

**Documentary archaeology of Indigenous peoples engagements with  
maritime fishing industries in western Cape York Peninsula**

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## **Declaration of Candidate**

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:

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## **Abstract**

This thesis uses a documentary archaeological approach to understand the economic, social and cultural factors influencing Indigenous people entering the fishing industry from western Cape York Peninsula. It utilises publicly available historical documents to locate place- based references referring to Indigenous people involved in the north Queensland fishing industry located in the study area ranging from Thursday Island to the Kendall River. This data was used to create a list of historical themes and a map showcasing the locations and frequency of cross-cultural interactions.

This thesis argues that the approach of ‘hidden histories’ is best suited to the study area as it acknowledges the involvement and experiences of Indigenous people when examining colonialism and cross-cultural engagements. It was decided that the term ‘shared histories’ did not fit the study area due to the risk of it downplaying the unequal power relations and violence of the area.

This research found that Mapoon mission was the main recruiting ground for the Queensland fishing industry and Indigenous people, although were in some cases kidnapped, seem to have largely volunteered to engage with the fishing boat captains over the missionaries in order to obtain flour and tobacco and to escape the dominance of their elders. This selective engagement was an attempt of control from the Indigenous people willingly entering into exchange agreements in order to obtain desired commodities.



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## Chapter 1 – Introduction

This thesis uses a documentary archaeological approach to understand the economic, social and cultural factors influencing the involvement of Indigenous peoples from western Cape York Peninsula in the fishing industry during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The western coast of the Cape York Peninsula can be considered an area of archaeological importance when attempting to understand the engagements of Indigenous people and Europeans in the coastal frontier during the ‘contact’ period. The interactions of this period occurred in different settings including pastoral, mining, mission reserves, and the maritime industries. The broad range of industries operating at this time makes the Peninsula a good area to study contact and cross-cultural engagements. The northern Queensland fishing industry became an important economic industry for Queensland. The main commodities of the fishing industry were *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell and to a lesser extent turtle shell. These products were collected by Indigenous people that were recruited onto boats as labourers and swim divers. The *bêche-de-mer* known as ‘redfish’ (*Actinopyga echinites*) and the black lipped pearl shell (*Pinctada margaritifera*), were valuable commercial variety found in northern Queensland waters. Other varieties of *bêche-de-mer* included ‘blackfish’ (*Actinopyga miliaris*), ‘white teatfish’ (*Holothuria fuscogilva*), ‘prickly fish’ (*Thelenota ananas*), ‘lolly fish’ (*Holothuria atra*) and ‘sand fish’ (*Holothuria scabra*). Other common names used for *bêche-de-mer* include ‘sea cucumber’ and ‘trepanng’<sup>1</sup>.

Historians have branded the colonial period of the Peninsula as a time of murder, violence and kidnappings (Kidd 1997; Loos 1993). The undeniable violence of the fishing industry has to some extent overshadowed the varied roles that Indigenous people played in the establishment of settler-colonial industries, such as the fishing industry (1860-

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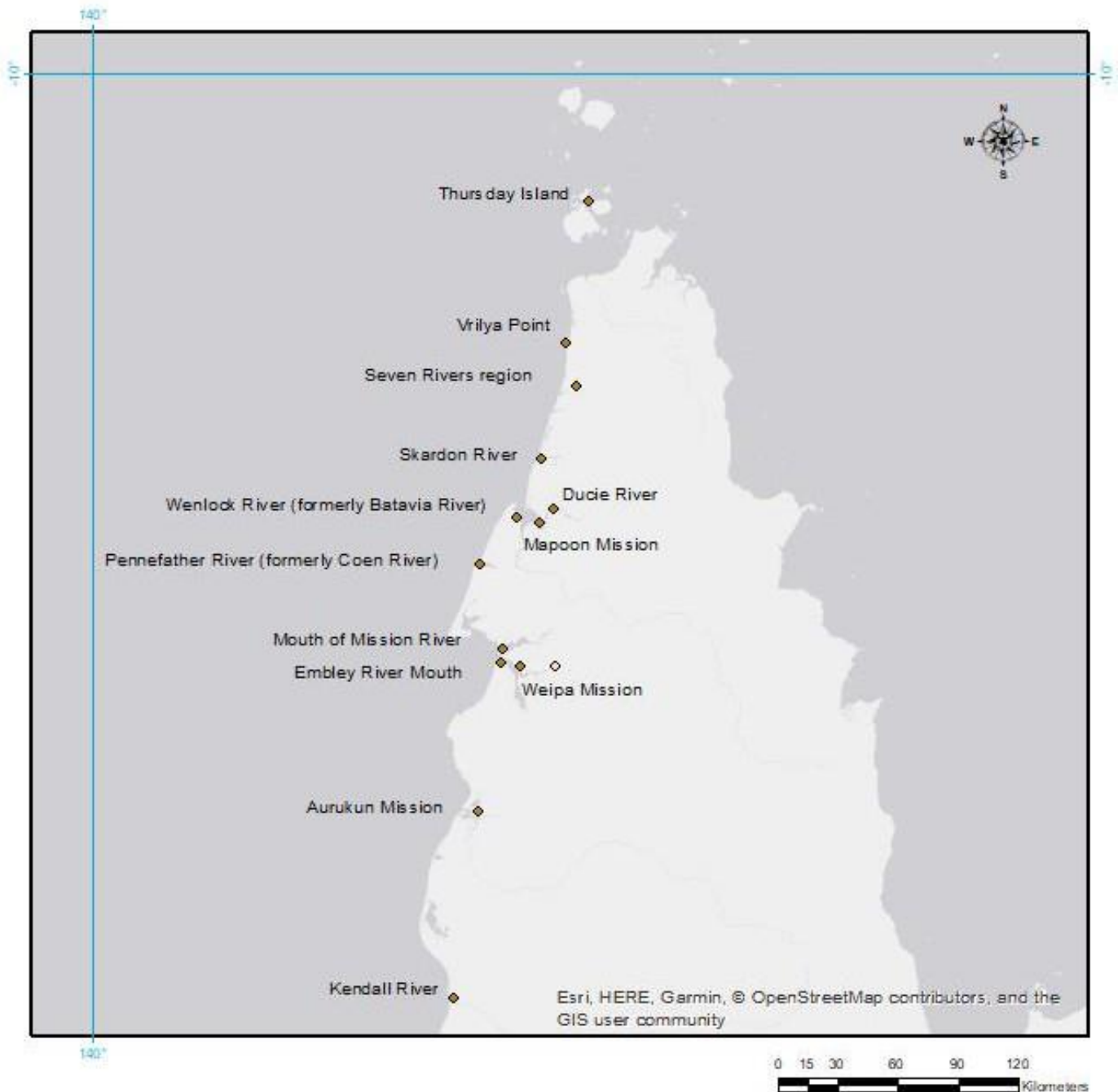
<sup>1</sup> All scientific names were checked against the World Register of Marine Species (WORMS).

1930). Western Cape York Peninsula's maritime history is replete with biased accounts due to historical documents only encompassing one side of the historical narrative.

Furthermore, little is known about the factors surrounding Indigenous people entering the fishing industry. This thesis uses a documentary archaeological approach to examine the economic, social and cultural factors of Indigenous people entering the fishing industry and utilises spatial data to create a map showing the locations of interaction and material culture of the industry.

## **Study area**

The main study area for this thesis is the coastal area of western Cape York Peninsula, extending from Vrilya Point to Kendall River (Figure 1). The study area includes the former Mapoon and Weipa missions which were chosen due to the frequency of interactions and their influence over the Indigenous people of the region. The offshore context of the study area ranges from Thursday Island to the fishing grounds located in the Torres Strait. Thursday Island and the Torres Strait fishing grounds were considered important in this study due to the focus being on the fishing industry and its influence which stretched from the recruiting grounds along the western coast to Thursday Island, the main fishing port for the fishing grounds throughout the Torres Strait.



**Figure 1:** Map of the study area in north Queensland.

The study area was broken up into three distinct areas: (1) Thursday Island and the Torres Strait where the industry was largely based; (2) western coast of Cape York Peninsula where interactions and recruitment occurred, as well as where seasonal recruitment camps formed and trade networks were established, and finally; (3)

Mapoon mission which became the main recruiting ground and a place of competing interests and control which helps identify the reasons Indigenous people entered into the fishing industry. All three areas need to be investigated together to understand how the industry operated, the recruitment of Indigenous people and to gain a picture of the political and social circumstances of the region.

Around the 1840s, Europeans began exploiting the waters in north Queensland for *bêche-de-mer*, turtle shell and, after 1868, pearl shell and pearls (Loos 1993:18). The industries that will be investigated are two of the largest industries: pearl shell and *bêche-de-mer*. These industries required a large supply of cheap unskilled labour and through the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Indigenous people were employed as labourers. Historical accounts provide background information about the labour of Indigenous people (Harrison 1974; Kidd 1997; Loos 1988, 1993).

Cape York Peninsula's Indigenous maritime history remains largely unknown due to a lack of research. There have been many notable studies looking at dating rock art (e.g., Cole and Watchman 2005; Cole 2006) investigating shell mounds (e.g., Bailey et al. 1994; Cochrane 2014; Morrison 2003, 2013; Stone 1995) and looking at long term occupation patterns (Haberle and David 2004). Post-contact archaeological research has focused on the lives and forced labours of Indigenous people living both in and out of missions (Morrison et al. 2010; Robinson 2002; Shnukal 2010; Smith 2003). Morrison et al. (2015), looked at the social and political dimensions of economic life within the Weipa mission settlement in Cape York Peninsula. The project aimed to uncover Weipa mission's real or hidden history and understand the social and political circumstances influencing Indigenous people's lives (Morrison et al. 2015:86). Morrison et al. (2015:98) identified a need for further research into the engagement of Indigenous people and missionaries.

This project provides insights into the social and economic engagements Indigenous people willingly entered into with missionaries. This thesis sets out to examine these engagements from an archaeological perspective and through a cultural landscape with different frontiers and boundaries. Missions are not outside the scope of this thesis, as they can provide valuable insight into the negotiations, movements and material exchanges of Indigenous people involved in the maritime industries of Cape York Peninsula.

## **Research design**

The central problem this thesis addresses relates to the uncertainty behind the reasons Indigenous people were entering the fishing industry. This problem will be explored by addressing the following question:

*What are the economic, social and cultural factors that led to Indigenous peoples' participation in maritime industries in north west Cape York Peninsula?*

This thesis aimed to:

- Create a historical narrative that acknowledges the experiences of the Indigenous people involved in the fishing industries.
- Attempt to reclaim a part of history that has been buried by Eurocentric views that fail to understand and appreciate Indigenous culture.
- Understand the reasons Indigenous people entered into the fishing industries to see if, as historians claim, this was only due to kidnappings, violence and coercion.
- Develop a map of the region which will identify the key areas relating to the recruitment of Indigenous people, identify any possible locations of

archaeological significance and discover what the spatial and material characteristics of these industries were.

- Examine the attitudes and social political circumstances of the region to establish what influence they had on Indigenous people entering the industry.

These aims will allow an investigation into why Indigenous people were neglected from the reports and attempt to return their voice to a region and industry that they not only participated in, but significantly shaped.

## **Thesis structure**

Chapter 2 sets out to establish the wider research problem by providing an overview of the archaeology of colonialism and cross-cultural engagements and the importance of understanding and using correct archaeological terminology. Chapter 3 describes the coastal frontier of western Cape York Peninsula and the history of the region including the establishment of the fishing industries and the consequences of the battle for control between the missionaries and the fishing boat recruiters. Legislation and its failures are also examined to understand the political circumstances of the region and how it influenced Indigenous people's recruitment. Chapter 4 presents the method of the study, how the three datasets acquired for the study were compiled and why these methods were chosen for this project. Chapter 5 provides the results of the study including the three datasets and what they reveal about the industry from an archaeological perspective. Chapter 6, the final chapter, discusses the results and provides an archaeological interpretation and ultimately seeks to answer the research question and aims of the thesis.

## **Chapter 2 – Literature review**

This chapter investigates existing literature surrounding the maritime and coastal history of western Cape York Peninsula. It also examines archaeological terminology used when discussing processes of colonialism and the concept of shared histories. Secondly, it examines archaeological work undertaken in a maritime setting exploring the coastal frontier and the impact missions had on Indigenous peoples. Finally, it examines the concept of frontier and space explaining how it can change depending on the study area.

### **The archaeology of colonialism**

During the mid-2000s the archaeology of colonialism, commonly known as the ‘contact’ period, began to gain considerable interest to archaeologists (Murray 2004b; Torrence and Clarke 2000; Williamson and Harrison 2004; Williamson 2004). Previously, research, both archaeological and historical, had focused on investigating Indigenous ‘pre-history’ with some notable exceptions (Birmingham 1992; Harrison 1974; Mulvaney 1989; Murray 1993). The increasing interest in the ‘contact’ period arose from the desire to begin decolonising the narrative of Australia’s past by uncovering the hidden Indigenous voices suppressed by the Eurocentric perspectives evident in historical records (Smith 1999; Torrence and Clarke 2000). Furthermore, the introduction of the *Native Title Act 1993* and the continuously changing archaeological discipline saw a desire to give control of Indigenous cultural heritage back to Indigenous people (McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith 2004).

The British desire to gain control of the Australian landscape and expand their colony resulted in the dispossession of Indigenous people (Attwood 1989; McNiven and Russell 2005). Early archaeological interpretations of the colonial period



tended to view this time as an end to Indigenous culture, or “the final chapter of an inevitable decline and erasure from the archaeological record” (Ferris et al. 2014:7). The pioneering anthropological work of Rowley (1972), however, attempted to demonstrate the continuing effects frontier relations between Indigenous people and Europeans had on Indigenous life. Following Rowley’s work, archaeologists and historians began to re-examine the ‘contact’ period and overturn the belief that Indigenous people failed to resist the colonising force and simply acculturated into European culture (Evans et al. 1993; Loos 1982, 1988, 1993; Reynolds 1972; Williamson 2004).

Research into the colonial period has continued to develop with archaeologists focusing on understanding the agency of Indigenous people, the continuation of aspects of ‘traditional’ Indigenous culture and the exchange of material culture. Furthermore, research began to recognise the experiences of Indigenous people during this period focusing on their movements and involvement in the changing landscape (Attwood and Foster 2003; Ferris et al. 2014; Flexner 2014; McIntyre- Tamwoy 2004). Missions and reserves have tended to be the focus of archaeological studies attempting to apply the resistance-domination framework investigating how Indigenous people resisted the European colonising force (Birmingham and Wilson 2010; Brown et al. 2004; Griffin 2000; Land 2006; Lydon 2004; McVicker et al. 2007).

Recently, archaeologists have begun to rethink previous archaeological frameworks, such as resistance-domination, and explore new concepts to understand the continuing effects of cross-cultural engagement. This new framework saw Indigenous resistance on a spectrum and began to note the negotiation and cooperation between Indigenous people and Europeans (Wolski 2001:218). Ferris et al. (2014:10) argues that:

This shift from a focus on European influences shaping the colonised to a greater emphasis on Indigenous peoples' lived material lives operates from the premise that these groups engaged with Europeans by drawing on their own sensibilities and logics of how the world worked. Rather than an abandonment of these sensibilities, local Indigenous people continually negotiated life within and without the colonial enterprise by drawing on internal perceptions of their past and heritage, understandings of the present and the hoped-for futures.

Similarly, Silliman (2009) argues that artefacts from the material record of colonial interaction sites, can no longer fit into the three main categories of Indigenous, European and hybrid. He suggests that material culture cannot be considered purely as being Indigenous or European. Placing material culture into these three categories forces Indigenous culture to be seen as having remained the same or changed due to colonialism. Archaeological work has shown that Indigenous people did not view these new materials as European, instead they identified them as Indigenous through meaning and adaption (Harrison 2014; Silliman 2009).

Gosden (2004) explores colonialism from 5000 BC to the present and offers a new comparison which focuses on defining colonialism as a relationship with material culture. He proposes the view that colonialism is a process whereby material culture or 'things' shaped people not the reverse (Gosden 2004:153). Furthermore, Gosden suggests that: "colonial cultures were created by all who participated in them, so that all has agency and social effect, with the coloniser and colonised alike being radically changed by the experience" (Gosden 2004:25).

Although this view acknowledges the adaptation of Indigenous and European culture it lacks the acknowledgement that these experiences of change were not equal or without violence. To place both Indigenous and European experiences within the same

historical narrative can create a false notion of equality. It can also be seen as Indigenous people and Europeans being on equal sides of the frontier (McNiven and Russell 2005:228). Research into colonialism has shown the term 'contact' period creates a false notion of the time as it risks viewing this period as a starting point and not a continuation of Indigenous culture (Silliman 2005). Researching the continual experiences of Indigenous people during this period and forming a new historical narrative can help show the adaption and involvement of Indigenous people during this time by looking past the resistance-domination framework and focusing on factors which guided Indigenous peoples movements and actions during this period.

### **Shared histories' and archaeological language**

Uncritical use of terminology in archaeology has been long debated and some have argued that most terminology used to describe Indigenous archaeology has come from a western viewpoint and fails to accurately define how Indigenous people relate to their culture (McNiven and Russell 2005). An example of this concept is 'shared histories' which emerged from the reconciliation movement in the 1990s (McNiven and Russell 2005:223) initially explored by Murray (1993, 2004a, 2004b, 2011) and continued by others (Harrison 2004a, 2004b, 2014; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2004).

Harrison (2014) examines his own attempts to develop a framework which considers Indigenous and settler heritage together in the same model, instead of viewing them separately. Harrison (2014:42) uses the term 'shared histories':

to refer to an approach which draws on a range of different sources—archaeological, archival, and oral—and seeks to elucidate the relationship between the deep prehistory of Indigenous people and the mutual histories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people working and living together in settler colonial contexts.

Harrison identifies a shared and overlapping relationship between Indigenous people and Europeans in the pastoral industry. He denies that archaeological investigations into 'shared histories' brushes over the fundamental power inequalities but argues that these histories are of people who "shared time, space, work and leisure and life and death" (Harrison 2014:43).

Murray (2004a) acknowledges that Indigenous people and Europeans are in some ways defined by the existence of each other and states that there should never be a single account of the 'shared histories' or 'shared identities' (Murray 2004a:219). 'Conjectural histories' is the combination of anthropology, oral histories, ethnohistory, and detailed documentary research with the aid of contact and landscape archaeology (Murray 2004a:220).

Harrison (2014) and Murray (2004a) both identify a need to combine both European and Indigenous perspectives to understand the 'contact' period. This method, however, runs the risk of separating and in turn investigating Indigenous 'pre-contact' and 'post-contact' history separately. McNiven and Russell (2005) explain "separating these historical categories runs the risk of disentangling Indigenous people from their past" (McNiven and Russell 2005:225).

The term 'shared histories' can be argued to have good intentions when examining cross-cultural engagement between Indigenous people and Europeans, however, the term tends to create a picture of history that was equally shared and consequently

runs the risk of downplaying the violence, removal, misunderstandings, and unequal power relations that occurred to the Indigenous people.

Silliman (2005:56) looks at the terminology of cultural contact and colonialism and distinguishes between the two. He argues that using the term cultural contact in colonial contexts downplays the severity of interaction between groups of different political power, privileges predefined cultural traits and portrays a short-term cultural contact between Indigenous people and Europeans rather than a long-term continual interaction. This view is also shared by Flexner (2014:53) who suggests that “archaeological investigation of these varied phenomena repeatedly indicates that cultural transformation was not simply a result of outside influences, as Indigenous people often creatively adapted to and shaped colonial encounters.” Silliman and Flexner argue that research has focused on the fact that Indigenous people fashioned a way to remain Indigenous by using European material to survive in a time of conflict, rather than change their cultural beliefs (Flexner 2014:53; Silliman 2005:66).

This thesis takes a different approach than the concept of ‘shared histories’ and instead follows McNiven and Russell (2005) by focusing on the ‘hidden histories’ of the Cape York Peninsula. In doing this, it is acknowledged that the experiences and involvement of Indigenous people during the colonial period are not adequately expressed in the current historical narrative. Furthermore, it attempts to highlight these experiences by acknowledging Indigenous involvement in the Queensland fishing industry. This term has also been accompanied by ‘recuperative histories’ used by Rose (2004) and utilised by Della-Sale (2013) who acknowledges that Indigenous history into Cape York Peninsula must be reclaimed before it can be ‘shared’ (Della-Sale 2013:11).

## **Archaeology of frontier and space**

Frontiers created through cross-cultural engagements can be both physical and intellectual and often contain a violent history as both sides identify and negotiate the space differently (Russell 2001:1). Prior to the interests of the colonial period, Australian colonial frontiers were viewed as an epic venture by the Europeans, who were forced to brave the harsh environment with little recognition of the Indigenous population (McNiven 2001:177). Reynolds (1981), however, disproved this Eurocentric view and acknowledged that Indigenous people were active participants in frontier engagements. When Europeans occupied Australia and subsequently the homelands of Indigenous people, the Europeans and Indigenous people identified the space as their own (Russell 2001:2). The term frontier can be seen as a defined space of tension which separates the 'settled' from 'unsettled', a space that needs to be conquered and ultimately is fixed in time and space (Godwin 2001; Wolski 2001).

Godwin (2001) argues that this definition of frontier does not always adequately describe a place, using central Queensland as his example. Godwin explains that a more dynamic 'fluid' view of the term frontier needs to be adopted "that takes account of patterns of settlement, in this case seeing it as a mosaic of small solids and larger voids, without a definable zone of tension" (Godwin 2001:116).

Maritime frontiers have been given little consideration compared to land frontiers. McNiven (2001) makes a critical distinction between a maritime frontier and a coastal frontier. Maritime frontier being a short-term interaction between Indigenous people and seafarers and coastal a continuous interaction between Indigenous people and the arrival of European settlers (McNiven 2001:178). Maritime frontiers and coastal frontiers, however, are constantly changing through time and vary due to the different cultural groups interacting with each other. McNiven argues that little is known about the evolution

of these frontiers from violence to cross-cultural engagement, exchange, and contact (McNiven 2001:178). The maritime and coastal frontiers of north Queensland will be viewed in this thesis as Godwin (2001) suggested as fluid and changing no longer fitting into the previously traditional ideas of a fixed frontier.

