EPILOGUE

THIS THESIS began by examining the colonial experiences of Pacific Island migrants who came to Queensland as indentured labourers, particularly those who broke the pattern of circular migration by remaining in Australia. In their new country, the migrants broadened their world-view and built up new loyalties. By the late 1890s and early 1900s, a small proportion of the migrants regarded themselves as permanent residents and displayed this attitude in various economic and social activities. In the mid-1900s many of these people were faced with deportation, but, as a result of their own protests and those of sympathetic Europeans, the requirements for exemption were liberalized. Even so, very few of the migrants - perhaps two to two and a half thousand - remained in Australia after 1908, and a considerable proportion of these did so illegally.

The expectation amongst European contemporaries was that this small population, with a heavy imbalance towards single, ageing men, would not survive, physically or culturally. There were, however, other differences between the demographic patterns of Pacific Islanders and those of the wider community. A high rate of natural increase and a declining mortality rate helped to account for the survival of a separate Pacific Islander population. This was clearly evident by 1940. In the years between 1908 and 1940, the Islander population in North Queensland was largely a closed one: there was some augmentation of the population by migration from other parts of Queensland, but few Islanders moved out of the region. Residentially, they lived an isolated and semi-rural existence, although mobility within and between districts helped to maintain contacts with other groups of Islanders. There was a marked tendency for those from the same island of origin to cluster together.

Together with other non-Europeans, the Islanders in this period faced extensive discrimination at the official and unofficial levels, aimed at denying them civic rights and restricting their access to favoured occupations. In Queensland in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Labor Party and the Australian Workers Union attached great importance to the 'coloured' labour question: the use of non-European labour was inextricably
tied to both past and present efforts to obtain decent working conditions for European sugar workers. There was a long and vigorous campaign to force non-Europeans out of the sugar industry.

Since most Islanders were involved in the sugar industry, as farmers or workers, this campaign had a significant impact on them. The lack of training for other occupations and the discrimination practised against them ensured that Islanders remained near the bottom of the occupational pyramid. In Mackay, and to a lesser extent in other districts, cane growing or mixed farming was an important activity, but by 1940 the number of Islanders farming had declined drastically, largely due to the legislative handicaps imposed on them. Some Islanders lived comfortably, but most existed at a subsistence level, dependent on the charity of local farmers for the land on which they grew much of their own food. This at least sustained them during the depression years, when unemployment was high amongst the Islanders. During the 1930s, many of the single migrant men lived in straitened circumstances, dependent on the pittance provided to them in the form of the State indigence allowance.

Contacts between the Islanders and the wider society were superficial and largely restricted to contact through the schools, membership of Christian churches, law enforcement and certain leisure activities. Pacific Islanders were a residentially distinct, staunchly Christian, poorly educated, but predominantly law-abiding population. Relationships with Europeans were nearly always conducted on an unequal basis and mutual suspicion and hostility generally characterized interaction with other non-European groups such as the Chinese and the Aborigines. The movement of the Islanders from the more conventional churches into new and socially marginal sects was an indication of the resentment of their unequal position.

Pacific Islanders lived an unobtrusive and self-contained existence not only from necessity but also from choice. This allowed them to develop and maintain a separate identity and community solidarity. Many traditional customs and beliefs, modified by the new environment, were maintained. A generalized Melanesian culture developed which marked them as distinct both from other Australians and from their homeland communities in the islands. Yet while shared characteristics generally became more important than
cultural differences, there were continuing divisions based on place of origin. To Europeans, Pacific Islanders may have appeared to be one group, but amongst themselves they remained very aware of social and cultural differences dividing them.

This was the state of the Pacific Islander population in North Queensland on the eve of World War II. The changes created by the war could not be easily shut out, and the war had a major impact on the lives of North Queensland's Pacific Islanders.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, World War II took on a new meaning for Australians and especially for North Queenslanders. The fear of invasion was very strong. Japanese attacks on New Guinea began in January 1942 and in February Darwin and other towns in the Northern Territory and also Western Australia were bombed. In this same month, all schools in the far north and throughout coastal Queensland were closed. In North Queensland, citizens who could leave were advised to do so and, especially in the far north, large numbers left in haste. By August 1942, when the risk of bombing and imminent invasion was thought to have passed, residents began to return home. Apparently few Pacific Islanders ever left the north, with the exception of some elderly migrants in hospital who were sent to southern centres.


2. See T458sb:1; T608sb:1; T638sa:2. Oral evidence concerning World War II was collected in the Mackay, Bowen, Burdekin and Herbert River districts, but not in the districts in the far north.
During the South West Pacific offensive, many of the bases and much of the supplies and equipment for the sea, land and air forces were located in Queensland and particularly in the north. There were naval establishments at Bowen, Townsville and Cairns, aerodromes near Charters Towers, Townsville and Mareeba, and large numbers of American and Australian troops stationed in camps near towns throughout the whole area. From March 1942 all civilians had to carry identity cards and ration books. Under special war time regulations, curfews and travel restrictions were imposed on 'aliens' and many, notably Italians in North Queensland, were interned.

Wartime service was a novel experience for Pacific Islander men. Persons who were not substantially of European origin or descent were specifically exempted from wartime military service, but not from duties of a non-combative nature. It was up to the military authorities, however, to judge whether persons came under this disqualification. According to one source, Islanders were able to join up if they identified as Aboriginals. Many native-born Islander men enlisted in the army. Others were conscripted into the Civilian Constructional Corps, which carried out the projects of the Allied Works Council such as the building of roads, aerodromes and army camps. 'Smile' Backo and his brother John, for example, worked in this 'army behind the army', building roads in inland North Queensland.

3. Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59. Robert Hall shows that although official army policy denied entry to persons 'not substantially of European origin or descent', many Aborigines were enlisted and served in the army. 'Aborigines, the Army and the Second World War in northern Australia', Aboriginal History Vol.4, Jun.1980, pp.73-75. See also Appendix D.

4. T15Bsb:3; T18Bsa:1; T21Bsb:2; T64Bsa:3; Moore, The Forgotten People, p.59; Percy Mooney, AMR, Mackay, 4 Jan.1945; Photographic Album, II, No.78. In the Torres Strait, the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion was organized under European officers. Lack, 'The Story of Cape York Peninsula Part II', p.151.

5. T18Bsa:1; T57Bsa:3; T57Bsb:1; T60Bsb:1; Crowley, A Documentary History of Australia, Vol.5, pp.56, 87.
Other Islander men continued to work on the farms; farm labourers and cane-cutters were in short supply during these years.

Women in North Queensland, as elsewhere in Australia, took on new roles during the war. Increased participation in the workforce, especially by young married women, was one important effect. Single women and married women without children were considered 'eligible females' to be called up to work by the manpower authorities. In North Queensland, where there was little industrial employment, women worked primarily in secretarial or other white-collar jobs or in labouring work on the land. The Women's Land Army was composed of volunteer women who worked on the farms. There do not appear to have been any Islander women in the Land Army, but whether this was by choice or because 'black' women were not welcome is not known.

Since Islander women married young and bore early families, few would have been called up. At least some Islander women worked outside their traditional roles; for instance, Rhoda Backo, married with a young family, ran a laundry in Ayr to serve the needs of American troops stationed in the town and at nearby Woodstock.

Probably the most novel experience for the Islanders in these years was their contact with American Negro soldiers. Such soldiers were mainly attached to the labour battalions around Woodstock and Gîru near Ayr.

'White' Australian women were cautious of the Negro soldiers, although many families invited 'white' servicemen into their homes. In the Burdekin district, Rhoda Backo and her sister Esther Henaway, both married and with

8. T25Bsa:3; T45Bsb:1.
young families, recall their contacts with many of the Negro soldiers who visited their homes to talk, play the piano and share their meals. Many European women married American soldiers, but there is no evidence that the Islanders did so. 10

The war had a long-term impact on Pacific Islanders. It broke down their isolated, insular existence in North Queensland. For both the young men and women, the war created new jobs and opportunities and, at least for the men, took them into new surroundings. After 1945, the young men who had been in the army or the labour corps were reluctant to settle back into the old ways. The pattern of semi-rural dispersion began to change as the younger generation drifted into the towns, leaving the old people behind. 11 Those few Islanders who were still growing cane had suffered from the disruption of the war, during which the amount of cane crushed had dropped dramatically. 12 Now they lost the labour of their young male relatives or countrymen:

When the boys all left and went away in the Army they found life different. When they came back they couldn't fit in to the old ways, living all together in the old Islander way. They wouldn't even come home and that's how we all went bankrupt on the farms. All the boys just left the old people on the farms. 13

10. See T45Bsb:1. Since Islander women tended to marry at a younger age than Europeans, there were fewer single Islander women available. Aborigines similarly had friendly encounters with Negro soldiers. Hall, 'Aborigines, the Army and the Second World War', p.87.

11. See T27Bsa:2; T28Bsa:2; T57Bsa:3; T64Bsa:1.


The war years coincided with a generation change in the Islander population. By 1945, most of the migrants had died or were very elderly: in Mackay in 1941, for example, Jimmy from Nggela was described as one of the last surviving 'originals'. The war had acted to loosen the controls exercised by the older over the younger people. Henceforth the insularity of the Islander population progressively broke down and leadership passed to the younger, native-born men and women.

IN CONTRAST with the pre-war years, Islanders in North Queensland today appear, superficially, to be well-integrated into the wider society. While this may be so in many respects, they remain economically and socially disadvantaged to a significant degree.

There have been several conflicting estimates of the present number of descendants of the Pacific Islander migrants in Australia, ranging from eight thousand to thirty thousand or more. The lower figure is undoubtedly more accurate. The greatest part - perhaps two-thirds - of this number live in North Queensland. Mackay still has the largest population - around three thousand. There are sizeable numbers in the Bowen, Burdekin, Herbert River and Cairns districts, and smaller numbers scattered throughout the rest of the region. The Islanders, especially the younger people, are more mobile than in the past, moving freely between coastal districts and even out of the region to larger centres.


15. The following discussion is based on work done in conjunction with Moore. See Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', pp.98-108; Mercer and Moore, 'Australia's Pacific Islanders', pp.90-101.

16. A recent report released by an interdepartmental committee of the Commonwealth Government estimated (on the basis of a survey by Commonwealth officers) that there were 3,000 to 3,500 Pacific Islanders. This is a very conservative estimate, based on a survey which cannot be considered reliable as it was not fully supported by the Islanders. See Report of the Interdepartmental Committee into South Sea Islanders in Australia (Canberra, 1977), pp.4, 12; Moore, The Forgotten People, pp.78-79.
Today the Islanders live in, rather than outside, the small urban centres along the North Queensland coastline. Their dwellings are more often rented than owned—home ownership is far less common amongst the Islanders than it is amongst their 'white' neighbours. Their houses are not substantially different from the average North Queensland home, but there is a higher proportion of improvisation and mobile dwellings. Very few Islanders live in slum conditions.

