



# CAPTAIN HAMILTON AND THE LABOUR TRADE

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It was in 1950 that the last full paper on the topic of the labour trade to Queensland was delivered before the Royal Historical Society of Queensland. That was presented by E. V. Stevens and was entitled 'blackbirding'. Ten years later Clem Lack made some passing observations on "pirates, blackbirders and other shady characters".<sup>1</sup> Since then much research has been carried out, giving a new interpretation to the issue so that today even the word "blackbirding" is not commonly used. Indeed, the labour trade is one of those fields of historical knowledge where not many gaps now exist. Penetrating analyses have been done by people such as Peter Corris, Deryck Scarr, Kay Saunders, Clive Moore and Patricia Mercer.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately a number of contemporary accounts also exist and three of these have been reprinted. William Giles made a trip to the New Hebrides in 1877; William Wawn made a number of trips to Melanesia between 1875 and 1891; and James Melvin went to the Solomons on a recruiting voyage in 1892.<sup>3</sup> A number of other accounts of the labour trade were described by contemporary journalists – George ("Chinese") Morrison in *the Leader* (of Melbourne) in 1882; Stanley James, under the pseudonym "The Vagabond" in *the Argus* (Melbourne) in 1883-84; an anonymous recruiting diary was printed in *the Brisbane Courier* in 1885; while Melvin's account (above) first appeared in *the Argus*.<sup>4</sup>

The John Oxley Library is fortunate to hold a major, as yet unpublished diary on the labour trade, that of William Hamilton who made three trips in 1882-83 to the New Hebrides, the Solomons and New Guinea waters. The John Oxley Library also holds two other manuscripts which bear on the labour trade; the diaries of Sydney Mercer-

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Smith who was Government Agent aboard recruiting vessels between 1893 and 1900; and two diaries of John August Paesch (in 1888 and 1891) when he made labour trips to the Solomons.<sup>5</sup> The Fryer Library at the University of Queensland holds the diaries of John Slade who was the Government Agent on the *Bobtail Nag* in 1875. A close examination of such contemporary accounts, along with the use of official papers, both printed and archival, has allowed our understanding of the nature of the labour trade to reach such exact heights. The one big gap in historical evidence comes from the islanders themselves; the Melanesian recruits did not keep diaries or other such historical evidence. Some researchers, such as Clive Moore, have turned to oral evidence, collecting information from the descendants of recruits;<sup>6</sup> but there is still a gap in the evidence from the Melanesian viewpoint.

The obtaining of labourers from Melanesia began in 1864, and after 1904 no more such labourers were introduced. During that period over 61,000 islanders – mainly from the New Hebrides, with some from the Solomons, and a few from New Guinea waters – were brought to Queensland to work as cheap manual hands, primarily in the sugar fields, but in the earlier years of the trade they also worked as shepherds and general labourers for the pastoral industry.

### SETTING A PERSPECTIVE

The peak of the labour trade came in the early 1880's – and it is the nature of the trade in those years that is the main concern of this paper. In this respect the Hamilton diaries are particularly useful since they relate to these focal years, and to the three areas where recruits were obtained.

The thrust of current research into this topic is to moderate the earlier, lurid accounts. Some people at the time referred to it as a slave trade; a number of accounts described kidnapping. Even recent versions, more for journalistic effect than for historical truth, keep alive these earlier traditions; Edward Docker entitled his book, *The Blackbirders*, while Hector Holthouse conjures up all the earlier myths in *Cannibal Cargoes*. Descendants of recruits also, obviously, stress the inhumanity, discrimination and violence of a system which transported peoples from one culture and exploited their labour in another. But too often exaggerations, distortions and significant omissions creep into these versions.

Recent research establishes that cases of kidnapping were most likely to occur in the early years of contact between the European boats and island communities – and were likely to last for a few years, until a more regular pattern of exchange and trade was established. Once relations settled down, recruits would be obtained basically upon a voluntary basis. Young men would want to go to Queensland to earn a little

money, to buy western goods and to return to their homes believing themselves to be elevated in social prestige because of such materialistic possessions; and they would return with tales of adventure, treating the sojourn overseas as a kind of initiatory ritual. The local communities, which would be affected by the loss of the labour of the young men, would in turn look for a pay-off for such loss, so that the recruiting ships found it necessary to leave trade-goods with the local people. In other words, a regular trade – in labour – was established.

