

SUGAROPOLIS

THE MACKAY-PACIFIC ISLANDS PEOPLE TRADE VOYAGE STATISTICS, 1867-1903



Men from Guadalcanal and Malaita islands, Solomon Islands, on Foulden plantation at Mackay, Queensland, in the 1870s.

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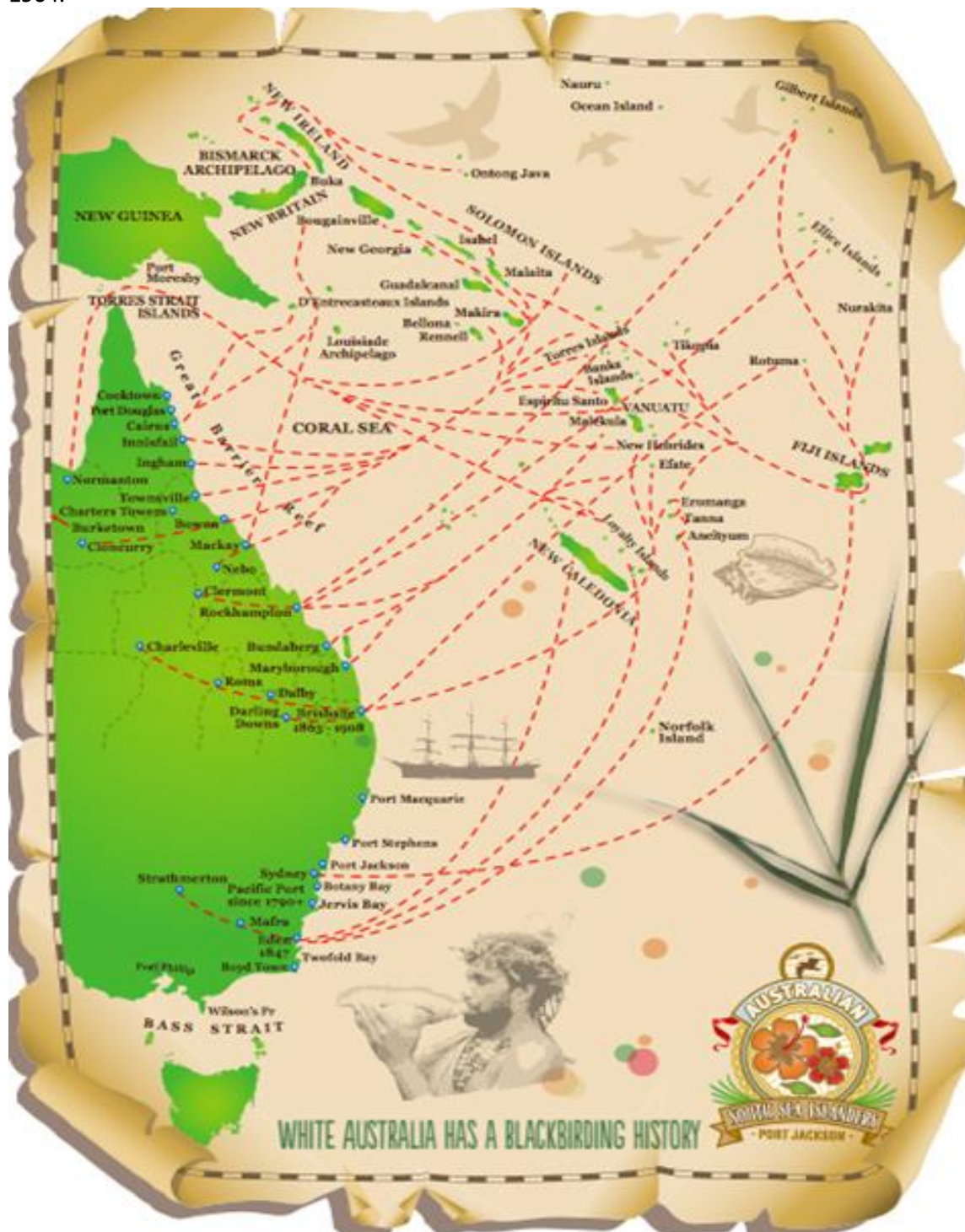
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Source: ASSI PJ website. <http://www.assipj.com.au/southsea/wp-content/uploads/ASSIPJ-map.pdf>

INTRODUCTION: QUEENSLAND'S PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOUR TRADE

The Queensland Government published annual statistics on South Sea Islander immigration and emigration, which have never before been brought together in one publication. These statistics enable tracking of arrival and departure numbers Queensland-wide by males, females, and children, or by years, individual ships, ports, wrecks, Captains (also called Masters), and Government Agents. The Mackay list below is part of a larger project begun by Sydney-based Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Ltd (ASSI PJ) to make all these statistics more readily accessible. I have also completed a more limited set of statistics for Townsville. I hope that the statistical details available in this document also will encourage the newly-formed Queensland United South Sea Islander Council Inc. (QUASSIC) in their quest to retrieve their history and confirm their place as a contemporary Australian ethnic community. The document is a tribute and guide to the Mackay district South Sea Islander community, and in many ways it completes research I began in the 1970s.

Summary Starting Points

The Wider Pacific Context

The Queensland labour trade (also people trade, a term coined by historian Dorothy Shineberg) was part of a much larger movement of indentured labour in the Pacific between the 1840s and the 1940s. It should not be viewed in isolation.

Slavery

'Slavery' is a slippery but emotive word that means different things to different people. Usage of the word is changing and contemporary examples are now sometimes called 'modern slavery'. In the nineteenth century British slavery was a type of unfree labour, a legal status which had existed for hundreds of years and related to the ownership of humans. British slavery was abolished between the 1800s and the 1830s, although slavery continued in other European colonial territories until much later in the nineteenth century. Indenture was a quite separate type of unfree labour and initially was used to contract European labourers.

Indenture

Pacific Islander labour in Queensland was bound first by the terms of the *Masters and Servants Act* and then specific Acts of parliament relating to their indenture under contracts. Indenture is a waged legal contract between two parties in relation to a specific period of employment. Indenture always favoured the employer. After the abolition of slavery, indenture became the major legal mechanism to control non-European workers before trade unions were formed to negotiate working conditions. It was illegal for Queensland indentured labourers to strike, although individual Islanders did strike on a small scale and occasionally in larger numbers; for instance at Mossman in 1906. Indenture was abolished between the 1900s and 1940s: 1900 in Hawai'i; 1906 in Queensland; 1920 in Fiji; 1945 in Papua New Guinea, and a few years later in Solomon Islands. Regardless of the legal differences, the Pacific labour trade, including the recruitment process in the islands, the voyages, and life in Queensland and New South Wales, involved deeply structured inequalities of power

which produced what have been described as relations of coercion. The cultural circumstances always made the movement of Pacific labour unequal and exploitive.

Blackbirding

The Pacific labour trade to Queensland is often known as 'blackbirding', a word of uncertain origins. It denotes coercion of Pacific Islanders through deception and kidnapping as unpaid or poorly paid workers away from their island homes. However the word was and still is used for the entire period the labour trade operated, even when enlistment was voluntary. While a wonderfully descriptive word, its meaning is too imprecise to be used in any formal way. Today, blackbirding is often used as an alternative word for slavery, which is incorrect.

Kanaka

'Kanaka', a Hawai`ian word for common man, with rural connotations, was used in colonial Queensland and New South Wales as was 'South Sea Islander' (SSI). In French New Caledonia the word became Kanak; and in recent decades Kanak has come into common use in Australia. Most Australian descendants prefer to be known as Australian South Sea Islanders, although Kanaka/Kanak is used as slang among themselves. The word Kanaka originally had a derogatory meaning and is no longer in general use, although, strangely, Kanak, seems to be acceptable.

Queensland Laws and Regulations

Acts of the Queensland, British and Australian parliaments intended to control the labour trade were passed between 1868 and 1906. These were supplemented by regulations. Onwards from 1871 all Queensland and Fiji recruiting ships carried Government Agents. The laws were administered by local Magistrates, Inspectors of Pacific Islanders, and Government Agents on the ships.

Assessing the Level of Understanding

Particularly in the 1860s and early 1870s, kidnapping and other illegalities occurred. Large scale kidnapping took place again in the first half of the 1880s in the island off eastern New Guinea. Overall, illegality probably involved about five percent of the indenture agreements (about 3,000). Although there were some irregularities in the 1890s, largely the 1890s and 1900s were a period of willing enlistment when the majority of the labour recruits came from Solomon Islands.

The level of understanding by the original Pacific Islander labourers of the legal process of indenture is open to question. Most were illiterate when they first arrived in Queensland and could not have had any clear understanding. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that over the forty years of the Queensland labour trade the majority of participants knew from personal experience or from relatives what was involved and made a conscious decision to participate. This issue raises complex questions, and explanations require equally complex answers.

Assessing Motivations

In the islands the older and high-ranking men controlled the lives of the younger men. On many islands young men needed wealth to present to the families of their future brides. Elders and leaders provided this but the young men were obligated to them. They had to join war parties and trading expeditions, and complete more mundane tasks such as gardening, hunting, fishing and house-building. The older and high-ranking men exploited the younger men, and free will often meant the will of elders. Participation in the labour trade provided a new way of social advancement on terms more advantageous to young men, reshaping power relations.

Passage Masters

On each island recruiting was organised by ‘passage masters’ and interpreters—leading bigmen who had usually been to the colonies themselves. They were well-rewarded for their roles in organising the supply of labourers. The recruiting process could not have continued so efficiently without their collaboration.

Voyages

Between 1863 and early 1904 there were more than 790 labour recruiting voyages from Queensland to around 85 islands and island groups. The vessels were mainly wooden schooners, barquentines and brigantines of quite small tonnage.

Numbers of Indenture Contracts

There were 62,500 Queensland indenture contracts between 1863 and 1904, but only about 50,000 individuals were involved. Ninety-four percent were males and six percent were females. Women should only have been recruited if accompanied by their husbands, which did not always occur. The minimum enlistment age was 16 years, although oral history suggests that some recruits were younger than this. Most of the labourers were between their late teens and about 35 years old.

Beach Bonuses and Wages

Wages of between £6 and £31 a year were paid, plus ‘beach bonuses’ in the islands of 10/- to £2 pounds, usually in the form of ‘trade goods’ (often old-fashioned muskets), which went to ‘passage masters’ and to the families of the recruits. In the later years, many recruits chose to have their ‘beach bonus’ paid to them directly, in cash. There is no doubt that wages were paid in Queensland: there is evidence of bank accounts, and ample other documentation. This does not mean that there was not also some fraud involved or that a wage of £6 a year was in any way sufficient.

Mortality

Government statistics suggest that mortality rates on voyages were low, while the mortality rates while in Queensland were unacceptably high, at around twenty-five percent. Statistics are available in the text.

Ending the Queensland Labour Trade

In 1885 the Queensland Government announced the closure of the labour trade from the end of 1890. This halt lasted until April 1892 when the labour trade continued again. In 1901 there were 10,000 Pacific Islanders in Queensland and a few hundred in northern New South Wales. As part of the White Australia Policy the Commonwealth Government legislated to taper off numbers and stopped recruiting after the end of 1903 (which trailed over until early 1904). At the end of 1904, 7,879 remained in Australia. The 1906 Royal Commission calculated that 4,000 to 4,500 were due to be repatriated, but in 1907 427 transferred to work in Fiji, which left 3,500 to be deported, the majority to Solomon Islands.

New South Wales Involvement

Sydney was an early Pacific port and numerous Pacific Islanders lived there from quite early years. There is no evidence of direct labour recruiting into New South Wales, except for two voyages involving 122 labourers in 1847, and into Torres Strait in the 1860–70s. Because Torres Strait came

under NSW jurisdiction until the mid-1870s, Islander maritime workers there entered via Sydney. The early Islander community in northern NSW seems to have migrated south from Queensland, mainly in the 1809s and 1900s. Once living in NSW, Queensland legislation and regulations did not apply to them, although the 1901 Commonwealth legislation and its 1906 revision did apply.

Australian South Sea Islanders

1,654 ex-indentured Islanders were allowed to remain in Australia and about another 1,000 managed illegally to avoid the mass deportation. Islander children born in Australia were not subject to deportation, although some did return to the islands with their parents or other relatives. Most of today's Australian South Sea Islanders are descendants of time-expired labourers (who had worked on multiple contracts) and had been in Australia more than 20 years in 1901, and 'ticket-holders' (labourers in Queensland since before September 1879).

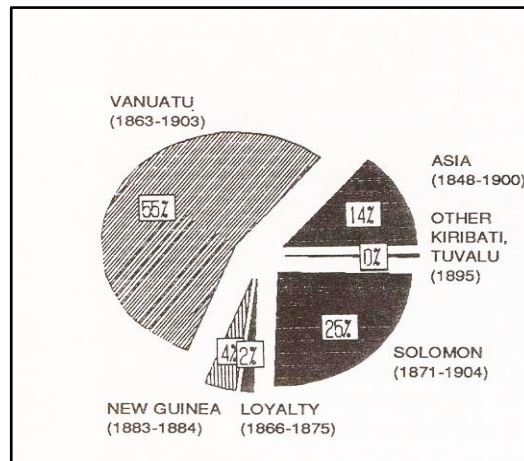
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Islands, Voyages and Colonies

Although there is a huge literature on Queensland's Pacific labour trade, little has been published on the actual voyages to and from Queensland. This essay and the accompanying tables are an attempt to rectify this. The available government statistics and documents, diaries, Islander oral testimony from the islands off New Guinea in an 1885 Royal Commission, and other primary and secondary publications, including Islander oral testimony collected onwards from the 1960s, are listed in *Hardwork* (2019), Moore's online bibliography. Between 1863 and 1904 there were more than 790 voyages between Queensland (Tables One, Five, and Six) and 85 islands and island groups in the southwest Pacific, involving more than 62,000 indentured labour contracts. Mackay was central to 430 of the total voyages—more than half (Tables Two, Three, Four, and Six). The South Sea Islanders (as they were known) came mainly from islands now included in Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and New Caledonia (Table One).

Only about six percent of the total number of recruits were female (Graph Seven, Graph Eight). All labourers were young, usually in their late teens to mid-thirties. Some made only one trip, stayed for three years, then returned home, while others came to Queensland on more than one occasion, then returned permanently to their home islands. They also recruited to other colonies such as Fiji (a British colony), New Caledonia (a French colony), and Samoa (a German colony). Based on the numbers we know came to Queensland on more than one occasion, the total number of individual Islander indentured labourers was probably less than 50,000.

Graph 1: Indentured labour in Queensland, 1848–1904.



Source: Moore, 1992.

Having read many of the surviving diaries from the ships I can only conclude that for the Islanders their experiences on the voyage must often have been unpleasant, frightening and sometimes horrific. There were at least 15 wrecks and a few groundings, and ships wedged of reefs, with some loss of life, although in most cases the passengers and crews were saved. The worst case was that of the *Sybil* which disappeared in 1902 on its way back to Queensland after having left Guadalcanal Island. The ship had previously struck a reef and was in a leaky condition. About forty passengers and the crew were lost.

Travelling on small vessels across the Coral and Solomon seas at all times of the year, including the cyclone season, could never be considered to be pleasure cruises. The conditions below deck were always basic, and discipline was harsh, for crews and passengers alike. The labourers were exposed to other recruits from the further reaches of their own island and surrounding islands, who may have been their enemies; and others from a thousand kilometres away whose languages they could not understand. The Islanders were steeped in their own cultures, suspicious of strangers, unused to the type of food provided, and often had no idea of their destinations nor the amount of time they would be on the ships or in Queensland. Their level of geographic knowledge was limited and certainly never included Australia. Life below decks was unpleasant. Even the most seasoned travellers would have found it a frightening and unsettling experience. Some were kidnapped, while others were cajoled into enlisting by recruiters, 'passage masters' and interpreters. Some of their own leaders were in cahoots with the labour recruiters and were well-rewarded for their roles as middle-men. Yet, there is also no doubt that tens of thousands chose to enlist for work in the colonies. We cannot now untangle their motivations, but the majority made a conscious decision to leave their islands to spend three or more years in Queensland.