The closeness of contact provided by living near to other Islanders has been lost, and the older people in particular regret its passing. Islanders, however, still interact primarily with other Islanders. Family celebrations and bereavements will bring Islanders from very considerable distances to join their kin; the high degree of inmarriage and large family size mean that there are extensive connections by blood or marriage amongst the Islander population. Most outside social activities are associated with the church. Organized sport is popular, but there is limited interaction with other groups because of a tendency to join teams which are 'all-black' or which have a high proportion of 'black' members.

Behaviour is still governed by a strong sense of family loyalty and kinship obligations. Households are generally larger than the Queensland average. Unemployed or visiting relatives and friends are always welcome, but there is implicit pressure on such people eventually to find employment and contribute their share to the household budget. Food and money are freely given to relatives and friends, but once again there is an unspoken expectation that such debts will be repaid in time. The generous support system extends to the helpless, young or old. Illegitimate and orphaned Islander (and other) children are raised by Islander families rather than sent to government homes and, similarly, elderly people come to live with or near their children or other relatives.

17. Since the Islanders are on a low income, they often rent Housing Commission homes. Some Islanders have acquired their own homes through finance provided by Commonwealth housing schemes for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.

18. For an example of an Islander family who live under very poor conditions, see Moore, *The Forgotten People*, pp.73-75.
Like the Aboriginal community, this is a youthful population. The large family size of the older generation, when ten to twelve children in a family was not uncommon, helped to create this (see Plate 4.4). The younger generation have families which, while not as large, are still considerably above the average Australian family size. Parents exercise greater control and discipline over their children than do many of their 'white' contemporaries, even if the older generation lament that this upbringing is not as strict as that they received.

Marriage patterns have changed through necessity. The degree of inmarriage amongst the older generation has created a situation where the choice in marital partners is between a cousin or other relative, or a non-Melanesian. The first choice (though sometimes made) is frowned upon, and therefore there is a growing tendency to marry Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders and even Europeans. The age at marriage, especially for women, is still young, and there are very few unmarried men and even fewer unmarried women.

Unskilled manual labour is still the chief sphere of employment. Until the mechanization of the sugar industry in the 1960s, most of the men worked as farm labourers or cane-cutters and drew unemployment relief in the slack season. Now they work in the sugar mills or in seasonal employment such as at the meatworks and tomato-picking. Islander women continue to be limited largely to domestic work. There is a high level of unemployment amongst the Islanders, and especially amongst the adolescent boys and girls. Poor education and discrimination practised against the Islanders in regard to jobs such as apprenticeships and those which involve dealings with the public, ensure that the Islanders remain concentrated in low status occupations. Their earnings are well below the average weekly wage for men. A recent Commonwealth survey found that just under half of the Islander population was below the poverty line, in comparison with one-quarter of the Australian population.

19. The Islanders are in fact respected and valued as unskilled workers. Report into South Sea Islanders in Australia, p.19.

20. Ibid., p.14, Table 4.
The educational attainments of Islander children are still poor. They are disadvantaged economically by the low income level of their families and culturally by their membership of a minority group. Their parents feel that European teachers discriminate against their children, and the children find little of relevance or interest in the 'white' middle-class education taught to them, although they excel at sport. They feel that even if they did obtain a good education, higher status jobs would not be open to them. Despite financial assistance provided through Commonwealth educational study grants, few remain at school past the compulsory age and no Islander in North Queensland has secured a tertiary qualification.21

Whereas church attendance by 'white' Australians continues to decline, the great majority of Islanders are practising Christians. Their religious preference also differs widely from that of the general society: the largest number are members of the Assembly of God church (Pentecostals), a significant number are Seventh-day Adventists and about the same number are Anglicans.22 This reflects the religious changes of the 1920s and 1930s. Within these churches, they form congregations which are almost exclusively 'black', and they participate very actively in the church services, organization and mission work.

Pacific Islanders feel very strongly that they are 'a forgotten people', whose origins and identity are unknown to most 'white' Australians. In 1974 the Australian South Sea Islanders' United Council was formed, principally to secure recognition for the Islanders as a separate and disadvantaged ethnic group.23 The Council in particular, and the Islanders

21. One woman, Shireen Malamoo, successfully completed several subjects for an Arts degree at the James Cook University of North Queensland, but did not finish her studies.

22. In the general population at the last census, the churches with the largest followings were the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, followed by the Presbyterian church.

23. Previously Pacific Islanders (such as Faith Bandler and Patsy Kruger) had worked for the 'black' cause in Aboriginal organizations such as the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. There are, however, deep divisions and antagonisms between these two 'black' groups and Pacific Islanders.
in general, attracted extensive media coverage in the 1970s, which has been reasonably successful in fostering an awareness that not all the 'kanakas' were sent home.

Progress towards the Council's other objective, to secure eligibility for the financial assistance provided to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, has been much less successful. Pacific Islanders can (and do) receive such benefits as educational and housing grants by identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. Most do in fact have an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander parent or grandparent, but they resent this subterfuge. Under the socially conscious Labor Government, an interdepartmental committee was set up in 1975 to investigate the Islanders' situation. In light of the financial stringency of the present government, it was hardly surprising that, when the committee finally presented its report to this Government in 1978, it did not recommend the extension of such grants to Islanders - despite its conclusion that Pacific Islanders were a disadvantaged group whose standard of living was significantly below that of 'white' Australians. 24 In the wake of this defeat, the Australian South Sea Islanders' United Council has today lost much of its driving force, sapped by internal rivalries arising out of antagonism between those of different descent (that is, island of origin) and male resentment of the leading part taken by women. 25

24. The Government did accept the recommendation that the needs of Islanders should receive special attention from a social worker within the Department of Social Security. In 1976 the Queensland Government established an Aboriginal and Islander Commission as a special advisory authority to the Minister for Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement; Noel Fatnowna represents Pacific Islanders on this four person commission. Canberra Times 14 Sep.1978; Report into South Sea Islanders in Australia, p.24; Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', p.104.

25. For more on the Council and its problems, see Mercer and Moore, 'Australia's Pacific Islanders', pp.98-101.
The United Council's formation and the media coverage given to Pacific Islanders over the last few years have been part of a revitalization in the Islanders' sense of a separate identity. Pacific Islanders perceive themselves as a distinct group, with shared social and cultural traits which set them apart from other Australians. Many are keen to explore their origins by going back to their island (or islands) of origin and attempting to establish contact with their relatives. Some have done so successfully, others have insufficient information to enable them to find their kinfolk. Such visits to the islands, however, have revealed the important differences between Australia's Pacific Islanders and their Melanesian contemporaries. While their values and cultural heritage are essentially Melanesian, they are Australians, leading very different lives from their relatives in the islands. The pride they feel in Australia and their disgust at 'white' Australians' racist attitudes and failure to recognize the Islanders' contribution to the country's development, is expressed by Noel Fatnowna (son of Harry Fatnowna, the Seventh-day Adventist pioneer in Mackay):

'Look, man, my name's Fatnowna. I have been in this town for nearly a hundred years, or at least my family has. You go out around Farleigh, go driving out from this town ... That's the places where we cleared the ground. That's where we grew the cane. That's where we came here nearly a hundred years ago and worked and slaved out there. And you wouldn't let us live in the town thirty years ago because there was no place for us.'

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26. For greater detail on such trips, see Moore and Mercer, 'The Forgotten People', pp.102-5.

APPENDIX A

A Note on Sources

As noted in the Introduction, the sources for this thesis fall into three broad categories discussed below.1 Their usefulness for the family reconstitution approach used in this study is discussed in Appendix B.

A. Conventional Sources

These consist of the usual historical sources: manuscripts, published works, newspapers, government publications and archives. Manuscripts are numerous for the nineteenth century history of indentured Island labour but few are available for the twentieth century. By contrast, contemporary and recently published works are valuable sources for both periods. They provide information on diverse subjects: the labour trade, Melanesian society, Queensland (and Australian) politics and society, minority groups in Australia, the Pacific and elsewhere, demographic history in Australia and the Pacific and historical demography.

Newspapers, both local North Queensland and more widely distributed journals, were consulted for selected dates from the late 1870s through to 1940. Newspapers serving the Cairns, Townsville, Bowen and Mackay districts are available for most of these years, but those in the Port Douglas, Johnstone River, Herbert River and Burdekin districts have either not survived at all or only for short runs. This is partly compensated for by the availability, from 1912, of the North Queensland Register, a weekly newspaper which included notes on each district as well as local news.

Government publications contain the very useful and varied information collected by government agencies. For instance, Queensland Parliamentary Papers provided information on political proceedings, returns on crimes

1. Where relevant, the chronological period for which sources were consulted and any gaps in the coverage are noted.
committed and the prison populations, the chief protector's report on Aborigines, community health and education and the findings of and evidence collected by various commissions and inquiries into agricultural industries (particularly the sugar industry). Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers are useful mainly for the evidence of Commonwealth-appointed commissions on the sugar industry. For both Queensland and the Commonwealth, the parliamentary debates of the upper and lower houses, the government gazettes, the electoral rolls and the published volumes of statutes were consulted extensively. The reports on the Commonwealth censuses of 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947 were also valuable.

Both Commonwealth and State archives, but particularly the latter, provided important data. Records held by the Australian Archives were most useful for material on deportation and exemption and on Commonwealth/State relations. The Queensland State Archives contain a wealth of information on the system of indentured Island labour. But more importantly for my study, they hold abundant material on the lives of Pacific Islanders after 1908 - as, for instance, in the records of coroners' inquests and of District and Supreme Court trials, the files of intestacies, the case histories of lepers, the admission registers, yearly returns and correspondence of state schools, the bench record, summons and watch-house charge books, the letterbooks of clerks of petty sessions and correspondence and papers on Pacific Islanders who were paid a State indigence allowance in the 1930s. A further source is the material collected in connection with legislation which discriminated against non-Europeans; the most important of these, the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, is discussed in Appendix B.

The records of CSR are held in the Archives of Business and Labour at the Australian National University. These provided material on those Islanders amongst CSR's cane suppliers or employees, and also on the Company's actions during the years when the campaign to exclude non-Europeans from the sugar industry was most vigorous.

B. Local Records

Historians who venture outside the libraries and other public repositories find a wealth of information to be collected in the field,
with the only constraint usually being that of time. In all of North Queensland's major coastal towns, I discovered abundant records of which only the major types are described here. Their usefulness for social history is invaluable and their importance for demographic data is discussed in Appendix B.