The usual pattern was not kidnapping. But because different areas came into contact with the European recruiters at different stages the cases of kidnapping did continue from the 1860's through to the 1880s. For example, while a regular trade was operating, generally smoothly, in the New Hebrides by the later 1870s, startling cases of kidnapping occurred in New Guinea waters in 1883 because it was only then that Australian recruiters turned their attention to the islands of the north. There were, of course, truant captains and recruiters in all areas at all times but generally a pattern of regulation prevailed, effected by a combination of government supervision, by islander self-regulation (to preserve the local community so that traditions were not altered too much, nor population diminished too sharply), and recruiter self-control (for commercial reasons, so that repeated trips could be made to the area).

At the same time, it should not be thought that since both the islanders and the European recruiters were able to fashion out a pattern that seemed mutually satisfactory to the needs of both, excuses can be offered for the manner in which this discriminatory and harsh system operated. In all cases the Melanesian labourer was seen as a lesser creature; to the extent that he was appreciated by Europeans it was because he offered cheap labour, to do all the back-breaking work, especially in the tropics, that white workers would not or did not want to do. That a regular pattern of recruiting developed, and developed fairly quickly, does not excuse the abuse, the poor conditions, the violence, the discrimination that were the lot of the Melanesian recruit in Queensland. The two different cultures might be able to find a basis of exchange in the islands but the two cultures stood well separated within Queensland. Although some humane planters and employers did take an interest in the welfare of their labourers, this was always couched within the framework of a cultural paternalism and superiority.

Queensland in the early 1880s was embarking upon an unprecedented era of economic growth; these boom years were especially noticeable in the sugar industry, when over the course of five years (1880-85) the area of sugar crushed more than trebled, to 16,494 hectares.<sup>10</sup> This was

obviously the work of the Melanesian labourers and it is not surprising to find that the labour trade in these years was booming. The necessity to import ever more Melanesians meant more opportunities for ships and their captains. In 1880 1995 recruits were obtained; this increased to 2643 in 1881 and leaped to 3139 the next year.<sup>11</sup> Most came from the New Hebrides, the Solomons and the Banks and Torres islands supplying the balance. The peak recruiting year was 1883 when 5273 islanders entered Queensland. Most still came from the New Hebrides, with support from the Solomons, Banks, Santa Cruz and Torres islands. But a new area was also added – New Guinea waters (New Britain, New Ireland, and the Duke of York group.) In all, 1269 were suddenly obtained in this new “fishing” ground. With the rapid expansion of the sugar industry taking place in Queensland a new area of supply had to be tapped.

This marked increase in importation was obviously accompanied by an increase in the number of labour vessels. In 1880 only twenty-two ships were plying Melanesian waters, hoping to make a profit out of the carriage of labour. By 1883 this had more than doubled, to fifty-eight.

### DUBIOUS SHIPS IN USE

The quality of the labour vessels was dubious. Generally they were old boats, converted to labour-carriage towards the end of their useful years.<sup>12</sup> Previously, many had been engaged in coastal shipping. Their conversion consisted of a simple restructuring of the hold – mainly by adding two or three tiers of bunks to the vessel. Extensive repairs were avoided, because the cost (and the return) was not worth it. Recruiting was a business, run under the fairly loose rules of free, capitalist enterprise. Only minimum seaworthiness was provided for. But it is surprising that more vessels were not lost at sea while engaged in recruiting. After all they were sailing in dangerous waters, coming close in shore to obtain their “cargo”, hugging the coastline in waters that were studded with reefs, beset often by difficult winds, sometimes by hurricanes. Furthermore, some of the seas were inadequately charted. Yet the immigration agent in 1904 remarked upon the low loss figures – during his ten and one-half years of service only seven vessels had gone down in a total of 164 voyages.<sup>13</sup>