## **Landscapes of colonialism**

Archaeological investigations into landscapes can reveal how space was transformed and negotiated through time. Cross-cultural engagements create both physical and cultural spaces which were both perceived and negotiated differently (Russell 2001:1). How people interacted and moved within the landscape and these cultural spaces can show the lives, structures and relationships between Indigenous people and Europeans (David and Lourandos 1999:120).

There have been many Australian projects examining the Indigenous cultural landscapes associated with the colonial period, particularly in regard to looking at the pastoral and mining industries (e.g., Anderson 1983; Byrne 2010; Godwin 2001; Godwin and L'Oste-Brown 2004; Harrison 2004a, 2004b; May 1983, 1994) and maritime industries (e.g., Fowler 2015; Fowler et al. 2016; McNiven 2001; Roberts et al. 2016; Russell 2008, 2012). The maritime landscape and associated industries have not been fully examined from an archaeological perspective. Further investigation would help decolonise the Australian historical narrative from a different industry.

Byrne (2010) examines how Indigenous people undermined the spatial control exhibited by the new colonial landscape and European colonisers (Byrne 2010:103). Byrne argued that the continued contested landscape by the Indigenous people resulted in a landscape of "hybrid colonial culture" (Byrne 2010:106). Indigenous people contested European constructions of landscape by inserting themselves into

different areas of the crown reserve and adapting the land for their own purposes (Byrne 2010:111).

## **Indigenous people and the maritime industry in Australia**

There is a need for archaeological research into the cross-cultural engagement between Indigenous people and Europeans involved in maritime industries during the colonial period. Fowler (2013) identifies this need for further consideration of Indigenous people's involvement by using historical documents to show the research potential of Australian missions. The argument illustrates the need to identify and protect maritime cultural heritage before it is destroyed. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of unlocking these 'hidden histories' to continue to decolonise the Australian historical narrative.

Similarly, Roberts et al. (2013) notes that the traditional view that archaeology is separated into three fields: Indigenous, maritime, and historical has become irrelevant when considering the colonial period. Roberts et al. (2013) states the merging of "Indigenous and maritime archaeological approaches are slower to develop" (Roberts et al. 2013:78). However, the merging of these fields is essential in understanding Indigenous and European interaction in the colonial period. The project outlined the potential benefits of pairing the two approaches using Point Pearce mission as a case study. The project, attempting to locate a ketch built by the Indigenous people at the mission, identified that the Eurocentric biases in historical documents underplayed the maritime achievement of Indigenous people (Roberts et al. 2013:97).

This area of research can provide new insights into the involvement of Indigenous people in different maritime industries. Both Fowler (2013) and Roberts et al. (2013) identify the benefits of combining Indigenous and maritime approaches, including



decolonising the historical narrative and locating Indigenous maritime cultural heritage.

Maritime and coastal frontiers are commonly examined from an historical archaeology perspective, with a major focus on sites including whaling stations (Gibbs 2010; Lawrence 2001; Staniforth et al. 2001) and coastal missions (Fowler et al. 2014, 2015; Harrison 1974; Morrison et al. 2015, Roberts et al. 2013, 2014). There has been archaeological research into the early history of the pearl shell industry (McCarthy 1994; McPhee 2001; Moore 1994; Stanbury 1994) and the treatment of Indigenous people employed or engaged within maritime industries (Ganter 1994, 1999; Kwaymullina 2001). Ganter (1999) examines the role of Indigenous women and how they were perceived as prostitutes by the Europeans for engaging in sexual interactions in return for material culture. Other research focused on Indigenous people's interpretation of events displayed through their traditional rock art (Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007; Burningham 1994).

Undertaking an archaeological reading of the historical documents associated with maritime industries, and identifying and analysing spatial references, will highlight how an Indigenous space was transformed into a colonised space and how both cultures interacted. When the idea of 'hidden histories' is applied to the fishing industry, numerous questions emerge. For example, why and to what extent were Indigenous people entering into these industries, and what were their motivations for doing so? Furthermore, where are the related coastal sites, and what, if anything, can archaeology add to our understanding of the attitudes and political and social circumstances of people involved in the industries?

This thesis will create a starting point for future archaeologists by uncovering possible coastal frontier sites, identifying possible movements and giving an overall view of interactions in the Cape York Peninsula maritime and coastal landscape. This thesis will follow the ideas of 'hidden histories' of McNiven and Russell (2005) and the 'fluid' frontier of Godwin (2001) and apply it to the broader landscape of Cape York Peninsula. It will attempt to identify associated sites of the region to continue to acknowledge and understand the social, cultural and economic factors of Indigenous people engaging in maritime industries.

## Chapter 3 – The coastal frontier in Cape York Peninsula

The following chapter provides an historical overview of the maritime fishing industries in north Queensland from 1840 to 1935. This chapter begins with an overview of the three main fishing products exploited in Queensland waters, and explores why Indigenous labour was important to these industries. This chapter examines the importance of the coastal frontier as a site of cross-cultural engagement and highlights the recruitment practices adopted by Europeans involved in the fishing industry. Finally, it reviews the establishment of missions and the legislation introduced to assist in understanding the motivations and movements of Indigenous people engaging with these industries.

### Coastal frontier

Europeans began exploiting the waters of north Queensland for *bêche-de-mer* and turtle shell in the early 1840s (Loos 1982:118). *Bêche-de-mer* were collected by hand and traded in the Torres Strait between the local Indigenous people and the fishing vessels from Sydney and Hong Kong and eventually were traded to the Chinese market in the 1860s (Loos 1982:118). The *bêche-de-mer* industry consisted of small luggers with a capacity of five to six tons. These luggers would make daily trips from land-based curing stations to the exposed reefs during low tide (Loos 1982:122; Saville-Kent 1890:2). Each boat had a crew of swimmers who would dive off the side of the boat and collect the *bêche-de-mer* using their own lung capacity. Once the diver had obtained a sufficient amount, they would resurface and tread water until the boat picked them up (Loos 1980:153). After the *bêche-de-mer* were collected, they were boiled and gutted in the curing stations and then hung in the smoke houses for 24 hours before being packed and sent to market (Loos 1982:122). Occasionally, a large fleet of luggers would gather around one reef with one lugger allocated to transport the collected *bêche-de-mer* to the curing station and upon return distribute essential supplies. Large schooners

stationed at Thursday Island and Cooktown, with a capacity of 20 to 50 tons, were fitted with smokehouses and curing stations to increase productivity (Saville-Kent 1890:2). In 1883, 342 tons of *bêche-de-mer* were exported making it Queensland's second most important marine export after pearl shell (Loos 1982:118). By 1889, over 100 boats were registered in the *bêche-de-mer* industry with 62 from Port Kennedy on Thursday Island and 27 from Cooktown. The rest of the boats were from Cairns, Ingham, Townsville and Mackay (Loos 1982:118). Eventually, swim divers were replaced with diving suits and air pumps which allowed the divers to reach deeper reefs (Loos 1980:150). The most successful period for *bêche-de-mer* was between 1881 and 1883 when the total annual exports from Queensland exceeded 30,000 pounds (Saville-Kent 1890:4).

Towards the latter half of the 1860s, the commercial fishing of pearl shell began and quickly became the most important marine export for Queensland (Harrison 1974:16). Initially, the fishermen were mainly from Sydney even though the pearl reefs were almost solely within the Queensland maritime boundary (Loos 1982:119). It was not until 1872 that Frank Jardine, Government Resident and Police Magistrate at Somerset (1868-1869, 1871-1873 and 1875) joined the industry (Harrison 1974:16). Jardine operated nine pearl shell boats until he retired and focused on the cattle industry in 1892 (Harrison 1974:17). Due to a short-lived decline of the *bêche-de-mer* industry in the late 1860s and 1870s, the luggers originally tasked with collecting *bêche-de-mer* were refitted to work as pearl shell luggers. The collection method was similar which made the transition simple and cheap. Swim divers, who were non-European, would dive at low tide for two to three hours collecting pearl shell (Loos 1982:123). Indigenous men could reach depths of up to 50 feet, while boys aged between 12 and 14 were able to reach depths of 24 feet (Loos 1982:123).

With continued fishing, many shallow water pearl beds became depleted, and new methods were required to successfully allow divers to reach beds in waters in excess of 50 feet deep (Harrison 1974:20; Mullins 2012:39).

By 1874, the diving suit revolutionised the pearl shell industry and became the standard method of collection (Harrison 1974:20-21; Loos 1982:123-124). Around this time, the floating station system had been established which allowed for greater supervision of the fishing boats and increased safety for the crew. The floating station was a schooner of approximately 90-150 tons which became an offshore base for a fleet of 15-20 pearl shelling luggers (Harrison 1974:18). The pearl shell industry operated out of Thursday Island, Cooktown, and to a much lesser extent Cairns and Mackay (Loos 1982:119). Known fishing stations were established across the Torres Strait, including at Warrior Island, Mount Ernest Island, Somerset and Prince of Wales Island (Loos 1982:120). The importance and rapid growth of the pearl shell industry can be seen by the number of boats engaged in the trade. In 1890, the number of boats licensed to engage in pearl shelling was 92 compared to 1900 when there were 341 (Harrison 1974:19). By 1901, pearl shell had dropped to Queensland's fifth highest export (Harrison 1974:42) and by 1906, the pearl shell industry continued to decline due to exhausted pearl beds and as quickly as they had moved to pearl shell, the fishermen refitted their boats back into *bêche-de-mer* luggers with the number of boats increased from nine in 1901 to 79 in 1906 (Harrison 1974:33; Loos 1982:124). According to some reports, these boats were operated entirely by Indigenous people and South Sea Islanders (Saville-Kent 1890:124). Turtle shell was not considered an industry by its own right. The shell was often collected by the fishermen engaged in *bêche-de-mer* trade. According to the Commissioner of the Fisheries for Queensland, William Saville-Kent's report (1890),

“The average annual value of this material that has been exported from Queensland within the past ten years has slightly exceeded £400” (Saville-Kent 1890:7). Other exports include sharks, stingrays, sponge, and coral (Saville-Kent 1890:7). For this thesis the fishing industries considered are pearl shell and *bêche-de-mer*, because these represented the major maritime industries in the study area being investigated.

## **Indigenous labour**

Interactions between Europeans and Indigenous people along the coastal frontier were sometimes described by Europeans as peaceful exchanges compared to that of inland interactions (Reynolds 1981:176). However, accounts by missionaries and government observers reveal a different picture. It has been suggested that the need to develop land was not a priority for the Europeans involved in the fishing industry and therefore was not the main cause of the interruption of the normality of Indigenous life (Reynolds 1981:177). The disruption of Indigenous life came, in part, from the desire for cheap and unskilled labour that the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell industry needed. Some Indigenous people who became involved in the fishing industry would learn the seasonal migration patterns of the European seafarers and travel to the coastal areas for pearling season and then leave once it was over (Reynolds 1981:179).

Indigenous people were recruited into the fishing industries due to the need for a large supply of cheap unskilled labour (Loos 1993:18; Reynolds 1981:182). Initially (1840), Indigenous peoples from the Australian mainland, the Torres Strait Islands and Papua New Guinea were used as workers on boats. The introduction of the *New Guinea Native Labour Ordinances 1885*, however, banned the use of Papuan labour on fishing boats which increased the need for Indigenous people from the Australian mainland to enter the industry (Harrison 1974:33) and saw an aggressive increase from

recruiters to secure Indigenous workers from Torres Strait Island and Cape York Peninsula (Kidd 1997:38).

The western coast of the Cape York Peninsula saw little recruiting during the early phase of the fishing industry (1840-1890), this meant that the European boat crews were forced to occasionally land on unfamiliar territory to resupply and recruit new Indigenous labour (Reynolds 1981:176). The main known recruiting grounds for the fishing industry were Fraser Island, Cooktown and Townsville, however, boats often docked into coastal areas up the east and west coast to drop off or illegally recruit Indigenous people (Loos 1993:18). Reports indicate that recruiting happened near the Batavia River (Saville-Kent 1890:6) and once the east coast had been exhausted the area between Port Musgrave and Albatross Bay on the western coast (Loos 1982:142). As time went on, unsupervised coastal areas on the Cape York Peninsula began to be exploited by recruiters once the old recruiting grounds 'dried up' or became too heavily supervised by the appointed Protector of Aboriginals. By 1887 the north-east coast was considered to have been exhausted and the fishing boats resorted to exploiting the Batavia River (now Wenlock River) area at Mapoon on the west coast (Loos 1993:18) and by 1900 they had reached Albatross Bay area (Harrison 1974:35).

After being recruited onto a boat, Indigenous people were not always returned to their home which may have created suspicion. For an industry which was reliant on Indigenous peoples' labour to succeed, an assured steady supply of labour each season was a necessity. Therefore, continuous violence and forceful removal of Indigenous people for labour would have disadvantaged the fishermen and created a dangerous and violent interaction when they landed in small boats on the coast. This could suggest that in some areas an agreement or a trade network was established

between the local Indigenous people and the recruiters. It is possible that seasonal recruitment camps were established, in familiar territory, so that the Indigenous people willing to work on the boats had a safe place to meet the recruiters (Reynolds 1981:179). These currently unknown locations could be of great archaeological importance to developing a better understanding of the interactions and motivations of Indigenous people involved in the Queensland fishing industry. It was reported that boat crews often camped onshore rather than on the boat during service unless the fishing grounds were further out to sea (Roth 1904:4). This indicates shore-based camps were established along both the east and west coasts.

Between 1880 and 1890 there were between 300 and 500 Indigenous people employed in the northern fishing industry (Loos 1993:18). However, it is impossible to know the exact numbers due to Indigenous people and Torres Strait Islander people often not being distinguished in reports (Ganter 1994:42; Loos 1982:133; Mullins 2012:49). It is also impossible to know the number of Indigenous people who were illegally recruited and not registered, therefore, the number is probably much higher than reported. The number of Indigenous people in the fishing industry over the years increased. In 1902, approximately 500 Indigenous people were employed in the fishing industry, by 1915, 537 were in the *bêche-de-mer* industry alone and in 1916, 699 Indigenous people were employed in the northern fishing industry (Ganter 1994:43).

Historians have suggested that Indigenous people were recruited with the lure of goods including tobacco, opium, alcohol, tea, and flour, as well as the exciting and unimagined life the fishing industry offered (Loos 1993:18). The goods traded for labour were often addictive which would help ensure a regular labour trade developed. Young men and women were sometimes willing to join the fishing industry due to their less traditional ties, as well as the lure of escaping the dominance of elders (Loos 1993:18).



A bag of flour was reportedly given to an Indigenous family if one of them joined the fishing industry (Harrison 1974:137). Children were also recruited and used in curing stations and on boats with their numbers continuing to increase as the industry developed. In December 1903, the number of Indigenous boys engaged in the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell fishing industry was 183 compared to 148 in December of 1902 (Roth 1904:4).

These industries, however, were notorious for recruiting practices that relied upon forced labour and violent kidnappings of Indigenous people. Recruiters required Indigenous peoples' labour but knew they would soon wish to return to their homeland. Indigenous people often wanted to return to their homeland even when they were not mistreated (Loos 1982:125). Recruiters often resorted to forcefully detaining Indigenous people on boats and reportedly disregarded their wishes and wellbeing (kidnapping). Indigenous people experienced poor working conditions, beatings, forced labour, and the risk of being stranded away from their home in a hostile area (Kidd 1997:33). Even the Indigenous people who volunteered to work were usually unaware of their service requirements due to the language barrier and once they became unwilling to work were mistreated and even killed. Due to the unsupervised nature of the industry, men, women and children were kidnapped and forced to work on luggers and curing stations for a substantial period or their service was extended without permission (Kidd 1997:33). Recruiters would often kidnap Indigenous people and sell them for a price of around four pounds per head (Ganter 1994:45). Continuous abductions and sexual assault brought disease, such as consumption (tuberculosis), back to the communities which in turn affected the Indigenous people not directly involved in the fishing industries (Kidd 1997:44).

Indigenous people did not always cooperate with the recruiters who acquired their services. Some Indigenous people would join up with a boat crew and then jump ship

further up the coast (Kidd 1997:33), while others would escape with the boat and cargo when an opportunity presented itself. There were reports of Indigenous people assaulting boat owners and even murdering crew members for the cargo or boat (Meston 1896; Saville-Kent 1890). These acts were called 'outrages' and the Queensland Commissioner of Fisheries, William Saville-Kent, reported in 1890 that these were crippling to the industry. He suggested that reported incidents were provoked by the unjust treatment that Indigenous people experienced and stated that the majority of these 'outrages' were committed "With the simple object of obtaining loot, the many opportunities presented of gaining possession of a boat laden with stores proving an irresistible temptation to uneducated native intellect" (Saville-Kent 1890:5). This quote highlights some of the underlying attitudes influencing administration of this industry.

Special Commissioner for Queensland Archibald Meston reported in 1896 that a boat had anchored close to Mapoon mission and taken six Indigenous people to work in the Torres Strait (Meston 1896:6). The Indigenous people jumped ship soon after they arrived, swam back to shore, and walked the 200 miles back to the mission (Meston 1896:6). Due to the above-mentioned language barrier and different cultural beliefs, the act of stealing cargo and boats to the Europeans may have been interpreted as thievery but to the Indigenous people it may have been seen differently. In other words, due to Indigenous people not possessing the same view of private property as the Europeans, they would have taken the boat to return to their homelands without the malicious intent described by the Europeans (Harrison 1974:36).

The motives of the Indigenous people committing these 'outrages' and entering into these industries remains largely unknown. It is undeniable that Indigenous people in north Queensland were the victims of assault, kidnapping and murder as identified

by previous researchers (e.g. Harrison 1974; Kidd 1997; Loos 1993). However, what remains unclear is why Indigenous people were joining up with these boats, was it all because of force, coercion or trade were there other factors influencing the decision?

## **Establishment of reserves and missions on the western Cape York Peninsula**

Three Moravian-run missions were established on the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula. These missions included Mapoon mission (1891), Weipa mission (1898) and Aurukun mission (1904) (Morrison et al. 2015:85) (Figure 1). An Aboriginal reserve was established by the Queensland Government in 1896 which eventually encompassed 647 km<sup>2</sup> of the western coast. The reserve was later extended to cover all the land south of the Embley River and approximately 48km south of the Archer River (Wharton 2005:66).

After the recruiters had exhausted the north-eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula, they began to move down the west coast (Loos 1993:18). John Douglas, an ex- premier of Queensland, was a long-time campaigner against the abuses Indigenous people faced in the fishing industries and had the ambition to establish a string of missions down the west coast (Kidd 1997:39). In 1891 Douglas travelled with Reverend Nicholas Hey and Reverend James Ward, Moravian missionaries, and picked the site for the future Mapoon mission on the Batavia River opposite Cullen Point (Kidd 1997:39). Missions were later established by Presbyterians at Weipa (1898) and Aurukun (1904) (Wharton 2005:66)

The establishment of the three missions created new challenges in the protection of Indigenous people. The fishing industry recruiters believed the missions had pacified the local Indigenous people, which in turn attracted more recruiters to the area (Loos 1982:142). It has been suggested by Harrison (1974) that the missions adopted a policy of isolation and detachment where the missionaries sought to isolate Indigenous people away from outside influences (Harrison 1974:71). This meant outside

influences, such as the fishing industry recruiters, were a disruption to mission policy and Reverend Hey and Ward became outspoken enemies of the fishing industry and eventually, with help from the Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Walter Roth, had the mission reserves closed to all recruiting (Ganter 1994:47; Harrison 1974:76; Loos 1982:142). Although official recruiting was banned, illegal recruiting continued. Roth was at Mapoon mission for two weeks and reported that 11 boats from the fishing industry visited to recruit new Indigenous labour (Roth 1900:4). Mounting pressures from the fishing industry recruiters continued and Roth eventually re-allowed recruiting from Mapoon down to Albatross Bay (Ganter 1994:47).

Recruiters were often critical of missionaries as they were an obstacle in attaining desired labour (Kidd 1997:39). All three missions were generally low on funds, due to no support from the government (Ganter 1994:46) and would utilise Indigenous labour in agriculture and fishing to ensure the missions survival (Kidd 1997:34). In 1897, 90% of eligible Indigenous people at Mapoon, people over the age of puberty, were working in the fishing industry (Loos 1982:174). Reverend Hey attempted to persuade the Indigenous people to not work on the fishing boats by making other avenues of work more appealing, especially agriculture, to keep them on mission grounds (Harrison 1974:72). The isolated environment of the mission may have driven Indigenous people onto the fishing boats due to the lure of goods being offered to them. Mapoon mission, for example, did not supply tobacco to Indigenous people because Reverend Hey was against it (Meston 1896:8).

Missionaries may not have approved of Indigenous people working on the fishing boats, however, if recruited from the mission it was believed by some that Indigenous people could be properly supervised (Ganter 1994:46). From 1906, Roth's successor in the role of Chief Protector of Aboriginals, Howard, began to pressure the missionaries, namely

Reverend Hey of Mapoon, to allow Indigenous people to be recruited by him into the fishing industry after he had decided which outside employers would treat the Indigenous people the best (Harrison 1974:76-77). Reverend Hey's inability to stop Indigenous people being recruited from his protectorate and his powerlessness against Howard's recruiting policy was seen as a weakness by the fishing industry recruiters which only increased illegal recruiting (Harrison 1974:78).

One of the many consequences of the fishing industry was the effect it had on Indigenous people's morals and health. Indigenous people were continuously being relocated into different areas and the introduction of disease was causing rapid depopulation in Indigenous communities (Loos 1993:18). Furthermore, the fishing boat crews became dependent on Indigenous women for sexual encounters which further spread disease. Traditional values were breaking down and Indigenous people were forced into a life of poverty with unbalanced diets and unhygienic living conditions. The birth rate was also plummeting (Loos 1982:119). The two main causes of Indigenous adult deaths at Mapoon from 1891-1919 were syphilis and consumption (Harrison 1974:45). Consumption, which was a term used to describe tuberculosis, spread quickly from the poor living conditions on the boats including exposure and sleeping in wet clothes. Two-thirds of the young boys who had been recruited into the fishing industry for a season died within six months of their return to the mission (Ganter 1994:47). After 1906, when Howard became Chief Protector of Aboriginals, missions and reserves began to enter the fishing industry with their own boats on a smaller scale (Ganter 1994:49). This was particularly the case in the Torres Strait Islands (Mullins 2012:43-45).