First, there are the records of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches. No records for the Pentecostal and Seventh-day Adventist churches (which attracted large Islander congregations from the 1920s and 1930s) have been located. Church records consist mainly of baptism and marriage registers, but may also include registers of burials, confirmations and services, minutes of church committee meetings, annual reports, account books and rolls of members. In North Queensland there is a great variation in the coverage and quality of record-keeping and preservation, but in terms of availability and careful recording church records were most useful in Mackay and the Herbert River districts and least useful in the Cairns district. The Anglican church kept the most complete records and the Holy Trinity Church in Mackay was the best example of this: the baptism and marriage registers of this church date from the 1860s to the present, with very few gaps, and from the early twentieth century there are burial, confirmation and service registers, minute and account books, annual reports and parishioners' rolls.

2. For reasons of space, those local records used most frequently are given in an abbreviated form in footnotes, as noted in the list of Abbreviations. For example, a marriage register held at the Holy Trinity (Anglican) Church in Mackay is abbreviated as AMR [Anglican Marriage Register], Mackay.

3. From oral evidence it was apparent that Pacific Islanders rarely converted to Roman Catholicism, and therefore Catholic church registers were not consulted. The records of the Anglican church in the Port Douglas district were not consulted as they are located in the Diocesan archives on Thursday Island.

4. The Pentecostal church, and especially in its earlier days, was not greatly concerned with record-keeping. See Chant, Heart of Fire, p.205. In the Seventh-day Adventist church records are not kept locally and it may be that there are records kept at the church's headquarters (in Brisbane); I have not explored this possibility.
Secondly, there are the cemetery registers kept by local authorities. These are held by city and shire councils, and their coverage and quality again varies very considerably. In Mackay the cemetery registers were supplemented by the records of a local undertaker, which included notebooks detailing funeral costs and next-of-kin as well as registers of burials.

Thirdly, there are the records of the state schools. Usually these are restricted to admission registers, but in some cases they include school correspondence and punishment registers. Admission registers for some schools have disappeared completely and for others there are gaps due to missing registers. Coverage was most nearly complete in the Herbert River district, and was reasonably full in the Burdekin, Proserpine and Mackay districts.

Fourthly, there are the records of admissions kept by local hospitals, usually known as 'history books'. These were valuable sources, although very time-consuming to use. Unfortunately these could be consulted only in Bowen and Ingham. In Ayr they were missing and in Mackay I was denied access; the exigencies of time prevented me from investigating hospital records in the far north.

Finally, there are the records kept by the local sugar mills. Once again, time did not allow me to visit all mills. Since mill records were most valuable for information on Islander farmers, I concentrated on mills in the Mackay, Proserpine, Burdekin and Herbert River districts, where such farmers were most numerous.

C. Oral Sources

The other evidence which can be collected in the field is personal recollection. As noted in the Introduction, the strengths and weaknesses of oral sources as historical evidence have been discussed elsewhere. Oral evidence not only provides information on what people felt and experienced and why they acted in certain ways, but also deepens the collector's

5. Where schools have been closed, the admission registers (if they have survived) are kept in the Queensland State Archives.

6. One mill in the far north, the Mourilyan Hill in the Johnstone River district, was consulted but records dating before 1940 had been destroyed.
understanding of the people under study. It is essential for a fully rounded community study of a minority group, such as the Islanders, who have left few written records. Oral sources have normally been used as a complement, not an alternative, to written sources; only in rare cases are oral sources used without corroboration, as for example for evidence on the persistence of customary religious and magical practices.

During the 1960s and 1970s, some interviews were made both in Queensland and the islands with Pacific Islanders who had laboured on Queensland plantations or whose relatives had done so. Since 1974, in conjunction with Clive Moore, I have collected interviews with those descendants of the Islanders who live in the coastal towns of North Queensland, and especially in the Mackay, Bowen, Burdekin and Herbert River districts. Interviews with fifty-four Islanders have been recorded on eighty cassette tapes. These tapes and also typescripts of some interviews have been deposited as Section B of the Black Oral History Collection in the History Department of the James Cook University of North Queensland. The ages of informants ranged from about forty to over ninety, but most were elderly. Interviews were not structured, the intention being to allow informants to present their recollections without prompting or leading questions. Collecting and utilizing interviews is an extremely time-consuming process, involving making initial contacts, taping at least one interview (and usually several), listening back to the

7. Two Pacific Islanders, Faith Bandler and Noel Fatnowna, are now putting down their recollections.

8. The details of previous interviews collected are detailed in Moore, Oral Testimony and the Pacific Island Labour Trade, pp.2-3. For interviews with migrant and native-born Islanders which have been published (in part or whole), see Dutton, Queensland Canefields English; Moore, The Forgotten People.

9. Access to these tapes is at present limited, but it is intended to widen it when we have both completed our present research projects.
tapes and taking down extensive notes.

The usefulness of this oral evidence is limited by several factors. First, the oldest people interviewed were young children in the closing years of the nineteenth century or the early years of the new century. Their recollections therefore relate almost entirely to the period after large-scale deportation took place; evidence on the plantation period is usually secondhand. In addition, the problem of 'feedback', of incorporation of material from external sources, is apparent; for example, some of our informants had read popular histories of the labour trade which may have influenced their stories of recruiting.

Oral sources are most useful for the period after 1908, and particularly for demographic and social data on how the Islanders lived, worked, married and raised families. But people's memories are notoriously unreliable on 'hard' facts like dates and figures (such as wages). Nor are their recollections very precise on subjects such as the local impact of legislation which discriminated against them.

Very often informants are descendants of migrants from several islands of origin: all four of their grandparents may have come from different islands. Very few Islanders today could be considered to be 'pure', in the sense of belonging to one island of origin. Most families also have some non-Islander forebears, usually Aboriginal. This means that it is usually difficult, and often impossible, to trace back customary

10. Transcribing all the tapes was not worthwhile, though some are now being transcribed. Tape references in footnotes have been abbreviated in the following manner. 'TLB' denotes the number of the tape in Section B (Pacific Islanders) of the Black Oral History Collection, while 'sa' or 'sb' indicates side a or side b, respectively, of the tape. Each side is divided into three parts of fifteen minutes' duration; '1' refers to the first fifteen minutes, '2' to the second and '3' to the final fifteen minutes. Thus 'TLBsa:1' indicates that the reference will be found on Tape 1, side a, 0-15 minutes. Typescripts are identified by number and, where relevant, page number. Thus Typ.1 denotes a reference to Typescript 1B, page 1.

practices to a particular island or, more appropriately, a particular district of an island. In this sense, a generalized Melanesian culture has developed and great caution is needed when attempting to link traits or practices to a specific source of origin.
APPENDIX B

Historical Demography

Historical demography as a sub-discipline developed in the 1940s when historians began to take a greater interest in the reciprocal relationship between industrialization and demographic change. It was pioneered in France by Louis Henry and his colleagues and the approach was later taken up in England by the Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure. Seminal publications by the Cambridge Group include An introduction to English historical demography edited by E.A. Wrigley and Household and family in past time edited by Peter Laslett.

The aim of historical demography is to research population change and dynamics over time through investigation of the lives of individuals. The methods are not new: the statistical techniques are taken from conventional demography, and genealogy has often been used in studying the great and the wealthy. Historical demography, however, is concerned with reconstructing the total demographic history of a community of relatively small size. It also focuses on the lives of ordinary people through the medium of everyday records rather than merely the evidence of their 'betters'. The purpose of this Appendix is to briefly detail the techniques of historical demography and then examine the problems which arise and the usefulness of this approach in relation to a community study of Pacific Islanders in North Queensland between 1900 and 1940.

There are two processes involved in historical demography. The first is that of nominal record linkage. This is a clumsy but useful term describing the process by which records in which an individual is distinguished by name (that is, nominal sources) are brought together and compared in accordance with certain rules to establish the sum total of information on that individual. Not all nominal records can be linked with complete accuracy; the researcher must decide on rules to determine which links will be disregarded and which utilized when such links conflict with each other. In England, the chief nominal sources are parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials and lists of inhabitants, government birth, death and marriage registers and census schedules. The second process, family reconstitution, is dependent upon prior nominal record linkage. In family reconstitution, all the information on members of a particular family is gathered together in order to discover the family's chief demographic characteristics.

The work of the Cambridge Group has drawn sharp criticism from some historical demographers and historians who stress the variety of local experiences and the need for caution in interpreting results and generalizing about the history of populations from the evidence of a few parish studies. While Wrigley and others have been fairly cautious in their conclusions, Laslett has expounded sweeping interpretations of English demographic history since the sixteenth century on the limited evidence available. He contends, for example, that the evidence demonstrates that the nuclear or simple family household type was predominant in pre- and as well as in post-industrial England. His critics argue that the English model by which he has predefined the household is inappropriate for comparative purposes and that such categories as simple, extended or multiple households may represent different phases of a developmental cycle rather than different types of family structure. Historical demographers have also been criticized for focusing on the family household to the near exclusion of the kinship system that extends beyond it.

2. For a detailed discussion of these processes and the problems which arise, see Wrigley, 'Introduction', in Wrigley (ed.), Identifying People in the Past, pp.1-16.
In transforming nominal records into population history there are numerous problems and only those most relevant to my work are discussed here. In Australia neither State birth, death and marriage registers nor Commonwealth census schedules are available to researchers. Quantifiable information on household composition is only available from residential listings such as census schedules, and therefore Australian researchers cannot perform studies of the kind for which the Cambridge Group is renowned. However, the absence of vital records can be circumvented by the exploration of unorthodox sources, since any source in which an individual is named can be used in nominal record linkage. For my study, the nominal sources consulted fall into two categories - first, those located in libraries and archives and secondly, those found in the field.

In libraries and archives, nominal sources include newspapers, electoral rolls, intestacies, inquests, trials and bench record and summons books. Government departments, as shown in Appendix A, gathered (usually indirectly) very considerable information on the lives of Pacific Islanders in the twentieth century. One very important collection of data which requires special mention is that gathered in connection with the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913. Under this Act every non-European who

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3. Through the medium of a judge of the Queensland Supreme Court I sought a waiver on the payment of search fees for birth, marriage and death certificates, but was not successful. The cost is prohibitive for any community study. The lack of access to vital records and census schedules is no doubt responsible for the limited interest shown by Australian researchers in historical demography, but some work is being done using local records such as parish registers. See I. Davey, 'Education and Social Mobility: The Hindmarsh Project', Australia 1888 A journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888 Bulletin No. 2, Aug. 1979, pp. 85-87; P. Curson, 'Reconstructing Sydney's Past Demographic Environment', ibid., pp. 93-98; J. Cole, 'Social Mobility and Local History: Ways and Means in the Boonah Project', ibid., pp. 99-105.