Captain William Hamilton’s first labour vessel, the *Lochiel* was in some respects typical of this category. A schooner built in England she had engaged in the Australian coastal trade, carting produce like wheat, bran and potatoes. Her suitability was called into question when Charles Woodford, the British resident commissioner in the Solomon Islands, complained that she had not been a fit vessel even for produce let alone for humans.<sup>14</sup> He claimed that a cargo of potatoes, carried on board the

*Lochiel* from Melbourne to Brisbane, “arrived in such a rotten state through the leaky condition of the vessel that the Brisbane authorities ordered them to be taken to sea and thrown overboard”. Woodford, however, was not always the most reliable commentator, being such an ardent opponent of the labour trade. By contrast, when Hamilton refitted the *Lochiel* for the labour trade the local Bundaberg newspaper described her as “the finest vessel that we have yet seen employed in the Island trade, and is kept in a state of cleanliness and efficiency highly creditable to her officers”.<sup>15</sup> Bundaberg was obviously committed to the operation of the labour trade. Problems with the vessel, such as leakiness, seem likely, however, because she plied the coastal trade for only seven years before she was sold “into labour servitude”. In other words, she entered service as a relatively new boat; and that probably explains why she stayed so long in the labour business – until 1903.

Another old trouper in the trade was the *May Queen*. Engaged in recruiting since 1873 she made thirty-eight voyages until 1891; between 1886 and 1890 she had a spell from recruiting, on one occasion being almost cut in half, when laden with timber, by a steamship at Maryborough. Her end seems to have come in 1892 when she struck a reef.<sup>16</sup> During such a long career it is not surprising that she endured many unusual experiences. On her very first recruiting voyage there were allegations that the crew had engaged in kidnapping and illegal recruiting; a police court hearing dismissed these accusations – but because of problems of securing evidence a conviction could often be difficult to obtain.<sup>17</sup> A select committee of the Queensland Parliament investigated her recruiting practices in 1876. That year, too, she was badly damaged by a gale. Two years later three of her crew members were killed in the New Hebrides; and another massacre (of nine members) occurred on Oba island in 1881. On another occasion she was accused of illegally obtaining recruits (taking islanders already under contract to a local white settler in the New Hebrides). By the mid-1880s she had become a liability for her owners. In one trip in 1884 only five recruits were taken, and in the next two trips she took only twelve and twenty-two recruits respectively. By 1886 she had become so unseaworthy that she had to have a thorough overhaul before being allowed to venture to sea again.<sup>18</sup>

The variety of experiences that this labour vessel endured indicates clearly that the labour trade frontier was a fragile one. There was a vague web of law and order but individuals, both European and islander, might easily escape from or through it. Life was still tough on that frontier, and necessity rather than legality dictated most behaviour. Government rules and regulations aimed to establish the rule of law and order in the scat-

tered island groups, but the practice and the theory only partially coincided.

In 1880, an unusual sight in recruiting waters was the *Jabberwock*, an auxiliary screw steamer of eighty-six tons, built in Sydney in 1875.<sup>19</sup> She transferred to the Queensland labour trade in 1880 and made nine trips before being wrecked in the New Hebrides in 1884. The owners held great expectations as to her success as a recruiting vessel. They believed that her steam power would afford a natural advantage over rivals, allowing her to go into bays and inlets under the lee of islands which sailing boats had difficulty in doing. These hopes were quickly dashed. The engine proved not powerful enough against the strong winds; she was slow in building up sufficient steam, and, in any case, her belching smoke put the islanders to flight, as they mistook her for a man-of-war. This unsuccessful trip led to her being converted into a regular sailing ship.