## **Legislation and regulation**

The violence and kidnappings in far north Queensland soon attracted the attention of the Queensland Government and led to the passing of the *Imperial Kidnapping Act*

1872. This Act was aimed at protecting the Pacific Islanders involved in the Queensland fishing industry. This Act specified that no Pacific Islander would be allowed on a British ship unless an agreement had been made with the shipping master and a bond and licence was arranged. This Act was important because the *Native Labourers Protection Act 1884* was modelled on it (Harrison 1974:33). In 1881 the *Pearl Shell and Bêche-de-mer Fisheries Act 1881* was passed with a focus on the 'outrages' being committed in the fishing industry. However, it was primarily concerned with the potential loss of revenue for the Queensland Government (Harrison 1974:37). This Act introduced compulsory boat licences with all fees going to the Government, but more importantly it required the registration of Indigenous people on and off all fishing boats while in the presence of a shipping master. Any deaths or desertions of Indigenous people also had to be reported.

In addition to the *Pearl Shell and Bêche-de-mer Fisheries Act 1881*, in 1884 Samuel Griffith, then Premier of the Colony of Queensland, introduced the *Native Labourers Protection Act 1884* to further control the recruiting of Indigenous people into the fishing industry. This Act introduced more steps in acquiring Indigenous labour including that a shipping master had to ensure the full terms of service was explained to any Indigenous person signing up to work and the Indigenous person had to understand and agree to those terms. The boat captain under this Act was also required to return the Indigenous workers to the exact spot they were recruited from after their service had been fulfilled. Furthermore, this Act regulated wages and made it illegal for women and pre-pubescent children to be carried on the boats.

Several acts followed including the *Pearl Shell and Bêche-de-mer Fisheries Amendment Act 1886* and *Pearl Shell and Bêche-de-mer Fisheries Amendment Act 1891* which were greatly influenced by representatives of the fishing industries, with

one of their main grievances being the requirement of Indigenous people to be signed on and off boats in the presence of a shipping master. Although this was not changed, the length of time that Indigenous people could serve was increased from three months to six months (Harrison 1974:40). Furthermore, in 1893, the requirement for Indigenous peoples' quarterly wages to be paid in the presence of a shipping master was revoked (Harrison 1974:41).

The introduction of *The Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* saw the development of an Aboriginal protectorate system which initiated the appointment of Protectors. The leading police officer in each district was appointed local Protector of Aboriginals (Kidd 1997:48). These appointments saw an increase in control over Aboriginal affairs (Harrison 1974:48), including the prohibition of opium and alcohol and their overall safety (Kidd 1997:48). This Act gave Protectors the right to supervise and vet employees of Aboriginal people to prevent exploitation and assault. However, control over maritime employment was not included due to a parliamentary commission into the industry at the time not being complete (Kidd 1997:48). Aboriginal reserves, under this Act, should have been heavily supervised and were officially closed to public access (Kidd 1997:49) which meant fishing boats without legal approval were not allowed to enter the Aboriginal reserves.

## **Legislation issues and supervising the fisheries**

Legislation was not created with the aim of supporting Indigenous people or to stop the abuses and exploitation they faced in the fishing industry, rather the main aim was to enforce control over their movements and lives. Reports from the early 1900s indicate that the increased supervision detailed in the *Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* was not taken seriously. Roth (1903) reported that the east coast of north Queensland was only patrolled twice a year while

the western coast rarely saw a patrol boat. Furthermore, the Government vessel, the *Melbidir*, which was allocated to be used as a patrol boat, was often repurposed and used to transport the Sub-Inspector's family and pick up electoral rolls (Roth 1904:5). Competing interests and blame may have been a reason for the implementation of this legislation issues, as well as the influence the representatives of the fishing industry had in creating the legislation. The fishing industry representatives and residents on Thursday Island blamed the missionaries for the 'outrages' caused by the Indigenous people because they lived under mission influence (Harrison 1974:137).

Further evidence that the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* legislation did not work was the fact that reports about the treatment of Indigenous people in the fishing industry did not change. Reports from the Protectors continued to outline abuses, illegal activities and issues with supervision. The reports also acknowledged the increasing amount of applications for Indigenous people to be excused from the provisions of the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*. (Roth 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904). Under section 33 of this Act Aboriginal 'half- castes' can be exempt from all provisions of the Act if a certificate from the minister is given. It was noted by Roth that most of these applications from his protectorate were being sent on behalf of young girls (Roth 1901:1). A report by Roth in 1904 also outlined the potential flaws in the legislation which allowed Indigenous people to be exploited by the fishing industry. Roth (1904) identified that the *Bêche-de-mer and Pearl Shell Fisheries Acts 1886, 1891* do not allow unworthy fishing vessels to be stopped from going out to sea by the Aboriginal Protectors (Roth 1904:3). The Aboriginal Protectors also did not have the legal authority to search the hull of a ship during an inspection, which meant illegal Indigenous workers could be hidden there without fear of being discovered (Roth 1904:5).



Although legislation attempted to stop Indigenous people from being illegally recruited, it did nothing once the Indigenous people were on the boat. It has been suggested that the requirement to sign Indigenous people on and off the boats was avoided by the fishermen by illegally recruiting Indigenous people and then hiding them on an island before reporting to the shipping master or murdering them and throwing them overboard before an inspection (Ganter 1994:45; Harrison 1974:33; Roth 1904:4). In 1900, only 13 statements of Indigenous people being returned to their home in the whole of north Queensland were sent to the Northern Protector (Roth 1901:1). The protection offered by the missionaries was not enough to discourage the recruiters. Reverend Hey was named as Superintendent of his mission reserve (Mapoon) which allowed him to control who entered into the reserve's boundary. The recruiters continued to operate, however, and claimed that the Indigenous people they recruited were not from the mission reserve in order to get past the shipping master (Harrison 1974:75).

Both Protector Roth and Bennett suggested the whole western coast of the Cape York Peninsula be closed to recruiters (Roth 1904:5), this however, never happened. Although protection was claimed to have been a priority, the attitudes of some people and the legislation showed that the main aim was to help the fishing industry not the Indigenous people. For example, Saville-Kent (1890) reported that a vigilant system of surveillance and inspections of fishing grounds and stations should be introduced. However, the motivation was to deter any 'outrages' committed by Indigenous people by fear of getting caught (Saville-Kent 1890:6). The law governing the registration of Indigenous people on and off the boats was questioned and disregarded because of the amount of lost time and money which took precedence over the safety and protection of Indigenous people (Saville-Kent 1890:6).

## **Chapter 4 – Methodology**

This chapter outlines the methods used in this thesis to acquire and analyse the data utilised in this thesis. The chapter begins by examining documentary archaeology techniques and how it was used within this study. This is followed by an explanation of the data collection method and the types of data utilised in this study.

### **Documentary archaeology**

Historical archaeology utilises historical documents, oral histories and material culture to understand the past by identifying parallels in the data (Beaudry 1988; Wilkie 2006). Material culture is almost always investigated in archaeology; however, an archaeological investigation can still take place simply by using historical documents and taking a spatial approach. By analysing historical documents as artefacts, archaeologists can attempt to re-create the landscape and practices of the past, especially where oral histories are not available (Beaudry 1988; Wilkie 2006). Documentary archaeology allows archaeologists to read historical documents from an archaeological perspective and identify underlining meanings and interpretations different to a historiographical approach. Furthermore, using an archaeological approach can allow motivations, interactions and attitudes of Indigenous people of the time to be understood by examining the material culture and language identified in the historical documents. As Wilkie (2006:13) notes, “Documentary archaeological interpretations offer perspectives and understandings of the past not possible through single lines of evidentiary analysis”.

Numerous archaeologists have used a documentary approach for their research (Della-Sale 2013; Godwin and L’Oste-Brown 2004; Harrison 2004b; Keating 2012; Morrison et al. 2010; Patterson 2003). For example, Morrison et al. (2010) explored the contribution and significance of Indigenous food production techniques at the most recent Weipa

mission site, through the analysis of spatial patterns and historical changes. This research focused on oral histories and historical documents to show that the involvement of Indigenous people in food production was vital to the continuation of the mission (Morrison et al. 2010:106). Combining documentary records and spatial data enabled an appreciation of the power relations and cross-cultural engagement within the remote mission settlement.

Similarly, this type of archaeological project has been undertaken by Della-Sale (2013) in the northern Cape York Peninsula examining the land based historic heritage of Indigenous people. Della-Sale takes a documentary approach using spatial references to understand the Indigenous historical experiences and create a 'recuperative' history of the interactions of Indigenous people and where these interactions occurred in the landscape (Della- Sale 2013:6). This research provides an overview of the interactions of Indigenous people and Europeans in the region, as well as identify possible sites of interaction that have not been documented. This spatial approach to historical documents allows insight into what Indigenous people experienced in the landscape during colonialism. This study did not encompass the maritime and coastal aspect of Cape York Peninsula and took a wide view of the overall history of the region. Narrowing the focus of the present study to maritime and coastal activities provides a more detailed and inclusive history which can begin to acknowledge Indigenous participation in the maritime industries which to some extent have been neglected from the historical narrative.

Historical documents will be the main source of information in this thesis. However, it is important to acknowledge "The observers and writers were understanding Indigenous life in terms of their own culture" (Byrne and Nugent 2004:12). This western bias can be overcome by initially dismissing the Eurocentric language and focusing on identifying

spatially place based references. However, by also examining the language of these European reports can provide a useful insight into the attitudes and social political circumstances of the industry. Furthermore, the aim of taking an archaeological viewpoint to historical documents is for “our historical imagination to be guided by our anthropological perspective and our attention to materiality” (Wilkie 2006:16).

Byrne and Nugent (2004) began a large-scale project in 1999 to record post-colonial heritage sites in New South Wales. The project was established due the growing concern that there were many ‘pre-history’ sites recorded and only a handful of post-colonial sites. The use of documentary records allowed the archaeologists to reaffirm the Indigenous presence in the landscape (Byrne and Nugent 2004:11). The method of ‘spatialising’ historical documents created a picture of Indigenous people’s movements, interactions, and changing culture in the landscape, which was previously unknown (Byrne and Nugent 2004:49). An important limitation to come from the project was the often-vague description of Indigenous people in the historical documents. Byrne and Nugent stated that utilising other sources of information, oral histories, in association with historical documents, will increase the chance of narrowing down the precise locations of heritage places (Byrne and Nugent 2004:55).

## **Data collection**

This research is concerned with the analysis of historical documents available from archival sources, document databases and existing collections available at Flinders University. This research aimed to locate spatially referenced descriptions of Indigenous people involved in the coastal and maritime industries, along with descriptions relating to the historical context of the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell fishing operations within the western Cape York Peninsula region. Specifically, this study focuses on collecting descriptions of Indigenous peoples’ movements, recruitment, interactions, activities and

fishing sites, recruiting camps and political and social circumstances were collected to assist in understanding the workings of the fishing industry.

The historical documents were sourced by establishing a list of region-specific keywords from preliminary background reading of secondary sources (Harrison 1974; Kidd 1997; Loos 1988, 1993). These keywords included the terms Weipa, Mapoon, western Cape York Peninsula, *bêche-de-mer*, pearl shell, fishing boats and Indigenous swim divers. In addition, Morrison maintains a Zotero© (<http://zotero.org>) bibliographic database with documents collected through previous research all under the heading of North Queensland and Cape York Heritage and History. This was used as a primary collection source. Data sources included the online records of the Queensland State Archives, records of the Office of the Chief Inspector of Aboriginals and the Office of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals, as well as databases maintained by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), and Trove. The primary sources collected included historical newspapers, diaries, government reports, journals, official correspondence, photographs and letters. Historical newspapers and Protector Reports formed the majority of the primary documents due to their availability and quality of information. Historical maps and geological surveys were also examined to understand the study area.

## **Analysis**

The historical documents were searched for any reference to Indigenous peoples involvement in the coastal and maritime environment within the defined study area. Once a source was identified, relevant details were entered into Zotero© and extracts containing important spatial descriptions were copied into an excel spreadsheet. The excel spread sheet was used to create three separate datasets. The three datasets are named Spatial References, Historical Context, and Demography. The headings for the

Spatial References dataset are illustrated in (Table 1), Historical Context (Table 2) and Demography (Table 3).

**Table 1:** Headings and definitions for the Spatial References dataset.

<b>Field</b>	<b>Definition</b>
UID	Unique numeric identifier for each reference
Date	Precise date: Day, month and year
Year	Specific year of activity
Location	Geographic reference: River, Coastal, Built feature
Latitude/Longitude	Latitude and longitude recorded from Queensland 1:1,000,000 maps
Spatial Precision	Estimation of accuracy of the location: Less than 1km, 1-10km, greater than 10km
Context	Context of place type: The circumstances that form the setting for an event
Place Type	Term used in relation to references that describe Indigenous people engaging in a temporary and transient activity
Description	Full source text with original quote where possible
Historical Theme	Theme drawn from spatial references dataset
Reference Type	Type of source: Mission diary, Historical newspaper, Government report, Photograph, etc.
Reference	Full bibliographic details of each source

**Table 2:** Headings and definitions for the Historical Context dataset.

<b>Field</b>	<b>Definition</b>
UID	Unique numeric identifier for each reference
Year	Specific year of activity
Historical theme	Historical theme established from the spatial references dataset
Description	Full data reference with original quote
What are people doing/ what are people trying to accomplish?	Question used when open coding the descriptions
How are they accomplishing this?	Question used when open coding the descriptions
What assumptions are they making?	Question used when open coding the descriptions
Reference	Full bibliographic details of each source

**Table 3:** Headings and definitions for the Demography dataset.

Field	Definition
UID	Unique numeric identifier for each reference
Year	Specific year of activity
Location	Location activity took place
Description	Full data reference with original quote
Specific number	Numeric data taken from description
Reference type	Type of source: Mission diary, Historical newspaper, Government report, Photograph, etc.
Reference	Full bibliographic details of each source

The method used to establish the Spatial References dataset allowed for important historical themes to be easily identified. A map was created by using Geoscience Australia's topographic datasets to create a base map where the longitude and latitude coordinates of each spatial reference were entered and displayed by their location (Figure 2).

The historical themes were established independently of the Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHT) (AHC 2001, 2008) due to the scope of the thesis being outside the range of the historical themes mentioned. The themes established are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4:** Historical themes and their definitions.

Historical theme	Definition
Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Evidence of Indigenous people engaging in maritime industries via missionaries
Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Any incident where people suffered death or injury or consequence e.g. lower birth rate, after returning from working in the fishing industry
Recruiting	Any incident which resulted in Indigenous people entering the maritime industries: Kidnapping, trading, volunteering, etc.
Utilising or exchanging	Any incident of people utilising or exchanging in the maritime fishing industries
Violence	Any incident where people experienced violence or death while engaging in the <i>bêche-de-mer</i> or pearl shell industry
Other spatial references	Any activity that does not fit into the other themes but is still considered relevant

The definitions of the context used for the Spatial References dataset are displayed in (Table 5) and the place-type definitions are shown in (Table 6).

**Table 5:** Context definitions for the Spatial References dataset.

<b>Context</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Mission reserve	Includes the missions along the western coast of Cape York Peninsula, as well as the areas declared as mission reserves by the Queensland Government
Offshore	Events or encounters that occurred in offshore waters
Inshore	Includes any reference to activities happening on water situated inshore on the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula
Undisclosed	Any reference that does not provide specific details of where the activity occurred

**Table 6:** Place-type definitions for the Spatial References dataset.

<b>Place-type</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Transient	The term here is used in relation to references that describe Indigenous people engaging in temporary or transient activity
Semi-Autonomous	These place-types were chosen using Indigenous people's knowledge as part of engaging in work with and for Europeans

The methods used for analysing the Historical Context dataset's data involved a form of open coding developed from qualitative analytical coding (Emerson et al. 2011:172). Any reference relating to Indigenous people involved in the fishing industry regardless of spatial accuracy was included into the dataset, as well as any reference that identifies the attitudes and political or social circumstances of the industry. Each reference was read and three questions were asked (Table 2). These questions were used to uncover the meanings and attitudes of each quote. Once the meanings and attitudes were established, they were compiled into three themes (Table 7)



**Table 7:** Themes developed from Historical Context dataset.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Control	Control being identified as the motivator for any action performed by the fishing industry, missionaries and Indigenous people
Indigenous people as commodities	Any action or statement that showed Indigenous people's lives were not valued or were expendable and any instance Indigenous people were traded
Tobacco and flour as valuable commodities	Any action or statement that involved the use of tobacco and flour for trade or to entice people into the fishing industry

The method used to create the Demography dataset (Table 3) was to include any reference to the number of Indigenous people working in the north Queensland fishing industry and the number of Indigenous people residing in the mission reserve while searching for sources for the other datasets.

## **Limitations**

The main constraint for this thesis was the limited amount of information available on the involvement of Indigenous people in the maritime and coastal industries. Using archival records meant a large amount of information needed to be searched to find references making it difficult to obtain a complete dataset. The data was also only available from a limited number of sources, mainly government reports and historical newspapers which effects the accuracy and the ability to capture the attitudes of the industry. There are no known voices from Indigenous people available about these industries from the study area which is a major limitation as they could not be adequately represented.

Government reports and historical newspapers cannot be conceived as completely factual as they failed to encompass the true abuses of the Indigenous people in the fishing industry. Furthermore, not all violence against Indigenous people was likely to have been recorded, and if this fact is not understood, this can paint a false picture of the industry.

The overall accuracy of the spatial data was a challenge due to reports often not providing specific locations or references occurring within the broader ocean context. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that violence was present throughout the industry despite the lack of reporting or spatial evidence available.

Cape York Peninsula's colonial Indigenous maritime and coastal history have not been archaeologically investigated. This project aims to utilise a spatial documentary approach to the historical record and to create a map of the maritime cross-cultural interaction sites. Furthermore, it aims to understand possible motivations for the interaction between Indigenous people and Europeans in the maritime and coastal frontiers.

## **Chapter 5 – Results**

The following chapter presents an analysis of three datasets for the period 1860-1930. The first dataset, Spatial References, contains 82 spatially referenced sources all located within the defined study area (Figure 1) and relating to the involvement of Indigenous people in the fishing industry. The second dataset, Historical Context, takes a broader view with 100 records containing information about the fishing industry without limiting it to those with valid spatial data. This dataset provides context to the Spatial References dataset, enabling a deeper analysis of both the attitudes of the key players in the industries and the recruiting methods used. The third dataset, Demography, contains 77 records which relate to the numbers of Indigenous people involved in this industry, providing an overview and understanding of the industry and how it operated.

### **Spatial data**

The highest number of records from the Spatial References dataset fall in the decade of 1890-1899 (38) with the second highest being 1900-1909 (28) (Table 8). The least amount of records fall in the 1930-1939 with only one record, indicating the rise and decline of the industry. No data was recorded for 1860-1869 and 1870-1879 (Table 8). The context represented most in the Spatial References dataset was the mission reserve with 51 records, the second was offshore with 14 and the least amount occurred inshore with 10 and undisclosed with 4. Table 8 illustrates the temporal range and context for the Spatial Reference dataset.

**Table 8:** Temporal range and context for Spatial References dataset.<sup>2</sup>

Context	Decade						Total
	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	
Mission reserve	-	27	17	5	1	1	51
Offshore	2	6	5	-	1	-	14
Inshore	-	3	5	2	-	-	10
Undisclosed	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
Total	2	38	28	8	2	1	79

Most records within the two highest represented contexts of mission reserve and offshore occur in the 1890s and 1900s. Three spatial references were excluded from the table due to the year not being specified in the source. Forty-eight references came from government reports, while 24 came from historical newspapers. While both sources contain a clear colonial bias, the spatial references were considered important to the study. Table 9 shows where all the sources were obtained.

**Table 9:** Source location for Spatial References dataset.

Reference type	Number of occurrences
Historical newspaper	24
Government report	48
Mission diary	6
Photograph	4
Total occurrences	82

<sup>2</sup> The '-' in this table and all tables that follow indicate that there was no data available.

## Demographic trends

Demographic data provides an overview of the north Queensland fishing industry and the numbers of Indigenous people involved between 1860 and 1930 as well as the number of boats. Thursday Island was the main fishing port and was used to register boats into the Torres Strait fishing grounds, as well as to sign recruited Indigenous people onto the fishing boats. The number of boats involved in the fishing industry continued to increase from 1875 when the *bêche-de-mer* luggers were refitted into pearl luggers due to a short-lived decline in the *bêche-de-mer* trade and a developing interest in pearl shell until 1905 when a sharp decrease occurred due to the rapid decline of the pearl shell industry due to exhausted beds (Table 10).

**Table 10:** Number of fishing vessels registered at Thursday Island.

Year	Number of fishing boats
1875	50
1879	104
1890	92
1893	250
1895	237
1896	252
1897	231
1900	341
1901	331
1902	327
1903	337
1905	135
1916	123
Total	2,810

While these numbers provide an important window into the industry, other boats were reported to have operated illegally and did not register to work in the Torres Strait. Despite this, the continual increase from 1890 to 1903 is still evident. The number of boats working in the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell industry were often not differentiated in reports or only one fishing boat was mentioned.

The number of Indigenous people involved in the industry is not always clear due to lack of reporting. As discussed, Indigenous people were taken illegally and often not signed onto boats. Despite this, the numbers of Indigenous people working in the industry available still provides important information. As the number of boats increased the number of Indigenous people involved in the industry increased, which is expected (Table 11).

**Table 11:** Reported number of Indigenous people involved in the fishing industry.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Indigenous people in the fishing industry</b>
1894	177
1901	314
1902	340
1903	308
1904	383
1905	522
1906	270
1907	-
1908	190
1909	376
1910	-
1911	-
1912	77
1913	461
1914	408
1915	537
1916	669
1917	-
1918	171
Total	5203

Missionaries at Mapoon mission also kept some records of the Indigenous people recruited into the industry (Table 12). This was due, in part, to annual reports being sent to the Chief Protector of Aboriginals and to report incidents of recruiting when it was banned.

**Table 12:** Indigenous people recruited from Mapoon mission into the fishing industry.

Year	Indigenous males from Mapoon in the fishing industry	Age	Total reported Indigenous males in the fishing industry	Percentage of indigenous males in the fishing industry from Mapoon
1897	49	Young Adult	-	-
1899	104	Young Adult	-	-
1901	105	Young Adult	314	33.4%
1902	123	Young Adult	340	36.2%
1903	133	Over puberty	308	43.2%
1904	84	Young Adult	383	21.9%
1907	21	Young Adult	-	-

The recruiters were primarily seeking young Indigenous males to work on vessels as swimdivers because it was illegal to take women and children onto the boats. This, however, does not mean women and children were not taken. There are reports of women found on boats, however, they were not included in the reported numbers because legally they were not allowed to be recruited.