4. These sources are discussed in greater detail in Appendix A.

5. This Act and its administration are discussed in Chapter 5.
wished to continue as a cane farmer or sugar worker had to apply to the minister for agriculture before 31 December 1913 for a certificate of exemption. Three kinds of applications were submitted in late December 1913 and early 1914. In North Queensland, 452 Pacific Islanders (409 migrants, including 2 women, and 43 native-born Islanders) applied for exemption (see Table 5.1). All three forms required similar information: name, birthplace, nationality, marital status, age, present and previous places of residence, date of arrival in Australia and occupation.6 These forms were filled out in the presence of a justice of the peace and the applicants signed or made their marks. Often additional information to strengthen the applicant's case for exemption was given, such as whether a man was legally married, the size of his family, the number of years he had been working in the sugar industry, or the number of acres he was farming, how many years he had held the lease and improvements made to the property. Pacific Islanders also put their case for exemption in individual letters and petitions.

The Sugar Cultivation Act stimulated the collection of additional information on Pacific Islanders and other non-Europeans. At the premier's request, the police commissioner in February 1913 instructed officers in the State's twelve police districts to obtain information on all non-European residents. Lists were forwarded for all police districts in North Queensland except Cairns.7 An additional list of 216 Pacific Islanders resident in the Mackay district was drawn up in 1913, possibly in response to a circular sent in August 1913 by the Department of

6. These applications are contained in AGS/N97, AGS/N100-8, AGS/N354-57, QSA.

7. It is presumed that a return for this district was not forwarded, since it is not enclosed with the other returns. See Returns of Coloured Residents, 7131 of 1913, PRE/A436, QSA. The lists gave name, birthplace, age, number of years in Queensland, farmer or labourer, residence and whether the individual held an exemption ticket and/or was naturalized.
Agriculture to the managers of sugar mills asking for information on non-European sugar workers. All this additional information is not as valuable as it appears, since it does not correlate well with other nominal sources; for example there are individuals given as Islanders in the police lists who would appear by their names or from other evidence not to have been so. These lists were collected by Europeans who most probably did not have a good knowledge of the Islander population, and must therefore be treated circumspectly.

In contrast, the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act were filled out by Islanders, or more usually by Europeans such as mill managers and local justices of the peace, with whom the Islanders were well-acquainted. The applications provide extensive data on both individuals and families which matches well with other sources. Since the majority of Islanders were working in the sugar industry and most of these applied for exemption, it can be taken as a very full sample of the demographic data.

The second category of nominal sources are found in the field - these are local records and oral evidence as outlined in Appendix A. For individual and family reconstitution, the most useful are church registers, cemetery registers, hospital records and state school admission registers. Church marriage and baptism registers usually contain very full information - name, relationship, age, occupation and residence. Burial registers and cemetery registers give names and usually, but not always, age and residence - information which can be vital for uniquely identifying a person. In Mackay, undertakers' records were very valuable in that they often listed next-of-kin or other relatives or close friends. Hospital records provide details on a patient's marital status, partner's name and names and ages of children (living and dead), as well as age, birthplace, occupation and religion. School admission registers

8. Circular to Sugar Mills re Number of Asiatics Employed, 170G, AGS/N361, QSA; List of Kanakas in the Mackay District 1913, 160G, AGS/N359, QSA. This list only gave name, number of years in Queensland (or age for the native-born) and number of acres under cane for those farming.

9. For example, the List of Kanakas in the Mackay District does not correlate well with the Return of Coloured Residents in the district, and neither correlates well with the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act. See Return of Coloured Residents of the Mackay District, 7131 of 1913, PRE/N436, QSA; List of Kanakas in the Mackay District 1913, 160G, AGS/N359, QSA; AGS/N97, AGS/N100-8, AGS/N354-57, QSA.
give not only the pupil's name, dates of enrolment and departure and progress through grades of schooling, but also the name of the mother, father or guardian, occupation, address and religion. Oral evidence assists by providing the information necessary to link nominal records and to explain complicated family relationships, such as illegitimacy and adoption.

Names are the means by which nominal record linkage is performed. But both first names and surnames are very often abbreviated, modified, changed or spelt variously, while middle names are frequently not given and nicknames are common. It can be difficult to decide what are the variant forms of one name and what are different names. In nominal sources on the Islander population in my period, there is a high frequency of variant and disparate spellings of surnames and first names. Phonetic rendering of Melanesian names by Europeans was largely responsible for this - 'Sippie', for example, was variously recorded as 'Sepey', 'Seapee', 'Shippie' and 'Gippie'. In other cases the Islanders' surnames were modified or even completely changed through simplification or Anglicization, such as the transmutation of 'Fatnahoona' to 'Fatnowna'. Very few adopted common European names and it is the distinctiveness of their surnames which makes possible individual and family reconstitution.

There are special problems in identifying the single men. Particularly in the far north, many went under quasi-generic names such as Peter Tanna, so that there were often two or more men with the same name or names in a district. In addition, many of the single men were known by two or more different names, that is, their friends and relatives knew them by an 'island' name in addition to that by which Europeans knew them. Oral evidence is invaluable for supplying the different names by which an individual was known, but inevitably there will be some Islanders who have been noted twice under different names. Often, imaginative leaps are required to make connections between records - as, for instance, in recognizing that Kate Suvalissie was one and the same person as Gertie Stephens, by comparing the

10. See Chapter 9.

11. Pacific Islanders are by no means always identified as such in nominal sources; for example, they are generally not so identified in intestacies, electoral rolls and cemetery registers.
names and ages of the children of these two 'different' women.

Islander women generally adopted the European custom of taking their husband's surnames when they married, so it may be difficult to link sources on a woman before and after marriage. Pacific Islanders in the period under study also adopted the custom of passing on a parent's name to a child. Thus a mother and daughter often had the same first name, making it difficult to separate them, for example, burial registers if ages are not given. A further confusing habit, also common amongst Europeans, was that of bestowing the name of a dead child on the next born of the same sex. Usually the middle names of family members with the same first name were different, but very often these middle names are not given.

Another problem is that the ages given for Pacific Island migrants tend to be very suspect. The migrants usually did not know their exact birthdate or even year of birth, and the great variation in ages recorded for individual Islanders on different occasions makes it clear that Europeans had difficulty in judging the age of Melanesians. Very often ages were rounded up or down, and this was particularly noticeable in the applications under the Sugar Cultivation Act. Statistics on the age of the migrants at death are too flawed to be of value.

Assessing occupations also presents difficulties. Pacific Islanders were seldom engaged in urban pursuits and therefore the problem of alternative or different descriptions for the same occupation (such as classing a man as a carpenter on one occasion and as a cabinet maker on another) does not arise. However, Europeans, with their fixed ideas on the status of Pacific Islanders, tended to class all islanders as 'labourers' and did not always recognize that some were otherwise engaged (as in farming).

Each source used in nominal record linkage has to be assessed for possible errors, defects and biases. The value of parish registers, for example, can be reduced greatly by careless recording or loss through decay, fire or flood. As mentioned in Appendix A, the Holy Trinity Church

12. This is suggested by several cases in which Islanders, known (from other evidence) to have been farming at a particular time, were given as 'labourers' in church registers or school records.
in Mackay holds the most complete set of records, and fortunately this church had the largest Islander congregation until the 1920s. Parish registers are also selective; as explained in Appendix A, none were available, for example, for those Islanders who joined the Pentecostal and Seventh-day Adventist churches in the 1920s and 1930s. Another defect of nominal records is that vital events are always under-registered: in particular, still-born children or those who died at birth or shortly after, often went unrecorded because they were not baptised and were buried without ceremony or civil notification.

Data on a considerable number of people is necessary if the undue influence of individual personality and circumstance is to be avoided. Moreover, in every society some people, in particular the poor, the highly mobile and the very young, are less stable and visible than others. A sample may also be distorted if movement to and from areas cannot be detected. From oral and written evidence it is apparent that in the period under study very few Islanders migrated outside North Queensland, although there was a considerable movement into and within the region.13 My work has concentrated on the coastal districts of North Queensland, since very few Islanders resided inland, and information is most complete for certain of the coastal districts - Mackay, Bowen and Proserpine, the Burdekin and the Herbert River. In these districts, the Islander population was most numerous and communities tended to be most cohesive. In the far north, the number of Islanders, and especially families, was much smaller and interaction and intermarriage with Aboriginals reduced their visibility. For the districts from the Herbert River to Mackay, my individual and family reconstitution accounts for the overwhelming majority of the Islander population. Complete family reconstructions are possible for most families in these districts and partial family reconstructions can also be used for certain purposes.

The value of this work is not confined to producing simple population figures, although such work does allow me to calculate figures for the number of migrants and also the populations in certain districts over time. The results demonstrate the consistent underenumeration of Pacific Islanders

13. See Chapter 4.
in the Commonwealth censuses. Family reconstitution provides data on matters such as average family size and choice of marital partners. Some correlation has been attempted of island of origin (and descent) with such activities as choice of marital partner, residence and occupation. This demonstrates relationships, such as the residential separation between Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans in Mackay.

Such analysis continually brings particular names to the attention of the researcher and provides a sense of great familiarity with the population under study. I will conclude with two examples of the picture which can be built up - first, through nominal record linkage and secondly, through family reconstitution.

Peter Bolo was one of the few recruits brought from Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands (see Plate 9.2). He came to Mackay on the Lavinia in about 1887 and stayed permanently in this district. His first employer was Robert Hartens of 'Mendarana'. By 1909, and into the 1920s, he was growing cane on twenty acres of land at Mount Oscar leased from J.R. Norris and was supplying cane to the Farleigh Mill. In the 1930s, he received the indigence allowance and by 1945 he was on the old-age pension. Originally baptised as a Presbyterian, he was received into the Anglican church and

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14. See Chapter 4.

15. I have deliberately chosen not to embark on a more rigorous analysis of the data. The relatively small size of the population involved, which would have seriously limited the significance of any elaborate analysis, not only permitted the manipulation of the data by hand, but also allowed a continuous estimation of the reliability of the data. Such an estimation lies behind all the analyses attempted in this thesis. It will be clear from the discussion in this appendix that the errors in many ostensible statistics and the difficulties of completely reliable nominal record linkage obviate the value of any easily-won results. There is no point in the mere generation of figures, however sophisticated one's equipment. However, with the more reliable data now available as the result of systematic nominal record linkage and family reconstitution, it may prove worthwhile at a later date to correlate more variables than I have had time to do.