Perhaps the most exotic vessel in the recruiting fleet was the *Emily*.<sup>20</sup> Originally engaged in the Mediterranean wine trade she was a comfortable brigantine of 190 tons, built in 1862. Her interior was unusually ornate – with carvings of bunches of grapes and vines festooning the wooden skylights, and the companionways were of carved teak. But probably more typical of the trade was the *Lizzie*.<sup>21</sup> She was a barquentine of 230 tons, built in Maine, with the eagle and the stars and stripes carved on her stern. In Australia she was a coastal trader, before Robert Philp of Townsville bought her in 1882, to be refitted for the labour trade. She brought agony to those sailing her, for she had “no idea of going to windward”. A very experienced captain described her as “the worst old ‘ballahoe’ for sailing”. She was always slower than other vessels; when a normal trip to the New Hebrides might take four months she would take five. Since she suffered from such physical defects it is not so surprising that some of her recruiters resorted to illegal means to get a complement of recruits – using short cuts to make up for her sailing deficiencies.

## METHODS OF RECRUITING

The contrast in recruiting methods – between a fairly relaxed exchange between recruiters, voluntary recruits and the local community, on the one hand, and a more forcible, deceitful, sometimes violent obtaining of young men, on the other – is brought into focus in the early 1880s. For at this stage there was a contrast between the well-patrolled areas of the New Hebrides – patrolled not only by the occasional passing naval vessel but to a certain degree by the necessity of so many recruiting ships to make a regular visit to so many different islands, year in and year out – and the virgin fields of north-east New Guinea.

Recruiting ships from Fiji first entered the latter field in 1882; Queensland ships arrived the next year.

In the established areas of the New Hebrides each vessel approached each island in the hope of obtaining just a few men each time. They would come bearing gifts, or "trade", for those friends and relations, the community, staying behind. The Queensland Government in 1878 had tried to ban these gifts, upon the grounds that it amounted to buying the recruits.<sup>22</sup> The islanders, however, insisted upon such an exchange, and the government regulation went ignored. Over the years, as a community became familiar with the recruiting routine, its price for the lost one went up. In 1875 the average amount of trade was "a knife and a tomahawk, a handful of beads, ten sticks or about half a pound of tobacco, a few pipes, and a fathom of calico". By the 1890s trade had increased to the cost of about two pounds per head. For example, the *Helena* in 1892 gave "400 sticks of trade tobacco, 3 axes, 2 dozen assorted fish hooks, lengths of fishing line, 4 knives, a belt, a sheath knife, a pair of scissors, a heap of clay pipes, a dozen box of matches and some cloth".<sup>23</sup>

Recruiting tactics also frequently by-passed or ignored the rules. The regulations required a Government Agent to supervise all recruiting, to ensure that no force was used and that the nature of the labour contract was clearly explained to the islanders (and presumably understood by them). The agent was meant to observe all these operations; he was meant to be the insurance against kidnapping. But sometimes the recruiters would send out two boats in different directions. Or frequently the situation would arise where a recruit wanted to get aboard, but his kinsmen were holding him back; then the recruiters would use various devices and ruses, and sometimes force, to obtain the recruit. There was a whole variety of such malpractices which bent the rules.

Practical difficulties interposed in determining the age of recruits. The 1878 instructions to Government Agents prescribed that no islander under the age of sixteen should be engaged unless accompanied by his father or full-grown brother.<sup>24</sup> But how could such rules be applied? Most islanders could not prove their age; so recruiters adopted the rough and ready rule that a person was "of age" if he was growing pubic hair. This allowed for unscrupulous recruiters to obtain people unsuited for hard menial labour; but to some degree the market-place sorted out this problem, since planters were unwilling to engage very young labourers. It is estimated that about 25 per cent of the recruits taken from the Solomon Islands were about sixteen years or less.<sup>25</sup> Although in 1884 the government tried to tighten up this rule, there was no way that legislation could overcome the practical problem of ascertaining age.

Similar practical problems existed with respect to the recruitment of women. Regulations in 1878 and 1884, and the Royal Commission of 1883, aimed at limiting the recruitment of single women; only wives or near female relatives of a man should be picked up. But this regulation was also breached – sometimes because it was hard to tell the woman's status, sometimes for humanitarian reasons as a single woman fled her community or even a husband. Sometimes marriages were arranged on board the vessel; sometimes careful arrangements had to be made to pick up an eloping couple when the chief and the village was not looking. Only a small proportion of the recruits were women – about 6 per cent in 1881, and almost 9 per cent one decade later. They usually entered into domestic service in Queensland, but some worked in the fields.