Another important aspect is the number of Indigenous people residing at Mapoon mission. This gives an indication of the impact of recruiting on the wider Indigenous population residing at or near the mission.

**Table 13:** Mapoon mission's population data.

Year	Number of Indigenous people residing at Mapoon	Number of Indigenous people reported in the area
1897	200	500
1899	160	400
1901	200	400
1902	182	400
1903	-	-
1904	200	400
1905	200	
1906	200	400-500
1907	180	425
1908	250	200
1909	100	250
1910	-	-
1911	240	150
1912	240	-
1913	300	60
1914	150	300
1915	240	-

As (Table 13) indicates there were 160 Indigenous people residing at Mapoon mission in 1899, in the same year 104 males were recruited for the fishing industry. Some records were not available, not reported or lost. For a comparison to Mapoon mission, Weipa mission's available population data was also accumulated (Table 14).

**Table 14:** Weipa mission's population data.

Year	Number of Indigenous people residing at Weipa	Number of Indigenous people reported in the area
1901	56	-
1902	-	-
1903	76	-
1904	-	-
1905	60	-
1906	100	-
1907	-	-
1908	90	80
1909	69	300
1910	-	-
1911	-	-
1912	-	300
1913	270	-

Although there are a lot of gaps in the data it shows that Weipa mission had less Indigenous people residing in the area than Mapoon did.

### **Historical themes evident in spatial data**

Six historical themes emerged from the creation of the Spatial References dataset (Table 15). *Recruiting* was the main theme present in the data with 29 associated records, indicating that recruiting was a regular occurrence along the western coast. The second key theme was *experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry* with 17 instances noted, while *violence* had 14 (Table 15). There is a negative tone in some of the developed historical themes all relating to violence Indigenous people exhibited in the fishing industry. However, the information collected in the Historical Context dataset will attempt to uncover the



hidden narrative of the Indigenous people involved in the industries and attempt to look past the outright recorded violence.

**Table 15:** Historical themes for the Spatial References dataset.

Historical theme	Number of occurrences
Recruiting	29
Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	17
Violence	14
Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	10
Utilising or exchanging	8
Other spatial references	4
Total	82

The most common decade for interaction was 1890-1899 followed by 1900-1909, with no occurrences in 1870-1879 (Table 16).

**Table 16:** Historical theme and decade of occurrence.

Historical Theme	Decade						Total
	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	
Recruiting	-	11	13	3	1	1	29
Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	-	10	7	-	-	-	17
Violence	2	10	2	-	-	-	14
Utilising or exchanging	-	4	4	-	-	-	8
Engaging in maritime industries via the mission	-	-	2	5	-	-	7
Other spatial references	-	3	2	-	1	-	6
Total	2	38	28	8	2	1	79

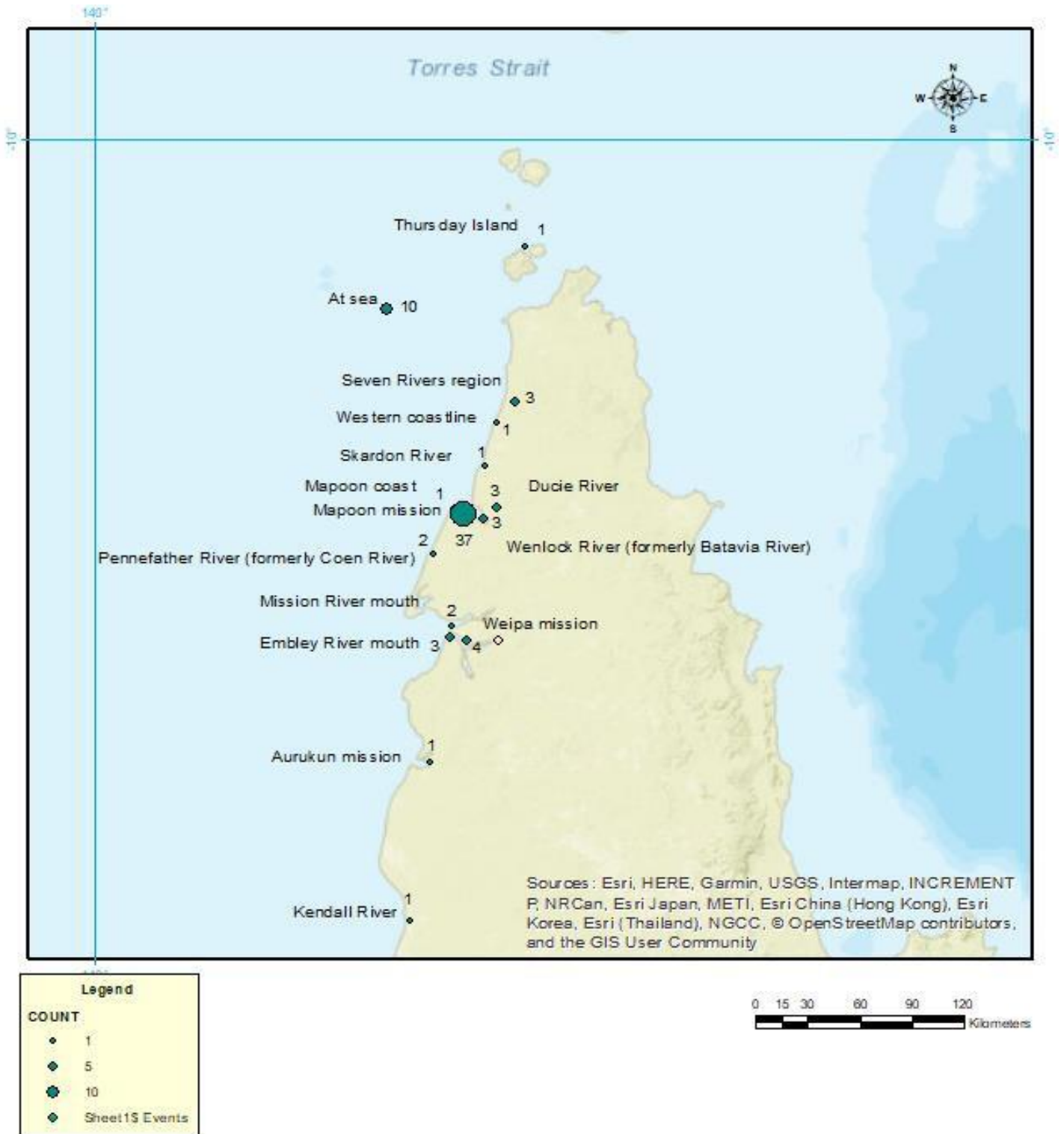
Three references relating to the theme *engaging in maritime industries via the mission* were not included in the dataset (Table 16) due to the references being photographs and not having a specific year.

The spatial data associated with these historical themes is heavily concentrated at Mapoon mission, with the other records being spread along the west coast of the Peninsula (Table 17).

**Table 17:** Location of the historical themes.

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
Mapoon mission	37
At sea	10
Undisclosed	9
Weipa mission	4
Embley River mouth	3
Wenlock River (formerly Batavia River)	3
Seven Rivers region	3
Ducie River	3
Mouth of Mission River	2
Pennefather River (formerly Coen River)	2
Kendall River	1
Skardon River	1
Thursday Island	1
Mapoon coast	1
Western coastline (generic)	1
Aurukun mission	1
Total	82

The spatial data (Table 17) was entered onto a map to visualise the historical themes locations and to provide an overview of the frequency of interactions occurring in the study area (Figure 2). Mapoon mission had the most activity with 37 occurrences with the second highest occurring at sea with 10.



**Figure 2:** Map of western Cape York Peninsula with historical theme spatial data locations and frequency.

## Theme 1: Recruiting

There are 29 spatial records that fall under the historical theme of *recruiting* (Table 16). These references referred to Indigenous people being recruited onto boats, recruiting boats being seen from mission reserves, and Indigenous children being kidnapped by recruiters. Of these, some 19 instances occurred at Mapoon mission with the second highest being undisclosed, while others occurred in different locations along the western coast of Cape York Peninsula (Table 18).

**Table 18:** Location of the spatial references for the historical theme recruiting.

Location	Number of occurrences
Mapoon mission	19
Undisclosed	2
Weipa mission	1
Pennefather River (formerly Coen River)	1
Seven Rivers	1
Thursday Island	1
Kendall River	1
Mapoon coast	1
Mouth of the Mission River	1
Ducie River	1
Total	29

Mapoon mission was a popular recruiting ground, with the Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Walter Roth noting that it was “The second and main recruiting area, especially in its relation to the two adjoining mission stations, Mapoon and Weipa, has occupied my grave anxiety and attention” (Roth 1900:4). The difference between the frequency of recruiting at Mapoon and Weipa mission could have been the ease of access to Mapoon. Meston (1896) notes that “Mapoon station is so situated as to be easy of access by boats or steamers. That is the only virtue the site possesses” (Meston 1896:5). Weipa mission was established up the Embley River (Morrison et al. 2015:86) and away from the coast which made access by larger boats difficult.

There is some data available on how Indigenous people were recruited into the industry.

Table 19 illustrates the known types of recruiting within the data. Kidnapping

was applied to any reference that Indigenous people were upset or angry about being taken away by the recruiters or if a child, under the age of puberty, was taken to work on the boats. For example, Roth (1900:4) noted that "I reported from Mapoon as follows... Bob was taken away by H<sub>L</sub>, a European, on 1st January 1898. This child was but a schoolboy at the time. His mother anxiously awaits his return." The name of the person responsible was redacted from the report.

The theme *volunteering* was assigned to any instance where Indigenous people entered into an agreement to work on boats, through exchanging their labour for goods. Furthermore, any description of Indigenous people making camp during the seasonal recruitment activities was considered volunteering. *Undisclosed* was given to any instance that was unclear from lack of reporting.

**Table 19:** How Indigenous people were recruited onto the fishing boats.

Type of recruiting	Kidnapped	Volunteered	Undisclosed
Number of occurrences	7	8	14

Understanding the type of recruiting is a complicated issue. Protector Reports (Roth 1903, 1904, 1905) indicate that recruiters came and took Indigenous people to work on the boats with often little to no detail on recruitment methods. The missionaries often claimed that these acts were kidnappings, while Indigenous people, who have no voice in these reports, may well have seen their recruitment as part of an exchange for desired goods. While Protector Reports provide some detail on the matter, they often claimed that Indigenous people entered their own children into the industry in exchange for tobacco and flour. For example, Roth (1900:4) reported:

Concerning the circumstances connected with the actual recruiting of the boys in the same district (Mapoon), I found that under pressure from the old men many of

them were being bought and sold like so many sheep. The value locally of such a boy was a bag of flour and a pound of tobacco: at Thursday Island it was about 30s...thus boys were thus being recruited against their will.

The language of the statement reflects Roth's opinions about Indigenous people, more specifically, the treatment of Indigenous boys. Without the perspectives of Indigenous people to help better understand their motivations for exchanging their labour for goods it cannot be considered an accurate representation of what occurred, or even whether this statement is accurate. The language casts a negative view on Indigenous people's motivations and fails to attempt to understand their motivations making it difficult to determine and classify the act as volunteering or kidnapping.

There is a bias in available data, as shown above, for *recruiting*, as 23 of the sources were retrieved from government reports while only five were from historical newspapers and one was from a mission diary. Looking at the context of these sources, 22 occurred on the mission reserve while four were inshore, two were offshore and one undisclosed (Table 20).

**Table 20:** Context for the sources relating to recruiting.

<b>Context</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
Mission reserve	22
Inshore	4
Offshore	2
Undisclosed	1
Total	29

During the research it was discovered that seasonal recruitment camps were established along the coast and a few possible Indigenous camps were identified as places of recruitment and possible sites of cross-cultural engagement. Roth (1902:5) notes:

The practice continues of Aborigines from the inland portions of Cape York visiting the western coast-line of the Peninsula at certain portions of the year for the purpose of prostituting their females to the crews of the vessels engaged in the pearl shell fisheries...the months generally chosen are January to March when the vessels frequent the neighbourhood of Possession Island and the vicinity for the purpose of obtaining shelter and overhauling during the prevalence of the north - west monsoon and also during the strength of the south -east trades (June-August) when they work along the western shores of the peninsula from Vrilya Point Northwards.

Other locations include mission *bêche-de-mer* camps where Weipa mission tried and ultimately failed to enter the *bêche-de-mer* trade with a camp established at the mouth of the Embley River noted in Reverend Edwin Brown's diaries (1911-1917):

Went in launch to visit *bêche-de-mer* camp at the mouth of the river [Embley] got right down to the mouth in 4 hours and 10minutes...The "Weipatoi" arrived w/- Dick & his crew & gear. They have but a small quantity of *Bêche -de-mer*. It has been a failure for us. They say that there is but little anywhere around but in the Pine River, which is Mapoon territory & from which we have been warned away by my esteemed colleague, Mr. Hey.

Other possible camps along the western coast are mentioned in passing in reports from passengers on boats Woods (1891:6):

Proceeding all day along the coast we saw no signal fires until we were abreast of the Skardon River, a Distance of 62 miles, when we saw smoke rising from the beach, a sure sign the natives recognised and welcomed a Government Boat... As we were repassing the Skardon River a smoke was sent up, we found a tribe consisting of from 60-70 natives some of whom had scanty article of clothing on.

Notes from a women's missionary meeting also hint at possible locations noted by Anon (1982:5):

The young men are, it is said, constantly drafted off in boats which call at points on the coast to seek volunteers. The owners promise plenty of food during the term of engagement and payment in clothes, tobacco, iron, flour, and sugar. This accustoms the natives to the idea of payment and they look for a return for any work done by them for the missionaries.

## **Theme 2: Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry**

There are 17 references to *experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry* (Table 16). These sources include the death of Indigenous people after returning from fishing boats, people being stranded away from their home and Indigenous people experiencing disease. Twelve of the references occurred at Mapoon mission (Table 21).

**Table 21:** Location of spatial references for experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry.

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
Mapoon mission	12
At sea	3
Thursday Island fishing grounds	1
Batavia River	1

The deaths reported were on behalf of young Indigenous boys being returned from the fishing industry all dying within eight weeks of them returning to Mapoon mission. For example, Roth (1900:4) reported:

Symptoms of boys returning from the boats were in common: general emaciation, pains in the back and chest, coughing and the spitting of blood...These deaths were due to the causes assigned to the exposure and general life on the boats, I



would submit that no deaths with similar duration, symptoms have occurred here in either sex at corresponding ages.

Reverend Hey also noted the condition of the boys being returned from the boats "Last year we had 5 young men, aged between 15 years and 25 years, die of consumption. Three of them came back in the last stage of the disease" (Hey 1897:6). All deaths were associated with working on the boats. The consequences of the labour on boats were also felt by the community at the mission stations and within the mission reserves. In Roth's (1905:17) report Hey noted:

The employment of natives on boats did not only affect those who were actually engaged but the presence of the recruiters on the station had very often a demoralising effect on the whole settlement. About half of the aborigines recruited were married men and in many cases their wives thus left behind were appropriated by others, which on the return of the rightful husbands was the cause of fighting, bloodshed and even murder.

The reports also describe that the Indigenous birth rate was lower with the intrusion of the fishing industry and Indigenous life was disrupted. Hey (1897:6) described the situation as follows:

Another drawback in connection with the young men going away from the station is this. While they are away the older men who remain at the station take all the young women for their wives, so that when the young men come back to their homes they are strange and find no wives for themselves. It is not uncommon for an older man to have four or five wives. While the young men are deprived of wives there are very few births.

Indigenous people being stranded away from their home was also an issue reported by Protector Bennett in Roth's Annual report (1901:4):

Another case in point, about the same time, was that of "Jackie," a native of the Batavia River, on the Gulf coast. Nicholas Minster (a Greek) got a permit for this boy at Cairns, and brought him to Cooktown, where he was shipped on articles; he was signed off at New Guinea and brought back as a passenger to Cooktown, to be left stranded and sick upon the wharf.

It is evident that Indigenous people experienced awful conditions on boats and were stranded when they were no longer useful. The 17 references accumulated only partially illustrate these experiences, likely due to the Eurocentric bias in the accounts and lack of reporting. Once again, the mission reserve context contained the most sources with 12 examples, three were offshore, one occurred inshore and one was undisclosed (Table 22).

**Table 22:** Context of sources for experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry.

Context	Number of occurrences
Mission reserve	12
Offshore	3
Inshore	1
Undisclosed	1

### Theme 3: Violence

Fourteen records related to the historical theme *violence*. Five of the references were from at sea, three were undisclosed while the rest were spread along the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula (Table 23).

**Table 23:** Location of spatial references for violence.

Location	Number of occurrences
At sea	5
Undisclosed	3
Seven Rivers	2
Mainland	1
Aurukun mission	1
Batavia River	1
Ducie River	1

It is important to note that the spatial references collected only contained acts of violence committed by Indigenous people. The records did not contain acts of murder or violence against Indigenous people due to the incidents not being reported or not being known because Indigenous people were often thrown overboard or killed at sea. This is evident to have happened through other reports by Roth (1902:5):

The accused employed two female aboriginals on his boat ...he bought one of the girls for flour and tobacco, worked both boys and gins on the reefs, hidden the women under the flour bags when Schluter was searching the vessel, neglected paying them for labour.

Meston (1896:2) also noted:

The coast blacks who have been out after pearl-shell or *bêche-de-mer* have not been subjected to a process of improvement nor have they acquired a high opinion of the whites. Some of the *bêche-de-mer* fisherman treated them fairly but there were others, men who enticed blacks on board worked them like slaves and treated them like dogs, and finished by leaving them marooned on a reef or shot them or landed them far from their own home on some strange part of the coast where they would certainly be killed by the first tribe they met.

It is also important to acknowledge that violence was reportedly present throughout the industry despite the lack of reporting or spatial evidence available. The level of

violence and the abuse of Indigenous people were known by the Protectors of Aboriginals when Roth (1904:2) noted:

On the other hand the natives on the Gulf coast, from the Batavia River (Mapoon) downwards are as yet able to be freed from the abuses and contaminations in the way of slavery, disease, alcohol and opium and other sources of annihilation consequent on the visits of the recruiters and the hardships endured in employment on the boats.

Roth's statement, as well as Mestons', is not reflected in the data, which is why the Historical Context dataset is important to this study, otherwise there is a risk of downplaying the severity of abuse in the industry.

Conversely, instances of people killing boat captains and crew members are frequently reported. For example, the Brisbane Courier (Anon 1893:5) reported:

We will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1888: August Charles Mogg, *Bêche-de-mer* fisher, killed at sea. 1889: July John Williams, *bêche-de-mer* fisher, killed at sea. 1890: April W. Wilson, *bêche-de-mer* fisher, assaulted and left for dead.

The reason Indigenous people sometimes murdered members of boat crews was regularly debated by missionaries and the representatives of the fishing industry. Representatives of the fishing industry often claimed that the mission was the cause of these incidents. For example, an anonymous Brisbane Courier article (1893:5) reported:

The first step towards this [dealing with the mainland Aboriginals] should be the abolition of the Mission station at the Batavia for we feel it is something more than a coincidence that the murders which had ceased for two years have commenced afresh as soon as the influence of the mission station is being felt.

Furthermore, the fishing industry representatives claimed that the Indigenous people are lazy "As the influence of the missionaries began to spread the natives became less inclined to work becoming "educated" and lazy" (Anon 1893:5).

Sometimes, however, it was believed that Indigenous people were defending themselves or trying to escape the abuses they were being faced with on the boats. Meston (1896:2) notes that "occasionally *bêche-de-mer* fisherman were killed by Aboriginals driven to desperation and the most of these so called 'murders by the blacks; were merely acts of justly deserved retribution". Similarly, Saville-Kent (1890:5) stated:

Of late years and in the Torres Straits district more particularly, outrages have been previously provoked by unjust treatment or through the interference by the employers or their agents with the native labourers. Of late years and in the Torres Straits district more particularly, outrages committed by these labourers.

It should be noted, however, that Saville-Kent went on to blame these incidents on their "uneducated native intellect" (Saville-Kent 1890:5).

Other reports from newspapers suggest that the life Indigenous people faced on the fishing boats was at times unbearable, with a described well informed correspondent for the Brisbane Courier (1894:4) stating "The conclusion reached by our correspondent implies that the aborigines employed in the *bêche-de-mer* fishery virtually exist in a state of in-human slavery". No other information was given about the correspondent.

Seven of these sources relating to violence occurred in the offshore context, three occurred on the mission reserve, two in the inshore context, and two were undisclosed (Table 24).

**Table 24:** Context for sources relating to violence.

Context	Number of occurrences
Offshore	7
Mission reserve	3
Inshore	2
Undisclosed	2

#### **Theme 4: Utilising or exchanging**

Eight sources were related to Indigenous people stealing boats or cargo, Indigenous women being traded or kidnapped, and Indigenous people entering into a trade with the fishing industry. Four of the references occurred at Mapoon mission while the rest were evenly spread along the western coast (Table 25).

**Table 25:** Location of spatial references for utilising or exchanging.

Location	Number of occurrences
Mapoon mission	4
Western coast line	1
Batavia River (now Wenlock River)	1
Pennefather River (formerly Coen River)	1
At sea	1

As mentioned above, Indigenous people reportedly stole boats and cargo belonging to the boat operators and used them to travel home and these occurrences were sometimes reported by the missionaries, for example, Rev. Hey (1893:13) reported that "four Pine River natives and a boy arrived at the mission station, Mapoon, on the 18th with a boat belonging to Peter Mobeck, a *bêche-de-mer* fisher."

Indigenous women were also reportedly kidnapped; however, these occurrences are not adequately represented in the spatial data. Out of the eight references to *Utilising or exchanging*, two were about Indigenous women being taken and abused. Meston (1896:3) noted that "In some cases Indigenous women were taken by force and in the disturbance that followed one or more of the men were shot." Indigenous women were

not only kidnapped for the personal use of the fishermen, they were also sold at Thursday Island, which was reported in the Brisbane Courier (1893:5).

The women when stolen are frequently taken to Thursday Island and there sold or bartered for and at present time there is a very large number of native women employed at boarding houses, in Thursday Island and in various ways which cannot be described in these columns.