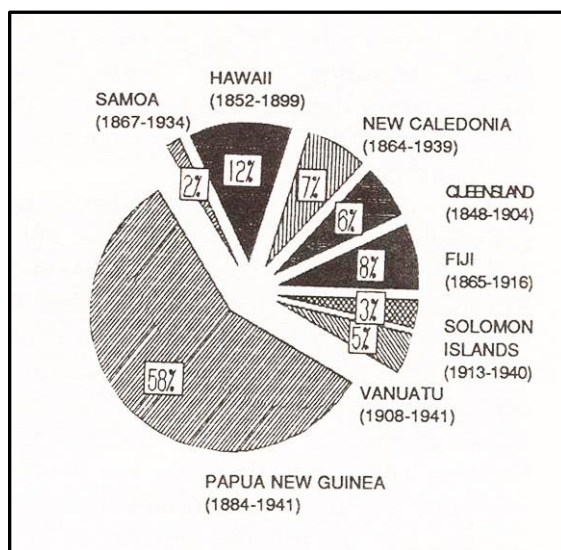
Historians, politicians, the media, and Pacific Islanders themselves, have long debated the labour or people trade. Several historians (me included) and anthropologists have noted that it is demeaning to the intelligence of Pacific peoples to presume that they presented themselves to be kidnapped from the same beaches, generation after generation, for forty or more years. Others, particularly descendants of the indentured labourers, have stressed that it was total exploitation and that all labour recruits were either kidnapped or lured by beguiling recruiters, which runs against the historical evidence. There was never one set pattern. Motivations and circumstances varied over the decades—1860s, 1870s or 1880s etc.—and on each island and island group (Table One). On some islands in the south sandalwood groves had been cut and exported for decades (Shineberg, 1967), Christian missions had been established, and there were also trading stations. The largest number by far from any island came from Malaita in Solomon Islands which provided 9,186 indenture contracts,

14.5 percent of the overall total Queensland number. Six thousand Malaitan recruits left their island for Queensland in the 1890s and 1900s, and more went to Fiji, New Caledonia and Samoa. My 1970s research concluded that deliberate decisions to enlist were made by around 80 percent of Malaitan labourers. Their reasons were manifold, but most related to existing exchange networks, political and social pressures, and to predictable stages in traditional male life-cycles. Although cases of physical kidnapping had more or less ended by the mid-1880s, 'cultural kidnapping' continued. By this I mean that Europeans with a more global outlook, and as part of the colonial outreach of capitalism, were taking advantage of Melanesia's small-scale societies and their desires for European and Asian manufactured goods, known as 'trade goods'.

This is not a justification of the labour trade. It is however acknowledgement that the only valid standard to judge the behaviour of nineteenth century Pacific Islanders stems from what can be understood of how they perceived the enticements offered. Some academic interpretations (Saunders 1975 and 1982 are classic examples, as is Graves 1993) use only documentary sources and base their interpretations on theories relating to race and capitalism. These researchers had no on-the-ground experience in the Pacific Islands, which I believe is essential to any interpretation. Peter Corris' *Port, Passage and Plantation* (1973) and my *Kanaka* (1985, particularly 47-100) are examples of 1960s and 1970s multi-layered involvement with documentary sources, oral testimony in Queensland, and field work in Solomon Islands and Fiji. We were able to talk to a small number of the original recruits and found their motivations to be quite diverse. There are cases of men and youths leaving their islands because they had committed crimes and were escaping punishment, because of famine, or for the sheer adventure of leaving their small-scale societies. They also followed the examples of their fathers and uncles who preceded them in the labour trade.

Sometimes it was a calculated decision to spend three years away and return with a trade box stuffed with items not available at home. (Even the meager basic wage of £18 over three years could achieve this.) Usually these goods were distributed to family members, which was a customary way to behave, but it also meant that they found themselves several rungs up social ladders than their brothers and nephews who had stayed at home. Having been away as a labourer, a man was likely to be able to find a wife more easily as exchange of 'trade goods' for 'bride wealth' payments provided the necessary shell money and other valuables. Women usually enlisted with their partner, although there are examples of run-aways escaping unhappy marriages. Labour recruiting became a new rite of passage, particularly for young males. The attraction of returning with 'trade goods' was the key factor. If these goods were unavailable on an island, or hard to access from trading stations on surrounding islands, the more likely that young men and women would choose to sign-on. This was certainly a Malaitan motivation. Today, it is difficult to realise the changes that iron and steel tool and guns brought to societies which made their tools and weapons from stone, wood, plants, and shells. Agriculture, fishing, building and fighting were transformed by the new tools.

Graph 2: Indentured labour in the Pacific, 1852–1941.



Source: Moore, 1992.

Around one million Pacific Islanders and a further half a million Asians were involved in the Pacific labour trade before the Second World War. Since then more than double that number have in various ways been involved in the ebb and flow of internal and external labour migration. (See Munro, 1990, for the best statistical analysis.) The 62,000 indentured contracts for Pacific Islanders working in Queensland between 1863 and 1908 are only a small proportion of the total movement of labour. For a variety of reasons there were always humanitarian, ethical and political voices which decried the four decades of the Queensland labour trade. The method of obtaining labour was always one reason. Another reason was the death rate.

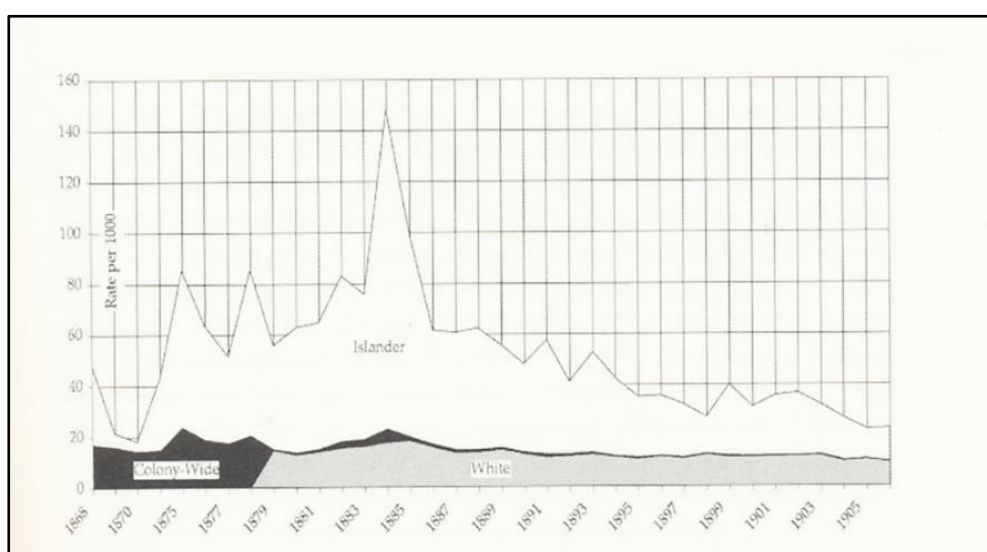
Mortality Rates

The Queensland Government kept statistics on Islander mortality on the labour trade vessels and in the colony. For example, between 1873 and 1894, 252 (242 men and 10 women) died on recruiting voyages to and from Queensland, out of a total embarked of 45,916 (42,660 men and 3,256 women), which is a death rate of 0.54 percent. The worst years were 1876 (52 deaths during a measles epidemic), and 1883 (30 deaths) and 1884 (34 deaths), when the New Guinea islands recruits arrived. Overall, compared with European immigrant vessels these death rates were not excessive. (Although the time spent onboard for European immigrants was longer and the age ranges were larger). The labour trade voyage mortality levels were much lower than the mortality rate for Islanders while in Queensland, which was astoundingly high—around 25 percent of indenture agreements. Statistics between 1870 and 1906 show 14,918 Islander deaths in Queensland, mostly from young fit adult males in their first three years in the colony/state. (Refer to Shlomowitz, 1987, 1989.) This high death rate was because new labourers from the Pacific Islands often lacked immunity to common diseases from Europe and Asia. Ralph Shlomowitz's analysis suggests that once the Islanders had survived three years in Australia their mortality rate was similar to that of other colonists. The death rates worried the Queensland Government enough to try and close down the labour trade in 1885.

Constantly bringing new labour recruits to Queensland had disastrous consequences, which were quite recognisable by the mid-1870s (Graph Three), which should have been enough evidence to close down the labour trade much earlier. The spike in 1875 relates to a measles epidemic in Queensland and the islands. The highest death rate was between 1883 and 1885, primarily among

labour recruits from the New Guinea islands. Large numbers of the New Guinea islands recruits had been kidnapped and suffered high death rates in Queensland. All survivors were returned home at Queensland Government expense, 405 of them on SS *Victoria* in 1885 (Jamison, 1990; Wawn, 1973/1893, 359–99; Romilly, 1893, 218–47). The lower figures in the late 1880s, 1890s and 1900s are an indication of the number the labourers who had already completed a contract in Queensland or another colony, or were long term residents of Queensland. Their levels of immunity were higher. And, as a slight amelioration, over the forty years we also need to consider normal mortality (at a lower age than today) which is included within the statistics, although there is no indication of any dramatic change in the 1890s and 1900s, other than declining deaths generally. The death rates on labour trade vessels in the 1890–1900 was never more than five in a year and zero in three of the years.

Graph 3: Mortality rates of Pacific Islanders as compared to those of the entire colony of Queensland and those of Europeans, 1868–1906.



Source: Banivanua-Marr, 2007, 51.

Economic and Political Considerations

There were also accompanying economic and political decisions which shaped the labour trade. Recruiting cost rose constantly. On 1 May 1886, a *Mackay Mercury* editorial commented that in recent years costs to obtain each recruit had increased from £12.10.0 to £35. Obtaining labourers from the islands became increasingly expensive. As well, onwards from the mid-1880s the Queensland Government engineered a shift from a sugar industry based on plantations to one based on co-operatively-owned central mills, with a new emphasis on small farms run by European families, and on European immigration into the colony. In 1884 Premier Griffith negated an earlier Act to make sure that Indian labourers could not be imported as a substitute for Pacific Islands labourers.

The mid-1880s was the climax of the plantation system and of labour recruiting. In 1885 the Queensland Government passed legislation to close the labour trade at the end of 1890, then, beset by economic depression, allowed it to resume in April 1892 and struggle on throughout the rest of the decade, with lower numbers involved (Table Six, Graph Five). The federation of the Australian colonies was negotiated during the 1890s. The final decision on the labour trade was taken out of

Queensland's hands in 1901 when the new Commonwealth Government introduced what became known as the 'White Australia Policy', part of which was legislation to cease importing Pacific labourers and to repatriate as many as possible of the 10,000 Islanders then living in Queensland and northern New South Wales. This occurred because of the wide-spread electoral support for creating a new nation 'for the white man', but it was also because economically Pacific Islanders were no longer a cheap form of labour, and reforms during the mid-1880s to mid-1890s had restructured the sugar industry.

Limits were put on the number of Islanders who could be recruited between 1901 and 1903, and existing and new contracts were not renewed. The actual repatriation process took place between 1906 and 1908. Finally, an Islander community of around 2,000 remained in Australia. About half had been given permission to stay, while the others had evaded the authorities, often with the assistance of European farmers. They were mainly single older men, although enough marriages had occurred, particularly with First Nation Australians, to ensure that the community continued. Today's Australian South Sea Islanders are their descendants.

Legislation and Regulations

Britain and Queensland adopted a policy of supervision rather than prohibition of the labour trade. As much as possible the two governments tried to ensure legality through specific Acts of parliament, Select Committees and Royal Commissions, and extra regulations. These are listed in Moore, 2019, 50–5, and Moore, 1985, 344–45.

The first legislation governing Pacific Islander migration to Queensland was the *Polynesian Labourers Act* in 1868 (31 Vic No 47). (The term Polynesian was used as a general geographic descriptor for what we would now divide into Polynesia and Melanesia.) After 4 March 1868, Islanders could only be brought to Queensland on voyages licenced under the terms of the Act. Although the Act was well-drafted, the problems were that there was no minimum age specified for labourers, there was no government supervision of activities on the ships, and very little supervision once the labourers were in Queensland on isolated pastoral properties, in the maritime industry, and in agriculture. What sounded fine on paper was largely unenforceable.

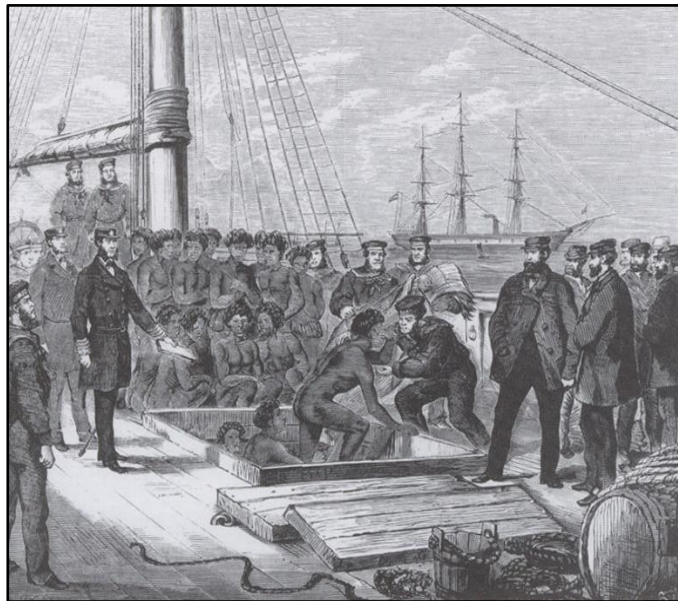
The Master of each ship had to post a £500 bond against kidnapping, in the form of two sureties. (This was roughly \$67,000 in today's currency.) Employers took out a licence to import a specified number of labourers, which related to the tonnage of the vessel, and deposited a £10 bond with the government for each labourer, to cover the cost of his or her return passage. (This was about \$1,300 in today's currency.) The labourers could not be taken from Queensland, except to be returned to their islands, and they were not to be supplied with alcohol. Wherever possible, the recruiters were asked to get consuls, missionaries or other Europeans living on the islands to sign declarations vouching that the Islanders understood their contracts and had volunteered to enlist. In practice this seldom occurred.

Labour recruiting was a moving frontier through the islands, south to north (Map One), and often preceded any permanent European presence. Other clauses in the Act controlled conditions on voyages and provided for further supervision of the labourers during their stay in Queensland, including scales for food rations, clothing and accommodation, and a minimum wage set at £6 a year over a three-year contract, plus the 'beach bonus'. This basic wage remained the same for forty years, and, as all other costs increased, it has always seemed to me to be one of the travesties of the labour trade that the basic wage stayed so low. (£6 in 1868 is the equivalent of \$800 today.)

All labour ships had to report on arrival at any Queensland port and as the administrative system became established all new recruits were examined by the local Police Magistrate or Inspector of Pacific Islanders when they arrived, and they were paid by them, at the beginning annually, then every six months. There was also a fine of £20 per passenger for any breach of the Act by employers. After they completed their contracts, labourers could either return home or re-engage, usually at an increasingly high wage, although seldom at the same wage level as European employees in similar occupations. Roughly, a first indenture Islander earned about one-quarter or one-fifth of the wage for a European labourer. When calculating the cost of recruiting Islander labourers, employers included wages, the passage to and from the islands, government fees, food and accommodation. They also realised that early in contracts 'new chum' Islanders were not used to the labour needs of Queensland, which made them less efficient employees.

The most important new legislation after the 1868 Act were the *British Pacific Islanders Protection Act 1872* and its 1875 revision, and the 1880 *Polynesian Labourers Act* (44 Vic No 17). Earlier in the 1860s attempts to seize British vessels suspected of kidnapping were made under the *Slave Trade Acts*, or under 1820s legislation which extended the jurisdiction of Supreme Courts of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) to the oceans surrounding Australia and New Zealand. Despite the efforts of the Royal Navy Australia Station, all cases failed to gain convictions (Mortensen 2000; Palmer 1971/1873). The 1872 Act included an extra £500 bond against malpractice, and enabled the evidence of Islanders or other witnesses from outside British territory to be used to obtain a conviction.

Figure 1: A sketch of a British Navy inspection of a recruiting vessel in the late 1860s.



Source: *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 16 June 1869.

Another important change, forced on Queensland and Fiji by the British Colonial Office, was the introduction of Government Agents on all recruiting vessels. Between 1871 and 1908, all Queensland labour trade ships (including those in 1904–08 simply involved in the repatriation of labourers) carried Government Agents. The Agents were responsible for the supervision of the recruiting and return of labourers, and for Islander welfare while on the vessels. In the 1870s they were paid £10 a month, their board and passage provided free by the ship's owners. While some of the early Government Agents were of dubious quality, overall they were effective. Some were

themselves qualified as ships' Masters and were punctilious in performing their duties. They had the power to order recruiting to cease and to order a ship to return to port. If the Government Agent died or was incapacitated the ship always had to return to port.

Figure 2: A studio portrait of Government Agent Douglas Rannie (centre) and a labour ship's crew.



Source: Rannie, 1912, 238.

Rannie served as a Government Agent on 17 Queensland ships between 1884 and 1893 and then became Assistant Inspector of Pacific Islanders at Mackay (1893–95).