These floutings of the law, these practical problems in applying the law, characterized much of the New Hebrides recruitment during the early 1880s.<sup>26</sup> New Guinea waters offered a marked contrast. There the Melanesians were not familiar with the nature of the labour trade in Queensland. A few had worked for short periods (up to three months) for a few German planters or traders in New Britain; but the islanders did not understand the difference that the Queensland trade imposed – a long journey, hundreds of miles away, and for three years. As the Queensland vessels rushed in to this new field in 1883 it seems clear that recruiters were not too concerned to explain clearly the differences.

### RESISTANCE TO TRAFFIC

Economic circumstances were pushing recruiters towards more unscrupulous behaviour. By 1882-83 recruitment in the New Hebrides was slowing down markedly. Communities were becoming more reluctant to let their young men go; they were demanding higher exchange; perhaps to some extent their consumer demands were reaching a saturation level. A number of recruiting vessels lamented how slowly they were obtaining a load in 1882-83. Tanese islanders often fired at recruiting boats; they wanted to do no business. Boats still had to approach nearly all villages with caution; armed resistance, ambushes, revenge killings were still possible tactics of the villagers for which the recruiting crew had to look out. Sometimes islanders tried to take over a recruiting ship; this nearly happened to the *Helena* at Tongoa in 1882. At Epi many communities put a ban upon their men leaving; they were worried about declining numbers.

Some islanders refused to recruit for the more northerly parts of Queensland. The *Helena*, for example, picked up only thirty-six recruits in her second trip of 1883, a journey of three and one-half months. The *Lavinia* returned after seven months with only seventy-three recruits. Most vessels were complaining at this stage about the slowness of recruiting in the New Hebrides.



New Guinea, then, appeared such a contrast. Captain Hamilton in the *Jessie Kelly* was the second Queensland vessel to return with a load. One day, in a three mile stretch along the north-east coast of New Ireland he obtained forty-nine recruits; and more were waiting for night to fall. His next trip to New Guinea produced an even more startling rush of recruits. One tiring day was spent processing seventy-one people from the Tanga group, off the New Ireland coast. They virtually besieged the boat in their anxiety – but clearly they did not know what they were doing. Other recruiters in the area reported the same rapid rate of success. Since the “pickings” were so easy it is disturbing, therefore, to find how easily the recruiters resorted to violence. The *Hopeful* belied her name. She was the first Queensland vessel into the area, and the first to bring back a boatload of recruits. Discipline aboard the *Hopeful* seemed somewhat lax. Captain Briggs took a Townsville prostitute as company; the recruiter was drunk at least twice, on one occasion having to be tied down. One night the vessel ran aground, with the man on the wheel asleep. The Government Agent was also negligent in his duties, choosing frequently not to go out with the recruiting boat.

Having heard of the quick Fijian success in New Guinea waters, Robert Philp sent his *Hopeful* to repeat the performance. Unfortunately the captain went first to an area where the Methodist mission had taken some effect; missionaries frequently, but not invariably, discounted the activities of the labour traders since the latter set such a bad example. The crew moved on further north, determined to make up for lost time. So they used force – kidnapping some men, and in one shooting incident wounding three villagers. The vessel then sailed safely for home. But unfortunately the *Fanny* appeared soon after and the villagers demanded revenge – spearing and tomahawking the *Fanny*'s interpreter. Then when the recruiters went to explain the interpreter's death to his people the latter became angry and ambushed both the captain and the Government Agent. Both were seriously wounded by spears, tomahawk blows and bullets.<sup>27</sup>