Other references refer to Indigenous women being taken on-board a docked fishing vessel for the night and then sent back in the morning. This was witnessed by Meston (1896:3):

Even on the morning of my arrival at Mapoon, by the way of the Ducie River, when crossing Port Musgrave, I saw a lugger just leaving the anchorage off the open beach about a mile behind the Mission Station. She had anchored there on the previous night, sent the boats ashore, brought half a dozen women, took them onboard all night, and returned them next morning. Most of the blacks were away using the flour and tobacco which formed one of the terms of the contract.

This event appears to be an agreement between the Indigenous people and the fishing industry which indicates a trade of service for goods and Meston noted that it was common for fishing vessels to send their boats ashore and purchase women with flour and tobacco (Meston 1896:3). The spatial data, for this thesis, does not encompass the trade network which was developed between the fishing industry and the Indigenous people. Missionary and Protector reports indicate that Indigenous people entered into agreements in return for goods including tobacco and flour. Bennett noted in a (1903:6) report:

Consequent on the revival of the *bêche-de-mer* fishing and the temporary stimulus given to the swimming diving by the high prices ruling for pearl shell, the demand

for Aboriginal labour has been very keen and the inducements to recruit held out to aboriginals in the way of bonuses of flour, tobacco, trade.

Another report by Protector Bleakley (1914:8) shows that these agreements were not always honoured. This could explain, but not justify, the violent and forceful nature of the recruitment of Indigenous people:

A few boat owners have complained that when recruiting boys on the mainland they have been compelled to bribe the elders of the tribes to allow the younger men to engage and these men cunningly waiting till the tribe had taken the flour well inland have frequently all absconded again.

The missionaries did not approve of these exchanges and discouraged it. For example, Roth's (1900:4) report illustrates that the goods provided by the recruiters were not an equal exchange for labour according to Reverend Hey:

When they boys did ultimately succeed in reaching home he rarely had anything adequate to show as the result of his many months labour. He might possibly have a bag of flour, a tomahawk, some clay pipes, a pound of tobacco, a cheap blanket, and a pair of trousers; but this was the rare exception for the supply of goods which was usually brought back would be dear at 20s.

Six of the references occurred on the mission reserve and one occurred in both the offshore and inshore contexts (Table 26).

**Table 26:** Context of spatial references for utilising or exchanging.

<b>Context</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
Mission reserve	6
Offshore	1
Inshore	1
Undisclosed	0



**Theme 5: Engaging with maritime industries via the mission**

Ten recorded sources related to *engaging with maritime industries via the mission*. These included Indigenous people engaging in maritime work for the mission instead of the fishing industry and missionaries creating work to keep Indigenous people on the reserve and out of the broader fishing industry. Three of these references occurred at the Embley River mouth and the others spread across Mapoon and Weipa mission (Table 27).

**Table 27:** Location of spatial references for engaging with maritime industries via the mission.

Location	Number of occurrences
Embley River mouth	3
Undisclosed	3
Mapoon mission	2
Weipa mission	2

The missionaries wanted to keep the Indigenous people on the reserve. Roth’s (1906) report demonstrates that they acquired certain resources to ensure this happened, including a cutter. Mapoon mission, compared to Weipa, was semi-successful in their fishing activities according to Hey’s report in Howard’s Chief Protector Report (1908:22):

We had to turn our attention more to the sea. Two small cutters and six large canoes have been at work during the fine weather, in the neighbourhood of Mapoon only, and the products in fish, turtle, and *bêche-de-mer* yielded a fair income, and gave congenial employment to a number of men.

Weipa mission attempted to enter into the *bêche-de-mer* trade, however, due to the mission’s position along the river and the lack of *bêche-de-mer* available it was ultimately unsuccessful (Browns 1916 [22 June 1915]).

## Theme 6: Other spatial references

There were six other interactions spread evenly through the Ducie River, mouth of the Mission River, Weipa mission and the Skardon River with two occurring at Mapoon mission (Table 28). These interactions did not fit within any of the historical themes, however, they were still deemed to contain important information about the area so were included.

**Table 28:** Location for other spatial references.

Location	Number of occurrences
Mapoon mission	2
Ducie River	1
Mouth of the Mission River	1
Skardon River	1
Weipa mission	1

These interactions included witnessing Indigenous camps along the western coast, which is useful in identifying possible archaeological sites and friendly interactions between Europeans and Indigenous people and helps establish that not all interactions were violent. One of these interactions was experienced by Meston (1896:1):

We had a friendly interview with a large party of natives on the south beach. They told an unpleasant tale of former treatment by the native police, and at least two of them still boro [sic] the old bullet wounds. All the women and children were sent away some distance out of sight.

The other references included witnessing beach signal fires abreast of the Skardon River with between 60-70 Indigenous people present and claims that a search party investigating a murder was engaged by Indigenous people (Anon 1891:6).

## **Attitudes**

The Historical Context dataset was compiled from any statements or references to the fishing industry to understand the motivations of Indigenous people entering the industry and the attitudes and social circumstances of the industry. Three new themes emerged from the coding process independent from the historical themes of the Spatial References dataset.

### **Theme 1: Control**

One of the main themes to emerge through the open coding process was control. This primarily included control of Indigenous people by the missionaries, the fishing industry, and to some extent attempted control by Indigenous people themselves. This frequently related to the missionaries and the fishing industry battling for control over the Indigenous people, and the Indigenous people resisting in an attempt to control their own lives.

The missionaries' annual reports to the Protector of Aboriginals frequently refer to the abuse Indigenous people faced in the fishing industry and express outrage about the number of Indigenous people being recruited away from the mission. However, the purpose for these outrages towards the fishing industry comes from a sense of losing their ability to control the activities and movements of Indigenous people rather than out of concern for their welfare. In an 1897 newspaper article in the Telegraph, Hey stated that "In the interest of the mission, then, it is desirable that this kind of thing [recruiting Indigenous people] should be put to a stop" (Hey 1897:6). The article focuses on the success of Mapoon mission and blames the missions' drawbacks on the ongoing operations of the fishing industry. Indigenous people's mistreatment was used by the missionaries to close the mission reserve to recruiting, which ultimately allowed Hey to focus on having Indigenous people working for the mission through

gardening and fishing with their own cutter. Hey (1906:24) discusses this in his annual report to Protector Roth:

Presented the mission with a little cutter so that we have at present three boats in use in connection with the three stations. But we confine ourselves entirely to local work, never interfering with the pearl shell and *bêche-de-mer* industry in any form.

Roth's (1900:4) report illustrates that Hey eventually succeeded in gaining some control over Mapoon mission, the reserve and the interaction between the fishing industry and the Indigenous people residing there:

All people recruiting here were to produce the written approval of Rev N. Hey the missionary at Mapoon when bringing the boys up to Thursday Island for signing on articles, he had stipulated that Aboriginals were not to be worked on the boats for periods longer than 6 months at a time.

The recruiting of Indigenous people, however, continued despite the control Hey had established. The fishing industry was trying to take control away from the missionaries because they desired the cheap and unskilled labour Indigenous people offered, as Bleakley (1917:4) reported:

Owing to the demand for aboriginal labour for fishing fleets some agitation had from time to time arisen for the opening of the Gulf mission Reserves to recruiters. The missions in occupation owing to the insufficient means at their command are unable to receive and profitably occupy more than a portion of the natives on the area and the recruiters seeing in the unoccupied portion of this labour a source of supply for their own needs are clamouring for the abolition of what they call a dog in the maker policy.

Individuals from the fishing industry continued to fight against missionary control of potential Indigenous labourers, and blamed the missions for what they considered to

be aggression and laziness. According to Roth (1900:4), however, they ignored the mission policy and continued to recruit from the Aboriginal reserves:

Confidence in the recruiters became grossly abused. Cases occurred in which boys were signed on without the letter; others where they had been taken from their homes without either the knowledge or the consent of the missionaries and slipped past the island without being signed on. Often the blacks were never returned at all.

They also dismissed claims that Indigenous people were abused. Andy Dunlop, a *bêche-de-mer* industry worker, stated in the Brisbane Courier (1894:2):

Not once did I see any harsh or ill treatment displayed towards the boys but rather while they did not overstep the bounds of rationalism a kind acquiescence in their amusements.

An important aspect of this battle for control was the retirement of Roth and the appointment of Howard as the new Chief Protector of Aboriginals in 1906. Prior to this, Roth's reports generally indicate a desire to attempt to change the working conditions and recruiting practices for Indigenous people engaged in the industry, and to an extent, acknowledge the abuses Indigenous people faced. Conversely, Howard's first Protector report (1907:4) indicated a less urgent need and claimed:

I have every reason to believe fewer aborigines are unlawfully employed on boats now than any time previously. This has been brought about by the fact that several prosecutions, followed by terms of imprisonment were instituted during the latter months of the year 1905, also by the summary revocation of permits of several persons in charge of boats for irregularities and by the patrolling of the coast by the Government Ketch 'Melbidir'.

Howard also attempted to take control away from Hey and stated that he had the power to take any Indigenous person away from Mapoon mission or the reserve and place them into the fishing industry. Harrison (1974:119) suggests that:

Hey announced at Howards insistence, that a number of Aborigines would be available for engagement as boats' crew in 1907. When in late January and early February 1907, a number of illegally recruited Mapoon Aborigines were signed on, by the local protector at Thursday Island on Howard's instructions, the protests of Hey to the local Protector and Howard... were of any avail.

The fishing industry and the missionaries cared more for the Indigenous people in terms of how they could benefit themselves, rather than the welfare of the Indigenous people. The Indigenous people do not have a voice in these reports or newspapers, however, coding allows for an attempt at understanding their motivations while navigating the complexities of competing attempts to control the Indigenous people. The missionaries argued that Indigenous people were taken against their will, however, in some instances this was not the case. Indigenous people appear to enter into these industries willingly and even entered into a trade with the fishing industry recruiters. Meston noted in (1896:3):

It is common practice for bêche-de-mer and pearl shell boats to run down to some point on the coast where blacks are camped, send their boats ashore, and purchase a number of women paying for them usually with flour and tobacco.

These women were sent ashore before the boats depart.

Looking past the bias within language, this statement shows that another trade network was being established between the Indigenous people and the fishing industry recruiters. The commodities desired by the recruiters were Indigenous women and able-bodied men to work on their boats. The Indigenous people desired tobacco, flour and a

chance to work outside the mission influence. Indigenous people controlling how and who they interacted with, ultimately choosing to interact with the fishing boat recruiters over the missionaries to obtain desired commodities.

## **Theme 2: Indigenous people as commodities**

The second key theme emerging from the open coding process was *Indigenous people as commodities*. These statements contained an underlying attitude that Indigenous people were not capable of making decisions for themselves and had little use besides providing cheap labour for both the fishing industry and the missionaries. This idea appears to come from the belief that Indigenous people were uncivilised, wild and unintelligent. For example, The Protector of Thursday Island, Milman, reported in Howard's annual Protector report (1910:10):

The mainlander on the other hand is seemingly not as intelligent as the Islander but he is not so lazy. With him the struggle for existence has been keener. The barrenness of the Cape York Peninsula had been the means of forcing him to lead a more strenuous life in gaining his substance and when employed by the white man he carries some of this strenuousness with him; but when engaged at sea, he is greatly given to deserting from his vessel and to stealing boats.

Indigenous culture and customs were not understood by the settlers and furthermore not recognised as an 'acceptable' way of life. The attempt to alter their morality and beliefs represented a major focus of the missionaries, with schools and churches established to 'educate' the Indigenous people. They believed that the fishing industry threatened this. For example, Roth (1901:4) noted that:

I found that the pearling and *bêche-de-mer* industries, as formerly carried on, had been proving injurious to the aboriginal population in two ways: directly in the high mortality amongst the younger males engaged on the boats and indirectly in

removing any chances of increasing the already low birth rate amongst Aboriginal women left behind.

The many reports of death and violence indicate that Indigenous people were not treated as human beings. Further evidence of this is instances of murdering Indigenous people without a second thought found in Roth's (1900:4) report:

It is interesting to note that this boy (Willie) subsequently informed me that Mr Bennett's boat was sighted in time sufficient to give the master of the vessel the opportunity of getting rid of the women he had on-board.

Indigenous women being bought for sexual encounters or being sold at Thursday Island further prove that they were seen as nothing more than commodities with no greater purpose, with Meston (1896:2) reporting:

Kidnapping of women and nameless outrages were prevalent along the coast and are not yet at an end. At several points the blacks made bitter complaints of their men and women being taken away and never returned and the tales of shameful deeds were told to me by blacks who had been out fishing on the reefs where they had no chance to get away.

The lack of reporting makes it difficult to showcase examples, however, this itself shows that Indigenous lives were not valued, especially not compared to European lives. The *Native Labourers Protection Act 1884* appeared to attempt to stop the abuses and there were some people who valued Indigenous life, however, this sentiment was diminished by the fishing industries disregard for the law and the Protectors patrolling the waters and coast line only once a year. The idea that pearl shell and *bêche-de-mer*, which are commodities, were valued above human lives showcases a cruel societal attitude towards the Indigenous people of western Cape



York Peninsula. This is an aspect that needs to be better acknowledged in the historical narrative regarding this industry.

### **Theme 3: Tobacco and flour valuable commodities**

An interesting theme that emerged was how valuable tobacco and flour was to Indigenous people. Tobacco and flour were reported as the most desirable commodity and may explain why Indigenous people were willingly entering into the fishing industry.

Although Mapoon mission supplied food and clothing to Indigenous people, tobacco was banned by Reverend Hey because he did not like it. "They receive no tobacco, as Mr Hey is an uncompromising enemy of the weed in any form" (Meston 1896:6). Furthermore, Indigenous women were taking advantage of tobacco as well as the men. Meston (1896:6) reports:

One result is that in order to obtain a supply [Tobacco] The women are sold or sell themselves to the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer boats, no man loathes tobacco in every shape more than I do (Meston) by my opinion is not in favour of withholding it from the aboriginal certainly not from those who have once acquired the habit.

The fact that tobacco was not easily available further adds to the idea that tobacco was a main motivator for Indigenous people entering the fishing industry. Other reports indicate that opium and alcohol were a method used by the fishing industry recruiters to entice Indigenous people onto the boats. Roth reports (1902:14):

This procedure [letter for Hey giving permission] has been rendered imperative owing to the boys having been induced to join the boats by means of grog and other objectionable measures. Complaints thus continue to be made against the European recruiters.

Tobacco, opium and alcohol have addictive qualities and for a society who have not been previously experienced to these can explain the willingness to trade their women or children into the industry and the fishing industry took advantage of this.

The highest number of records from the spatial data fall in the decade of 1890-1899 (38) and the most represented context was the mission reserve with 52 records. The mission reserve, specifically Mapoon mission was the most popular recruiting ground for the fishing boat captains with 465 Indigenous people being recruited from 1899- 1903. The main historical theme to come out of the data was *recruiting* with 29 associated records. Furthermore, *control* was found to be the main attitude theme to emerge from the Historical Context dataset with control over the Indigenous people being contested by the missionaries and the fishing boat recruiters. Finally, tobacco and flour were valuable commodities to Indigenous people who often choose to engage with the recruiters over the missionaries to obtain these items.

## Chapter 6 – Discussion

This thesis set out to examine the economic, cultural and social factors of Indigenous people engaging in maritime industries in north western Cape York Peninsula. In particular the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell fishing industries, and to uncover the spatial and material characteristics of these industries. Ultimately, this thesis aimed to contribute to the new historical narrative that acknowledges the experiences of the Indigenous people during the colonial- period, attempt to reclaim part of history that has been buried by Eurocentric views and to understand the reasons Indigenous people were entering the fishing industry to see, if as the historians claim, was due to kidnappings, violence and coercion.

This chapter examines the results of the thesis and relates the collected data back to the literature outlined in Chapter 2 in order to answer the thesis question. This chapter will examine the economic and social cultural factors of the engagements between Indigenous people and Europeans, followed by examining the spatial data to showcase what this thesis can add to the growing literature aimed at reclaiming parts of the historical narrative.

### Economic factors

The European desire for a cheap labour force to collect *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell located in the Torres Strait was the main economic factor for Indigenous people entering the fishing industry. Indigenous people's ability to dive great depths and the lack of interest from the Europeans to dive and the danger created a need for Indigenous labourers. Furthermore, the *Imperial Kidnapping Act 1872* banned the use of Papuan labour on boats which further increased the need for Indigenous people to join the industry.

The western coast of the Cape York Peninsula at the time was being used by Moravian missionaries to create a string of missions down the coast and eventually an

Indigenous reserve was established by the Queensland Government. Indigenous people were entering the missions and receiving blankets, food, and clothing in return for labour that ultimately benefitted the mission, usually agricultural work. Missions generally had limited support from the government and often had little to no funds which explains, in part, the desire to keep Indigenous people working for the mission and not on the fishing boats. As the fishing industry developed new laws were introduced which saw Indigenous people's wages being paid to the mission stores which ultimately benefitted the mission, however, the illegal recruiting and exploitation continued and the fishing industry was not considered a reliable source of income for the mission.

These competing interests for labour created hostility between the missionaries and the fishing industry recruiters (Kidd 1997:36). The recruiters thought the western coast of the Peninsula had a large supply of Indigenous labour and, therefore, was an easy place to recruit due to the concentration of Indigenous people around the missions. Mapoon mission was easily accessible by sea and the recruiters believed, initially, that the mission had pacified the local Indigenous people making them easier to recruit.

The Indigenous people of the area would enter the missions to receive food supplies and blankets. The missions rationed food due to receiving no government support, poor soil conditions and an influx of visiting Indigenous people looking for food when native sources were scarce. These factors forced Indigenous people to often look outside the missions for food and other desired goods. The fishing boats were a familiar site down the western coast as they were consistently arriving looking for labour and willing to exchange food and clothes and other goods not available from the missions. Tobacco and alcohol were offered to the Indigenous people by the boat captains which were banned by the missionaries. The

addictive nature of these products may have further increased the willingness of Indigenous people to choose the fishing boats over the mission.

## **Social and cultural factors**

One of the social and cultural factors of the Indigenous people entering the industry was the control exhibited from the elders who would trade the labour of the young men in return for tobacco, flour and other goods or sometimes trade younger people to the boat captains for the purpose of prostitution. Other times Indigenous people would hire themselves out to the boat captains in exchange for goods given to their family at the time of recruitment. Indigenous people would also enter the industry to escape the control and dominance of the elders and experience a new life. Both these instances have been documented to have occurred at Weipa mission (Morrison et al. 2015) and inland Telegraph stations in north Queensland (Morrison et al. 2018).

The fishing boat captains would hire so called Indigenous labour agents that would travel down the west coast and recruit Indigenous people promising exciting new lives. This occurrence was witnessed by Roth (1903:21):

Owing to the large demand for black labour, the recruiters were very liberal in distributing "gifts"; the consequence of this, however, was that quite a number of the more influential aboriginals along the coast became labour agents for the boats.

The activities of Indigenous labour agents could further explain the reason Indigenous people entered the industry. If Indigenous people were recruiting each other than trust may have been a deciding factor, especially in terms of cultural expectations if the labour agents had a high level of influence. There is not a lot of

spatial data referring to Indigenous labour agents, however, in 1900 Roth noted (1900:4):

Not only were the coloured alien employers evil in this respect, but even those in the services of Europeans: a South Sea Islander, the agent for one of the large pearling fleets was caught and reported to the authorities only a few months previous to my visit.

Another significant point is the attitude Indigenous people had towards tobacco and flour. These goods were not available unless they engaged with Europeans. The choice to work for the fishing boat captains rather than the missionaries could be an example of selective engagement in order to procure the desired product. This is evident in the spatial data when Indigenous people traded themselves or other family members for tobacco. The often cruel and harsh environment of the boats was still in some cases chosen over the mission environment, even though as the fishing industry developed and the known abuses were becoming common knowledge and the continuous killing of Indigenous people and even stranding them away from their homes was known, recruiting continued and even spread down the western coast as Indigenous people became more accustomed to the boats. This is an indication that certain goods were a huge factor for why Indigenous people entered the fishing industries.

## **Spatial data**

### **Recruiting**

Mapoon mission was the main recruiting ground for the fishing industry along the western coast. The figures show that 33% of Indigenous people working in the fishing industry came from Mapoon in 1901, 36% in 1902 and 43% in 1903 (Table 12).

Mapoon's popularity can be traced to a number of factors, firstly Mapoon was the first settlement in the region and therefore would have more documentation about the recruitment of Indigenous people. Secondly, the geographical location of Mapoon was situated on the coast where the mouth of the Batavia (now Wenlock) and Ducie rivers emptied. This location was described by the acting Government Resident Hugh Milman (1887:3) at Thursday Island as a magnificent harbour:

This Harbour which I have called Port Musgrave on the plan, which I now have to honour to forward to you under separate cover is without doubt, excepting perhaps Port Curtis, the finest natural harbour on the Queensland coasts. The entrance to it is safe in all weathers, and it will form a most useful harbour of refuge when it becomes more known for vessels that may be caught with heavy weather during the north-west monsoon in the Gulf of Carpentaria.

This harbour, before Mapoon was situated there, was considered safe in all weather and boats would have docked there for recruiting. The idea that this site was a recruiting ground before Mapoon was established could explain why it continued to be a popular recruiting ground after the mission was built. Furthermore, if the Indigenous people of the area were used to seeing boats, recruiting could have become easier at this site and word may have spread down the western coast. Weipa mission was established up the Embley River and was difficult to access by boat which would explain why recruiting occurred more frequently at Mapoon.

Another factor concerning Mapoon's popularity with recruiters was that the mission had anywhere between 160-200 people residing at the mission and a further 400-500 Indigenous people under its supervision from 1897-1907 and 100-300 people residing and 150-400 under supervision from 1907-1915 (Table 13) which to the recruiters was considered a large and easily accessed supply of labour. Weipa mission had

anywhere between 60-300 Indigenous people residing at the mission from 1905-1913 a relatively lower number than Mapoon (Table 14). Reports had also indicated that the east coast of the Peninsula had begun to 'dry up' for recruiting purposes and the focus shifted towards the west coast "As the supply of the labour from the east coast is not equal to the demand applications have been made to allow recruiting between the Archer and Mitchell Rivers" (Bleakley 1916:5).