Vessels and the Flow of Labour

Unlike ships in the British India labour trade, Queensland labour trade vessels were not purpose-built and were usually converted cargo ships. The Queensland labour trade was a private commercial enterprise with the ships owned by individuals, partnerships, and companies. Like any business, the labour trade ships operated at a profit, which could be substantial. The value of the smallest ships in the early years of the labour trade was around £1,000, which could be recouped over a couple of voyages if all went well. However, voyages could also make a loss, as is clear from some of the Mackay shipping statistics (Table Two, Graph Six) when they sailed well below capacity. Later, profits were lower because of the extra cost of larger ships, supplies of labour in the islands were less concentrated, and hiring re-recruiting labourers cost more. By the 1890s and 1900s labour recruiting profits were much more marginal.

There are some surprises in the statistics. There were entire years when there were no voyages in or out of Mackay: 1891, 1892, 1895 and 1900. The gap in 1891–92 was because of the Queensland Government's reaction to the findings of the 1885 Royal Commission into labour recruiting in the islands off east New Guinea, and the revelations relating to the appalling conditions in the Kanaka Hospitals. In 1885 Premier Griffith's Government passed an amendment to the *Pacific Islanders Act* 1880, which closed down labour recruiting after the end of 1890. Then, with the colony struck by wide-spread drought and economic depression, in April 1892 Griffith was forced to reopen the labour trade again. The years 1895 and 1900, when the labour trade continued to other ports but not to Mackay, are more difficult to explain. The reason would seem to be that the number of time-expired and ticket-holder labourers in the Mackay district was regarded as a sufficient supply of

labour for the restructured sugar industry based on government-financed small-farmer controlled central mills. European immigration was also fulfilling labour needs.

Accusations of Slavery

The most contentious feature of the debate is the constant allegations that the Pacific labour trade was a form of slavery—a new system of slavery using another name, indenture. This is believed by most of the Australian descendants.

In today's usage the meaning of the word 'slavery' is changing and is now sometimes called 'modern slavery'. In the nineteenth century slavery and indenture were two quite separate types of unfree labour. While accusations continued to be made that nineteenth century indentured labour was a new form of slavery (which had been abolished in the British world between the 1800s and the 1830s), indentured Pacific labourers were not slaves. The terms 'slavery' or 'chattel slavery' denotes a person who is owned for ever and whose children are automatically enslaved. 'Chattel slaves' are individuals treated as property, to be bought and sold. They did not receive wages. There is no doubt that the legal status of 'chattel slaves' was quite different from that of indentured labourers in Queensland.

Nevertheless, the Melanesian labour trade was clearly not always a positive and legal process. We need to ask if the indenture system created economic, social and political structures which involved dynamics similar to that of slavery? The answer is complex. Indentured labourers were paid wages, albeit low, but the labour system and the work available to and the level of payments of indentured labourers altered over time. The plantation era in Queensland (which is sometimes equated with southern USA) was relatively short-lived—forty years with its peak in the 1870s and 1880s. Queensland's nineteenth century sugar industry was never composed only of plantations with an indentured Pacific Islander work force. By the 1880s and 1890s the Queensland Government had ensured that farmer-controlled central mills flourished. At the end of the century and into the 1900s plantations had declined and the sugar industry was dominated by co-operatively-owned mills. More Islanders were working for farmers than on plantations. Major economic dynamics had altered although racial attitudes remained much the same.

Today, the terms 'slave' and 'slavery' are often used as moral and legal judgements quite free of the nineteenth century meaning. In 2018 the Australian Government passed a *Modern Slavery Act*, acknowledgement that 'modern slavery' exists—forms of human exploitation which have new meanings quite different from that in the nineteenth century. Alongside this resurgence there has been constant pressure from the media, which blithely ignores the differences and elides the several meanings of 'slavery'. When it comes to the history of 'Blackbirding' (an imprecise colloquial term for the nineteenth century Pacific labour trade), newspapers, radio, television, and the new digital media find the 'kidnapped slave' story more news-worthy than tales of 'willing workers'. Media coverage over recent decades contains a distinct bias towards the 'kidnapped slave' interpretation, usually based on the 1860s, which has had an effect on current interpretations. For recent media references see McKinnon 2019; Kwai 2020; Smith 2020; and Jokivanta and Pepper 2000.

Sold on Slave Blocks?

Another seemingly supportive allegation for the slavery interpretation is that when the new labourers arrived they were sold to future owners/employers from slave blocks down at the wharves. In her novel *Wacvie* (19, 21–22) Faith Bandler described her father as sold as a slave when he arrived at Mackay, and I found similar accusations (Moore, 1985, 154–55) in historical sources. What was happening was legitimate, but the process seems to have been subject to abuse, particularly during the first twenty years of the labour trade. Transfers of indenture contracts did take place, most often when the labourers first arrived or when a plantation was sold. Financial outlays to obtain new labourers were large, and the process could take four or five months by the time a ship left and returned to port. Employers had to contract with the ship's owners to take a certain number of labour recruits, but by the time they arrived in port financial circumstances might have changed and a lesser number were required. Plantations sometimes went broke and were left with no capacity to take on new labourers, or even to keep existing labourers. Transfers were used as a mechanism to adjust an employer's human capital investment. Undoubtedly this was done with disregard of the effect on the employees. Brothers and cousins could have been split up and the process must have been traumatic. Indentured labourers could also be hired out on a short term basis. However, this was not the same as selling slaves.

Feedback in Oral History

A circular feedback loop from popular literature, the media, and Islander memory over the last fifty years has provided Australian descendants with a conviction that they are all descended from kidnapped slaves. Even in the 1970s the better read Islanders had copies of popular texts on the labour trade and academic books such as Peter Corris's *Port, Passage and Plantation* (1973) and Corris's reissue of W.T. Wawn's 1893 classic account of the Queensland people trade. Interestingly, the Islander oral testimony collected in the 1970s does not carry the same level of preoccupation with slavery as it does today (Moore, 1985, 337–43, Moore 2015; Sullivan and Sullivan, 2020). Some of the more outrageous contemporary allegations by Islanders are believed by the media, and when challenged are justified as privileged knowledge—legitimate subjective narratives derived from oral historians within the community (Fallon 2016; Davis 2000; Miller 2010).

Indenture Agreements

Pacific Islander labourers in Queensland were bound by the terms of the *Masters and Servants Act* and specific Acts of parliament relating to the indenture contracts for Pacific Islanders. Indenture was a waged legal contract between two parties in relation to a period of employment. Indenture always favoured the employer (for instance, no strikes were allowed) and although indenture agreements were also used to control European workers, after the abolition of slavery, indenture became the major legal mechanism to bind non-European workers before trade unions were formed to negotiate working conditions. Islanders usually could not join trade unions, although there is evidence from NSW that some did. Indenture was finally abolished between the 1900s and 1940s: 1900 in Hawai'i; 1906 in Queensland; 1920 in Fiji; 1945 in Australia's Papua and New Guinea, and a few years later in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

Inequalities of Power

Bonded unfree labour (indenture) was quite distinct from slavery, but social institutions and beliefs of the time meant that there were some apparent similarities. Regardless of the legal differences and interpretations, the labour trade, including the recruitment process in the islands, the voyages, and life in Queensland and New South Wales, involved deeply structured inequalities of power

which produced what have been described as relations of coercion. A ground-breaking 1970s study of the Queensland labour trade (Saunders, 1975) compared the Queensland indentured labour system with American slavery, concluding that the two were different systems of unfree labour, both containing complex relationships of status and authority, although there were some social similarities between Queensland indenture and American slavery. Nevertheless, unlike slaves in the United States of America, Pacific Islanders in Queensland could legally be part of contracts and could marry, while at the same time they were excluded from being British subjects, and before 1876 were not considered to be competent witnesses in Court. The undeniable illegalities in the recruitment process challenge the concept that indenture was always by legal means. The Melanesians' dark skins and cultural differences meant that racism also played a strong part in determining attitudes. Racist beliefs were and are powerful mechanisms of social control. The introduction of the White Australia Policy, including an Act to deport Pacific Islanders and stop further immigration, is absolute proof of this.

Estimating the extent of illegality involved in the labour trade is even more difficult than calculating the number of individual labour recruits. Saunders suggested that around five percent (3,000) of Queensland's indentured Pacific Islanders were kidnapped. Her estimate is probably accurate, as is her conclusion that the mid-1880s was the cut-off date between an early increasingly legal period and the later predominantly legal period of the labour trade. Where we differ is that Saunders added another large percentage where the recruiting circumstances are dubious in terms of the provisions in the various Acts. My research suggests she exaggerated the level of overall illegality. There were a few anomalies in the 1890s, but largely it became a well-controlled process and recruiting was by negotiation not force. Saunders cited examples from as early as the 1870s where it was clear that negotiation was the only successful method to obtain labour. While it has become fashionable to play down 'agency' (making a deliberate choice), it still appears to be the reason why the majority enlisted.

Re-recruiting, Time-expired and Ticket-holder Islanders

In recent decades new research has enabled us to know much more about the different types of labour: 'new chums' (first indenture labourers), re-recruiting labourers, labourers in Queensland who re-indentured, and 'time-expired' and 'ticket holder' labourers. The Islander workforce was never one homogeneous group.

Based on the Queensland and Mackay statistics, the decline in immigration and emigration after a peak in the mid-1880s is obvious. This was because of the large number of Islanders who chose to remain in Queensland for long periods, or permanently. They were called 'time-expired' labourers or 'ticket-holders' and provided the labour requirements without additional voyaging. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s 'time-expired' labourers formed one third to one half of the total number in Queensland. They were between 31 and 34 percent (1888–92); between 57 and 67 percent (1893–99); between 42 and 46 percent (1900–01); and between 31 and 39 percent (1902–04). As well, in 1884 the government placed limits on the occupations available to the Islanders, confining them to tropical agriculture on the coast—effectively to field labour in the sugar industry. However, a significant number of the members of the Legislative Assembly objected to what they saw as unjust and unBritish limits on individuals who had completed their indenture contracts and were in effect residents in the colony. The solution was to allow complete freedom of employment for all Islanders who had lived in Queensland for five continuous years before 1 September 1884. Known as 'ticket-holders', they were issued with special exemption documents: there were 835 in Queensland in

1884, 716 in 1892, 704 in 1901, and 691 in 1906. Expressed as a proportion of the overall Islander population, between 1885 and 1906 the ‘ticket-holders’ constituted seven to eleven percent of the overall Islander population. Together, the ‘time-expired’ and ‘ticket-holder’ Islanders were a significant proportion of the overall Islander population available for agricultural labour—hence the decline in new immigration. The ‘ticket-holders’ also continued to work in the pastoral and marine industries, and owned farms and boarding houses. They were always regarded as ‘aliens’ and never as British subjects, although their Australian-born children became British subjects and later Australian citizens.

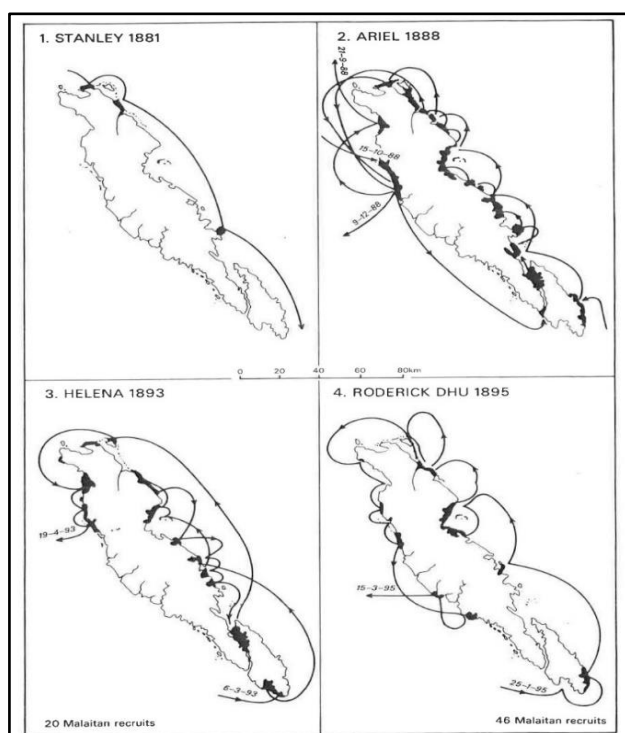
In the 1890s and 1900s it was cheaper to employ ‘time-expired’ and ‘ticket-holder’ labourers already in the colony/state, and pay them higher wages (up to £22 and even £30 a year). This is clear from the 1895–1906 employment register from the Burdekin (see the Bibliography, under James Cook University). They were acclimatised to Queensland conditions and more productive workers than ‘new chum’ labourers. The majority of today’s Australian South Sea Islanders are descendants of these ‘time-expired’ and ‘ticket-holder’ labourers, with the probable exception of large number of Solomon Islanders at Mackay, most of whom would not have fitted into the twenty plus years in Queensland specifications.

The Pattern of Voyages

In the early years recruiters targeted coastal Islanders, but these were less available in later years. Ships anchored at passages, firing off dynamite charges at dusk to let inland descent groups know that a ship had arrived. Crews circled their ships around big islands like Guadalcanal and Malaita, or Tanna and Santo, spending a few days at every major passage, sometimes back-tracking to the best areas. Once recruiting contacts were established, ships’ Masters and Government Agents returned to the same passages year after year, where they had been well-received in the past, and where there were compliant ‘passage masters’.

As early as the 1860s and 1870s, a number of Islander indentured labourers enlisted for Queensland more than once. By the 1890s a high proportion of the Islanders travelling to Queensland were ‘old hands’, who had previously worked on plantations or in other occupations in Queensland, Fiji, Samoa, and New Caledonia. The statistics become firm onwards from 1892 after Queensland’s Governor Norman paid a visit to a labour vessel, the *Para*. He gave instructions that henceforth the all governors were to receive full reports on voyages, including details of the numbers who were re-enlisting after having worked previously beyond their own island. These statistics were included in the published annual reports on Pacific Island migration. Over the remaining decade of the labour trade, of the 15,000 new arrivals on indenture agreements, each year on average between 22.5 percent and 35.5 percent were re-recruiting. For instance, of the 1,037 new arrivals in Queensland in 1903, 369 (35.5%) had worked as labourers previously: 312 in Queensland, 24 in New Caledonia, 20 in Fiji, four in Samoa, two on Sandwich (Efate) Island, one on Epi Island, five in the Florida (Ngela) Group, and one at Roviana Lagoon, New Georgia. ‘Old hands’ who returned—already accustomed to conditions in Queensland—were much in demand by employers. In return they regularly commanded higher wages, double that of a person enlisting for the first time. It is unrealistic to suggest that this group were kidnapped or forced to travel to Queensland.

Map 2: Four recruiting voyages around Malaita, 1881, 1888, 1893, 1895.



Source: Clive Moore Collection.

Allocation of Space

Over the decades there were revisions to the 1868 Act, particularly in 1880. The below-deck fittings were meagre and basic, usually no more than shared wooden bunks. Although always cramped, the average space allocated per passenger was little different from steerage (the most basic passenger accommodation) on contemporary British vessels carrying European migrants to the Australian colonies. Queensland's recruiting vessels were licenced to carry one adult for every 12 square feet allotted for their use. The minimum height between decks was set at six feet six inches (1.9 metres). There could be two levels of bunks and the bottom bunk had to be six inches off the floor of the hold. If the between-decks height was above the minimum required, between 1868 and 1880 extra passengers were allowed at the ratio of one for every 144 cubic feet of space. In addition, each vessel needed to have five square feet of railed exercise space for each passenger, on the upper deck or poop. In the 1880 Act the space necessary to carry extra passengers was halved, to one for every 78 cubic feet of below-deck space.

The essential differences between comparative passenger comfort on various British vessels carrying migrant passengers in the nineteenth century were the size of the ships, the length of the voyages and that most Europeans would have had possessions with them, including bedding. A round-trip recruiting voyage in the Melanesian labour trade was usually for four to five months, although some exceeded this. Any recruit or returning Islander was likely to have spent no more than half the voyage time on the vessel. Not all voyages carried the full number of passengers, although it was possible that there would be up to 130 recruits and returns living below decks at any one time. The

ships were wooden, rigged as schooners, barquentines, and brigantines, averaging 120 to 150 tons gross weight, with some as small as 73 tons, a few up to 240 tons, and even a steam ship of 380 tons. British vessels carrying European migrants to Australia and ships in the Indian labour trade to the West Indies, Mauritius and Fiji were much larger, in excess of 1,000 tons gross weight, and often as large as 3,000 tons.