16. See Table 4.6.

17. The sources for Bolo's life-history include his application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, the List of Kanakas in the Mackay district, Farleigh Mill records, lists of Islanders receiving the indigence allowance, the baptism and confirmation registers of Holy Trinity Church in Mackay, the Mackay cemetery register and oral evidence.
confirmed in 1915. He could sign his name. Bolo did not marry and spent his last years living with the Marten family in North Mackay, where he died in 1949, aged in his seventies.

Tom Lammon, from Lamen island in the New Hebrides, was brought to the Burdekin district in about 1884. After his initial three-year indenture, during which he worked as a 'house boy' and also as a stoker at Kalomia Mill, he returned to Lamen for a brief time. Recruiting for a second time in the early 1890s, he came to Cairns; on the voyage he met Annie Buka Buka, from Toga Island in the New Hebrides, and they married in Cairns. In the mid-1890s, Tom and Annie moved down to the Herbert River district. From about 1909, they grew sugar cane on twenty acres of land at Farnham (near Gairloch), leased from Bryan Lynn, a local farmer. In 1918, Lynn transferred this lease to land he owned at Victoria, and the Lammons farmed there until they moved down to the Burdekin district in the early 1930s.

Tom and Annie had five children, born between 1892 and 1907; the first boy (Henry) died as a young child, and the youngest girl (Frances) died of peritonitis at the age of sixteen. Their other three children all married native-born Islanders: Louis married twice, first, Emily Notlop and after her death, Agnes Neubal, and had altogether five children; Henry married Rhoda Backo and had five children; Norah married Ernest Byquar and bore seven children. The Lammons were staunch Anglicans; Tom and Annie, together with Louis and Henry, were all confirmed in 1905. Tom was the lay preacher at the Pritt Mission and, after 1908, at the Gairloch church until it closed in 1925 (see Plate 8.2). In the Burdekin, he converted to the Assembly of God church. He spoke good English and was able to sign his name and read the Bible; Annie, however, only spoke pidgin and was illiterate. Annie died in 1955 (age unknown) and Tom died in 1965 aged in his nineties; of their children, only Norah is still alive.

18. The sources for this family reconstitution include Tom’s application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, CSR records, the baptism, marriage, burial, confirmation and service registers of the Holy Trinity Church in Ingham, the Northern Churchman, state school admission registers, the Ayr cemetery register, oral evidence and information supplied by Tom Dutton of the Australian National University.
### Legislation concerning Pacific Islanders in Queensland*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF ACT</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868</td>
<td>31 Vic., No.47</td>
<td>To remove abuses in the recruitment and treatment of Islanders in the colony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880</td>
<td>44 Vic., No.17</td>
<td>To limit the engagement of indentured Islanders to tropical and semi-tropical agriculture; to extend supervision over recruitment and the treatment of Islanders in the colony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1884</td>
<td>47 Vic., No.12</td>
<td>To limit the employment of all Islanders (except those who secured exemption) to fieldwork in tropical and semi-tropical agriculture; to tighten control over recruiting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1885</td>
<td>49 Vic., No.17</td>
<td>To set a closing date of 31 December 1890 on recruiting for Queensland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1886</td>
<td>50 Vic., No.6</td>
<td>To amend the definition of the term 'Pacific Islander'; to place liability for medical and burial costs on employers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers (Extension) Act of 1892</td>
<td>55 Vic., No.38</td>
<td>To re-open the labour trade indefinitely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901#</td>
<td>No.16 of 1901</td>
<td>To set a closing date of 31 March 1904 on recruiting for Queensland; to provide for the deportation from Australia of non-exempted Islanders after 31 December 1906.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Act Amendment Act of 1906#</td>
<td>No.22 of 1906</td>
<td>To relax the criteria for exemption from deportation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not including legislation relating to Pacific Islanders engaged in the pearl-shell and beche-de-mer industries in the Torres Straits.  
+ This gave legislative authority to executive regulations issued in December 1876 by the then Premier of Queensland, John Douglas.  
\# Commonwealth of Australia legislation (otherwise Queensland legislation).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</th>
<th>NUMBER AND CLAUSES</th>
<th>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apple Bounty Act of 1918</td>
<td>No. 21 of 1918</td>
<td>bounty only payable if grown by 'white' labour (or by Australian Aborigines or 'half-castes').*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ss. 4(c), b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td>No. 27 of 1918</td>
<td>aboriginals of Australia, Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands disqualified from electoral privileges.</td>
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<td>Electoral Acts of 1918 and 1925</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 20 of 1925</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ss. 5, 39(1)(b);</td>
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<td></td>
<td>s. 5(a)-(c) (1925)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td>No. 8 of 1902</td>
<td>as above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franchise Act of 1902 (repealed by the Electoral Act</td>
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<td>of 1918)</td>
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<td>No. 3(b), 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Defence Acts of 1903, 1909 and 1910</td>
<td>No. 20 of 1903</td>
<td>persons not substantially of European origin or descent exempted from wartime service and peacetime</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 15 of 1909</td>
<td>training (but not from duties of a non-combative nature in time of war); non-British subjects</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 37 of 1910</td>
<td>ineligible to attend military colleges.*</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ss. 37, 59; s. 138(1)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) (1909); ss. 61(h), 147(b) (1910)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emigration Act of 1910</td>
<td>No. 26 of 1910</td>
<td>Aboriginals of Australia (including those with one Aboriginal parent) prohibited from leaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>passim</td>
<td>Australia without a permit.*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration Acts of 1901 to 1905</td>
<td>No. 17 of 1901</td>
<td>prohibiting the immigration into Australia of any person who is submitted to and fails to pass a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 17 of 1905</td>
<td>dictation test in any prescribed language.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>passim; s. 3(1)(a)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1905)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Acts of 1908 and 1926</td>
<td>No. 17 of 1908</td>
<td>Asians and aboriginals of Australia, Africa, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands (except from 1926)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 44 of 1926</td>
<td>British Indians and native-born Asians disqualified from receiving the old-age or invalid pension.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ss. 16(1)(a), (c), (2), 21(a), (b), (2); ss. 16(1)(c), 21(1) (1926)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER AND CLAUSES</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternity Allowance Acts of 1912, 1926 and 1927</td>
<td>No. 8 of 1912</td>
<td>Asians and aboriginals of Australia, Papua and the Pacific Islands disqualified from receiving the maternity allowance; changed in 1926 to 'aliens' and aboriginals of Australia, Papua and the Pacific Islands.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 48 of 1926</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No. 34 of 1927</td>
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<td></td>
<td>s. 6(2); s. 6(2) (1926 and 1927)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality Act of 1920</td>
<td>No. 48 of 1920 passim</td>
<td>certificates of naturalization to be granted to 'aliens' only at the discretion of the governor-general.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalization Act of 1903 (repealed by Nationality Act of 1920)</td>
<td>No. 11 of 1903 ss. 5, 9, 10</td>
<td>aboriginals of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands disqualified from applying for certificates of naturalization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigation Acts of 1912 and 1921</td>
<td>No. 4 of 1913</td>
<td>only British subjects fluent in English to be examined for certificates of competency or engaged as officers in ships registered for Australia; 'aliens' not to be engaged in any capacity on ships registered in the United Kingdom or Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 1 of 1921 ss. 17, 26(a), (b), 341; s. 47A(1921)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Labourers Acts of 1901 and 1906</td>
<td>No. 16 of 1901</td>
<td>all aboriginals of the Pacific Islands (except those exempted) liable to be deported after 31 December 1906; no Pacific Island labour to enter Australia after 31 March 1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 22 of 1906 passim</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Post and Telegraphs Act of 1901</td>
<td>No. 12 of 1901 ss. 16(1), (2)</td>
<td>contracts to carry mails on behalf of the Commonwealth only entered into on the condition that 'white' labour only will be employed.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER AND CLAUSES</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service Act of 1902 (repealed by Public Service Act of 1922)</td>
<td>No. 5 of 1902 s. 26(1), (2)</td>
<td>only natural-born and naturalized British subjects eligible to join the Commonwealth Public Service (except with the governor-general's permission).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service Act of 1922</td>
<td>No. 21 of 1922 ss. 33(1)(a)</td>
<td>only natural-born and naturalized British subjects eligible to join the Commonwealth Public Service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Bounty Act of 1903</td>
<td>No. 4 of 1903 s. 2</td>
<td>bounty only payable if sugar cane or beet grown and manufactured by 'white' labour only.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Bounty Acts of 1905 and 1912 (repealed by Sugar Bounty Abolition Act, No. 26 of 1912)</td>
<td>No. 23 of 1905 No. 12 of 1912 ss. 2, 10, 12</td>
<td>bounty only payable if sugar cane or beet grown and manufactured by 'white' labour only (with the exception of Australian Aborigines or, in special cases, 'half-castes').*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Bounty Act of 1913</td>
<td>No. 7 of 1913 s. 2</td>
<td>bounty only payable to growers of 'white'-grown cane (from 1 May to 26 July 1913) or beet (from 1 January to 26 July 1913).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Precautions Acts of 1914 and 1915</td>
<td>No. 10 of 1914 No. 2 of 1915 ss. 5, 9; ss. 5(2), 6(6), 9 (1915)</td>
<td>providing for certain powers over 'aliens', such as the power to deport them, require them to register and to reside within certain places and districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Pulp and Rock Phosphate Bounties Act of 1912</td>
<td>No. 32 of 1912 ss. 4(d). 6</td>
<td>bounty only payable if manufactured by 'white' labour (with the exception of Australian Aborigines or 'half-castes').*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* applicable to non-Europeans born in Australia.