The collected spatial data does not fully encompass the extent of recruiting that occurred along the western coast. The other locations that contained spatial data relating to the historical theme *recruiting*, were primarily focused around the rivers on the western coast (Table 18). These areas show that recruiting occurred at least from the Seven Rivers district right down to the Kendall River encompassing the Pennefather (Coen) River and the Mission River. "To meet the great request for such labour the local Protector recruited 42 boys from Kendall River" (Bleakley 1917:3). It is clear that recruitment occurred along the coast both in areas of mission control and areas considered outside mission control.

In 1904, the mission reserves of the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula were officially closed to all recruiting. The figures show that there was a significant drop in the amount of Indigenous people being recruited from Mapoon with 84 in 1904 to 21 in 1907 (Table 12). Recruiting continued, although the spatial data does not provide a full picture of the effect the closing of the reserve due to lack of reporting. Furthermore, recruiting that did occur on the western coast may have not been reported because it was considered illegal.



## **Archaeological sites**

Narrowing down possible archaeological sites from the spatial data proved difficult due to there being a limited number of recordings and specific locations not being recorded. The Historical Context data provides possible areas for seasonal recruitment camps near Vrilya Point and along the coast. Roth (1902:5):

The practice continues of aboriginals from the inland portions of Cape York visiting the western coast-line of the peninsula at certain portions of the year for the purpose of prostituting their females to the crews of the vessels engaged in the pearl shell fisheries...the months generally chosen are January to March when the vessels frequent the neighbourhood of Possession Island and the vicinity for the purpose of obtaining shelter and overhauling during the prevalence of the north-west monsoon and also during the strength of the south-east trades (June-August) when they work along the western shores of the Peninsula from Vrilya Point Northwards.

A *bêche-de-mer* camp was established at the mouth of the Embley River recorded as being 4hours and 10minutes by launch from Weipa mission (Browns 1916 [1912]). Other locations looking at the spatial data would be near the mouth of rivers where recruitment occurred (Table 18).

## **Material culture**

The material culture of these industries included the commodities tobacco and flour as well as *bêche-de-mer*, pearl shell, the fishing boats and fishing gear. Tobacco and flour were considered to be valuable to the Indigenous people and an important trade item from a fishing industry recruiter's view point, which appears to be a large factor contributing to the willingness of Indigenous people to continually engage with the fishing boats. The choice to engage with the boats over the mission is linked in part to the desire

for tobacco which was banned from the missions but available from the boat captains. The *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell were the desired material for the Europeans which drove the industry as it became Queensland's largest export (Harrison 1974:16).

## **Literature**

One of the main aims of this thesis was to determine if historian's claims of violence, kidnapping and coercion were the factors which led to Indigenous people entering the fishing industry (Kidd 1997; Loos 1993). The results from the spatial data indicate that these factors were influencing the Indigenous people of the industry with 14 occurrences of *violence* and 17 of *experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry* (Table 15). However, although these were present in the industry they were not the only factors. Economic, cultural and social factors contributed to Indigenous people entered the industry.

## **Terminology**

Chapter 2 discusses the importance of using correct terminology and being able to adapt it when examining different study areas. The term 'contact period' should be replaced with the term archaeology of colonialism or colonial period as the study area for this thesis cannot be adequately considered when considering the area from a position of first 'contact'. Furthermore, the term allows the period not to be considered as an end to Indigenous culture more a continuation through adaption. Viewing the study area with this concept allowed the suppressed voices of Indigenous people to be uncovered and their contribution to the Queensland fishing industry to be acknowledged.

Utilising the term 'hidden histories' instead of 'shared histories' allowed for the fundamental power inequalities to still be acknowledged while focusing on the hidden or suppressed Indigenous histories. Even though they engaged in the same landscape

their engagements produced boundaries both physical and cultural which were negotiated differently. Considering this landscaped as shared downplays the severity of the unequal power relations and the murder and violence that resulted. The fishing boats were a way for Indigenous people to obtain the desired goods they considered valuable. The choice to engage with the fishing boats over the missionaries was their own and for their own cultural reasons the 'hidden histories' of the region acknowledged. The fluid coastal frontier of western Cape York Peninsula continued to change and be shaped by the interactions of both Indigenous people and Europeans.

Terminology also allowed an understanding of the attitudes exhibited towards Indigenous people which is important because there are no Indigenous voices available to provide commentary or give a direct testimony about the industry. The attitudes towards the Indigenous people of the Peninsula written in available reports can be detrimental to understanding the Indigenous history of the region due to the Europeans lack of understanding of Indigenous culture. The main attitudes expressed in reports were *control* and *Indigenous people seen as commodities*. The act of hiring out Indigenous women to the boat captains was viewed by the Europeans as a disgraceful act and often negatively portrayed in reports. Ganter (1999) who explores the ways Indigenous women interacted with European men, acknowledges that an act of prostitution that is known in western culture is seen differently to the Indigenous people making historical sources limited when trying to understand Indigenous culture. Knowing the view of the Europeans can allow a deeper analysis of the situation and uncovering the reasons Indigenous people entered the industry. Critically evaluating documents allows the social, economic and cultural factors to be understood.

## Chapter 7 – Conclusion

This thesis aimed to understand the economic, social and cultural factors which led to Indigenous people participating in the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell industry in north Queensland. Furthermore, it set out to assist in developing a historical narrative that acknowledges the experiences of Indigenous people involved in the north Queensland fishing industries that were previously buried by Eurocentric views. There are no Indigenous voices available to give commentary about the maritime industries of the region or the experiences they faced which is why uncovering the 'hidden histories' is important. Taking a different approach away from the concept of 'shared histories', this thesis follows the concept of 'hidden histories' (McNiven and Russell 2005) acknowledging that there is more to cross-cultural engagements in the colonial period by highlighting the continuation of Indigenous culture through a time of conflict and change.

Utilising a spatial documentary archaeology approach, primary documents ranging from 1860-1930s were searched for any reference to Indigenous people's involvement in the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl shell industry within the defined study area of western Cape York Peninsula ranging from Vrilya Point to Kendall River. After the data was collected three datasets were compiled and six historical themes were developed independently of the Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHT) (AHC 2001, 2008) due to the scope of the thesis being outside the range of (AHT). A map was constructed (Figure 2) to show the location and frequency of the historical theme locations down the western coast of Cape York Peninsula with the most popular being Mapoon mission.

It was suggested by some historians (Kidd 1997; Loos 1993) that the colonial period of the Peninsula was a time of kidnappings, violence and murder. Analysis of the collected data showed that this period contained undeniable violence and Indigenous people were kidnapped to work on the boats. However, the focus on this has to some extent overshadowed the varied roles that Indigenous people played. Tobacco and flour were considered valuable to Indigenous people and were a main factor leading them to willingly engage with the fishing boats instead of the missionaries. Indigenous elders would trade the younger people to work for the fishing boats to obtain tobacco and flour and sometimes Indigenous people would enter into a trade themselves to experience the exciting life promised by the boat captains and recruiters and to escape the dominance of the elders. The missionaries had banned tobacco from the mission and flour was often scarce due to poor Government funding which also contributed to the reasons Indigenous people chose to engage with the boat captains over the missionaries.

## **Future directions**

There was a limited amount of available data for this thesis and therefore there are gaps in the data which require further historical research. An avenue of future research would be to investigate other sources possibly from other archival sources from Queensland.

Another avenue would be physically assessing the sites uncovered during this research. A few possible shore-based camps were described in the spatial data which could possibly add new information to the study area.

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## **APPENDIX 1: SPATIAL REFERENCES DATASET**



UID	DATE	YEAR	LOCATION	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	SPATIAL PRECISION	CONTEXT	PLACE TYPE	DESCRIPTION	HISTORICAL THEME	REFERENCE TYPE	REFERENCE
1	August 1888	1888	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"To support these views we will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1888: August Charles Mogg, Bêche-de-mer fisher, killed at sea"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
2	13 December 1893	1893	Ducie River	11°58'54.59"S	142° 4'11.06"E		Inshore	River-Transient	"It has leaked out in connection with the recent visit of the police party to the Ducie River to investigate the murder of Messrs. Bruce and Rowe that the party were completely roused by the natives. Mr. Robert Bruce and Senior-constable Conroy narrowly escaped in their lugger, but without their ten native trackers. During the afternoon nine trackers, fully armed and another unarmed, were sent in search for the native camps, leaving Bruce and Conroy in the lugger. Shortly afterwards the fact that a sharp engagement was in progress was made apparent to the latter by a number of shots being fired. A large number of natives were seen on shore, many of them being armed, but there was no sign of the trackers. Bruce and Conroy, having only a revolver in their possession, pulled the lugger into mid-stream, when a large body of natives appeared on the opposite bank, and commenced throwing spears at the lugger. Bruce and Conroy made the best of their way down the river under cover of darkness, the natives following for some distance, and still throwing spears occasionally. They then returned here. They compute that there were quite 300 natives engaged in the attack upon the troopers and the lugger, and the attack was apparently well planned. Reports have since come in that five of the troopers escaped overland to Red Island, but the other five are presumed to have been killed in this encounter. Senior-constable Conroy has been sent to Red Island to ascertain the fate of the troopers. An attempt has been made to hush up this serious encounter "	Other spatial references	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
3	13 December 1893	1893	Ducie River	11°58'54.59"S	142° 4'11.06"E		Inshore	Transient	"Referring to the murder of Charles Brace and Captain Rowe, of the lugger Wren, by Bertie Haugh natives (the particulars of which have already been given in our columns) the Torres Straits Pilot of December makes the following comments"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
4	July 1889	1889	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"To support these views we will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1889: July John Williams bêche-de-mer fisher, killed at sea"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
5	April 1890	1890	Undisclosed	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"To support these views we will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1890: April W. Wilson, bêche-de-mer fisher, assaulted and left for dead"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>

UID	DATE	YEAR	LOCATION	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	SPATIAL PRECISION	CONTEXT	PLACE TYPE	DESCRIPTION	HISTORICAL THEME	REFERENCE TYPE	REFERENCE
6	September 1890	1890	Undisclosed	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"To support these views we will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1890: September Three natives of the <i>Rebecca</i> murdered"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
7	September 1890	1890	Seven Rivers	-	-	Greater than 10km	Inshore	Transient	"To support these views we will review the history of native murderers since the foundation of this paper in 1890: September One of the crew of the Teatfish murdered at the Seven Rivers"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
8	June 1893	1893	Mainland	-	-	Greater than 10km	Undisclosed	Transient	"The murderers were never made to pay the penalty for their misdeeds. They ran at large, disseminating evil. Quite as a natural sequence other murders followed, until the number of them has become a foul blot on the authorities, who are absolutely incapable of checking others or of dealing with Fix this text the known perpetrators. The following terrible record for a few months shows the truth of this assertion : June- Kintu and Pascul, bêche-de-mer fishers, murdered at the mainland"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
9	July 1893	1893	Undisclosed	-	-	Greater than 10km	Undisclosed	Transient	"The murderers were never made to pay the penalty for their misdeeds. They ran at large, disseminating evil. Quite as a natural sequence other murders followed, until the number of them has become a foul blot on the authorities, who are absolutely incapable of checking others or of dealing with the known perpetrators. The following terrible record for a few months shows the truth of this assertion : July Lario, Anastatio and Julius, bêche-de-mer fishers, brutally assaulted. The latter died in the hospital."	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
10	October 1893	1893	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"The murderers were never made to pay the penalty for their misdeeds. They ran at large, disseminating evil. Quite as a natural sequence other murders followed, until the number of them has become a foul blot on the authorities, who are absolutely incapable of checking others or of dealing with the known perpetrators. The following terrible record for a few months shows the truth of this assertion : October H. Nicholls, bêche-de-mer fisher, thrown overboard at sea"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
11	October 1893	1893	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"The murderers were never made to pay the penalty for their misdeeds. They ran at large, disseminating evil. Quite as a natural sequence other murders followed, until the number of them has become a foul blot on the authorities, who are absolutely incapable of checking others or of dealing with the known perpetrators. The following terrible record for a few months shows the truth of this assertion : October Peter Mobeck and Martin Oien, bêche-de-mer fisher and storekeeper, butchered at sea"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>

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12	1896	1896	Mouth of the Mission River	12°37'10.99"S	141°50'24.64"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"We had a friendly interview with a large party of natives on the south beach. They told an unpleasant tale of former treatment by the native police, and at least two of them still boor the old bullet wounds. All the women and children were sent away some distance out of sight"	Other spatial references	Government Report	Meston, A. 1896 <i>Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland</i> , Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
13	Undisclosed	1896	Mouth of the Mission River	12°37'10.99"S	141°50'24.64"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"White men had left a bad record on that part of the coast. A boat anchored there the same night and took away six of these natives to work on an island in the straits. They ran away soon after arrival, swam over to the mainland, and walked back nearly 200 miles to their own home, swimming Port Musgrave, in defiance of sharks and crocodiles, and calling at the Mission Station after they crossed."	Recruiting	Government Report	Meston, A. 1896 <i>Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland</i> , Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
14	1896	1896	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Even on the morning of my Arrival at Mapoon, by the way of the Ducie River, when crossing Port Musgrave, I saw a lugger just leaving the anchorage off the open beach about a mile behind the Mission Station. She had anchored there on the previous night, sent the boats ashore, brought half a dozen women, took them on-board all night, and returned them next morning. Most of the blacks were away using the flour and tobacco which formed one of the terms of the contract. These practices are well known to the boys and girls on the mission station; and if the schoolgirls were not under proper control and guarded at night, the old men of the tribe would periodically dispose of them in a similar manner."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Meston, A. 1896 <i>Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland</i> , Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
15	18 May 1891	1891	Skardon River	11°45'26.10"S	142° 0'0.47"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Autonomous	"Proceeding all day along the coast we saw no signal fires until we were abreast of the Skardon River, a Distance of 62 miles, when we saw smoke rising from the beach, a sure sign the natives recognised and welcomed a Government Boat... As we were repassing the Skarden River a smoke was sent up, and on ? we found a tribe consisting of from 60-70 natives some of whom had a s scanty article of clothing on"	Other spatial references	Historical Newspaper	Maitland Woods, W. Leader. June 20, 1891 <i>Cape York Peninsula Natives</i> , P. 6. Melbourne (1862-1918). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198044614/21380473">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198044614/21380473</a>
16	1927	1927	Archer Point and Weipa	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"Two luggers operated in the vicinity of Archer Point and Weipa, on the Gulf of Carpentaria. Each vessel was manned by two Japanese and some Malays"	Other spatial references	Historical Newspaper	The Argus. June 21, 1927 <i>Strange Vessels in North</i> , P. 7. Melbourne (1848-1957). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3861914?searchTerm=Weipa%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3861914?searchTerm=Weipa%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>

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17	1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Last year 49 boys went away from the station in this way"	Recruiting	Historical Newspaper	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y</a>
18	1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve		"Last year we had 5 young men, aged between 15 years and 25 years, die of consumption"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Historical Newspaper	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y</a>
19	1897	1897	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"The deaths from diving casualties still continue to be numerous. In 1897 the number of deaths was 22 making a total of 43 in the two years. Of these 38 were caused by paralysis, 4 were caused by disarrangements of the diving gear and 1 arose from congestion of the lungs contracted while diving. A considerable proportion of these casualties took place in the vicinity of Darney Island, where deep water prevails. The casualties include 30 Japanese, 11 Manilla men, 1 Malay, and 1 South Sea Islander."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Historical Newspaper	The Telegraph. July 6, 1898 Thursday Island: Government Resident's Report, P. 5. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/176471760?searchTerm=government%20resident%20thursday%20island%20report&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/176471760?searchTerm=government%20resident%20thursday%20island%20report&amp;searchLimits=I-availability=y</a>
20	September 10th 1933	1933	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Seven diving boats seen outside from House veranda: later reports indicate twelve  "I reported from Mapoon as Follows "Eyre was taken from here on 27th September 1898, by C___, a South Sea Islander. He was just about the age of leaving school, and was at the time coming along the coast from Weipa with a message of Rev. E. Brown's for Mapoon. Mrs W. met him at the beginning of the present year at Thursday Island, when he told her how he wanted to come home again. He has not come yet."	Recruiting	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
21	September 27th 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Transient		Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
22	January 1st 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"I reported from Mapoon as follows " Bob was taken away by H___, a European, on 1st January 1898. This child was but a schoolboy at the time. His mother anxiously awaits his return."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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23	1896	1896	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"I reported from Mapoon as follows " Harry, a child eleven years of age was taken away three years ago. His parents also want him back , but as the individual who removed him is unknown, his whereabouts cannot be traced."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
24	1895	1895	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"I reported from Mapoon as follows" Treacle was stolen from here in 1895 when a lad of twelve or thirteen years of age, attending school."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
25	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"The continual presence of these recruiters on this particular portion of coast line--eleven boats visited at Mapoon during my fortnights stay there"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
26	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Autonomous	"Not only were the coloured alien employers evil in this respect, but even those in the services of Europeans: a South Sea Islander, the agent for one of the large pearling fleets was caught and reported to the authorities only a few months previous to my visit	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
27	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"European employers could also be included in the category of individuals guilty in this respect: J__N__ had women on board his boat one night I was there."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
28	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Within the space of a very few days, I caught two South Sea Islanders roaming about the Mission reserve with firearms, and a Manilla man shooting within the precincts of black camps"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
29	January 1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Kidai returned January, 1897 died 2 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
30	October 1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Dick I returned October 1897 and died 8 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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31	November 1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Joce returned November 1897 and died 7 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
32	December 1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Pigeon returned December 1897 and died 6 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
33	March 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Jack returned March 1898 and died 5 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
34	April 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Doctor returned April 1898 and died 4 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
35	July 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Wallaroo returned July 1898 and died 8 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
36	September 1898	1898	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Thus, the following are cases of death all within eight weeks after the boys return from the boats, which may be considered to be directly attributable to the life and exposure: Dick II returned September 1898 and died 7 weeks later"	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
37	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"In a letter just received from Rev. Mr. Hey, he tells me that, notwithstanding the shipping of 104 young men from Mapoon during the past 12 months"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
38	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve		"I found that, under pressure from the old men many of them (boys) were being bought and sold like so many sheep. The value locally of such a boy was a bag of flour and a pound of tobacco"	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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39	1900	1900	Undisclosed	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"A young half-caste child "Willie" was found by protector Bennett on one of the vessels. Being too young from swimming-diving he was taken away and put into my charge"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1901 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
40	1900	1900	Undisclosed	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"During the course of one patrol in November, Protector Bennett came across three vessels with unsigned natives. On one of them he found a child."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1901 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
41	1900	1900	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"It is interesting to note that this boy ("Willie") subsequently informed me that Mr Bennett's boat was sighted in time sufficient to give the master of the vessel the opportunity of getting rid of the women he had on-board."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1901 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
42	1900	1900	Batavia River	12° 2'41.30"S	142° 0'6.86"E	Greater than 10km	Inshore	Transient	"Another case in point, about the same time, was that of " Jackie," a native of the Batavia River, on the Gulf coast. Nicholas Minster (a Greek) got a permit for this boy at Cairns, and brought him to Cooktown, where he was shipped on articles ; he was signed off at New Guinea and brought back as a passenger to Cooktown, to be left stranded and sick upon the wharf. Here he was found by the police who put him into hospital; and finally my department was forced to pay his passage-money home. This same boy seems to have had an unfortunate experience with a previous employer who marooned him about a year before. Of course, my appointment as an inspector under the Pearling and Bêche-de-Mer Fisheries Act, and the use of the patrol cutter, the " Melbidir," will enable me to deal with and to check some of the present abuses."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1901 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
43	1901	1901	Western coast line	-	-	Greater than 10km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"The practice continues of aboriginals from the inland portions of Cape York " visiting the western coast-line of the Peninsula at certain portions of the year for the purpose of prostituting their females to the crews of the vessels engaged in the pearl shell fisheries . . . The months generally chosen are January-March, when vessels frequent the neighbourhood of Possession Island and the vicinity for the purpose of obtaining shelter and overhauling during the prevalence of the north-west monsoon, and also during the strength of the south-east trades (June-August), when they work along the western shores of the Peninsula from Vrilya Point northwards."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
44	1901	1901	Batavia River	12° 2'41.30"S	142° 0'6.86"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Transient	"four Batavia River boys after a similar sentence at the same prison for larceny of a boat."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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45	1901	1901	Pennefather River (Coen)	12°13'49.50"S	141°44'32.85"E	1 to 10km	Inshore	Transient	"This procedure has been rendered imperative owing to the boys having been induced to join the boats by means of grog and other objectionable measures. Complaints thus continue to be made against the European recruiters : last April H. L is reported to have supplied the natives south of the Pennefather (Coen) with liquor"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
46	1901	1901	Pennefather River (Coen)	12°13'49.50"S	141°44'32.85"E	1 to 10km	Inshore	Transient	"while B , M , and P— were charged by the aboriginals with tampering with some of their women."	Utilising or exchanging	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
47	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"For the twelve month ending 31st December, 1901, there were recruited from Mapoon, through Mr. Hey's hands, a total of 105 young male adults, all coming from the hinterland and coastline extending from the Batavia River to Duyphen Point (Albatross Bay) : 60 of these were recruited for Europeans and 45 for aliens	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
48	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"The number of boys obtained by each of the Europeans was as follows :— Cowling, 19 , Doyle, 15 ; H. Locket, 9 ; Davie, 6 ; Blackman, 5 ; Walton, 4 ; Hodges, 2. The nine alien recruiters comprised Manillamen, Malays, and South Sea Islanders.	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
49	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"I have to report that of Jack Tointenten (in European employ), which took place on 10th November, 1900, within fifteen days of his return to Mapoon."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
50	1901	1901	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"Another boy, Dick, in the same year, was killed by a shark.	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
51	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"During March and April, 1901, four lads — Bullock, Cockroach, Smith, and William (all in the employ of European masters)—came back from the boats with signs of serious pulmonary mischief, and for the two to whom my attention was drawn I had but very little hope of recovery."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
52	1902	1902	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"There were 123 males recruited here—the largest number on record—seventy by eight Europeans, and fifty-three by nine aliens; the recruiting area extended along the coast-line and hinterland, from between Cullen Point and the Embley River."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.