And finally, for those of you who have wondered (I did for years) where the toilets were, they could be found at the head (front) of the ship, all the way forward on either side of the bowsprit, the integral part of the hull to which the figurehead was fastened. Ledges extended out over the edge of the ship and were sluiced with buckets of water. Islanders—who in the beginning usually had no knowledge of English—were encouraged (somehow) to use ‘The Head’. They were also provided with sanitary buckets below decks, which were emptied each morning. When the weather was rough, the Islanders were confined below decks. The stench from defecation and vomit must have been dreadful, and the chance of diseases spreading must have been high. The only way to cleanse the holds would have been to use water hoses attached to hand pumps on deck, which flushed water into the bilge, the part of the ship under the deck in the bottom of the hold. Bilge water became foul and noxious, but could be syphoned out with a pump.

Another aspect of space onboard is the separation of male and female labour recruits into different sections of the hold by non-sound-proof bulkheads. The various Pacific taboos regarding mensuration and birth had to be dealt with in quite confined quarters.

The average ship carried a Captain or Master, a Mate/recruiter, about five European crew, four Islander crew, the Government Agent, and the indentured labourers. Feeding this number of people each day was a major undertaking. Food was prepared in the ship’s galley and one of the tasks in the islands was always to collect root vegetables for food. However, once these ran out on the voyage back to Queensland the options were mainly rice and salted meat, both quite alien to Pacific Islander diets. It was essential that the labour recruits be allowed up on deck as much as possible, for health and exercise, to eat and to socialise. If the Islanders had been brought onboard forcible this would inevitably have led to trouble. However, I suspect they were only allowed on deck in small groups as it would hardly be feasibly to have over 100 passengers on deck at one time. The voyages diaries yet to be examined and analysed may hold the key to understanding this process.

For most of the round-trip there was a mixture of returns and newly indentured labourers. We know nothing of the level of communication between these two groups, or between the labourers and the ships’ crews, which included Pacific Islanders. Even though the functioning of these lengthy sea voyages was an essential part of the whole labour trade, there has been no historical study so far of the quite considerable body of evidence. Although all of the evidence comes from European and often quite partial sources, the lack of evidence of tension or violence on all but a few early voyages indicates that they were reasonably harmonious. There were horror voyages in the 1860s, but many of these related to recruiting to Fiji not Queensland (see Mortensen 2000). Over 40 years research I have located more than 100 published and unpublished diaries and investigations into voyages (Moore, 2019, 57–68). Three published diaries from voyages are included in the bibliography below (Giles, 1968; Melvin, 1977; Wawn, 1893/1973). This gathering process has been haphazard; there may still be other accounts extant. However, this is a large sample and there is no longer any excuse for not undertaking a major study. I leave this as a challenge for some future researcher.

The Ships in the Labour Trade

There are many photographs of Queensland labour trade ships. Some of the early vessels were quite small, but as the decades progressed larger ships were used, some of them steam ships. The tonnage statistics (if known) can be found in Table Two below the name of each ship.

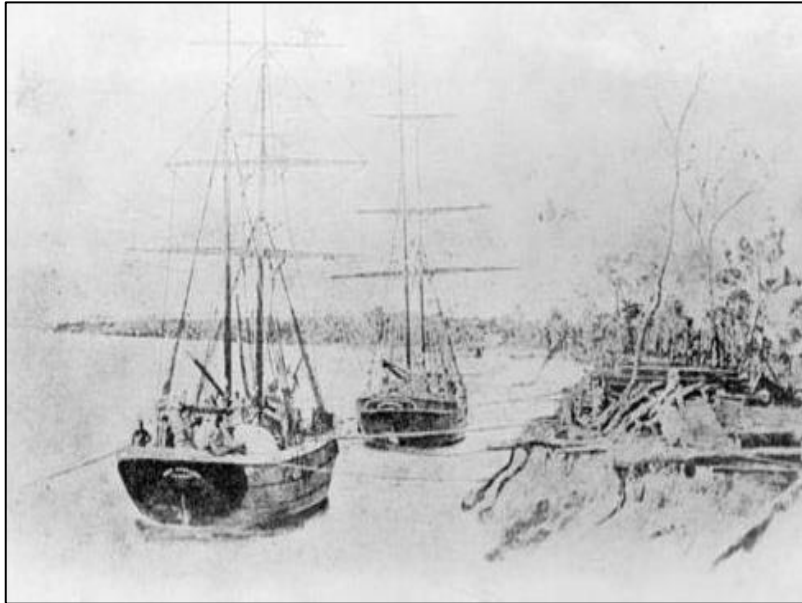


Figure 3: The *Amy Robsart* (labour trade ship, 72 tons) and *Hannah Newton*, Pioneer River, Mackay, 1868.

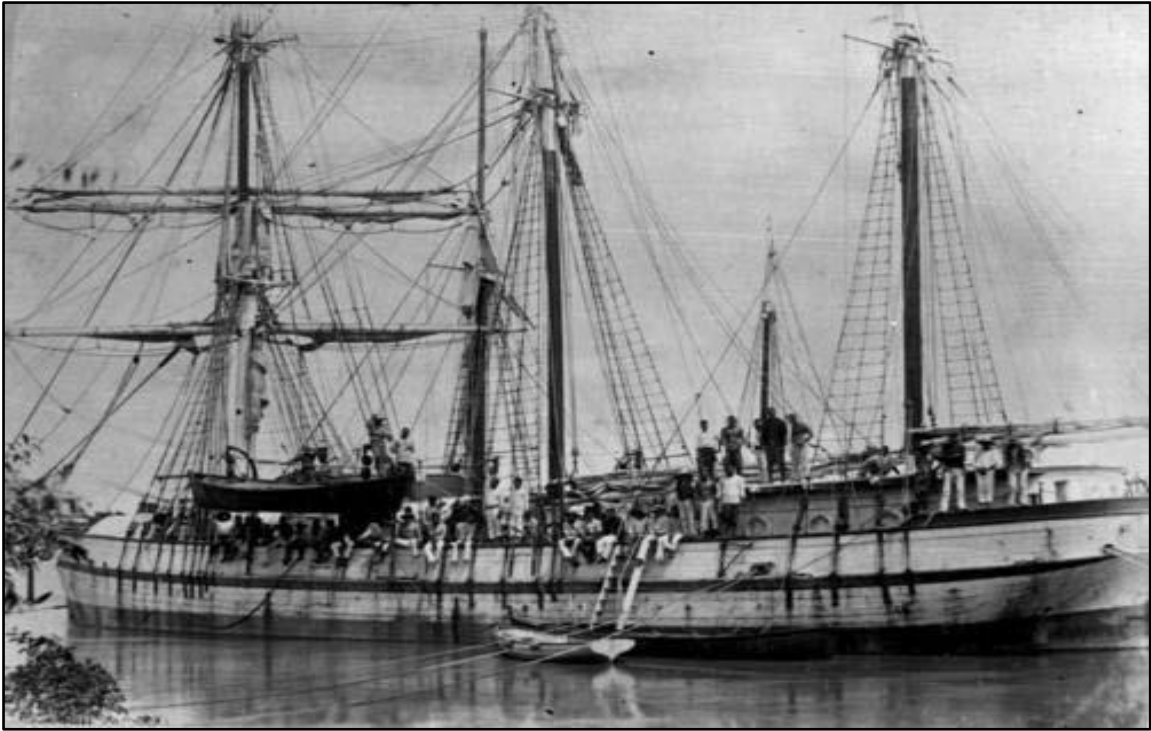
Source: Henry L. Roth. *The Discovery and Settlement of Port Mackay*. Halifax, England: F. King & Sons Ltd, 1908, 124.



Figure 4: The *Mystery* (82 tons), Pioneer River, Mackay, 1870s.

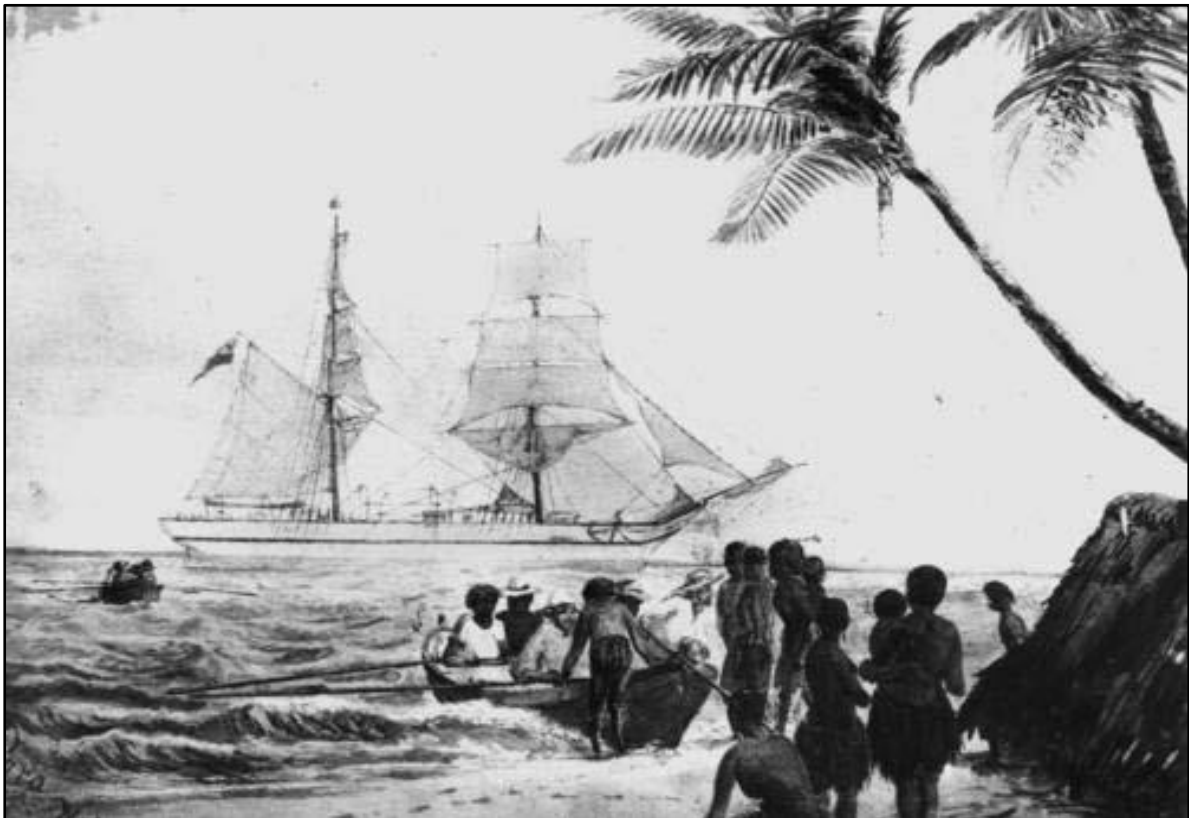
Source: Clive Moore Collection.

Figure 5: The *May* (287 tons), Bundaberg, 1890s.



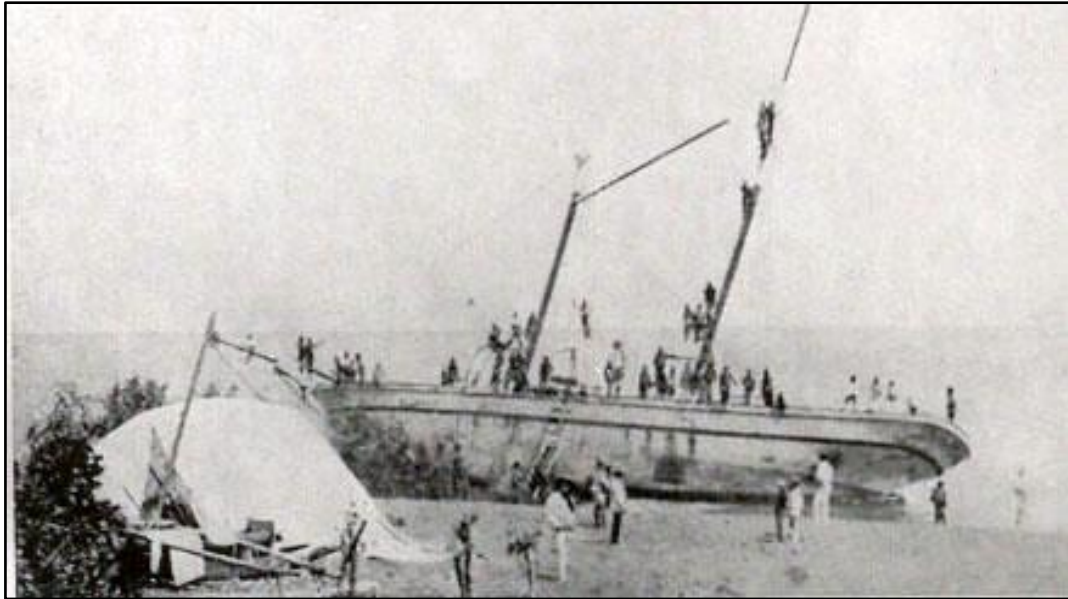
Source: State Library of Queensland, JOL 2246.

Figure 6: Sketch of the *Para* (252 tons) in the 1890s with one of its recruiting boats onshore and another covering at a distance, 1890s.



Source: State Library of Queensland, JOL 65329.

Figure 7: The *Madeline* (114 tons) was stranded at the northern end of Malo Island, on the passage between Malo and Santo islands, 18 February 1886. Its recruits were brought to Queensland on the *Hector* (199 tons).



Source: Douglas Rannie, *My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals*. London: Seeley, Service and Co. Ltd, 1912.

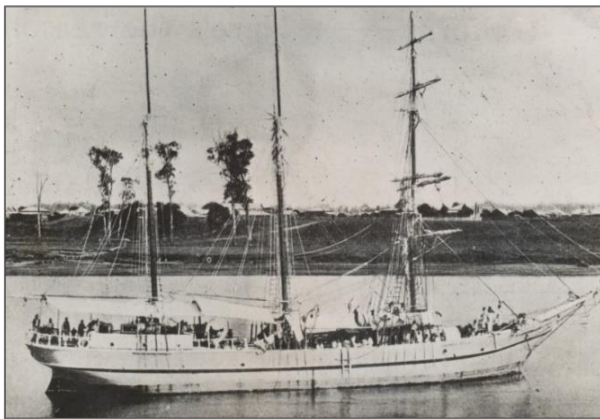


Figure 8: The barquentine *Sydney Belle* (175 tons), Bundaberg, 1900s.

Source: State Library of Queensland JOL.

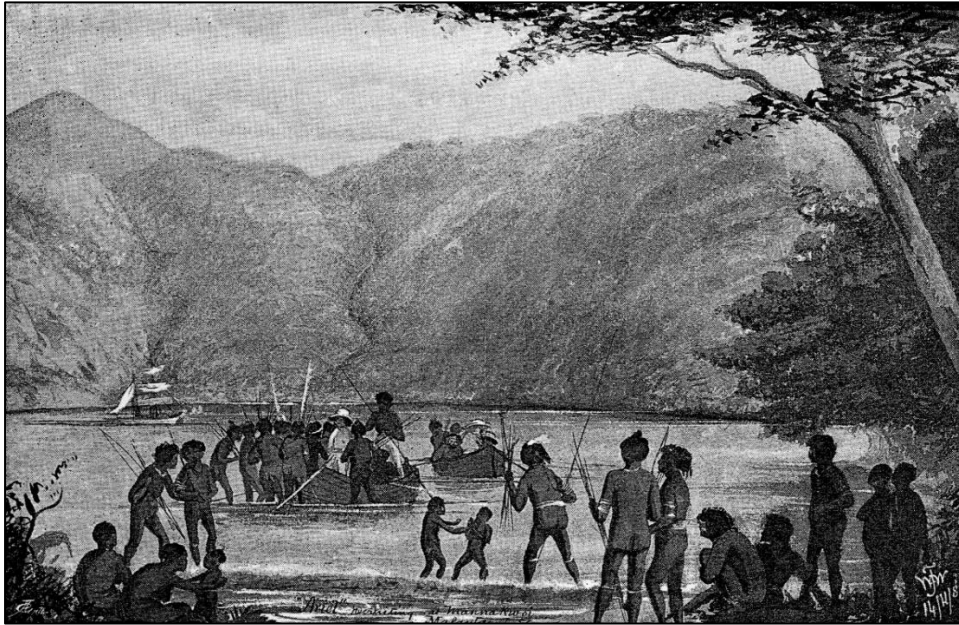


Figure 9: The barquentine *Sydney Belle* (175 tons), Bundaberg, 1900s.

Source: State Library of Queensland JOL.

Figure 10: Labour recruiting was usually used two ship's boats, one close to shore negotiating and the other further out to cover any attack.

This depiction is by William Wawn, a well-known Queensland labour trade captain between 1875 and 1891.