FOOTNOTE: In the case of amending legislation, only those Acts with further discriminatory clauses are cited, and the Sections given refer to the principal Act.
## APPENDIX E

Queensland legislation discriminating against non-Europeans, 1900-1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</th>
<th>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</th>
<th>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts of 1897 and 1934</td>
<td>61 Vic., No. 17; 25 Geo. V, No. 38 passim</td>
<td>'half-caste' to whom the Act applied defined as the offspring of parents or grandparents of whom one is an Aborigine, and also (from 1934) as any person of Aboriginal or Pacific Islander extraction who lives or associates with Aborigines.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption of Children Act of 1935</td>
<td>26 Geo. V, No. 37 s. 5(6)</td>
<td>non-British subjects prohibited from adopting children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Bank Acts of 1904, 1905 and 1911</td>
<td>4 Edw VII, No. 13 5 Edw. VII, No. 15 2 Geo. V, No. 25 s. 3(3); s. 3(3) (1905 and 1911)</td>
<td>no advance to be made to any aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands; changed in 1905 to any 'alien' and in 1911 to any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Bank Act of 1923</td>
<td>14 Geo V, No. 41 s. 17; regs 1 Sep. 1924, 19(i),(ii), 20</td>
<td>no advance to be made to any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert River, Burketown and Lilydale Tramway Act of 1900</td>
<td>64 Vic., No. 19 s. 7</td>
<td>no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliens Act of 1867</td>
<td>31 Vic., No. 28 passim</td>
<td>'aliens' permitted to acquire, hold and dispose of personal property but not to hold real property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana Industry Preservation Act of 1921</td>
<td>12 Geo. V, No. 3 passim; regs 4 Nov. 1921, 22 Jun.1922</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from engaging in or carrying on the cultivation of bananas.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Produce Act of 1904 (repealed by Dairy Produce Act of 1920)</td>
<td>4 Edw. VII, No. 18 s. 30</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any dairy or dairy factory.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Produce Act of 1920</td>
<td>10 Geo. V, No. 15 s. 35</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any registered dairy produce premises or factories.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elections Acts of 1885 and 1905 (repealed by Elections Act of 1915)</td>
<td>49 Vic., No. 13 5 Edw. VII, No. 1 s. 6(l); s. 9(l)(b), (2) (1905)</td>
<td>aborigines of Australia, Africa, Asia or the Pacific Islands disqualified from being enrolled on any electoral roll. as above; changed in 1930 to except British Indians and naturalized Syrians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elections Acts of 1915 and 1930</td>
<td>6 Geo. V, No. 13 21 Geo. V, No. 39 ss. 9, 11, 35(b); s. 11A (1930)</td>
<td>all furniture manufactured in factories to be stamped 'European labour only', 'Chinese labour' or 'European and other labour', according to the labour used.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factories and Shops Acts of 1900, 1908 and 1916</td>
<td>64 Vic., No. 28 8 Edw. VII, No. 4 7 Geo. V, No. 14 s. 4; s. 2 (1908); s. 58C-K (1916)</td>
<td>no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway. as above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone to Callide Railway Act of 1900</td>
<td>64 Vic., No. 13 s. 6</td>
<td>prohibiting any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from obtaining an advance from the Government Savings Bank.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jury Act of 1929</td>
<td>20 Geo. V. No. 19 s. 7(a), (d)</td>
<td>disqualifying persons who are not natural-born or naturalized subject or who are unable to read and write English, from jury service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Act of 1897 (repealed by Land Act of 1910)</td>
<td>61 Vic., No. 25 regs 21 Feb. 1907</td>
<td>making any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, ineligible to select or acquire any land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Act of 1910</td>
<td>1 Geo. V, No. 15 ss. 59, 62, 94(2)(a); regs 27 Jun. 1912, 5 Mar. 1925, 1 Jun. 1929</td>
<td>as above, with an additional requirement that any 'alien' who has acquired a selection will forfeit it unless he becomes naturalized within five years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leases to Aliens Restriction Act of 1912</td>
<td>2 Geo. V, No. 31 passim: regs 1 Nov. 1912, 22 May 1913, 29 Jun. 1922</td>
<td>making it unlawful for any person to lease more than five acres to an 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative Assembly Act of 1867 (repealed by Elections Act of 1915)</td>
<td>31 Vic., No. 21 s. 2</td>
<td>qualifying any person who is qualified to vote, to stand for election to the Legislative Assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor Act of 1912</td>
<td>3 Geo. V, No. 29 s. 71(2)</td>
<td>providing penalties for any person convicted of supplying liquor to an aboriginal of Australia or the Pacific Islands or a native-born Pacific Islander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities Acts of 1902 and 1910 (repealed by Local Government Act of 1936)</td>
<td>ss. 14, 24(1); s. 137A (1910)</td>
<td>qualifying any male ratepayer who is a natural-born or naturalized subject and is qualified to vote, to be a member of a local authority; with a provision added in 1910 prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance, management or working of any tramway or omnibus service of a local authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government Act of 1936</td>
<td>1 Geo. V, No. 1  s. 7(1), (7)(i)(a)</td>
<td>qualifying any resident of the area who is on an electoral roll, to be a member of a local authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine Act of 1910</td>
<td>1 Geo. V, No. 9  s. 23</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who is not of European descent (except for Australian Aborigines) and who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in any licensed margarine factory.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners' Homestead Leases Acts of 1913</td>
<td>4 Geo. V, No. 14  4 Geo. V, No. 28  ss. 3; ss. 40, 41</td>
<td>disqualifying any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from obtaining a lease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Act of 1898</td>
<td>62 Vic., No. 24  ss. 15, 17, 24, 30</td>
<td>restricting 'aliens' from Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands from obtaining a miner's right or mineral lease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Garnett Freehold Mining Company's Railway Act of 1900</td>
<td>64 Vic., No. 22 s. 7</td>
<td>no aboriginal of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands to be employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl-shell and Bêche-de-Mer Fishery Acts of 1898 and 1913</td>
<td>63 Vic., No. 3 4 Geo. V, No. 12 s. 2; s. 7(1),(2) (1913); regs 19 Feb. 1914, 8 Jan. 1915</td>
<td>restricting licenses for any ship or boat to natural-born and naturalized British subjects; from 1913, making it unlawful for any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, to hold a lease or any license in respect of any ship or boat.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Act of 1923</td>
<td>14 Geo. V, No. 26 s. 10(i), (v)</td>
<td>disqualifying any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from obtaining a permit to prospect for petroleum or a petroleum lease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Norman, Normanton and Cloncurry Railway Act of 1901</td>
<td>64 Vic., No. 16 s. 7</td>
<td>prohibiting any person not of European descent who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance or management of the railway.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulation of Sugar Cane Prices Act of 1915</td>
<td>6 Geo. V, No. 5 ss. 12, 16; regs 14 Oct. 1915, 28 Jan. 1916</td>
<td>providing that the Sugar Cane Prices Board may take into account, when determining the prices for raw sugar under the award, different labour conditions under which the cane was grown, harvested or delivered to the mills, and that the minister can issue regulations to pay a lower price than that specified in the award, to growers whose labour conditions are considered unsatisfactory.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale and Use of Poisons Act of 1891</td>
<td>55 Vic., No. 31 s. 13</td>
<td>prohibiting the supply of opium to aboriginals of Australia or the Pacific Islands or to 'half-castes'.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shearers and Sugar Workers' Accommodation Act of 1905-6 (repealed by Workers' Accommodation Act of 1915)</td>
<td>5 Edw. VII, No. 9 s. 6(c), (g), (h)</td>
<td>providing for sleeping and dining accommodation separate from Europeans for Asian or Pacific Islander sugar workers.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Advances Act of 1916</td>
<td>7 Geo. V, No. 17 s. 25</td>
<td>no advance to be made to any 'alien' who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Acquisition Act of 1915</td>
<td>6 Geo. V, No. 2 ss. 6, 11: regs 5 Aug. 1915</td>
<td>providing that, in any proclamation under this Act, different prices for raw sugar may be set, having regard to different circumstances or conditions of production and manufacture of sugar, and that returns from persons or classes of persons with regard to such production or manufacture may be prescribed.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913</td>
<td>4 Geo. V, No. 4 passim ; regs 16 Oct. 1913, 9 Apr. 1915, 21 Sep. 1917, 21 May 1924, 25 Jul. 1929</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from engaging in or carrying on the cultivation of sugar cane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Workers' Selection Act of 1923</td>
<td>14 Geo. V, No. 20 s. 3(2)</td>
<td>disqualifying any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in a prescribed language, from applying for a license to occupy a selection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TITLE OF ACT</td>
<td>NUMBER, CLAUSES &amp; REGULATIONS</td>
<td>NATURE, AND METHOD OF DISCRIMINATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Works</td>
<td>2 Geo. V, No. 8</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction, maintenance, management or working of any sugar works, and also the purchase of cane from any such person.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarantee Act of 1911</td>
<td>s. 9(4), (8), (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macgregor Tramway Amendment Act of 1912</td>
<td>3 Geo. V, No. 31</td>
<td>prohibiting any person who has not first obtained a certificate by passing a dictation test in the English language, from being employed in or about the construction of the tramway.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. 2(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers' Accommodation Act of 1915</td>
<td>6 Geo. V, No. 30</td>
<td>providing for sleeping and dining accommodation separate from Europeans for Asian or Pacific Islander sugar workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss. 6(2)(iii), (vii), (viii), 14(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* applicable to non-Europeans born in Australia.

FOOTNOTE: In the case of amending legislation, only those Acts with further discriminatory clauses are cited, and the Sections given refer to the principal Act. Nineteenth century legislation with discriminatory clauses which were unaltered in amending legislation, or which was repealed after 1900, is included.
APPENDIX F

Police Reports on non-European sugar workers in North Queensland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Number of non-Europeans</th>
<th>Number with Exemption Certificates</th>
<th>Names of Principal Employers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mossman</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nossman Central Mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>See Chin: Munro Estate; McMannis &amp; Painter; W. Stewart; E.C. Earl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Munro Estate; Scanlon Bros &amp; Hilder; A.W. Brown; H. Reghonzani; W. Windsor; E.A. Atherton; F.C.W. Curlewis; A.T. Walker; C.C. Collins; W. Cooper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordonvale</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>about 40</td>
<td>S.H. Warner; A.J. Draper; Vievers &amp; Model; Stewart &amp; Thomasson; J. Trembath; J. Cannon; Munn &amp; Carlson; J. McCarthy; J. Low Choy; W. Cartwright; H. Kerr; Ting Fay; CSR (Hambledon).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babinda</td>
<td>400–450</td>
<td>266–300</td>
<td>Dr. Reid; Dr Knowles; W.C. Abbott; F.W. Davids; Chan Chin Wing; S.H. Warner; Munro Estate; Pollard &amp; Stager; P. Zammitt; G.R. Mayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innisfail</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>G. Hing; J. Doherty; T. Wilcox; C. McGowan; Mrs Armstrong; CSR (Goondi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Johnstone</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>G. Elucca; R. Blennerhassett; A. McRobbie; H. Cuthel; W. Callow; G. Basso.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mourilyan</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Australian Sugar Co; Fang Yuen; J. Enchong; Goodna Sing; E.C. Eden; E. Walker; E.R. Campbell; C. Castor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingham</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>CSR (Victoria &amp; Macknade).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>A. Barbi; D. Pearson; S. Prandolini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>) Totals only given</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>Brandon Estate; Sun Sam Wah; Radcliffe; Jimmy Ah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayr</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>333*</td>
<td>Kalamia Estate; A.E. Duggan; J.H. Huskinson; T. Lyons; Wing Fong; Look Hop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpine</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>T. Yoshida.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>Palms Mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homebush</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>H. Harris: CSR (Homebush).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarina</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>)</td>
<td>A.E. Atherton; A. Innes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>840</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*including 59 farmers
APPENDIX F

Police Reports on non-European sugar workers in North Queensland

May 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Number of non-Europeans</th>
<th>Number with Exemption</th>
<th>Names of Principal Employers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mossman</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>W. Johnstone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>E.C. Earl; W. Cannon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>K. Kishikawa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordonvale</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Low Choy; M. Thelmann &amp; Abraham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babinda</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dr Reid; Chun Wing; S.H. Warner; Munro Estate; W. Cannon; Collie &amp; Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innisfail</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>J. Doherty; F. Armstrong; CSR (Coondi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>L. Sugden; R. Blennerhassett.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnstone</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Australian Sugar Co; Fang Yuen; Gundah Singh; E. Campbell; E. Eden; J. Enchong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>178*</th>
<th>177</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayr</td>
<td>178*</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proserpine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homebush</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*45 farmers, 1 without exemption, in Mackay.
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Queensland State Archives, Brisbane

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AGS/6. Register recording numbers of exemption, and numbers of other certificates in connexion with employment of aliens under the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913.