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53	1902	1902	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"Owing to the large demand for black labour, the recruiters were very liberal in distributing "gifts"; the consequence of this, however, was that quite a number of the more influential aboriginals along the coast became labour agents for the boats,	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
54	1903	1903	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"During the year there were recruited for the bêche-de-mer boats 133 boys, an increase of ten over the number recruited during 1902."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
55	1903	1903	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"One boy was sent off from the boat after five months working. His lungs seemed to be injured very much. Some days afterwards he died here suddenly of haemorrhage."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
56	1903	1903	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"Another was killed by a shark."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
57	1903	1903	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Mr. Richter also had some trouble with boats that landed without permission."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
58	1904	1904	Seven Rivers	-	-	1 to 10km	Inshore	Semi-Autonomous	"A native whose deportation was authorised three years ago — Wyamara — appears to have again acted as medium for Artigoza by going down to Seven Rivers and assisting in inducing boys to recruit."	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
59	1904	1904	Thursday Island Fishing grounds	-	-	less than 1km	Undisclosed	Transient	"It is only fair to state that the recruiting of natives has been the cause of a large proportion of deaths. Several young men died shortly after their return to the station, two in the Thursday Island Hospital, and one on the fishing grounds."	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
60	1904	1904	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Eighty-four male aboriginals were recruited up to the end of July, sixty-five by Europeans and nineteen by aliens;"	Recruiting	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

UID	DATE	YEAR	LOCATION	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	SPATIAL PRECISION	CONTEXT	PLACE TYPE	DESCRIPTION	HISTORICAL THEME	REFERENCE TYPE	REFERENCE
61	1907	1907	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"the presence of a number of recruiting boats, which succeeded, at the beginning of the year, in enticing 21 Mapoon natives away, have been the cause of much trouble."	Recruiting	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1907. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
62	1907	1907	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	" Owing to the sandy soil at Mapoon, cultivation will always remain a secondary matter; therefore, we had to turn our attention more to the sea. Two small cutters and six large canoes have been at work during the fine weather, in the neighbourhood of Mapoon only, and the products in fish, turtle, and bêche-de-mer yielded a fair income, and gave congenial employment to a number of men. A few boat owners have complained that when recruiting hays on the mainland they have been compelled to bribe the elders of the tribes	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1907. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
63	1913	1913	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	Undisclosed	Semi-Autonomous	to allow the younger men to engage, and these men, cunningly waiting till the tribe had taken the flour, &c. well inland, have frequently all absconded again.	Recruiting	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
64	1920	1920	Mapoon coast	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	Morey & Co., owners of the motor boat La Venture, had intimated that Wm. Turnbull, and Wm. Franks, a New Guinea boy named' Noasi. and a Mapoon aboriginal named Jack, left Thursday Island on April 23 to go down the coast 100 miles to Mapoon for recruiting purposes. That party should have returned by April 27, but had not so far done so. The pilot launch is searching for the missing party	Recruiting	Historical Newspaper	The Northern Herald. May 5, 1920 Missing Party: Thursday Island Boatmen, P. 16. Cairns (1913-1939). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/147978023?searchTerm=MAPOON%20ABORIGINAL%20RECRUITING&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/147978023?searchTerm=MAPOON%20ABORIGINAL%20RECRUITING&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
65	1908	1908	Aurukun Mission	13°21'13.61"S	141°44'1.59"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	police party, "sent out in connection with the murder of the Purifies Islander, Peter flee, who was in charge of the Aurukun mission station on .the Archer River. The police boat was found at the Mapoon mission station, and it was learned that the Mapoon natives who had been sent overland to look after Aurukun captured the two murderers and shot them.	Violence	Historical Newspaper	Cairns Morning Post. March 16, 1908 The Mission Murder, P. 5. Queensland (1907-1909). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39398566?searchTerm=MELBIDIR&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39398566?searchTerm=MELBIDIR&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
66	1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"fourty nine young men were recruited during the year. They were taken, Mr Hey complains, just when they had become useful: and sometimes even school boys (whom the Hon. J. Douglas has frequently sent back) are enticed from the station. The natives go willingly out of their curiosity but they have no idea of the meaning of money: and so when they get tired they steal a boat and make for home leaving their wages behind	Recruiting	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. July 31, 1897 Mapoon Mission, P. 210. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/24468473?searchTerm=MAPOON%20MISSION&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/24468473?searchTerm=MAPOON%20MISSION&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>

UID	DATE	YEAR	LOCATION	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	SPATIAL PRECISION	CONTEXT	PLACE TYPE	DESCRIPTION	HISTORICAL THEME	REFERENCE TYPE	REFERENCE
67	17 Wednesday July 1912	1912	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	Started Dick & some of the men for Bêche-de-mer work. The "Weipatoi" with Andrew in charge to drop them & the gear & provisions near the mouth of the river, & then go to Aurukun & up the Watson creek for some iron etc. from Edmonton's camp which Mr Boyd bought from him & sold to me.	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
68	12 Saturday October 1912	1912	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	The "Weipatoi" arrived w/- Dick & his crew & gear. They have but a small quantity of Bêche-de-mer. It has been a failure for us. They say that there is but little anywhere around but in the Pine river, which is Mapoon territory, & from which we have been warned away by my esteemed colleague, Mr Hey.	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
69	Apr-01	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"In April 1901, the first Mission boat named "J.G. Ward," was dedicated to the service of the mission in the Gulf of Carpentaria."	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Photograph	<a href="https://files.zotero.net/13866729356/IMG_2884.pdf">https://files.zotero.net/13866729356/IMG_2884.pdf</a>
70	22-Mar-12	1912	Embley River mouth	12°40'45.44"S	141°50'58.33"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"Dick has made frames for drying Bêche-de-mer this week (Brown 22/03/1912)."	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
71	22-Jul-12	1912	Embley River mouth	12°40'45.44"S	141°50'58.33"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"Started Dick & some of the men for Bêche-de-mer work(Brown 17/07/1912 )."	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
72	1-Aug-12	1912	Embley River mouth	12°40'45.44"S	141°50'58.33"E	1 to 10km	Inshore	Semi-Autonomous	"Went in launch to visit the Bêche-de-mer camp at the mouth of the river. Took David & Charcoal with me. Good favourable wind so we put up a blanket on the oars as a sail & helped the engine a bit. Got right down to the mouth of the river (30 miles) in 4 hours 10 minutes. It was very rough in the Hey river. Sometimes we jumped & plunged so much that the propeller came right out of the water. The men were drying fish got yesterday. Most of them were out foraging for food today, & not getting any B-de-mer. but they took me to the place where they get them, so that I might see the live fish & its habitat. The men & two women retd.. to camp evening, the other women did not. Had a good look around the neighbourhood. Scarcity of fresh water a great drawback. The people fetch in the boat from across the river. Had a sing & a talk w/ them around the camp fires in the evening. They were glad to get the food & tobacco which I took for them. If they exerted themselves a bit they could make a very good living at this thing Considering what they are they are not doing badly so far" (Brown 01/08/1912).	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Mission Diary	Weipa Mission Diary Station diary 1933
73	-	-	Undisclosed	-	-	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Semi-Autonomous	"Picture of JG Ward and launch at landing	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Photograph	Photograph EH616
74	-	-	Undisclosed	-	-	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Launch at Anchor"	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Photograph	photograph UQFL57
75	-	-	Undisclosed	-	-	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Loading Lugger"	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	Photograph	Photograph UQFL57

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76	Saturday 20 April 1912	1912	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Bêche-de-mer fishing boats"	Recruiting	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/224865527?searchTerm=beche-de-mer%20Mapoon&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">Weekly Times. April 20, 1912. Queensland Aborigines: Presbyterian Mission Work at Mapoon. P. 27. Melbourne (1869-1954). Retrieved 12/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/224865527?searchTerm=beche-de-mer%20Mapoon&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
77	October 22 1893	1893	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Four pine river natives and a boy arrived at the mission station, Mapoon, on the 18th with a boat belonging to Peter Mobeck, a bêche-de-mer fisher.	Utilising or exchanging	Historical Newspaper	<a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/183120790?searchTerm=beche-de-mer%20Mapoon&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">The Week. November 17, 1893 Gulf Murder, P. 13. Brisbane (1876-1934). Retrieved 12/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/183120790?searchTerm=beche-de-mer%20Mapoon&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
78	October 18 1893	1893	At Sea	-	-	Greater than 10km	offshore	Transient	"On the 18th the men had a quarrel with Mobeck about flour. Mobeck is said to have struck one of them, whereupon the others ran at him, struck him with the iron tiller, knocked him down and then threw him overboard. The other white man, Martin Oien who was on board, hearing a noise, came up from below, but was knocked down. After killing him also the natives threw his body overboard. They ran off with the boat and arrived at Mapoon 2 days later."	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Week. November 17, 1893 Gulf Murder, P. 13. Brisbane (1876-1934). Retrieved 12/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/183120790?searchTerm=beche-de-mer%20Mapoon&searchLimits=l-availability=y
79	June 1898	1898	Batavia River	12° 2'41.30"S	142° 0'6.86"E	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Some time in June the lugger Rotumah left Batavia River, Cape York for Thursday Island. She had on board a crew of Batavia River "boys" and when she did not arrive seasoned men knew what had happened and made for the "boys" camp on the Batavia. Sure enough they found the Rotumah there but the white man was never seen again and none of the natives could remember what happened to him"	Violence	Historical Newspaper	The Central Queensland Herald. March 23, 1933 Australia's Maritime History, P. 14. Rockhampton (1930-1956). Retrieved 12/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/70333198?searchTerm=Rotumah%20Mapoon&searchLimits=l-availability=y
80	1903	1903	Seven Rivers	-	-	1 to 10km	Mission reserve	Transient	"Information has come again to hand re the drunken orgies going on at the Seven Rivers, Cape York Peninsula, owing to the presence of the recruiting boats"	Violence	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
81	1916	1916	Kendall River	-	-	-	Inshore		"To meet the great request for such a labour the local Protector recruited 42 boys from Kendall River"	Recruiting	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1917 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1916. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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82	1906	1906	Ducie River	-	-	Greater than 10km	Inshore	Transient	"With so many boats entering upon the work the native labour is proving totally inadequate and last week one recruiter returned after spending some weeks in search of aboriginal swimmers going as far as the Ducie River"	Recruiting	Historical Newspaper	The Australian Star. October 25, 1906 Bêche-de-mer Industry, P. 2. Sydney (1887-1909). Retrieved 13/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/228493760">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/228493760</a>

## **APPENDIX 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT DATASET**

UDI	DATE	YEAR	HISTORICAL THEME	DESCRIPTION	WHAT ARE PEOPLE DOING WHAT ARE THEY TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH	HOW ARE THE ACCOMPLISHING THIS	WHAT ASSUMPTIONS ARE THEY MAKING	REFERENCES
1	Saturday 2nd July 1887	1887	Other spatial interactions	"We made hitherto been called the mouth of the Batavia River, and proceeding in, we found that instead of it being the true mouth of the river, we were in a magnificent harbour into which the Batavia and Ducie Rivers empty themselves. This Harbour (which I have called Port Musgrave on the plan, which I now have to honour to forward to you under separate cover is without doubt, excepting perhaps Port Curtis, the finest natural harbour on the Queensland coasts. The entrance to it is safe in all weathers, and it will form a most useful harbour of refuge when it becomes more known for vessels that may be caught with heavy weather during the north-west monsoon in the Gulf of Carpentaria"	-	-	-	The Brisbane Courier. July 2, 1887 Port Musgrave and the Batavia and Ducie Rivers, P. 3. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 14/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3473319">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3473319</a>
2	1899	1899	Recruiting	"Three distinct recruiting areas, each requiring separate notice, The 1st from the Cape to Port Musgrave; the 2nd from Port Musgrave to Albatross Bay (Duyphen Point); the 3rd from Albatross Bay to beyond the mouth of the Archer River" "The second and main recruiting area, especially in its relation to the two adjoining mission stations, Mapoon and Weipa, has occupied my grave anxiety and attention"	-	-	-	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
3	1899	1899	Recruiting	"All people recruiting here were to produce the written approval of Rev N. Hey the missionary at Mapoon when bringing the boys up to Thursday Island for signing on articles, he had stipulated that Aborigines were not to be worked on the boats for periods longer than 6 months at a time"	Establish complete mission control over the movements and choices of Indigenous people	Taking away control from the Indigenous people to decide whether or not to enter into the fishing industry,	Indigenous people can not make the right decisions for themselves, the fisheries are not a good place for Indigenous people to work, the fisheries are taking advantage of Indigenous people	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
4	1899	1899	Recruiting	"Confidence in the recruiters became grossly abused. Cases occurred in which boys were signed on without the letter; others where they had been taken from their homes without either the knowledge or the consent of the missionaries and slipped past the island without being signed on. Often the blacks were never returned at all"	The fisheries are going against the missions request and the missionaries are not happy	Ignoring mission control, approaching Indigenous people without considering the missionary	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
5	1899	1899	Recruiting	"When they boys did ultimately succeed in reaching home he rarely had anything adequate to show as the result of his many months labour. He might possibly have a bag of flour, a tomahawk, some clay pipes, a pound of tobacco, a cheap blanket, and a pair of trousers; but this was the rare exception for the supply of goods which was usually brought back would be dear at 20s"	Benefits given to Indigenous people returning from the fisheries do not benefit the mission, trying to show work in the fisheries is not worthwhile, Keep aboriginal people away from the fisheries influence	Missionaries are complaining to the Chief Protector and devaluing the payment given to Indigenous people	Assuming Indigenous people are not happy with their payment,	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
6	1899	1899	Utilising or exchanging	"Concerning the circumstances connected with the actual recruiting of the boys in the same district (Mapoon), I found that under pressure from the old men many of them were being bought and sold like so many sheep. The value locally of such a boy was a bag of flour and a pound of tobacco: at Thursday Island it was about 30s, the price which as far as I could ascertain was paid to the recruiting agent by the owner on whose boat the lad would be shipped. The additional hardship lay in the fact that it was not the young recruiters who obtained the flour but the old men, they bringing the pressure to bear in getting the younger folk to ship: the corollary was that in their absence the old people got the pick of the women left behind.. thus boys were thus being recruited against their will"	Indigenous people taking control	Indigenous people trading their own community for goods	Tobacco and flour are valuable	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
7	1899	1899	Utilising or exchanging	"Also having a demoralising effect on the Aboriginal women : these creatures used similarly to be bought, for temporary use, flour and tobacco being again bought into requisition."	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
8	1899	1899	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"I found that the pearling and bêche-de-mer industries, as formerly carried on, had been proving injurious to the aboriginal population in two ways: directly in the high mortality amongst the younger males engaged on the boats and indirectly in removing any chances of increasing the already low birth rate amongst the women left behind"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
9	1899	1899	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"Symptoms of boys returning from the boats were in common: general emaciation, pains in the back and chest, coughing and the spitting of blood.. These deaths were due to the causes assigned to the exposure and general life left on the boats, I would submit that no deaths with similar duration, symptoms have occurred here in either sex at corresponding ages"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	They are losing control over the Indigenous people	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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10	1899	1899	Other spatial interactions	"Boundaries of the station reserve (Weipa) are as follows- The mission river on the north, the Embley on the south, Albatross Bay on the west and York Downs cattle-station on the east.. Homestead about 17miles up the Embley on its Northern Bank"	-	-	-	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
11	1900	1900	Violence	"It is interesting to note that this boy (Willie) subsequently informed me that Mr Bennett's boat was sighted in time sufficient to give the master of the vessel the opportunity of getting rid of the women he had on-board"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1901 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
12	1901	1901	Recruiting	" With the growing scarcity of aboriginal labour, the attempts to ship young boys of from ten or twelve to fourteen years of age are becoming frequent"	Fishing recruiters trying to secure Indigenous labour	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
13	1901	1901	Utilising or exchanging	"The practice continues of aboriginals from the inland portions of Cape York visiting the western coast-line of the peninsula at certain portions of the year for the purpose of prostituting their females to the crews of the vessels engaged in the pearl shell fisheries.. the months generally chosen are January to March when the vessels frequent the neighbour hood of Possession Island and the vicinity for the purpose of obtaining shelter and overhauling during the prevalence of the north-west monsoon and also during the strength of the south-east trades (June-August) when they work along the western shores of the peninsula from Vrilya Point Northwards"	Indigenous people are trading their own community for goods	Setting up trade networks and seasonal recruitment camps	Labour with the fishing boats yields valuable goods	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
14	29th August 1901	1901	Utilising or exchanging	"The accused employed two female aboriginals on his boat ...he bought one of the girls for flour and tobacco, worked both boys and gins on the reefs, hidden the women under the flour bags when schluter was searching the vessel, neglected paying them for labour"	Fishing recruiters trying to secure Indigenous labour	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
15	1901	1901	Recruiting	"Owing to the scarcity of aboriginal labour over the whole of the peninsula north of Mapoon, blacks have been allowed to be recruited on this western coast as far south as the northern shores of Albatross Bay. The aboriginals here are known and can render themselves intelligible to the Mapoon boys, with the result that Protector Bennett has allowed them to be bought to Thursday Island, provided the recruiter receives a letter from Mr Hey to the effect that they have been engaged with his knowledge and approval"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Using legislation to keep the fishing recruiters away and stopping Indigenous people from making their own decisions	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
16	1901	1901	Recruiting	"This procedure (letter for Hey giving permission) has been rendered imperative owing to the boys having been induced to join the boats by means of grog and other objectionable measures. Complaints thus continue to be made against the European recruiters"	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
17	1901	1901	Recruiting	"In my opinion (Roth) and one in which Protector Bennett concurs the alien employers taking them all through have a greater regard for the care and welfare of the Aborigines than the whites"	Protector trying to stop exploitation of Indigenous people	Acknowledging the abuses Indigenous people face	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.