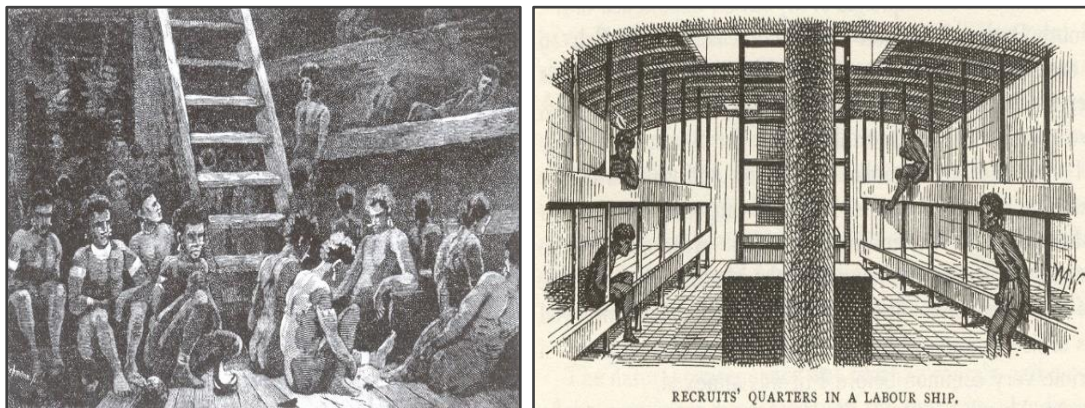


Source: Wawn, 1893/1973, frontispiece.

Life Onboard

There are no photographs and very few illustrations of below-deck conditions on labour trade ships (see Figures 1, 11, 12). Onwards from 1868 all recruits were to be issued with clothes when onboard, although these sketches do not indicate clothes. It is possible either that clothes were not issued until ships were close to port, or that artistic license has been used. Initially, the Islanders wore very little, and even body ornaments were often removed before they entered the whale boats on the shore. This seems to have been because many of these were sacred in some way and had to be left behind.

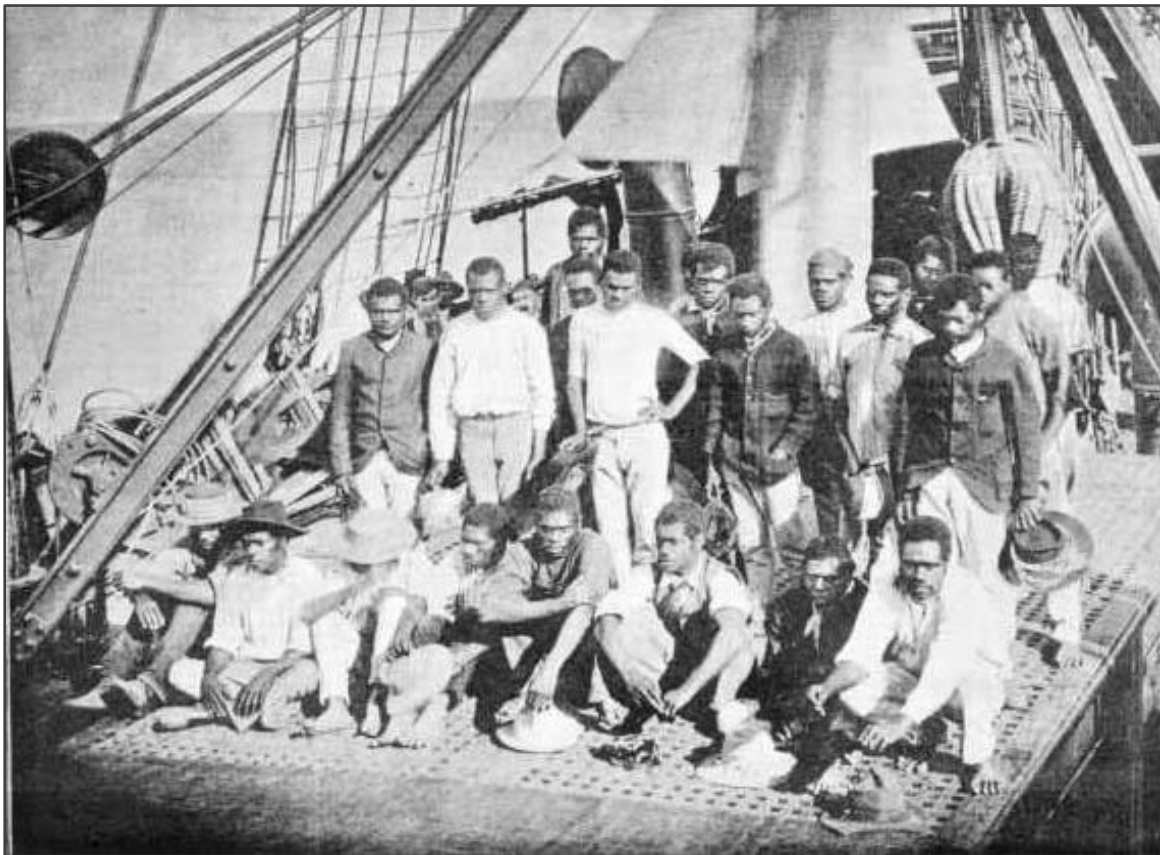
Figures 11–12: Below-deck conditions of Queensland labour trade ships leaving the islands.



Sources: *Picturesque Atlas of Australia* (1886); and Wawn, 1893/1973, 4.

There are quite a few photographs of labourers on deck returning home. Comparing the 'before and after' sketches and photographs, the big difference is clothes. Sometimes they were wearing only loin clothes but in other photographs they are wearing a variety of outfits, including coats and hats, presumably purchased individually (Figure 13, 14, and 15).

Figure 13: Islanders on an unknown ship in the 1890s returning to the islands.



Source: State Library of Victoria mp006156.

Figure 14: Islanders deported on the SS *Moresby*, 1906.



Source: Clive Moore Collection.

Figure 15: Islanders returning home on the barquentine *William Manson* (336 tons) in 1894.

Peter Ambu`ofa, later a leader in the Queensland Kanaka Mission, is probably the man squatting in the middle wearing a hat and neckerchief scarf.



Source: Clive Moore Collection.

The *William Manson* (Figure 15) was a large ship fitted out for the labour trade in 1893 with below-deck conditions similar to European immigrant ships. The ship only made two voyages in the labour trade, both in 1894. William Vos, the Master, took photographs onboard. The matching outfits may be because he has dressed the Islanders for the occasion. Allegations of kidnapping were made by Peter Ambu`ofa, a returning Malaitan man forced to re-recruit, which ended up in a court case. Despite finding irregularities the case was dismissed for lack of evidence. Ambu`ofa and ten others at the centre of the allegations were returned on the *Para* in 1895 (Moore 2013).

Going Ashore in the Islands.

Once they reached their island of origin, the returning labourers were rowed ashore, usually at the same passage or bay from which they had enlisted. When the weather intervened to make this impossible they were landed further along the coast. If they were from inland areas they may never have seen their island from the sea and would have had difficulty identifying geographic features. They could deliberately choose to go ashore elsewhere, or at a mission, plantation, trading station, or government base. Occasionally, returning Islanders chose to supervise the landing and distribution of their possessions, then immediately re-recruited. There were many variations.

There are many myths among Australian South Sea Islander descendants about illegal return practices. There are stories that ships dumped returns in Torres Strait, which are unlikely to be true. About 50 percent of Torres Strait Islanders have some Pacific Islander ancestry, but this comes from other circumstances—employment by the London Missionary Society and in the pearling and bêche-de-mer industries. Another myth is that many returns were dumped at sea—thrown overboard. There is no evidence to substantiate this. There is oral testimony that suggest some were returned to the wrong islands, and certainly of return to the wrong areas on the right islands, which could also have deadly consequences. We are dealing with tens of thousands of cases over forty years and anything is possible in the Pacific a century ago. However, overwhelmingly the returning men and women reached their home islands and villages.

Deportation (1906-08)

There were 10,000 Islanders in Australian in 1901. The numbers declined as contracts were not renewed. Rather than be sent home, 427 chose to transfer to work in Fiji in 1907. This left around 3,500 to be sent back to the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the New Hebrides Condominium. Finally, 1,654 were legally allowed to remain in Australia and perhaps another 1,000 avoided the mass repatriation. The deportation years (1906–08) were traumatic for the Islanders. The process was heavily supervised by the Government Agents and British officials in the islands. Journalist travelled on some voyages, reporting on the process, and Christian missions in the islands watched very closely. Money from the Pacific Islanders' Fund held by the Queensland Government, which included the wages of deceased Islanders, was transferred to the Commonwealth Government to help pay for the deportation, and in some cases deported Islanders had to pay part of their own costs.

Figure 16: Islanders on the beach just after returned labourers have been landed with their boxes of trade goods, Malaita Island, Solomon Islands, 1907.



Source: British Museum, photograph by George Rose, Rose Stereotypes, neg, 1257, in Thomas Edge-Partington Collection.

THE MACKAY PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOUR TRADE VOYAGE STATISTICS, 1867–1903

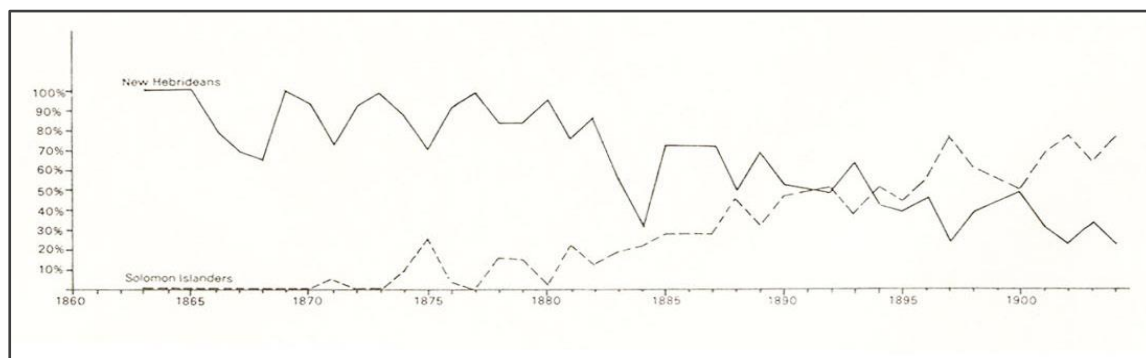
In the nineteenth century Mackay was the largest sugarcane growing region in Australia, and had the largest South Sea Islander population. It was known as ‘Sugaropolis’, hence the title of this booklet.

Because of space limitations on the pages here, in Table Two I have economised by using ‘Emigration Date’ and ‘Immigration Date’, followed by the number of males, females, and totals. The dates in the Emigration and Immigration columns indicate if it is a voyage leaving Mackay or returning to Mackay. The numbers of individual passengers relate either to emigration or immigration. The arrival number is 17,291 (27 percent of the Queensland total) and the departure number is 7,891 (21 percent of the Queensland total). These statistics are expressed in Table Two, Table Four, and Graph Six. The difference in immigrant and emigrant numbers relates to those who stayed in Australia, mortality, and also movements between districts, which were common. Nevertheless, the difference between the two figures seems to be too large. Perhaps there are statistical errors in the government’s lists.

There were 430 voyages between Mackay and the islands, about 40 percent of the total for Queensland. There are gaps in the statistics, particularly in the initial years. I have indicated the presence of children on voyages by including the numbers of boys and girls after the total figure. The return of children to the islands is not noted in the statistics until 1886 (except one in 1878), which probably indicates that there were some earlier who were not included. Onwards from the 1880 Act, the minimum age for Pacific Islander indentured labourers was specified as sixteen years. (In the British India labour trade the minimum age for indenture was twelve years.) There is little documentary evidence that there were child recruits in the Melanesian labour trade, although there is evidence that younger siblings sometimes were allowed to travel with adults. Australian Islander oral testimony suggests that the age limit was not always observed.

The statistics used here do not indicate the islands of origin of the labourers. Research by Price and Baker (1976; see Table One) is the best listing of the islands or origin. As a ready-reckoner the following graph is a good indication of how the immigrant majority changed from New Hebrideans (niVanuatu) to Solomon Islanders. The final section of this document attempts to bring together complex comparative statistical tables and uses graphs to try to present overviews.

Graph 4: Comparison of New Hebridean and Solomon Islands recruiting to Queensland, 1863–1904.



Source: Dutton, 1980, xii.

Table One: The Island origins and numbers of Pacific Islands labourers in Queensland, 1863–1904.

	Islands	Numbers	Totals
NEW CALEDONIA			
Loyalty Islands			1,123
	Mare	385	
	Tika	9	
	Lifu	715	
	Uvea	14	
VANUATU			
New Hebrides (South)			5,800
	Aneityum	157	
	Tana	4,244	
	Futuna	221	
	Aniwa	4	
	Eromanga	1,174	
New Hebrides (Central)			9,723
Efate Island Groups	Efate	,	
	Eradaka	4	
	Moso	9	
	Pele	15	
	Emau	288	
	Nguna	607	
	Mataso	5	
Shepherd Islands	Makura	121	
	Emae	692	
	Buninga	21	
	Tongariki	148	
	Tongoa	934	
	Evosio	1	
	Epi	5,084	
	Lamenu	32	
New Hebrides (South)			17,622
	Lopevi	47	
	Paama	803	
	Ambrim	3,464	
	Malekula	2,934	
	Pentecost	1,960	
	Maewo	575	
	Omba	3,658	
	Espiritu Santo	2,806	
	Malo	1,375	
New Hebrides (Banks)			5,678
	Mera Lava	438	
	Merig	5	
	Gaua	2,537	
	Vanua Lava	819	
	Mota	241	
	Valua	1,036	
	Ureparapara	602	
New Hebrides (Torres)			1,108
	Toga	510	
	Loh	172	
	Tegua	183	
	Metoma	20	
	Hiw	223	
New Hebrides TOTAL			39,931
SOLOMON ISLANDS			

Santa Cruz			461
	Santa Cruz	429	
	Tikopia	32	
Solomon Islands (Central)			17,033
	Bellona	65	
	Santa Ana	74	
	Santa Catalina	1	
	Santa Cristoval (Makira)	807	
	Ugi	9	
	Ulawa	147	
	Malaita	9,186	
	Ndai	6	
	Florida (Ngela)	2,069	
	Savo	481	
	Guadalcanal	4,188	
Solomon Islands (Central)			512
	Ysobel	208	
	Choiseul	58	
	Rannonga	15	
	Vella Lavella	85	
	Simbo	34	
	Lord Howe (Ontong Java)		112
Solomon Islands (North)			12
	Shortlands	12	
PAPUA NEW GUINEA			
PNG (North Solomon Islands)			311
	Bougainville	38	
	Buka	58	
	Nissan	215	
PNG (Other Islands)			2808
	Feni	37	
	Tanga	368	
	Lihir	649	
	Tabar	28	
	Nuguria	3	
	New Ireland	240	
	Duke of York	47	
	New Britain	765	
	Woodlarks	33	
	D'Entrecasteaux	109	
	Louisiades	529	
OTHER			
FIJI			35
	Rotuma	35	
SAMOA			20
NIUE			21
KIRIBATI & TUVALU			208
	Gilbert and Ellice	191	
	Ocean	17	
GRAND TOTAL			62,475

Source: Price with Baker, 1976.

Note: The total in Price with Baker are slightly lower than in the *Statistics of Queensland* (62,518).

Table Two: Mackay labour trade emigration and immigration statistics, 1867–1904.