So the New Guinea experience began with trouble – as did nearly all the new areas. But the New Guinea problem came in 1883–84, at a time when many people in Queensland and Great Britain thought the worst excesses of the labour trade had been controlled. Indeed, there was a growing body of opinion speaking not only of regulation of the labour trade, but even its abandonment. The Griffith government in 1884 launched a strong attack against the recruiters. There were enough scandals to make it a political, a legal, and a public issue. Davies and McMurdo (of the *Stanley*) came up for trial; an inquiry was held into irregularities aboard the *Heath*; court cases or investigations were being

arranged into kidnapping and other unorthodox recruiting methods carried out by crew members of the *Hopeful*, the *Forest King*, the *Ethel*, the *Ceara* and the *Lizzie*.<sup>28</sup> The political culmination was a Royal Commission into eight recruiting trips by six ships into the northern waters during 1884.<sup>29</sup> New Guinea showed how tenuous was the dividing line between a reasonably legal operation, one where primarily economics determined that an amount of fair play pertained, and naked kidnapping, deceit and violence – just to get a full boat.

### NEED FOR INTERPRETERS

One of the points that the government inquiries strongly emphasized was the necessity to have interpreters – a local who could explain fully the nature and meaning of the contract of indentured labour. Again, this was a case where the theory sounded fine – but the practice was so difficult. Captain Hamilton in his second New Guinea trip, when the recruiting was so easy, did carry an interpreter. But it is doubtful that he could have been very effective – especially in the area of New Ireland and the offshore islands where he was meant to be explaining the system. In areas where many dialects existed, sometimes with important differences, only the most skilled of interpreters would have any effect – and these were not to be found. Often an interpreter spent his time deceiving the ship's captain rather than trying to explain the law to recruits.

The recruits which the *Jessie Kelly* landed in Queensland were very unhappy; some absconded. This pattern was true of the other New Guinea recruits. Furthermore, the death rate among the New Guineans was startlingly high; they were not used to the food, the climate or the hard work. This both embarrassed and worried the government, so leading to the various political and legal moves mentioned above.

Griffith strongly condemned Hamilton's methods of recruiting off New Ireland. He said that the islanders came "in entire ignorance" and "without the slightest notion" of their engagement.<sup>30</sup> The Immigration Agent fuelled Griffith's stand:

The whole trouble has arisen through the importation of a lot of ignorant savages, who had not the remotest idea what they came here for, no Interpreter was provided by the Ship, and consequently nothing could be explained to them at the time they were hired.<sup>31</sup>

This condemnation was somewhat harsh and inaccurate, since some attempt had been made to provide an interpreter; but all were ignoring the practical problems that faced any interpreter.

Captain Hamilton encountered one other form of recruitment. This occurred at the island of Alu, just off the southern coast of Bougainville. Most leaders in Melanesia had circumscribed powers, but "King" Gorai

asserted a strong personal sway over his people and adjoining communities. Indeed his military rule extended, in a fashion, for over 150 kilometres along the eastern Bougainville coast.<sup>32</sup>

Gorai could accordingly arrange to supply men – normally obtained through a raid on neighbouring people. But he would also supply his own men, if enough could not be obtained otherwise. Such a supply system, arranged personally by the local leader, was unusual. Gorai in return for such services sought more appurtenances of western civilization, in the belief that these would add immeasurably to the traditional sources of power that he had already arrogated to himself. Being promised 120 men, Captain Hamilton had to leave with Gorai not only weapons like tomahawks and knives but also building materials (window sashes for his palace).

The “King” was using the labour trade to advance his personal power, and he was rapidly adopting western ways. A visitor in 1884 found Gorai

waiting our arrival, dressed in nothing but a long white shirt. Behind him, ranged in rows, were his forty wives. . . The large dining-room was well lighted with kerosene lamps, and was well furnished, all articles, the King informed me, being imported from Sydney, where, he also told me, he had his admiral’s uniform made to order. . . The table – laid only for three – was covered with a snow-white cloth, and spread with all the necessary accessories of a comfortable little supper.<sup>33</sup>

