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY**

From the arrival of the *Don Juan* at the port of Brisbane in 1863, generations of South Sea Islanders have had a lasting influence on the social, cultural and economic life of our nation.

Despite immense hardship and discrimination, the community's story is one of survival and resilience. It is a story worthy of reflection and remembrance.

It is also a story of contribution and achievement as well. Australian South Sea Islanders are today represented across many prominent fields of endeavour, and there is growing appreciation of the community's unique story in our nation's shared history.

We remember also the Australian South Sea Islanders who have served as members of the defence force in times of peace and war.

The Commonwealth's recognition of the community as a distinct cultural group was an important step in an ongoing journey of understanding, and affirmed the special place of Australian South Sea Islanders within the fabric of our nation.

As you gather in celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of that momentous day, I join you in reflecting with pride and gratitude on the immense contribution Australian South Sea Islanders have made to our nation's success and to the ongoing ties of friendship we share with the people of the South Seas.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Scott Morrison'.

The Hon Scott Morrison MP  
Prime Minister of Australia

12 August 2019

Clive Moore's *Hardwork* is a bibliography of around 1,400 sources relating to Australian South Sea Islanders, the Australian sugar industry and the Pacific labour trade, together with an extensive Introduction. Australian South Sea Islanders are the descendants of Pacific Islanders—the majority from Vanuatu and Solomon Islands—brought to New South Wales and Queensland on 62,000 indenture contracts between 1847 and 1904. Overwhelmingly youths and young men, there were around 50,000 individuals (some came more than once). The process through which the first generation came to Australia and worked in the sugar, pastoral and marine industries was always been criticised as exploitative and debates continue about it having been a new form of slavery. Several thousand were deported in the 1900s as part of the White Australia Policy, but around 1,500 to 2,000 remained. Today, their descendants are third to sixth generation Australians, who are acknowledged by the Australian, Queensland and New South Wales Governments as a disadvantaged ethnic group. The bibliography was prepared for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Australian South Sea Islander Recognition Day, 25 August 2019.