Notes:

(1) etc after ship = see notes below table

'T' after the ship's name indicate gross tonnage

'Em' = Emigration; 'Im' = Immigration

Ship & Tonnage	Captain	Govt Agent	Emigration Date	Immigration Date	Male	Female	Total
1867							
Prima Donna	Cook, RA			13 06 67	70	0	70
Total 1867			Em 0	Im 70			
1868							
Prima Donna(1)	Cook, RA			06 01 68	78	0	78
Prima Donna	Cook, RA			31 12 68	15	0	15
Total 1868			Em 0	Im 93			
1869							
Marion Renny	?			07 11 69	1	0	1
Total 1869			Em 0	Im 1			
1870							
Amy Robsart T: 72	Anderson, G			27 10 70-	43	0	43
Total 1870			Em 0	Im 43			
1871							
Storm Bird T: 170	Furley, FP	Watson, GC	06 02 71		105		105
Isabella T: 89	Goodall, DM			07 03 71	91	10	101
Isabella T: 89	Goodall, DM	Ramsay, G	02 05 71		4	0	4
Storm Bird T: 170	Watson, GC			31 05 71	48	3	51
Storm Bird T: 170	Furley, FP	Watson, GC	06 02 71		105	0	105
Isabella T:89	Goodall, DM	Ramsay, G		24 10 71	44	0	44
Total 1871			Em 258	Im 152			
1872							
Fanny Campbell(2) T: 100	Loutit, J	Ramsay, G	04 01 72		70	0	70
Isabella T: 89	Bolger, H	Dorsey, WA		12 03 72	33	0	33
Isabella T: 89	Dorsey, WA			03 07 72	39	1	31
Petrel T: ?	Eul, H	Ramsay, G	25 11 72		20	0	20
Total 1872			Em 90	Im 64			
1873							
Mystery T: 82	Irving, J	Gedey, PH		29 07 73	10	0	10
Mystery T: 82	Irving, J	Gedey, PH		28 10 73	69	5	74
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Williams, CB		29 10 73	72	7	79
Isabella T:89	Winship, W	Gardner, WG		06 11 73	88	5	93
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Gedey, PH	15 11 73		16	4	20

Mystery T: 82	Irving, J	Williams, CB	04 12 73		36	1	37
Total 1873			Em 57	Im 256			
1874							
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Gedey, PH		02 03 74	67	0	67
Mary Stewart (3) T: ?	Bartlett, CW	Underwood, W	20 03 74		46	2	48
Mystery T: 82	Irving, J	Williams, CB		26 03 74	55	7	62
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	Cook, SH	01 04 74		87	0	87
Isabella T: 89	Winship, W	Gardiner, WG		21 07 74	45	2	47
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	Cook, SH	17 08 74		21	0	21
Mystery T: 82	Taylor, J	Chubb, WHL		02 09 74	73	8	81
Lyttona (4) T: 73	Rosengren, W	Parrott, T		09 09 74	83	0	83
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Forrest, DJ	23 09 74		13	1	14
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Alliott, PD		09 10 74	74	0	74
Mystery T: 82	Le Gros, W	Kirby, JL	20 10 74		68	0	68
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Alliott, FS	26 10 74		15	0	15
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	Cook, SH		04 11 74	92	0	92
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Alliott, PS		12 12 74	52	0	52
Total 1874			Em 2538	Im 558			
1875							
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren W	Forrest, DJ		16 01 75	68	3	71
Mystery T: 82	Le Gros, W	Kirby, JL		22 01 75	67	3	70
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ	15 04 75		0	0	0
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ		17 06 75	99	0	99
Mystery T: 82	Beddall, WJ	Lloyd, TB	18 06 75		0	0	0
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ	14 07 75		0	0	0
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Allcott, FS		27 07 75	72	2	74
Lyttona T: 73	Rosengren, W	Allcott, FSA	17 08 75		0	0	0
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Lynde, HG		17 09 75	67	0	67
May Queen T: 96	Murray, D	Lynde, HG		19 09 75	67	0	67
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ		23 09 75	83	0	83*
Isabella T: 89	Starsch, HJ	Lynde, HG	04 10 75		12	0	12
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ	12 10 75		0	0	0

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Mystery T: 82	Belbin, RJ	Lloyd, WJ		25 10 75	56	0	56
Lady Darling T: 108	Belbin, RJ	De Bovis, EJ		11 12 75	56	0	56
Total 1875			Em 12	Im 643			
1876							
Isabella T: 89	Starcish, JH	Lynde, HG		10 01 76	53	5	58
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Andrews, WGS	11 04 76		18	3	21
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Andrews, WGS		03 07 76	70	5	75
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Andrews, WGS	18 07 76		0	0	0
Lucy & Adelaide T: 89	Smith, G	Crichton, AE	25 09 76		75	1	76
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGS	15 11 76		76	6	82
Isabella T: 89	Murray, D	Andrews, WGS		17 10 76	56	5	61
Lady Darling T: 108	Williams, J	Lochhead, W		09 12 76	91	4	95
Total 1876			Em 179	Im 289			
1877							
Lucy & Adelaide T: 89	Smith, G	Crichton, AE		02 01 1877	83	5	88
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGT		01 02 77	60	4	64
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGS	08 03 77		55	2	57
Mystery T: 82	Le Gros, ?	Thomas, C	14 04 77		46	4	50
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGS		26 06 77	66	1	67
Lady Darling T: 108	Williams, J	Lockhead, W		29 06 77	84	1	85
May Queen T: 96	Witherington, E	Alliott, FS		29 06 77	78	1	79
Stanley T: 115	Kilgour, CS	Provan, W		11 07 77	95	1	96
Chance (5) T: 68	Satani, C	Thomas, C	16 07 77		47/23	0	47/23
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGS	26 07 77		84	2	86
Mystery T: 82	Le Gros, ?	Thomas, C		30 07 77	61	4	65
Mystery T: 82	Inman, WA	McDonald, AR	26 09 77		52	4	56
Lady Darling T: 89	Williams, J	Lockhead, W		28 09 77	76	6	82
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Andrews, WGT		26 10 77	58	10	68
Stanley T: 115	Kilgour, CSD	Renton, J		08 11 77	106	4	110
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Renton, J	29 11 77		57	0	57
Stanley T: 115	Kilgour, CS	Lochhead, W	05 12 77		103	1	104
Mystery T: 82	Inman, WA	McDonald, AR		13 12 77	72	5	77

Total 1877			Em 377	Im 937			
1878							
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	Renton, J		24 01 78	75	0	75
Mystery T: 68	Inman, WA	Renton, J	20 02 78		88	3	91 (+1 male child)
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR	04 04 78		89	1	90 (+ 1 male child)
Mystery	Inman, WA	Renton, J	11 05 78		48	8	56
Lady Darling (6) T: 108	Williams, J	Crichton, AE	10 06 78		38/19	2/1	40/20 (+ 1 male child)
Mystery	Inman, WA	Renton, J	11 06 78		10	1	11
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR		22 07 78	76	0	76
Janet Stewart T: 202	Woodlock, JJ	Eastlake, CL		21 08 78	97	7	104
Mystery T: 68	Inman, WA	Renton, J		24 08 78	67	4	71
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR	26 08 78		80	6	86
Mystery T: 68	Inman, WA	Renton, J	19 09 78		28	0	28
Stanley T: 115	Kilgour, C	Lochhead, W		20 09 78	85	6	91
Stanley T: 115	Kilgour, CS	Eastlake, CL	30 10 78		48	0	48
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR		04 11 78	74	0	74
Mystery T: 68				30 11 78	45	4	49
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR	12 12 78		83	0	83
Total 1878			Em 513	Im 540			
1879							
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR		23 04 79	69	5	74
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR	21 05 79		63	4	67
Mystery T: 68	Kilgour, C	Mullens, J		27 05 79	75	5	80
Mystery T: 68	Kilgour, C	Nott, F	12 06 79		0	0	0
Lady Darling T:108	McDougall, D	Lochhead, W	17 07 79		73	6	79
Lucy & Adelaide T: 89	Wawn, WT	Robinson, HH		27 08 79	80	6	86
Janet Stewart T: 202	Belbin, RJ	Smith, JS		13 09 79	119	6	125
Sybil T: 120	Turner, A	Hockings, H		13 09 79	119	0	119
Isabella T: 89	Rosengren, W	McDonald, AR		13 09 79	88	4	92
Lady Darling T: 108	McDougall, D	Lockhead, W		21 11 79	79	7	86
Storm Bird T: 170	Turner, A	Robinson, HH	02 12 79		63	2	65
Lady Darling T: 108	McDougall, D	Lockhead, W	28 12 79		60	1	61
Total 1879			Em 126	Im 662			

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1880							
Superior T: 205	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB	11 02 80		66	3	69
Noumea T: 142	Belbin, RJ	Pearce, JS	11 02 80		60	4	64
Mystery T: 82	Kilgour, C	McDonald, AR		05 03 80	36	7	43
Mystery T: 82	Kilgour, C	McDonald, AR	10 05 80		70	7	77
Noumea T: 142	Belbin, RJ	Pearce, JS		22 05 80	76	8	84
May Queen T: 96	Milman, WH	Browne, CF		02 07 80	74	11	85
Ceara T: 178	Satini, C	Rickards, HH	14 07 80		131	1	132
Lady Darling T: 108	McDougall, D	Lochhead, W		02 08 80	82	4	86
Superior T: 205	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB		07 08 80	105	8	113
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH	19 08 80		63	0	63
May Queen T:96	Pearn, R	Marshall, EW	19 08 80		36	0	36
Superior T: 205	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB	24 08 80		47	6	53
Jabberwock T: 86	Wawn, WT	Hore, W		02 09 80	61	3	64
Ceara T: 178	Satini, C	Rickards, HB		28 10 80	113	15	128
Ceara T: 178	Satini, C	Rickards, HH	17 11 80		115	14	129
May Queen T: 96	Pearn, R	Marshall, EW		03 12 80	75	9	84
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		20 12 80	93	10	103
Total 1880			Em 534	Im 1541			
1881							
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH	11 01 81		107	7	114
Jabberwock T: 86	Adrian, H	Lynde, HG		26 02 81	63	4	67
Janet Stewart T: 202	Wigmore, HW	Eastlake, HW		07 03 81	52	10	62
Superior T: 205	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB		28 03 81	58	7	65*
Jabberwock T: 86	White, A	McDonald, AR	31 03 81		28	0	28
Janet Stewart T: 202	Thomas, SR	Aaron, NJ	02 04 81		5	0	5
Isabella T: 80	Davies, T	Eastlake, CL	04 04 81		14	0	14
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		03 05 81	123	9	132*****
Ceara (7) T: 178	Satini, C	Lynde, HG	10 05 81		30/15	2/1	32/16
Superior (8) T: 205	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB	24 05 81		7/3	0	7/3
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH	31 05 81		56	5	61
Jabberwock T: 86	White, A	McDonald, AR		15 08 81	78	4	82

Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		16 08 81	109	17	126**
Isabella T: 80	Davies, T	Eastlake, CL		16 08 81	61	2	63
Storm Bird T: 162	Turner, A	McMurdo, WA		23 08 81	98	3	101
Janet Stewart T: 202	Thomas, SR	Aaron, NJ		29 08 81	86	7	93
Isabella T: 80	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	02 09 81		30	0	30
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH	02 09 81		50	4	54
Jabberwock T: 86	White, A	McDonald, AR	07 09 81		40	1	41
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Hore, W		12 09 81	86	4	90
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Hore, W	26 09 81		9	0	9
Storm Bird T: 162	Turner, A	McMurdo, WA	26 09 81		19	2	21
Isabella T: 80	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		31 10 81	79	0	79
Princess Louisa T: ?	Rosengren, W	Hutchinson, CJB		08 11 81	6	0	6
Isabella T: 80	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	14 11 81		85	0	85
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Hore, W		02 12 81	88	2	90
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		03 12 81	99	20	119
Total 1881			Em 481	Im 1085			
1882							
Chance T: 68	Wigmore, HW	Stidolph, RF		07 01 82	45	5	50
Storm Bird T: 162	Turner, A	McMurdo, WA		07 01 82	90	10	100
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		13 01 82	84	2	86
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	16 02 82		9	0	9
Lady Belmore T: 254	White, A	Williams, CB		28 02 82	89	10	99*
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		01 05 82	79	0	79
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	12 05 1882		10	0	10
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, J	Gould, L	01 06 82		81	7	88
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		02 06 82	122	22 (+ 1 child)	144
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Hughes, T		10 02 82	87	3	90
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH	23 06 82		12	1	13
Jabberwock T: 86	Wawn, WT	Browne, CF		24 06 82	101	31	132
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, N	Hughes, T	30 06 82		0	0	0
Isabella T:89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		04 07 82	79	4	83
Jabberwock	Adrian, HC	Browne, CF	17 07 82		4	2	6

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T: 86							
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	26 07 82		2	0	2
Spunkie T: 132	Williams, J	Williams, CB		29 07 82	67	5	72
Spunkie T: 132	Williams, J	Williams, CB	17 08 82		11	1	12
Storm Bird T: 162	Harris, AH	McMurdo, WA		25 08 82	43	2	45*
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, J	Gould, L		08 09 82	72	4	76
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Hughes, T		22 09 82	85	3	88
Lavinia T: 119	Rosengren, W	Gould, L	28 09 82		77	7	84
Fanny T: 164	Wawn, WT	Hornbrook, H	28 09 82		87	3	90
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Robinson, HH		04 10 82	123	13 (+ 1 child)	136
May Queen T: 96	Dickson, M	Fowler, JW	11 10 82		33	5	38
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		17 10 82	75	1	76
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Jones, JB	28 10 82		0	0	0
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ	13 11 82		40	0	40
Jabberwock T: 86	Adrian, HC	Browne, CF		18 11 82	88	19	107
Spunkie T: 132	Williams, J	Williams, CB		12 12 82	79	13	92
Emily T: 190	Pearn, R	Checko, WF		27 12 82	105	13	118
Total 1882			Em 392	Im 1673			
1883							
Spunkie T: 132	Williams, J	Williams, CB	03 01 83		44	9	53
Fanny T: 164	Wawn, WT	Fowler, JW	13 03 83		0	0	0
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Aaron, NJ		19 01 83	80	0	80
May Queen T: 96.5	Dickson, M	Fowler, JW		02 02 83	65	23	88
Fanny T: 164	Wawn, WT	Hornbrook, FC		03 02 83	63	9	72
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Jones, JB		19 02 83	77	23	100
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Navine, J	05 04 83		26	2	28
Jabberwock T: 86	Adrian, HC	Black, WF	05 04 83		2	1	3
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Galloway, FW	19 04 83		4	0	4
Lavinia T: 119	Rosengren, W	Gould, L		01 05 83	69	4	73
Spunkie T: 132	Williams, J	Williams, CB		11 06 83	41	7	48
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, T	Steedman, W	22 06 83		87	7	94
Emily T: 190	Pearn, R	Gunn, DA		02 07 83	140	10	150

Fanny T: 164	Wawn, WT	Fowler, JW		13 07 83	128	1	129
Emily T: 190	Pearn, R	Gunn, DA	23 07 83		0	0	0
Isabella T: 89	Galloway, FW	Davies, T		28 07 83	70	0	70
Jabberwock T: 86	Adrian, HC	Black, WF		04 08 83	49	11	60
Borough Belle T: 210	Belbin, RJ	Nairne, J		13 08 83	71	19	90
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Williams, CB	16 08 83		65	6	71
Fanny T: 164	Lawrence, WH	Lynch, HH	22 08 83		0	0	0
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, T	Steedman		11 09 83	26	3	29
Jabberwock T: 86	Williams, J	Jones, JB	15 09 83		94	5	99
Borough Belle T: 210	Adrian, HC	Navine, J	25 09 83		0	0	0
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, S	Fowler, JW	25 10 83		4	1	5
Fredericka Wilhelmina T: 211	Routsh, A	Hore, W		17 11 83	173	5	178
Fanny T: 164	Lawrence, WH	Lynch, HH		03 12 83	115	25	140
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Williams, CB		07 12 83	69	5	74
Jabberwock T: 86	Williams, J	Jones, JB		26 12 83	77	9	86
Total 1883			Em 357	Im 1467			
1884							
Fredericka Wilhelmina T: 211	Routch, AOW	Roe, H	03 01 84		0	0	0
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Chapman, HW	11 01 84		4	0	4
Emily T: 190	Pearn, R	Gunn, DA		12 01 84	68	1	69
Storm Bird T: 162	Paesch, A	Howe, JC		12 01 84	121	10	131
Borough Belle T: 210	Adrian, HC	Nairn, JS		14 01 84	42	10	52
Jessie Kelly T: 145	Milman, WH	Cooper, JH		18 01 84	14	6	20
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, S	Fowler, JW		04 02 84	87	10	97
Jabberwock T: 86	Williams, J	Blackburne, AEW	04 02 84		107	16	123
Forrest King T: 158	Wigmore, HW	Crichton, AE		29 02 84	104	21	125
Fanny T: 164	Lawrence, WH	Williams, CB	12 02 84		6	0	6
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, S	Fowler, JW		04 02 84	87	10	97
Jessie Kelly T: 145	Buxton, H	De Latour, G	28 02 84		88	10	98
Lochiel T: 216	Evans, E	Browne, CF		24 03 84	87	16	103
Alfred Vittery (9)	Rasmussen, ?	Hornbrook, FC and Browne, CF		24 03 84	56	0	56