This peak period of recruitment, accordingly, shows a complicated pattern of arrangements. Most islanders were willing to recruit; they were not very concerned about the condition of the ship that was to carry them; they usually did not worry about the attitude of the crew towards them; they wanted to go and experience a new life in Queensland. But new areas of recruitment were prone to abuse by the European crews – and, at the same time, the islanders in those areas did not really comprehend the system of labour. In the more established areas there were fairly casual, calm patterns of exchange – labour for trade. But even here there could be resistance by the islanders; they had not yet succumbed to western control. And here, too, there were still occasions of violent and illegal recruiting behaviour by the Europeans. The strand of interpretation which emphasizes that recruiting operated as just another capitalist endeavour, yet another “trade” – perhaps somewhat akin today to some used-car traders – is backed up by a wealth of official evidence, especially archival, which recent researchers have turned to. At the same time it is clear that a quiet, legal frontier had not yet been established. Legal authority still occupied only a very tenuous place. Commercial reasons dictated the course of behaviour of the more respectable

labour recruiters; they wanted to make return trips to the different communities. So it was wise for them to establish friendly relations from the start.

There is, however, one niggling worry about this standard approach. It is based so much upon the rule of commercial reason; yet society, capitalists included, do not so persistently behave in a reasonable manner. We may be guilty of imposing too much the rule of reason upon this situation. The labour trade is well serviced by western sources – by archival and private papers and official publications. But until a counter-interpretation exists, based upon the knowledge and experiences of the Melanesians, we may be creating too rational an explanation on why and how the labour trade operated.

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22. Order in Council, 6 February 1878, Queensland, *Government gazette*, vol 12, January-June 1878, p. 335.
23. Wawn, p. 10; *Argus*, 2 December 1892.
24. Instruction no. 19, Queensland, *Votes and proceedings*, vol 2, 1878, p. 56; also, see Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1880, 44 Vic. no. 17, s. 12, *iv*.
25. Corris, *Passage*, p. 51.
26. Note that rather violent abuses could and did still happen in the New Hebrides in this period. These were, however, the exception; much depended upon the nature of the person (captain, recruiter or mate) involved. A notorious case was that of one-eyed Captain Carl Satini of the *Ceara* in 1882 at Eromanga; report of Captain Bridge, 9 July 1882 [C. 3641], Great Britain, *Parliamentary papers*, vol 47, 1883, pp. 556, 593, 608; 227/1883, COL/A 352, Q.S.A.; 6031/1883 in 6165/1884, COL/A 399, Q.S.A.; 3268/1895, COL/A 791, Q.S.A.; 'Western Pacific Commissioner', [C. 3905], Great Britain, *Parliamentary papers*, vol 55, 1884, pp. 556, 593, 608.
27. Wawn, p. 292; McNeil evidence, Townsville court-house, 14 December 1883, Horrocks minute, 5 February 1884, 895/1884, COL/A 380, Q.S.A.; Plessen to Granville, 4 September 1883, Queensland, *Votes and proceedings*, vol 2, 1884, p. 813.
28. 'Claims ... Hertsheim ...', Queensland, *Votes and proceedings*, vol 2, 1884, pp. 771-844; 'Correspondence ... Heath', Queensland, *Votes and proceedings*, vol 2, 1884, pp. 747-65; re *Hopeful*, CRS 145, 146, 147, Q.S.A.; re *Forest King*, CRS 152, Q.S.A., and 'Papers ... *Forest King* ...', Queensland, *Votes and Proceedings*, vol 2, 1884, pp. 853-916; re *Ethel*, CRS 151, Q.S.A.; re *Ceara*, *Lizzie*, *Heath*, CRS 144, Q.S.A. In the Supreme Court there was also a murder case against some crew members of the *Alfred Vittery*, but this did not relate to New Guinea recruiting.

29. 'Report of a Royal Commission. . .', Queensland, *Votes and proceedings*, vol 2, 1885, pp. 797-988.
30. Queensland, *Parliamentary debates*, vol 44, 1884, pp. 1727, 1859, 1862.
31. Horrocks to Under-colonial Secretary, 5 December 1883, 7574/1884, COK/A 405, Q.S.A.
32. Henry B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and their natives* (London: Sonnenschein, 1887), pp. 14-22.
33. Rannie, pp. 46-47, also 31-32.