AGS/7. Register indicating whether certificates were issued or refused - arranged alphabetically according to districts, 1913-14.

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EDU/AA378. East Barron State School Admission Register, 1915-64.


EDU/AA584. Killaloe (via Port Douglas) State School Admission Register, 1928-34.

EDU/AA602. (a) Koumalala State School Admission Register, 1916-23.

(b) Inneston State School Admission Register, 1912-58.

EDU/AA762. Netherdale State School Admission Register, 1921-63.


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EDU/AA1128. Wright's Creek State School Admission Register, 1894-1953.

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EDU/Z2247. Correspondence. Pioneer South Sea Islanders Provisional School No. 1616.
Executive Council

EXE/1-6. Capital Punishment. Papers relating to prisoners under sentence of death whose cases were reviewed by the Council 1868-93.

Immigration Department

IMM/260, 54/16. Register of Pacific Islanders stating names, amounts paid to them, islands of origin, the ships which brought them to Queensland, and, as far as possible, what happened to them. ca 1870-1903.

Inspectors of Pacific Islanders


IPI 11/1. Townsville. (c) Applications for exemption respecting the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901.


Justice Department

JUS/R8-27. Registers of Coroners' inquests depositions received, 1906-42.

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A/18353-482. Northern Supreme Court. Criminal Files, 1907-50.

Lands Department


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Police Department


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Premier's Department

PRE/83. List of Pacific Islanders 1863-1904.

PRE/84-91. Correspondence and associated papers relating to Pacific Island Labourers, 1889, 1891-95, 1901-7.

PRE/A436. In-letters, Nos. 7003-7464, 1913.


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Prisons Department


TRE/A315. Letters received, Nos. 7421-7766, 1915.

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01/1849. Particulars re Aliens in Queensland and other States.

03/1694. The Kanaka Petition to the King.

03/1714. Rebate of Excise on white grown sugar cane.

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06/6324. Pacific Islanders Association Petition.

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07/4198. Deportation of Lil Lu Mi, Quarongah and Nasweignear.

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07/8941. Deportation of 14 Pacific Islanders.

07/9881. Re murder of 8 Queensland boys at Malaita.

08/1459. Request for Exemption under Pacific Islanders Act.

08/2939. Deportation of Kanakas at Geraldton.


08/6443. Alleged Murders in the Solomons.

08/11532. Articles "White Australia" by J. Edmond.

09/1543. ['Pacific Island Labourers'] 1909.

09/4935. Cutting from the "Tableland Examiner" regarding the question of undesirable aliens in the Atherton District.


14/3421. Queensland Act of 1913 to exclude coloured labour from the Sugar Industry.


19/13433. Question re Employment of Japanese in sugar cane industry.


20/8193. Polynesians - Petition to be repatriated.

Series CRS A8 -

Prime Minister's Department

Series CRS A2 -
20/2695. Sugar. Miscellaneous.

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N382/1/1. 'Invalid and Old Age Pensions for Aborigines', 1936-47.

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Vol. 57. 'Collected papers relating to External Affairs, Assembled by the Director, Pacific Branch, 1920'. Section B: Annual Reports and Statistics 1902 to 1914-15.

Governor-General's Office

Series CP 78/1 -
Bundle 5 1/174. Despatch 84.
Bundle 28 1/969. Agricultural Bank Amendment Act of 1904.
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2. OFFICIAL CONTEMPORARY SOURCES - PRINTED

Commonwealth

Commonwealth Electoral Rolls of Queensland, 1913-40.
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Queensland Government Gazette, 1877-1940.
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Queensland Statutes, 1862-1940.
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State of Queensland Electoral Rolls, 1908-40.

3. OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES - MANUSCRIPT

Department of Pacific and South-East Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University

Newspaper cuttings relating to the Labour Trade with Queensland 1890-5, collected by the Rev. Dr J.G. Paton. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PNB), film no. 30.


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Colonial Sugar Refining Company records
142/1058-85. Head Office Correspondence Outwards, 1913-29.
142/1449. Goondi In, 1915-16.
142/1572. Victoria Out, 1921.
142/1603. Victoria In, 1921.
142/2932. Cane Contracts Record.
142/3101-2. Homebush In, 1918-22.
142/3049. Brisbane In. Staff and Private, 1919.
142/3479. Aliens at Queensland Hills, 1915.
142/4238. Conference re Sugar Agreement with the Prime Minister at Sydney, 15, 16 Mar.1920.

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Pioneer Mill, Ayr

Account Book, 1905.
Letterbook, 1898-1922.

Register of Pacific Islanders Employed at Pioneer in the District of Townsville, 1895-1906.

Mitchell Library, Sydney

The Coloured Labour Question. Press Cuttings, 1891-1911, Vols. I and II.
National Library of Australia, Canberra
Bertie Newspaper Cuttings, Vols. 71 and 73.
Oxley Library, Brisbane
Miscellaneous Cutting Book.
Sir Alfred Cowley's Cutting Book, Book II.

Miscellaneous


Notebook of Jack Tanna. Excerpts from (in the possession of Mrs A. Barrett, Halifax).

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Age (Melbourne), 1906.
Anglican Year Book of the Diocese of North Queensland.
Argus (Melbourne), 1884, 1892, 1907.
Australian, 1970.
Australian Christian World, 1892.
Australian Sugar Journal.
Boomerang, 1888.
Bowen Independent.
Brisbane Courier.
Bulletin (Sydney), 1906.
Cairns Morning Post.
Cooktown Courier, 1888-95.
Figaro, 1883.
Graphic. An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper, 1882, 1892.
Herberton Advertiser and Western Observer, 1884-93.
Illustrated Australian News, 1884.
Mackay Mercury (later known as the Daily Mercury).
Mackay Standard, 1887-92, 1904.
Northern Churchman.
North Queensland Register.
Pix, 1941.
Port Denison Times.
Port Douglas and Mossman Record.
Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides, 1900-21.
Queenslander.
Queensland Figaro, 1883.
Rockhampton Morning Bulletin, 1884.
Sugar Journal and Tropical Cultivator, 1892-95, 1901-2.
Sydney Morning Herald, 1906.
Telegraph (Brisbane), 1884, 1901.
Worker (Brisbane).

Those for which specific years are given were read only for those years. The remainder were read for selected dates over the period 1876 to 1940, depending on the availability of the newspaper, periodical or year book. The North Queensland Register was read thoroughly for the period 1912-34.

5. CONTEMPORARY BOOKS AND ARTICLES

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Anonymous

Indian Indentured Labour in Fiji. Perth, 1918.

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Asboc, A. (compiler)

History of Presbyterianism in Walkerston and District. Mackay, 1932.
Australian Board of Missions

Sydney, 1913.

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Australian Pastoral Directory List of Stockowners in the States of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Northern Territory and Tasmania. Sydney, 1893-97, 1915-33.

Australian Sugar Producers' Association


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Bennett, M.H.


Birnays, C.A.


Blake, H.I.


Campbell, F.A.  A Year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia. Geelong, c. 1873.

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Hill, W.R.O.


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The History and Adventures of a Queensland Pioneer. Brisbane, 1928.

A Kanaka Slave ... A Story of the Early Queensland Labour Traffic. London, [1903].

The Menace of Colour A study of the difficulties due to the association of white and coloured races, with an account of measures proposed for their solution, and special reference to white colonization in the tropics. London, 1925.

The Solomon Islands and Their Natives. London, 1887.


A White Australia. Melbourne, Sep. 1901.


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North Queensland Sugar Conference (repr. from North Queensland Herald 29 Oct.1904).
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Paton, Rev. J.C. and the Presbyterian Church of Victoria


Praed, Mrs C.


Presbyterian Church of Queensland

Minutes of the Proceedings of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland. Brisbane, 1895-1938.

Price, A.C.


The Queenslander


Rivers, W.H.R. (ed.)


Rivers, W.H.R. (ed.)


Smith, Rev. A.C.


Speiser, Dr F.

Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific. London, 1913.

Sugar Question in Queensland

Thomas, J.

Cannibals and Convicts: Notes of Personal Experiences in the Western Pacific. London, 1887.

'Tramp'


Wawn, W.T.

The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade. A Record of Voyages and Experiences in the Western Pacific from 1875 to 1891. London, 1893.

W.B.

White Labour Conference held at Townsville, Monday February 20th, 1905. Townsville, 1905.


6. LOCAL RECORDS

Cemetery Registers


Cairns Shire Council. Cairns Cemetery Registers, 1887-1917.


Churches - Anglican

Bowen district-

Holy Trinity Church, Bowen.

Baptism Registers, 1865-1949.


Marriage Registers, 1880-1940.

St Paul's Church, Proserpine.


Burial Registers, 1910-68.

Marriage Registers, 1921-44.

Service Registers, 1906-14, 1921-37.
Burdekin district-
All Saints Church, Ayr.
   - Baptism Registers, 1894-1954.
   - Burial Registers, 1925-77.
   - Marriage Registers, 1895-1941.
   - Minute Book, 1894-1916.
   - Includes St John's Church, Brandon.

Cairns district-
St John's Church, Cairns.
   - Baptism Registers, 1884-1943.
   - Confirmation Register, c. 1910-35.

Herbert River district-
Holy Trinity Church, Ingham.
   - Baptism Registers, 1884-1947.
   - Burial Registers, 1901-11, 1922-77.
   - Confirmation Register, 1922-36.
   - Churchwardens Account Book, 1903-34.
   - Parochial Returns, 1890-1941.
   - Service Registers, 1892-1930.
   - The Ingham and Halifax Church Monthly, 1894-95.