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T: 122							
Heron T: 91	Dann, ?	Thompson, J		01 04 84	67	18	85
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, S	Howe, JC	02 04 84		7	0	7
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Chapman, HW		18 04 85	62	1	63
Sybil T: 120	Leeman, J	Browne, CF	22 04 84		72	12	84
Borough Belle T: 210	Pearn, R	Gunn, DA	26 04 84		118	15	133
Helena T: 126	Turner, A	Aaron, NJ		10 05 85	85	7	92
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Popham, HP	06 06 84		37	2	39
Frederick Wilhelmina (10) T: 211	Routch, AOW	Roe, H & FC Hornbrook		25 06 84	19	17	36
Jabberwock (11) T: 86	Williams, J	Blackburne, AEW		25 06 84	12	4	16
Hopeful T: 216	Shaw, L	Schofield, H		17 07 84	123	0	123
Heath T: 187	Wawn, WT	Thomson, TRY	19 07 84		63	31	94
Fanny T: 164	Lawrence, WH	Williams, CB		23 07 84	19	0	19
Lavinia T: 119	Smith, S	Howe, JC		06 09 84	38	1	39
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Popham, HP		06 09 84	57	2	59
Storm Bird T: 162	Paesch, A	Eastlake, CL		11 09 84	32	3	35
Sybil T: 120	Leeman, J	Browne, CF		03 10 84	45	2	47
Borough Belle T:	Pearn, R.	Gunn, DA		09 10 84	42	8	50
Isabella T: 89	Davies, T	Williams, CB	11 11 84		56	3	59
Eliza Mary T: 161	Blaxwell, H	Cholmondely, RV		13 11 84	103	10	113
Lavinia T: 89	Williams, J	Eastlake, CL	15 11 84		71	4	75
Borough Belle T: 210	Pearn, R	Barry, TW	24 12 84		119	10	129
Total 1884			Em 851	Im 1527			
1885							
Isabella T: 89	Davis, T	Williams. CB		27 02 85	56	1	57
Lavinia T: 89	Williams, J	Eastlake, CL		20 03 85	52	6	58
Isabella T: 89	Blaxwell, H	Williams, CR	24 04 85		29	6	35
Lavinia T: 89	Williams, J	Popham, HP	12 05 85		67	0	67
Forest King T: 158	Evans, E	Fowles, JT		21 05 85	4	0	4
Emily (12) T: 190	Berg, KA	Hely EF		Wrecked 29 03 85			
Borough Belle	Pearn, R	Berry, TW		25 05 85	37	2	39
Borough Belle	Pearn, R	Battersby, E	14 08 85		106	19	125

T: 210							
Fearless T: 100	Paesch, A	Jones, JB	25 05 85		77	4	81
Lavinia T: 119	Williams, J	Popham, HP		11 08 85	63	0	63
Isabella T: 89	Blaxell, H	Williams, CB		21 08 85	5	0	5
Lavinia T: 119	Williams, J	Williams, CB	10 09 85		31	2	33
Ariel (13) T: 134	Olliver, W	Fowles, JT	07 11 85		99/28	8/2	107/30
Lavinia T: 119	Williams, J	Williams, CR		08 12 85	68	0	68
Total 1885			Em 371	Im 294			
1886							
Borough Belle T: 210	Pearn, R	Battersby, E		02 01 86	49	12	61
Borough Belle T: 210	Connell, W	Battersby, E	12 03 86		102	15	117 (+ 2 male and 5 female children)
Young Dick T: 162	Rogers, JH	Jones, JB		03 03 86	98	2	100
Lavinia T: 119	Williams, J	Williams, CB	15 03 86		75	0	75
Lavinia T: 119	Williams, J	Williams, CB		15 06 86	51	0	51
Borough Belle T: 210	Connell, W	Battersby, E		09 07 86	53	7	60
Lavinia T: 119	Finlay, S	Battersby, E	13 08 86		74	1	75 (+1 male and 1 female child)
Eliza Mary T: 161	Blaxwell, H	Howitt, MB	15 08 86		42	0	42
Fearless T: 100	Tornaros, A	McMurdo, RA		15 09 86	67	1	68
May Queen T: 97	Lawrence, WH	Jones, JB		15 09 86	26	0	26
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Monk-Quintin, JHH	24 09 86		112	17	129 (+ 3 boys and 2 girls)
Corea SS(14) T: 382	King, G	Hely, EF	24 09 86		91	9	100
Lavinia	Finlay, S	Battersby, E	10 12 86		55	2	57 (+ 2 girls)
Lavinia	Finlay, S	Battersby, E		01 11 86	65	0	65
Total 1886			Em 966	Im 725			
1887							
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Monk-Quintin, JH		06 01 87	100	7	107
Fearless	Turnoros, A	Jones, JE		04 02 87	67	0	67
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Monk-Quintin, JH	19 02 87		107	20	132 (+ 1 boy and 4 girls)
Corea SS (15) T: 382	King, G	Jones, JH & Howitt, JC	18 03 87		95	6	101 (+ 2 boys)
Wentworth SS (16) T: 956	Nicholas, JC	Cholmondeley, RV	07 04 87		69	6	75 (+2 boys)
Lavinia T: 119	Finlay, S	Battersby, E		06 05 87	61	0	61

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Corea SS (17) T: 382	King, G	Jones, JB & Howitt, JC		10 06 87	21	0	21
Lavinia T: 119	Callender, G	Battersby, E	18 06 87		68	0	68
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Monk-Quintin, JH		08 07 87	54	0	54
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Cecil, AC		14 07 87	87	9	96
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Monk-Quintin, JH	08 08 87		59	1	60
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Cecil, AC	08 08 87		34	4	38 (+ 1 boy & 1 girl)
Hector T: 199	Campbell, N	Hornbrook, FC		12 08 87	60	0	60
Hector (18) T: 119	Campbell, N	Murray, WJ	14 09 87		70	22	92 (+ 7 boys & 4 girls)
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Monk-Quintin, JH		04 11 87	63	2	65
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Cecil, AC		09 11 87	71	1	72
Nautilus T: 243	Hawkins, JE	Battersby, E	15 11 87		47	6	53 (+ 2 boys & 2 girls)
Fearless (19) T: 100	Norman, G	Cecil, AC	17 12 87		1	1	2 (+ 1 girl)
Lavinia T: 119	Callender, G	Monk-Quintin, JH	17 12 87		35	0	35
Total 1887			Em 650	Im 603			
1888							
Eliza Mary (20) T: 161	McDougall, D	Young, EW		12 03 88	30	4	34
Hector T: 199	Campbell, N	Murray, WJ		15 03 88	70	0	70
Lavinia T: 119	Callender G	Monk-Quintin, JH		07 04 88	68	0	68 (+ 1 girl)
Archimedes T: 164	Olliver, W	Pernell, JS		09 04 88	77	4	81
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Cecil, AC	24 04 88		56	4	60 (+ 2 boys)
Hector T: 199	Weston, WG	Parnell, JS	10 05 88		80	21	101 (+ 3 boys & 7 girls)
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Thomson, A		11 05 88	48	2	50
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW		04 06 88		24	1	25 (+ 1 girl)
Archimedes T: 164	Callender, G	Thompson, A	11 06 88		6	0	6
Borough Belle T: 210	Olliver, W	Battersby, E	13 06 88		21	3	24 (+ 2 girls)
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Cecil, AC		22 08 88	64	5	69
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Sinclair, A	24 09 88		56	1	57 (+1 girl)
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Monk-Quintin, JH		01 10 88	67	1	68
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Hammond, JEB	26 10 88		6	0	6
Borough Belle T: 210	Olliver, W	Battersby, E		19 10 88	89	3	92

Hector	Weston, G	Parnell, JS		23 10 88	32	3	35
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Robinson, AV	21 11 88		15	5	20 (+ 2 boys & 2 girls)
Nautilus (21) T: 243	Wigmore, HW	Cockle, J	29 12 88		54	1	55
Total 1888			Em 299	Im 622			
1889							
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Sinclair, R		21 01 89	77	1	78
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Robinson, AV		18 03 89	73	12	85
Lavinia T; 119	Erickson, CW	Ussher, AHN	21 03 89		68	0	68
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Robinson, AV	18 04 89		110	14	124 (+ 2 boys and 4 girls)
Hector (22) T: 199	Mackay, J	Cecil, AC		11 07 89	53	7	60
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Mitchel, N	21 08 89		15	1	16
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Robinson, AV		19 09 89	59	13	72
Para (23) T: 252	Pettersson, JCP	Parnell, JS		14 10 89	48	12	60
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Parnell, JS	31 10 89		23	3	26
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Mitchel, M		24 11 89	58	1	59 (+ 1 boy)
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Mitchel, M	14 12 89		10	0	10
Total 1889			Em 120	Im 538			
1890							
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Parnell, JS		14 03 90	43	7	50
Hector (24) T: 199	Malcolm, RF	Ussher, AHN		16 03 90	50	0	50
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Mitchel, M		03 04 90	77	3	80
Eliza Mary (25) T: 161	Campbell, N	McMurdo, RA		05 04 90	13	1	14
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Craig, JK		10 04 90	69	1	70
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Craig, JK	29 04 90		51	0	51
Archimedes T: 164	Svensen, T	Cockle, JR		16 06 90	25	2	27
May Queen (26) T: 97	Finlay, S	Mitchel, M	08 06 90		62/31	1	63/32
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Rannie, D		07 08 90	11	1	78
Fearless (27) T: 100	Norman, G	Rannie, D	27 08 90		6/3	0	6/3
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Craig JK		01 09 90	55	5	600
Borough Belle T: 210	Williams, J	Hardwick, JD		05 09 90	61	1	62 (+ 2 girls)
Lavinia T: 119	Erickson, CW	Craig, JK	18 09 90		0	0	0

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Para (28) T: 252	Petterssen, JCP	De Vaux, W		05 10 90	84	10	94
Borough Belle T: 210	Wawn, WT	Robinson, HH	21 10 90		109	6	115
Archimedess T: 164	Rothwell, E	Scott, JR		12 11 90	87	11	98
Hector (29) T: 199	Malcolm, RF	Thompson, J		08 12 90	68	5	73
Archimedes T: 164	Rothwell, E	Scott, JR	20 12 90		94	6	100
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Rannie, D		11 12 90	64	6	70
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Rannie, D	31 12 90		43	0	43
Total 1890			Em 301	Im 869			
1891							
Lavinia T: 119	Errickson, CW	Craig, JK		07 03 91	52	8	60
Nautilus (30) T: 243	Mackay, J	McMurdo, R		14 04 91	87	10	97
Borough Belle T: 210	Wawn, WT	Robinson, HH		27 04 91	25	4	29
Fearless T: 100	Norman, G	Rannie, D		20 05 91	75	2	77
Archimedes T: 164	Rothwell, E	Scott, JR		12 06 91	25	6	31
Hector (31) T: 199	Malcolm, RF	Rannie, CJ		13 06 91	60	13	73
Total 1891			Em 0	Em 367			
1892							
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total 1892			Em 0	Im 0			
1893							
Sybil T: 150	Shearer, W	Ussher, AHN	14 01 93		72	1	73
Sybil T: 153	Shearer, W	Ussher, AHN		26 05 93	110	0	110
William Manson T: 366	Vos, J	Cecil, AC	15 09 93		133	10	143 (+ 2 boys & 1 girl)
Total 1893			Em 216	Im 269			
1894							
Sybil T: 150	Cater, G	Ussher, AHN		11 01 94	87	0	87
Roderick Dhu T: 163	Norman, G	Gooding, F		26 11 94	70	2	72
Total 1894			Em 0	Im 159			
1895							
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total 1895			Em 0	Im 0			
1896							
Lochiel T: 216	Pearn, R	Cecil, AC		19 07 96	125	2	127
Total 1896			Em 0	Im 127			
1897							
Roderick Dhu	Switzer, JH	Cecil, AC		18 06 97	69	0	69
Lochiel	Pearn, R	Smith SM		29 08 97	85	2	87
Roderick Dhu T: 216	Switzer, JH	Lawrence, WH	30 07 97		3	1	4 (+ 3 boys & 1 girl)
Total 1897			Em 4	Im 283			
1898							

Fearless T: 100	McArthur, G	Smith, SM		16 05 98	68	0	68
Fearless T: 100	McArthur, G	Pickering, AC	11 09 1898		48	8	56 (+ 5 boys & 5 girls)
Roderick Dhu T: 163	Anderson, J	Gooding, F		26 07 98	98	2	100
Rio Loge T: 163	Spence, W	Pickering, AC		10 08 98	117	9	126 (+ 2 boys & 1 girl)
Sybil T: 150	Malcolm, FF	Lawrence, WH		28 08 98	83	2	85
Fearless T: 100	McArthur, G	Pickering, AC	11 09 98		48	8	56 (+ 5 boys & 5 girls)
Fearless T: 100	McArthur, G	Pickering, AC		22 12 98	79	0	79
Total 1898			Em 56	Im 458			
1899							
Fearless T: 100	McArthur, G	Craig, JK	13 02 99		75	2	77 (+ 1 boy & 3 girls)
Total 1899			Em 77	Im 0			
1900							
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total 1900			Em 0	Im 0			
1901							
Coquette T: 214	Mackay, J	Forest, GD		10 06 01	92	3	95
Ivanhoe T: 152	Ralston, JM	Cater, G		17 11 01	70	3	73
Ivanhoe T: 152	Reynolds, WR	Ussher, AHN	24 12 01		124	1	125 (+ 1 boy & 2 girls)
Total 1901			Em 125	Im 168			
1902							
Roderick Dhu T: 163	Malcolm, FF	Rowe, FG		24 02 02	55	1	56
Roderick Dhu 163	Tornaros, P	Smith SM	05 04 02		95	6	101 (+ 1 boys & 1 girl)
Rio Loge T: 241	Spence, W	Pickering, AC		29 05 02	97	7	104
Roderick Dhu T: 163	Switzer, TH	Ussher, AHN	16 11 02		116	7	123 (+ 3 boys & 4 girls)
Total 1902			Em 224	Im 160			
1903							
Roderick Dhu T: 241	Switzer, TH	Ussher, AHN		16 03 03	58	2	60
Rio Loge T: 153	Spence, W	Carter, G		14 07 03	130	9	139
Total 1903			Em 0	Im 199	0	0	0
1904							
1904			Em 0	Im 0	0	0	0

.Source: *Statistics of Queensland; Queensland Votes and Proceedings*; supplemented with supporting sources.

NOTES

1. On 4 March 1868 when the *Polynesian Labourers Act* came into force there were 96 Islanders at Mackay, 9 employed in agriculture and one in the town. There were from Epi (17), Erromango (2), Santo (8), Maro and Teke (3), Mai (29), Sandwich (Efate), 21, Tanna (8), Tonga (Tongoa), 8.
2. The *Fanny Campbell* also called at Brisbane and Rockhampton.
3. The *Mary Stewart* was chartered by John Spiller, Pioneer plantation. Wrecked at Paama Island, New Hebrides. From Tongoa (39) and Moir, Bongah, Ami, Sandwich and Belley (9). June 1874. Rescued by the French and taken to New Caledonia. GA Underwood on his first voyage and was inexperienced. Engaged by French schooner *Reine des Isles* of Noumea. Wreck sold for £10.
4. The *Lyttona's* GA Theodore Parrott died on the voyage home.
5. The *Chance* arrived at Mackay and then proceeded to Maryborough. The total number was 47. I have estimated half as landed at Mackay.
6. The *Lady Darling* landed at Brisbane and Mackay. I have estimated half as landed at Mackay.
7. The *Ceara* also went to Brisbane. I have estimated half as landed at Mackay.
8. The *Superior* landed at Brisbane and Mackay. I have estimated half as landed at Mackay.
9. The *Alfred Vittery* was wrecked and the labourers were brought to Queensland on the *Lochiel*, arriving 24 03 1884.
10. The *Frederick Wilhelmina* was wrecked and the labourers onboard were brought to Queensland by the *Ariel*, under Master J. Howie and Government Agent J.B. Jones.
11. The *Jabberwock* was wrecked and the labourers were brought to Queensland by the *Flora*, under Master JB Robertson and Government Agent WJ Murray.
12. The *Emily* wrecked on 29 03 1885 at Malo Island. Recruits transferred to *Borough Belle* and arrived Mackay, 25 05 1885.
13. The *Ariel* embarked passengers from various ports and left from Mackay. I have estimated 30 from Mackay.
14. The *Corea*, a 382 steam ship, was also carrying passengers from Brisbane, Maryborough, Bundaberg, Townsville, Dungeness, Cairns.
15. The *Corea*, a 382 steam ship, was also carrying passengers from Brisbane, Maryborough, Bundaberg, Rockhampton, Dungeness, Port Douglas.
16. The *Wentworth*, a 956 ton steam ship was also carrying passengers from Townsville, Cairns, and travelled via Thursday Island.
17. The *Corea*, a 382 steam ship was also carrying passengers from, Townsville, Dungeness (Lucinda), Cairns.
18. The *Hector* also took on passengers at Townsville.
19. The *Fearless* also carried 3 passengers from Maryborough.
20. The *Eliza Mary's* captain died and voyage aborted; ship diverted to Brisbane.
21. The *Nautilus* also carried passengers from Brisbane.
22. The *Hector* arrived at Brisbane, but all recruits for Mackay.
23. The *Para* arrived at Brisbane, but all recruits for Mackay.
24. The *Hector* arrived at Brisbane, but all recruits for Mackay.