All Souls' Church, Victoria.
   - Baptism Register, 1922-37.
   - Minute Book, 1918-22.

St Saviour's Church, Halifax.
Johnstone River district—
St Alban’s Church, Innisfail.
   Account Books, 1914-16.
   Baptism Registers, 1900-66.
   Burial Registers, 1911-76.
   Marriage Registers, 1918-66.
   Minute Books, 1900-33.
   Service Registers, 1912-38.
   J. Mossingbird-Teale, Easter Letters, 1902, 1903.

Hackett district—
Holy Trinity Church, * Hackett.
   Baptism Registers, Pioneer, 1883-1906.
   Baptism Registers, Holy Trinity Church, 1867-1948.
   Burial Registers, 1914-63.
   Confirmation Register, 1906-48.
   Parish Roll, n.d.
   Service Registers, 1883-1931.
* including St Mary’s Church, Farleigh.

Christ Church, + Walkerston.
   Baptism Registers, 1930-46.

+ includes St Giles Church, Marian.

St Luke’s Church, # Sarina.
   Active Communicants Register, n.d.
   Baptism Registers, 1911-77.
   Burial Registers, 1933-77.
   Confirmation Registers, 1910-68.
   Marriage Registers, 1907-76.
# includes Church of the Ascension, Sunnyside and St John Baptist Church, Eton.
Churches - Other

Burdekin district-
St Andrew's Church (Presbyterian), Ayr.
  Baptism Registers, 1906-43.
  Marriage Registers, 1907-53.

Methodist Church, Ayr.
  Baptism Registers, 1912-63.
  Marriage Registers, 1912-64.

Salvation Army Hall, Ayr.
  Ayr Corps Soldiers Roll, 1919-44.
  Dedication Register, 1935-74.
  Marriage Registers, 1937-77.

Cairns district-
Methodist Central Church, Cairns.
  Baptism Registers, 1909-52.

Herbert River district-
Methodist Church, East Ingham.
  Marriage Registers, 1897-1963.

Johnstone River district-
St Andrew's Church (Presbyterian), Innisfail.
  Baptism Registers, 1918-42.
  Marriage Registers, 1937-46.

(information supplied by the Reverend P. Painton.)

Mackay district-
Methodist Central Church, Mackay.
  Baptism Registers, 1915-54.
  Marriage Registers, 1901-53.

St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Mackay.
  Baptism Registers, 1911-40.
Walkerston Presbyterian Church.
  Baptism Register, 1898-1934.
  Church Offertories, 1900-17.
  Communion Roll, 1900-27.
  Management Committee Minute Books, 1885-1913.
  Minute Book, 1900-27, 1925-40.

The dates given demonstrate the years for which records were available, and illustrate gaps in the coverage.

District Hospitals

Bowen District Hospital. Admission Registers ('History Books'), 1913-40.
Ingham District Hospital. Admission Registers ('History Books'), 1927-36.

State Schools

Bowen district—

Bowen State School. Admission Registers, 1940-78.
Inverdon Road State School. Admission Registers, 1922-42.

Burdekin district—

Ayr State School. Admission Registers, 1918-47.
Maidavale State School. Admission Registers, 1910-78.

Cairns district—

Parramatta State School. Admission Registers, 1932-60.
Herbert River district—

Cordelia State School. Admission Registers, 1918-78.
Ingham State School. Admission Registers, 1885-1940.

Johnstone River district—

Daradgee State School. Admission Registers, 1911-78.

Mackay district—

Corporal Punishment Registers, 1922-40.
Correspondence, 1914.
Corporal Punishment Registers, 1910-40.
Oakenden State School. Admission Registers, 1910-78.
Sandiford State School. Admission Registers, 1908-78.
Corporal Punishment Registers, 1925-40.

The dates given indicate the years for which records were consulted. In many cases, the earliest (or later) registers have been lost. The admission registers of schools which have been closed are located in the Queensland State Archives and details of those which were consulted are given under the EDB/AA series; however, the registers of several schools which have been closed are missing.

Sugar Mills

Amalgamated Sugar Mills, Pleystowe, Mackay.
   Farm Records, 1925-49.
   Record of Wages, 1928-29, 1930-43.

Farleigh Co-operative Sugar Milling Association, Farleigh, Mackay.
   Farmers' Record Cards, 1926-35.
   Individual Ledger of Farmers, 1912-16.
   Membership Certificates of Shareholders, 1927-40.
   Wages Book, 1925-27.

North Eton Mill, North Eton, Mackay.
   Register of Shareholders, 1886-1919.

Proserpine Co-operative Sugar Association, Proserpine.
   Cane Credits Register, 1905-30.
   Cane Journals, 1914-36, 1943.
   Ledger, 1899-1901.

The records of the Pioneer Mill in the Burdekin district are deposited in the Library of the James Cook University of North Queensland, and those of CSR in the Archives of Business and Labour at the Australian National University.

Undertakers

Mackay Funerals, Mackay.
   Registers of Funerals, 1895-1959.
   Notebooks, 1928-65.
7. INTERVIEWS

Interviews with Pacific Islanders

Interviews with fifty-four Pacific Islanders have been recorded on Tapes 1-80 and Typescripts 1-13, and deposited as Part B of the Black Oral History Collection in the History Department of the James Cook University of North Queensland. The method of footnoting was outlined in Appendix A, n10.

The names of informants are listed below under the district in which they reside or resided. Since much of the material collected is of a sensitive nature, these names are not correlated with tape or typescript numbers.

Bowen district—
Alf Corowa; Arthur Corowa; Eva Corowa; Fred Parter; Jessie Willie; Les Wimal; Alf and Caroline Yasso; Eddie and Esther Yasso.

Burdekin district—
Bell Backo; Trixie Cole; Percy and Olive Barr; Esther Henaway; Jessie Heron; Rhoda Lammon; Shireen Malamoo.

Herbert River district—
Ishmael ('Smile') and Melba Backo; Betty Barrett; Rennie and Louisa Cassidy; Ada Geesu; Christina Kinch.

Mackay district—
George and Gladys Andrews; Tom Ambertel; Dennis Bobongie; Henry Bobongie; Sam and Flo Bobongie; Noel and Minnie Fatnowna; Norman Fatnowna; Valroy and Joan Fatnowna; Ishmael Itca; Ada Harlla; Winnie Miller; Des Mooney; Grace Notto; Beccy Quakawoot; Myra and Bill Quakawoot; Noah Sabbo-Toga; Andrew Satini; Henry Stephens (Quaytucker); Cecilia Tarryango; Winnie Tass; Ivy and William Thomas; Phil Tonga; Joe Viti.

Interviews with Europeans

The following people were interviewed on the dates given and notes of these interviews are in the possession of the author.

Mr C. Chataway, 1 Aug. 1977, Mackay.
Mr E. Denman, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay.
Mr B. Jackson, 12 Jul. 1979, Mackay.
Mrs D. Jones, 21 Feb. 1978, Tully.
Mr R.V. Pearson, 16 Aug. 1977, Lucinda.
Mr C. Ross, 8 Apr. 1978, Cairns.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title and Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bennett, J.A.</td>
<td>'No 'Monstrous Tongue''*, <em>Hemisphere</em> Vol.22, No.4, Apr.1978.</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chant, B.</td>
<td>Heart of Fire: The Story of Australian Pentecostalism.</td>
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<td>Connolly, R.</td>
<td>John Drysdale and the Burdekin.</td>
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Eggleston, E. Fear, Favour or Affection Aborigines and the Criminal Law in Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. Canberra, 1976.


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Exclusion Exploitation and Extermination
Race Relations in Colonial Queensland.
Sydney, 1975.

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'The Religious Belief and Ritual of the
Raiaupu Enga', Oceania Vol.XLIII, No.4,

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'The Rabaul Strike, 1929', Oral History

Genovese, E.D.
Roll, Jordan, Roll The World The Slaves

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Goodman, R.
Canberra, 1968.

Goody, J. (ed.)
Literacy in Traditional Societies.
Cambridge, 1968.

Goody, J., Thirsk, J.
and Thompson, E.P. (eds)
Family and Inheritance in Rural Western

Green, R.C. and
Cresswell, M.H. (eds)
Southeast Solomon Islands Cultural History

Gunson, W.N.
 Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries

Gutman, H.G.
The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom,

Hall, R.
'Aboriginals, the Army and the Second World
War in northern Australia', Aboriginal

Harris, J.
'The Struggle against Pacific Island
Labour 1868-1902', Labour History No.15,
Nov.1968.

Heydon, P.
Quiet Decision A Study of George Foster

Hill, E.
'The Old Kaoka Days', Walkabout Vol.23,
No.6, Jun.1957.

Hilliard, D.
God's Gentlemen. A History of the Melanesian

Hilliard, D.
'The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the
Solomon Islands', The Journal of Pacific

Hogbin, I.
A Guadalcanal Society The Kaoka Speakers.

Hogbin, I.
Anthropology in Papua New Guinea. Readings
from the Encyclopedia of Papua and New
Hogbin, I.  

Huang Tsen-Ming  

Huttenback, R.A.  

Jarvie, I.C.  

Jones, D.  

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Kawharu, T. (ed.)  

Keesing, R.M.  
'Elota's Story. The Life and Times of a Solomon Islands Big Man'. St Lucia, 1978.

Kerr, J.  

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Kessler, E.  

Kingston, B. (ed)  

Krupinski, J. and Stoller, A. (eds)  

Lack, C.  

Lack, C.  

La Nauze, J.A.  

Laslett, P.  
Laslett, P. with Wall, R. Household and family in past time. Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further material from Western Europe. Cambridge, 1972.


Shineberg, D.  
*They Came for Sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865.* Melbourne, 1967.

Shlomowitz, R.  

Singe, J.  
*The Torres Strait People and History.* St Lucia, 1979.

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Sommers, T. van  

Stone, L.  

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Throssell, H. (ed.)  

Thrupp, S.L. (ed.)  

Tierney, W.F.  

Tippett, A.R.  

Tonkinson, R.  

Valentine, C.A.  
*Masks and Men in a Melanesian Society. The Valiaku or Tubuan of the Lakalai of New Britain. Kansas City, 1961.*

Machter, K.A. with Hammad, E.A. and Laslett, P.  


### 9. SECONDARY SOURCES - THESES AND UNPUBLISHED WORKS

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<tr>
<td>Gurdun, H.A.</td>
<td>Australian Attitudes to Italy and Italians, 1922-36 With Special Reference to Queensland. B.A. Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1970.</td>
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Kennedy, K.H.

Laver, B.

Loos, N.A.

May, C.R.

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The Herbert River Story. Ingham, n.d.

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