25. The *Eliza Mary*: Wrecked at Mallicolo (now Melekula), 6 March 1890: 5 Europeans and 46 Islanders missing; the remainder were brought to Sydney on SS *Truganini* and thence by steamer to Brisbane and Mackay.

26. The *May Queen* also picked up passengers at Townsville. I have estimated half the total figure for Mackay.

27. The *Fearless* also picked up passengers at Keppel Bay (Rockhampton). I have estimated half the total figure for Mackay.

28. The *Para* first landed at Brisbane, but all recruits for Mackay.

29. The *Nautilus* first landed at Brisbane, but all recruits for Mackay.

30. The *Hector* returned to port dismasted. Occurred off Breaksea Spit, Fraser Island. The recruits were landed at Brisbane, but were all for Mackay.

Table Three: Summary of Mackay South Sea Islander emigration and immigration statistics, 1867–1903.

TOTAL SHIPS INVOLVED	52
TOTAL SHIP VOYAGES	430
EMIGRATION	
SSI Adult and Child Emigrants from Mackay to the Islands	7,975
SSI Adult Indentured Emigrants from Mackay to the Islands	7,891
SSSI Adult Male Indentured Emigrants from Mackay to the Islands	7,367
SSSI Adult Female Indentured Emigrants from Mackay to the Islands	525
SSI Child Emigrants from Mackay to the Islands	84
IMMIGRATION	
SSI Adult and Child Immigrants from the Islands to Mackay	17,401
SSI Indentured Immigrants from the Islands to Mackay	17,388
SSI Adult Male Indentured Immigrants from the Islands to Mackay	16,311
SSI Adult Female Indentured Immigrants from the Islands to Mackay	1,077
SSI Child Immigrants from the Islands to Mackay	13
TOTAL SSI PASSANGERS ENTERING AND LEAVING MACKAY	25,37

Table Four: Mackay South Sea Islander emigration and immigration statistics, 1867–1903. (M=male; F=female; C=child).

Year	Emig M	Emig F	Emig C	Immig M	Immig F	Immig C
1867	0	0	0	70	0	0
1868	0	0	0	93	0	0
1869	0	0	0	1	0	0
1870	0	0	0	43	0	0
1871	258	0	0	139	13	0
1872	90	0	0	63	1	0
1873	52	5	0	239	17	0
1874	250	3	0	541	17	0
1875	12	0	0	635	8	0
1876	169	10	0	270	19	0
1877	368	9	0	891	46	0
1878	493	20	1	519	21	0
1879	123	3	0	629	33	0
1880	505	29	0	1,427	114	0
1881	461	20	0	1,000	85	0
1882	366	26	0	1,513	160	2
1883	326	31	0	1,313	154	0
1884	748	103	0	1,370	157	0
1885	338	33	0	285	9	0
1886*	889	77	16	694	31	0
1887	650	66	27	603	19	0
1888	264	35	20	599	23	1
1889	116	4	0	478	60	1
1890	288	13	0	816	53	3
1891	0	0	0	324	43	0
1892	0	0	0	0	0	0
1893	205	11	0	267	2	3
1894	0	2	0	157	2	0
1895	0	0	0	0	0	0
1896	0	0	0	125	2	0
1897	3	1	4	279	4	0
1898	48	8	0	445	13	3
1899	75	2	4	0	0	0
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	124	1	3	162	6	0
1902	211	13	9	152	8	0
1903	0	0	0	188	11	0
TOTAL	7,367	525	84	16,311	1,077	13

Note: Children were not listed until 1886, except for 1 in 1878.

Sources: Based on the annual South Sea Islander Immigration and Emigration Statistics, published in the *Statistics of Queensland* annual series, supplemented by other sources in my possession.

Table Five: Voyages between Queensland and the Pacific Islands to obtain and return Pacific Islanders, 1873–1903.

Note: The number of wrecks is indicated by a W in brackets.

Year	Emigration	Immigration
1863	0	1
1864	0	2
1865	0	5
1866	0	4
1867	0	9
1868	0	8
1869	0	6
1870	10	0
1871	18	14
1872	10	7
1873	15	14
1874	23	21 (W)
1875	33 (W)	33
1876	23	21
1877	21	24
1878	24	19
1879	22	23
1880	28	22
1881	29	31
1882	46	34 (W)
1883	63	59
1884	46	48
1885	31	31 (W, W)
1886	27 (W)	25 (W)
1887	31	20
1888	32	34
1889	30	31 (W, W)
1890	42	35 (W)
1891	8	15
1892	11	6
1893	19	14 (W)
1894	20 (W)	22
1895	12	16
1896	11	11
1897	12	11
1898	13	12
1999	20	16
1900	20	20
1901	22	20
1902	14	18 (W, W*)
1903	12 (W)	12 (**)
TOTAL	789	784

Source: *Statistics of Queensland*; and *Votes and Proceedings*.

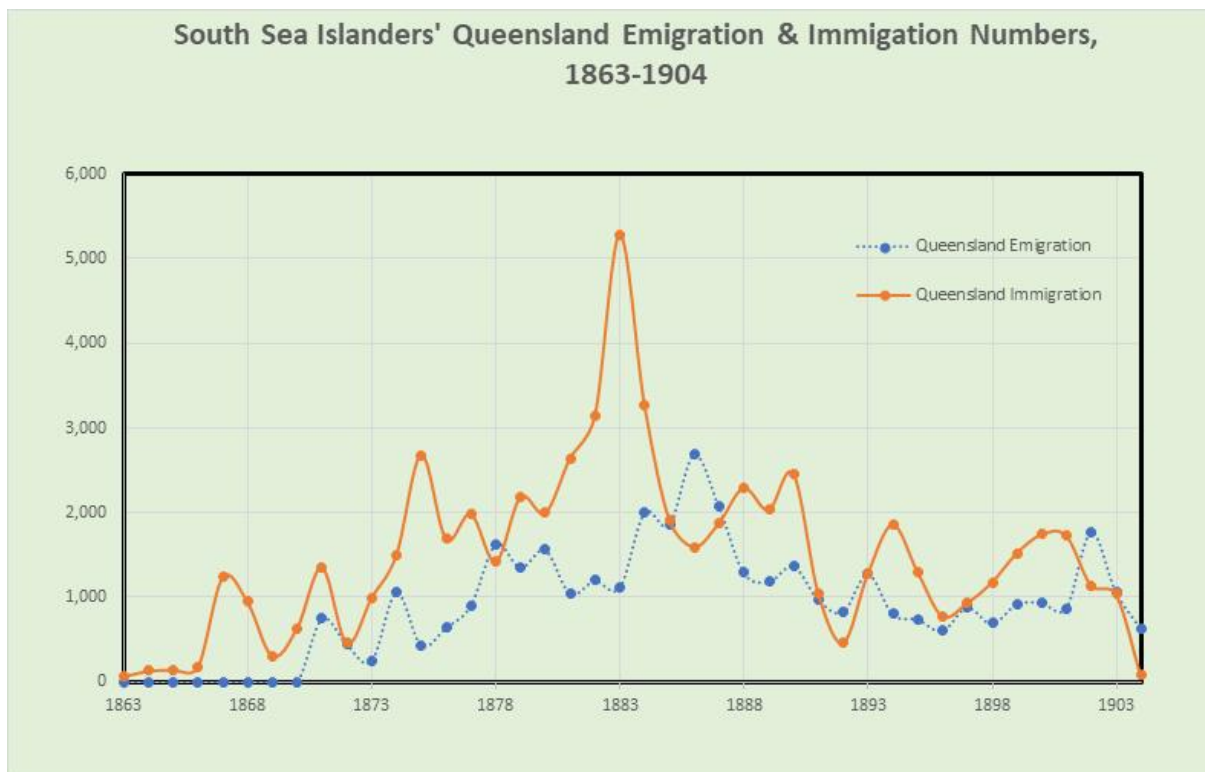
Note: Total numbers of voyagers are difficult to calculate because of wrecks, and the transfer of some Islanders to different ships to enter Queensland. * in 1902 *Sybil* foundered with all hands, including some 40 recruits from the Solomons.

** In 1903 the *Coquette* was destroyed by fire in Townsville. There was no loss of life and all passengers' luggage was saved.

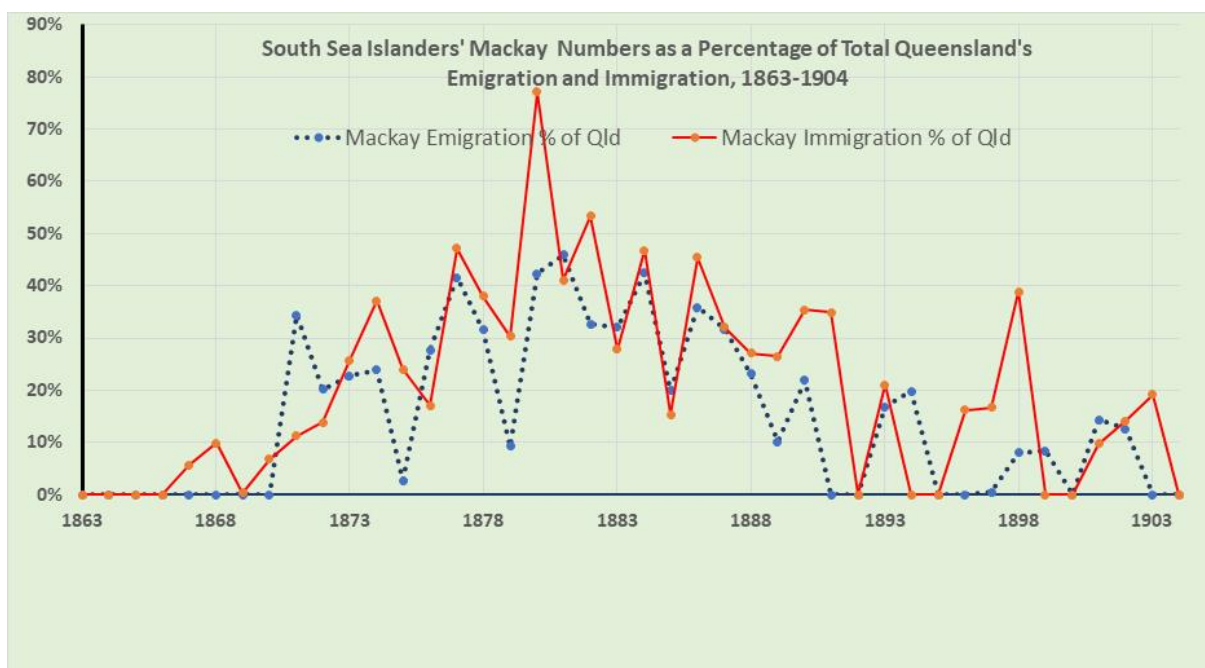
Table Six: Comparison of Queensland (QLD) and Mackay (Mky) South Sea Islander emigration and immigration statistics, 1863–1904. (M=male; F=female; C=child).

Year	QLD Emig Total M&F	F	C	QLD Immig Total M&F	F	C	Mky Emig Total M&F	F	C	Mky Immig Total M&F	F	C
1863	0	0	0	67	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1864	?	?	?	134	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1865	?	?	?	148	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1866	?	?	?	177	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1867	?	?	?	1,237	?	0	0	0	0	70	0	0
1868	?	?	?	946	?	0	0	0	0	93	0	0
1869	?	?	?	312	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1870	?	?	?	638	14	0	0	0	0	43	0	0
1871	750	3	?	1,352	47	0	258	0	0	152	13	0
1872	447	7	?	461	6	0	90	0	0	64	1	0
1873	250	6	?	994	27	0	57	5	0	256	17	0
1874	1,060	32	?	1,503	43	0	253	3	0	558	17	0
1875	438	2	?	2,682	67	0	12	0	0	643	8	0
1876	645	24	5	1,688	61	0	179	10	0	289	19	0
1877	906	22	?	1,986	74	0	377	9	0	937	46	0
1878	1,628	49	16	1,421	63	0	513	20	1	540	21	0
1879	1,354	54	5	2,182	112	0	126	3	0	662	33	0
1880	1,564	62	9	1,997	160	0	534	29	0	1,541	114	0
1881	1,048	48	?	2,643	192	0	481	20	0	1,085	85	0
1882	1,200	87	?	3,138	352	0	392	26	0	1,673	160	2
1883	1,114	88	?	5,276	583	0	357	31	0	1,467	154	0
1884	2,002	197	?	3,265	320	0	851	103	0	1,527	157	0
1885	1,857	145	?	1,916	159	0	371	33	0	294	9	0
1886	2,690	262	85	1,595	121	16	966	77	16	725	31	0
1887	2,072	230	136	1,879	109	27	650	66	27	603	19	0
1888	1,292	127	59	2,291	138	20	299	35	20	599	23	1
1889	1,184	104	40	2,032	168	0	120	4	0	538	60	1
1890	1,373	85	53	2,459	227	0	301	13	0	869	53	3
1891	976	67	29	1,050	100	0	0	0	0	367	43	0
1892	829	60	27	464	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1893	1,282	103	60	1,281	62	0	216	11	0	269	2	3
1894	803	85	32	1,859	84	0	0	2	0	159	0	0
1895	743	60	30	1,305	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1896	608	60	45	782	33	0	0	0	0	127	2	0
1897	884	58	40	934	25	4	4	1	4	156	2	0
1898	693	51	38	1,178	29	0	56	8	0	458	13	3
1899	923	50	33	1,522	47	4	77	2	4	0	0	0
1900	940	58	52	1,743	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	873	34	29	1,726	48	3	125	1	3	168	6	0
1902	1,775	67	46	1,139	45	9	224	13	9	160	8	0
1903	1,065	51	32	1,038	39	0	0	0	0	199	11	0
1904	635	23	17	78	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	37,903	2,460	918	62,518	3,717	84	7,891	505	84	17,291	1,127	13

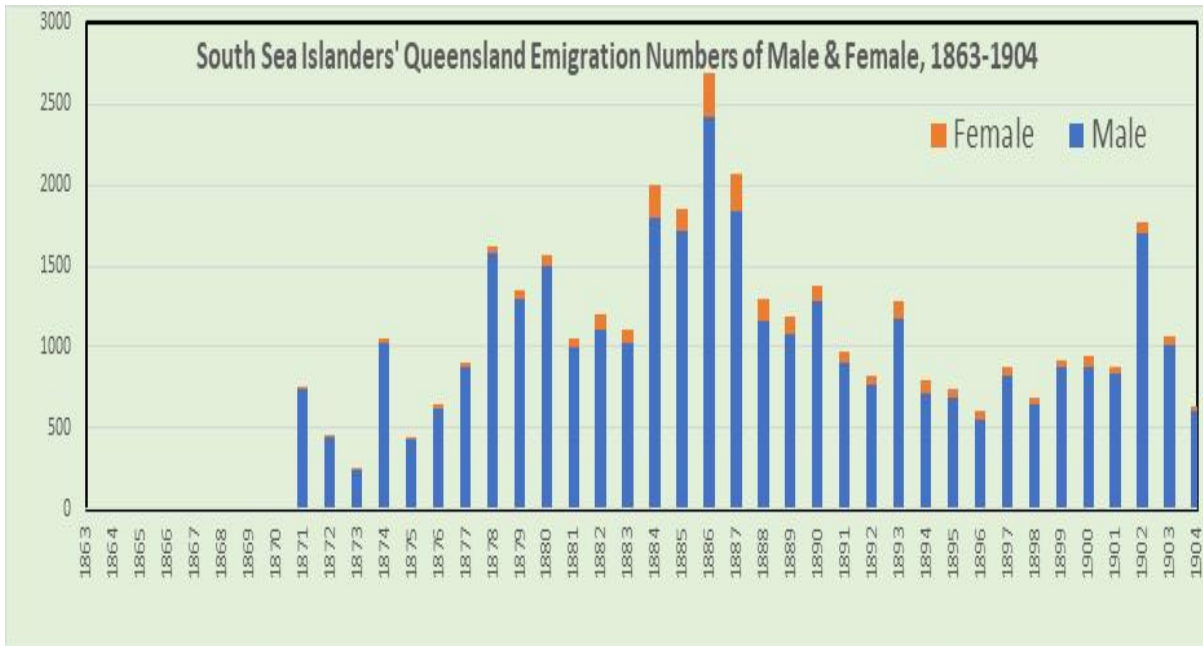
Graph 5: South Sea Islanders' Queensland Emigration and Immigration Numbers, 1863–1904.



Graph 6: Comparison of Queensland and Mackay South Sea Islander Emigration and Immigration Statistics, 1863–1904.



Graph 7: South Sea Islanders' Queensland emigration numbers of males and females, 1863–1904.



Graph 8: South Sea Islanders' Queensland immigration numbers of males and females, 1863–1904.



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Figure 17: Islander houses on a plantation at Mackay, 1895.



Source: Clive Moore Collection.