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18	1901	1901	Recruiting	"There is thus a very great improvement now as compared with what used to take place up to the occasion of my first visit, some three years ago, when the aboriginals robbed, cheated, and often rendered drunk — used to return home from the boats with practically nothing. The method in which this Mapoon Natives' Store is managed may be described as follows:— I supply every boy on his home-coming with 1 lb. of tobacco, 1 bag of flour, a tomahawk, and clothes, handkerchief, etc., if required. This is, of course, independent of what he may have himself bought at the island, but which does not generally reach here. Having put his wages into the common fund, each boy, as a matter of right, can also draw from the store anything he wants in reason — e.g., fishhooks, lines, turtle-rope, knives, tools, nails, buckets, further supplies of tobacco and clothing, and, when he marries, the galvanised iron to roof his house. At Christmas time the store supplies every visitor (including, of course, those from Albatross Bay) with a suit of clothes. Each boy thus learns that he is labouring not only for himself, but for the common good. When away on the boats he knows that his older and younger relations — his parents, wife, children, etc. — are all being looked after, not as a matter of charity, but as a right. At the present time, for instance, some twenty old and sick men and women — parents of the boys mostly on the boats — get once daily, or even twice (if unable to procure their own food), a supply of flour from the same source. All of them thus look upon the settlement as their home, and take a pride in its welfare and improvement: so out of their own earnings they have even gone to the expense of fencing in their gardens, and bought a new pump to ensure the whole community a plentiful and constant supply of fresh water. Those lads to whom I have spoken on the subject freely admit and recognise the advantages of this social system of dealing with their wages: they have not forgotten how, until a short time ago — when each had absolute control over the expenditure of his own money — their supplies lasted but a day or two, and nothing permanently useful was left to them.	Controlling Indigenous people	Controlling their wages and income	Indigenous people can not make the right decisions for themselves, the fisheries are not a good place for Indigenous people to work, the fisheries are taking advantage of Indigenous people	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
19	1902	1902	Recruiting	"Consequent on the revival of the bêche-de-mer fishing and the temporary stimulus given to the swimming diving by the high prices ruling for pearl shell, the demand for aboriginal labour has been very keen and the inducements to recruit held out to aboriginals in the way of bonuses of flour, tobacco, trade has had rather a demoralising effect on them"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
20	1902	1902	Recruiting	"The recruiting of male aboriginals for the boats still continues, the demand having been enormous. Personally I wish that no boats came near the reserve"	Stop the recruiting boats	raising the issue with the Protectors	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
21	1902	1902	Recruiting	"Owing to the large demand for black labour, the recruiters were very liberal in distributing "gifts"; the consequences of this, however, was that quite a number of the more influential aboriginals along the coast became labour agents for the boats, while the parasitic system itself had a demoralising effect upon all"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
22	1902	1902	Recruiting	"Owing to repeated complaints made to Mr Zarel of Thursday Island, that certain of his boats crews were persistently landing on the Mission Reserve and interfering with the natives, he made an example"	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
23	1902	1902	Recruiting	"It having come to my knowledge that in the bêche-de-mer and pearling fisheries no one had power to stop an unseaworthy vessel proceeding to sea, or to regulate the number of black carried"	Protector trying to stop exploitation of Indigenous people	raising the issue with the Protectors	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
24	1903	1903	Violence	" On the other hand the natives on the Gulf coast, from the Batavia River (Mapoon) downwards are as yet able to be freed from the abuses and contaminations in the way of slavery, disease, alcohol and opium and other sources of annihilation consequent on the visits of the recruiters and the hardships endured in employment on the boats"	Raising awareness of the abuses against Indigenous people	raising the issue with the Protectors	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
25	1903	1903	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"Although the change of life might do them good sometimes, very often they return with broken health, or they may be bitten with a shark."	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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26	1904	1904	Recruiting	"The minister approved of the action of the Presbyterian Heathens' Committee's agent, the Rev Mr Hey, as superintendent under the Act, stopping all recruiting from the Mapoon and Weipa reserves on and after 30th July 1904	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Using legislation to keep the fishing recruiters away and stopping Indigenous people from making their own decisions	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
27	1904	1904	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"In spite of the severe epidemics of dengue fever and whooping cough, only one death occurred and this was a fril who was not strong when sent to Mapoon, it is only fair to state that the recruiting of natives has been the cause of a large portion of deaths, several young men died shortly after their return to the station, two in Thursday Island Hospital and one on the fishing grounds.	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
28	1904	1904	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"The employment of natives on boats did not only affect those who were actually engaged but the presence of the recruiters on the station had very often a demoralising effect on the whole settlement. About half of the aborigines recruited were married men and in many cases their wives thus left behind were appropriated by others, which on the return of the rightful husbands was the cause of fighting, bloodshed and even murder"	The missionaries are trying to keep the recruiters away from the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
29	1905	1905	Other spatial interactions	"The decrease (92) in number of permits issued, as compared with the previous year (1904) may be ascribed chiefly to two causes. First: the withdrawal of many of the smaller employers, owing to the decrease in the price of pearl shell; and second the large number of East coast natives who are induced by various methods to work on boats without going into Cooktown or Thursday Island to sign on before the proper officials. A third cause may have been the closing of the Mapoon reserve to recruiters in July 1904. I think that the shrinkage through this cause has been to an extent balanced by the increase in the number of East Coast natives who have come to sign on.	-	-	-	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
30	1905	1905	Recruiting	"The matter of natives working on boats without coming to be signed on in the proper form is a serious question. That the practice exists to a very large extent is beyond doubt, so much so that the term 'passenger', meaning a man who is working but has not been signed on the articles of the boat, is a technical term well understood and commonly used in the trade; a properly engaged man being called a 'signed crew'. That this practice had increased enormously during the year is wholly due, in my opinion to the large number of Japanese who have gone into the bêche-de-mer industry."	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
31	1905	1905	Recruiting	"In all 189 men were recruited and in addition to these a large number of men signed on with their old or in some cases new employers immediately after getting their discharges, before going back to their camps. The practice is for such men to be taken home by their employer who had just signed them on, and allowed a short spell (as previously agreed upon) at the camp, after which they go to work, although the practice tends to swell the ranks of deserters the short spell at home frequently proving an irresistible temptation to enjoy the pleasures of liberty for a longer term"	Recruiting Indigenous people	recruiting indigenous people	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
32	1905	1905	Violence	"Causes of desertion seem to have been chiefly complaints about supply of food or clothing and over working. The latter complaint is generally made against Japanese captains who it appears, work seven days a week, a practice which the aboriginals very naturally resent.	Indigenous people taking control	Leaving service when mistreated	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
33	1905	1905	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"I am (Rev Hey) not prepared to say that the closing of the reserve for recruiting purposes is the cause of this change for the better, but, no doubt, it had a great deal to do with it. Only four children were born on the station, and I fear that the harm which has been done by recruiting boats will never be entirely eradicated"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
34	1905	1905	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	"presented the mission with a little cutter so that we have at present three boats in use in connection with the three stations. But we confine ourselves entirely to local work, never interfering with the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer industry in any form."	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Missionaries entering the fishing industry themselves	Unknown	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
35	1906	1906	Recruiting	" I have every reason to believe fewer aborigines are unlawfully employed on boats now than any time previously. This has been brought about by the fact that several prosecutions, followed by terms of imprisonment were instituted during the latter months of the year 1905, also by the summary revocation of permits of several persons in charge of boats for irregularities and by the patrolling of the coast by the Government Ketch 'Melbidir'	Protector trying to keep the recruiting of Indigenous people going	Stating that the Indigenous people are being treated better	Pearl shell and bêche-de-mer are more valuable than Indigenous people	Howard, R.B. 1907 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1906. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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36	1906	1906	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"The general health of our people (Mapoon) has been very satisfactory the death rate being the lowest on record since the commencement of the mission fifteen years since. I attribute this change for the better to the closing of the reserve for recruiting purposes. We are not averse to our young people finding occasional employment outside the reserve if responsible and trustworthy employers are to be found"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Shutting down the reserves from the fishing industry	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Howard, R.B. 1907 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1906. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
37	1907	1907	Recruiting	"In order to keep as many natives employed in the fishing industry as possible and to obviate the evils of recruiting, I have not been insisting upon the employers taking the natives back to the mainland at the terminal of the engagement when the native wishes to continue to work on the boats. If the native states definitely, however, that he wants to go home, and will not got to work again before he has a spell, the employer is, of course instructed by the Protector to take the native back to the place from which he was recruited"	Protectors attempting to stop abuses	Enforcing legislation	Pearl shell and bêche-de-mer are more valuable than Indigenous people	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1907. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
38	1907	1907	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	"We had to turn our attention more to the sea. Two small cutters and six large canoes have been at work during the fine weather in the neighbourhood of Mapoon only, and the products in fish, turtle, and bêche-de-mer yielded a fair income and gave congenial employment to a number of me"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Missionaries entering the fishing industry themselves	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1907. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
39	1908	1908	Recruiting	"There has been a brisk demand for this class of labour (mainland) for the bêche-de-mer industry and a total of 190 of these natives have been signed on during the last year. Whatever have been the methods under which these boys have been recruited the result has been that the physique of the natives has been almost without exception considerably improved during their period of service, of the natives, a fact which would indicate that they have been well provided for with "tucker" and their willingness to sign on again for a further period satisfies me that they meet with fair treatment from their employers."	Keep Indigenous people in the fishing industry	Stating that the Indigenous people are being treated better	Pearl shell and bêche-de-mer are more valuable than Indigenous people	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1908. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly
40	1908	1908	Recruiting	"No recruiting is allowed on reserves for the natives on these areas controlled by the various missionary bodies but I am not at all sure that the absolute closing of these extensive lands to outside influence is for the ultimate good of the natives living thereon and I have already expressed my opinion that if the evils connected with the recruiting of the male adults can be remedied a large field of labour would be opened and the young men would cease to be a burden on the respective missions"	Stop Indigenous people entering the fishing industry	Closing the reserve to recruiting	Unknown	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1908. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly
41	1909	1909	Other spatial interactions	"As you are aware the aboriginals living in the district of Somerset comprise the Torres Strait Islanders and the Mainland Natives or Binghamis of the Cape York Peninsula; and these natives represent two distinct types of people. The former is more intelligent than the latter and distinctly more cunning."	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1909. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
42	1909	1909	Other spatial interactions	"The mainlander on the other hand is seemingly not as intelligent as the Islander but he is not so lazy. With him the struggle for existence has been keener. The barrenness of the Cape York Peninsula had been the means of forcing him to lead a more strenuous life in gaining his substance and when employed by the white man he carries some of this strenuousness with him; but when engaged at sea, he is greatly given to deserting from his vessel and to stealing boats."	-	-	Indigenous people are not intelligent and are lazy	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1909. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
43	1909	1909	Recruiting	"The mainlander employed in bêche-de-mer and pearl fishing boats is a lonely being. The Japanese master has a great contempt for him and even the Torres Straits Islander regards him as a quite inferior of being. In such surroundings he often feels a great longing to return to his home on the mainland, barren though it is and as he is often left on the boat alone while the rest of the crew are having their meals ashore he steals a dinghy or as in one instance a yawl and endeavours to reach his home/"	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1909. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
44	1911	1911	Recruiting	"Practically the whole of the labour supply of the Northern point of the Peninsula and the Torres Strait islands is absorbed by the Pearling and bêche-de-mer industry with the exception of course of those Torres Strait Islanders who work on boats of their own on the communal system"	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1912 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1911. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
45	1911	1911	Recruiting	"A fair number of mainland boys are employed on the bêche-de-mer boats as the greater part of their earnings is expended under the supervision of the Government agent both they and their relatives benefit by their labour"	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1912 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1911. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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46	1912	1912	Recruiting	"Most of the employment of aborigines in the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer industries is controlled from Thursday island, although a number of boats work from Cooktown, Cairns and Townsville, not only in the fishing industry but also trading and carrying sandalwood"	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1913 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1912. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
47	1912	1912	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	"Most of the able bodied men were engaged during the dry weather when gardening was at a standstill, in procuring chalk fish, a kind of bêche-de-mer on the banks of the creeks and rivers inside the reserve"	-	-	-	Howard, R.B. 1913 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1912. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
48	1913	1913	Recruiting	"Mainlanders are in great demand for boats working bêche-de-mer, turtle and trochas shell. I am not satisfied that all the goods they obtain when paid off reach their families"	-	-	the fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
49	1913	1913	Utilising or exchanging	"A few boat owners have complained that when recruiting boys on the mainland they have been compelled to bribe the elders of the tribes to allow the younger men to engage and these men cunningly waiting till the tribe had taken the flour well inland have frequently all absconded again."	Indigenous people taking control	Entering into agreement with fishing recruiters	Tobacco and flour are valuable	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
50	1913	1913	Recruiting	"Very little mainland native labour is used in the pump diving boats these men as a rule not being physically fit for the arduous work of turning the pump. Plenty of such employment is offering for the Torres Strait native who is of a stronger stamp than his mainland brother"	-	-	-	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
51	1913	1913	Utilising or exchanging	"The crews of sandal-wood and fishing boats occasionally interfere with women and trade in immorality, resulting often in sterility, hence the declining birth-rate"	-	Fishing recruiters are engaging with Indigenous women	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
52	1914	1914	Other spatial interactions	"It is impossible to exercise any satisfactory supervision over the recruiting or returning of boys employed as it is mostly entrusted to coloured men and there is a doubt often to as whether boys are faithfully returned home or their goods honestly delivered to them on departure"	-	-	the fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare	Bleakley, J.W. 1915 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1914. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
53	1915	1915	Recruiting	"The number of desertions reported is lower than in previous years, the men in charge of the boats appearing to realise that better treatment of their crew means steadier work by the boys and a consequent increase of profit to those sharing in the venture"	Indigenous people taking control	-	-	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1915. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
54	1915	1915	Recruiting	"There was a great demand for mainland labour during the year as many of the pearling luggers are being fitted out to work bêche-de-mer and trochus shell, their occupation as pearling boats being practically dead owing to the war having closed all the usual markets"	-	-	-	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1915. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
55	1915	1915	Recruiting	"As the supply of the labour from the East coast is not equal to the demand applications have been made to allow recruiting between the Archer and Mitchell Rivers; but the protector urges that to avoid repetition of the abuses practised on the East Coast, such recruiting if allowed should entirely be under Government supervision. He proposes to first visit this part of the district with the Coen Protector to inquire as to the conditions labour available and endeavour to gain the confidence of the natives"	Protectors attempting to stop abuses	raising the issue with the Protectors	Unknown	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1915. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
56	1915	1915	Recruiting	"Since the prohibition of recruiting on the mission reserve has been enforced the maintenance of order and discipline had been much easier"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Using legislation to keep the fishing recruiters away and stopping Indigenous people from making their own decisions	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1915. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

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57	1915	1915	Engaging with maritime industries via the mission	"During the off season most of the adults are engaged in collecting bêche-de-mer. Thus the cooperative native store has become a permanent feature in the activity of the younger generation"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	keeping Indigenous people on mission ground	Unknown	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1915. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
58	1916	1916	Recruiting	"Owing to the demand for aboriginal labour for fishing fleets some agitation had from time to time arisen for the opening of the Gulf mission Reserves to recruiters. The missions in occupation owing to the insufficient means at their command are unable to receive and profitably occupy more than a portion of the natives on the area and the recruiters seeing in the unoccupied portion of this labour a source of supply for their own needs are clamouring for the abolition of what they call a dog in the maker policy"	-	-	-	Bleakley, J.W. 1917 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1916. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
59	1890	1890	Violence	"Of late years and in the Torres Straits district more particular, outrages have been previously provoked by unjust treatment or through the interference by the employers or their agents with the native labourers. Of late years and in the Torres Straits district more particularly, outrages committed by these labourers.		Missionaries blaming the fishing recruiters for the abuses on Indigenous people	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	Saville-Kent, W. 1890 Report on the Bêche-de-mer and pearl shell industries of North Queensland. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly 3:728.  <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/176471760?searchTerm=government%20resident%20Thursday%20Island%20report&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y">The Telegraph. July 6, 1898 Thursday Island: Government Resident's Report, P. 5. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 10/01/18 from https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/176471760?searchTerm=government%20resident%20Thursday%20Island%20report&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y</a>
60	1897	1897	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"In 1897 the number of deaths was 22 making a total of 43 in the two years"	-	-	-	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y</a>
61	1897	1897	Recruiting	"At Thursday Island, Protector Bennett says :—" During the year ended 31st December, 1902, I issued 130 permits to recruit in the aggregate 990 aboriginals. The recruiters succeeded in obtaining 340 or about 34 per cent, of the number for whom permits were granted."	-	-	-	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y</a>
62	1897	1897	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"The boys come back always worse, morally and physically, than they were when they went away. Last year we had five young men aged between 15 years and 25 years die of consumption"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people are commodities, Indigenous people can not be trusted to make decisions for themselves	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y</a>
63	1897	1897	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"Another drawback in connection with the young men going away from the station is this. While they are away the older men who remain at the station take all the young women for their wives, so that when the young men come back to their homes they are strange and find no wives for themselves. It is not uncommon for an older man to have four or five wives. while the young men are deprived of wives there are very few births"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	Indigenous people would be healthier if they stayed on the mission	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=-l-availability=y</a>

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64	1897	1897	Recruiting	"It has been charged against the mission by the Torres Straits pilot that they demoralised the natives for working in the fisheries so that they refused to ship anymore. But statistics showed that more natives were engaged at Mapoon than at all other places in the Gulf together. Last year the fisheries drew from the station as I have said 49 young men, the flower of the people and the returns show that the average is about 50 a year all being of the finest young men"	Recruiting Indigenous people	The fishing recruiters blaming the missionaries for the 'outrages' occurring on the boats	The missionaries are taking control away from the fishing recruiters	The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172406154?searchTerm=Mapoon%20mission%20fisheries&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
65	1902	1902	Recruiting	"Over the whole of the peninsula north of the Mapoon, blacks have been allowed to be recruited on the western coast as far south as the northern shores of Albatross Bay.. This procedure has been rendered imperative owing to the boys having been induced to join the boats by means of grog and other objectionable measures"	Indigenous people taking control	Entering into agreement with fishing recruiters	Tobacco and flour are valuable	Truth. November 30, 1902 Niggers in the North, P. 3. Brisbane (1900-1954). Retrieved 20/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/200508192?searchTerm=Weipa%20mission%20recruiting&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/200508192?searchTerm=Weipa%20mission%20recruiting&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
66	1902	1902	Recruiting	"Still the fact remains that the white employer of the year 1902 is a sordid soulless, slave-driver in his dealings with the native coloured races, whether aboriginal, Papuan, or Polynesians"	-	-	-	Truth. November 30, 1902 Niggers in the North, P. 3. Brisbane (1900-1954). Retrieved 20/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/200508192?searchTerm=Weipa%20mission%20recruiting&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/200508192?searchTerm=Weipa%20mission%20recruiting&amp;searchLimits=l-availability=y</a>
67	1893	1893	Violence	"The first step towards this should be the abolition of the Mission station at the Batavia for we feel it is something more than a coincidence that the murders which had ceased for two years have commenced afresh as soon as the influence of the mission station is being felt. The next step should be the placing of the whole of the mainland under the control of Mr Sub-inspector Savage with full powers to deal with the native question"	Recruiting Indigenous people	The fishing recruiters blaming the missionaries for the 'outrages' occurring on the boats	Indigenous labour is valuable	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
68	1893	1893	Violence	"As the influence of the missionaries began to spread the natives became less inclined to work becoming "educated" and lazy. Working for bêche-de-mer fishers became more irksome."	Recruiting Indigenous people	The fishing recruiters blaming the missionaries for the 'outrages' occurring on the boats	Indigenous labour is valuable	The Brisbane Courier. December 15, 1893 Outrage by the Blacks, P.5. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved 10/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3570854</a>
69	1896	1896	Violence	"The coast blacks who have been out after pearl-shell or bêche-de-mer have not been subjected to a process of improvement nor have they acquired a high opinion of the whites. Some of the bêche-de-mer fisherman treated them fairly but there were others, men who enticed blacks on board worked them like slaves and treated them like dogs, and finished by leaving them marooned on a reef or shot them or landed them far from their own home on some strange part of the coast where they would certainly be killed by the first tribe they met"	Recruiting Indigenous people	Some Indigenous people are being treated fairly	Some indigenous people are being treated fairly	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aborigines of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
70	1896	1896	Recruiting	"Kidnapping of women and nameless outrages were prevalent along the coast and are not yet at an end. At several points the blacks made bitter complaints of their men and women being taken away and never returned and the tales of shameful deeds were told to me by blacks who had been out fishing on the reefs where hey had no chance to get away	Taking control away from the fishing industry	outlining the abuses Indigenous people faced	Indigenous people unhappy with their family being taken away to work on the boats, missionaries blaming the fishing industry	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aborigines of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
71	1896	1896	Violence	"Occasionally bêche-de-mer fisherman were killed by aboriginals driven to desperation and the most of these so called "murders by the blacks" were merely acts of justly deserved retribution"	Indigenous people taking control	Leaving service when mistreated	Unknown	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aborigines of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
72	1896	1896	Utilising or exchanging	"It is common practice for bêche-de-mer and pearl shell boats to run down to some point on the coast where blacks are camped, send their boats ashore, and purchase a number of women paying for them usually with flour and tobacco. These women were sent ashore before the boats depart"	Recruiting Indigenous people	Setting up trade networks and seasonal recruitment camps	Indigenous people are commodities	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aborigines of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.

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73	1896	1896	Utilising or exchanging	"In some cases Aboriginal women were taken by force and in the disturbance that followed one or more of the men were shot"	Recruiting Indigenous people	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
74	1896	1896	Utilising or exchanging	"The pearl shell boats are a mischievous nuisance to the Batavia River Missionaries. Even on the morning of my arrival at Mapoon by the way of the Ducie River when crossing Port Musgrave, I (Meston) saw a lugger just leaving the anchorage off the open beach about a mile behind the mission station. She had anchored there on the previous night sent the boats ashore brought back half a dozen women took them on board all night and returned the next morning. Most of the blacks were away using the flour and tobacco which formed one of the terms of contract."	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
75	1896	1896	Utilising or exchanging	"These practices are well known to the boys and girls on the Mission station and if the school girls were not under proper control and guarded at night, the old men of the tribe would periodically dispose of them in a similar manner."	-	-	-	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
76	1896	1896	Experiencing death or consequences after returning from working in the fishing industry	"These undesirable marine visitors sometimes leave a legacy of disease and always a certain demoralisation against which the missionaries have to wage a perpetual warfare"	Stop the recruiting boats	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	the fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare and are to blame	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
77	1896	1896	Other spatial interactions	"The Mapoon station is so situated as to be easy of access by boats or steamers. That is the only virtue the site possesses"	-	-	-	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
78	1896	1896	Other spatial interactions	"They receive no tobacco, as Mr Hey is an uncompromising enemy of the weed in any for"	Missionaries gaining control of the Indigenous people	Taking away and banning certain products	Indigenous people can not make the right decisions for themselves, the fisheries are not a good place for Indigenous people to work, the fisheries are taking advantage of Indigenous people	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
79	1896	1896	Utilising or exchanging	"One result is that in order to obtain a supply (Tobacco) The women are sold or sell themselves to the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer boats, No man loathes tobacco in every shape more than I do (Meston) by my opinion is not in favour of withholding it from the aboriginal certainly not from those who have once acquired the habit"	Indigenous people taking control	Entering into agreement with fishing recruiters	Tobacco and flour are valuable	Meston, A. 1896 Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, Brisbane: Govt. Printer.
80	1911	1911	Other spatial interactions	"There is a rising demand in Japan for these shells which are used in the making of buttons. This industry soon died out as the shells were soon exhausted and the price was a bit low"	-	-	-	Daily Mercury. November 13, 1911 Beche-de-mer Fishing, P. 6. Mackay (1906-1954). Retrieved 12/01/18 from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/170685437">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/170685437</a>
81	1894	1894	Recruiting	"The boys kept the ship abundantly supplied with turtle almost the whole time. One peculiar trait in their character is that they will share whatever one may have with all if possible and there is never a thought of morrow. It therefore become essential for the master to allowance necessities such as tobacco, tea, sugar"	Indigenous people are recruiters working together	supplying desired goods and treating the Indigenous people well	Tobacco and flour are valuable	The Brisbane Courier. July 10, 1894 Beche-de-mer Fishing, P. 2. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304</a>
82	1894	1894	Recruiting	"Not once did I see any harsh or ill treatment displayed towards the boys but rather while they did not overstep the bounds of rationalism a kind acquiescence in their amusements."	Recruiting Indigenous people	Stating that the Indigenous people are being treated better	Indigenous labour is valuable	The Brisbane Courier. July 10, 1894 Beche-de-mer Fishing, P. 2. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304</a>
83	1894	1894	Recruiting	"To work a similar vessel, efficiently and safely manned by Captain as owner, mate, fish curer, and cook (white men), and 18 native crew with a sufficiency of stores it would cost 45pounds per month"	-	-	-	The Brisbane Courier. July 10, 1894 Beche-de-mer Fishing, P. 2. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3583304</a>
84	1894	1894	Recruiting	"The bêche-de-mer fishery is carried on by coloured, chiefly aboriginal labour"	-	-	-	The Brisbane Courier. March 10, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858</a>

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85	1894	1894	Violence	"How do the remaining fifteen or sixteen employers get along? Their profit if it exists as all says our correspondent is to be found in the starvation of the labourers. They can catch fish for food and if they do not catch fish they can go without"	-	-	-	The Brisbane Courier. March 10, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858</a>
86	1894	1894	Violence	"The conclusion reached by our correspondent implies that the aborigines employed in the bêche-de-mer fishery virtually exist in a state of in-human slavery"	Stop the recruiting boats	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	The fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare	The Brisbane Courier. March 10, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3575858</a>
87	1917	1917	Other spatial interactions	"Badu pearling station"	-	-	-	Sydney Mail. August 1, 1917 Collecting Trochas Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 14. New South Wales (1912-1938). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/160629419">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/160629419</a>
88	1894	1894	Other spatial interactions	"Since the commencement of the mission the salutary operations of the police had been suspended and had been replaced by a milk and water missionary policy which practically encouraged evildoing:	-	-	-	The Brisbane Courier. January 4, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery Scandal, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001</a>
89	1894	1894	Recruiting	"The life on a bêche-de-mer boat is unspeakably squalid and dirty and it is sometimes accompanied with gross ill-treatment and even with semi-starvation. Above all the Aboriginal becomes homesick plots with his fellows to escape to his tribe and does not hesitate to kill his master should he stand in the way"	Stop the recruiting boats	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	The fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare	The Brisbane Courier. January 4, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery Scandal, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001</a>
90	1894	1894	Violence	"It seems to be put beyond doubt that these murders are often committed in revenge for gross injury which even in civilised countries is held largely to condone the taking of life"	Indigenous people taking control	Leaving service when mistreated	Unknown	The Brisbane Courier. January 4, 1894 The Beche-de-mer Fishery Scandal, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3572001</a>
91	1897	1897	Recruiting	"Aboriginal divers are only to be found engaged in swimming diving"	-	-	Cheap unskilled labour	The Brisbane Courier. November 25, 1897 Pearl Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 7. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3661764">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3661764</a>
92	1897	1897	Violence	"A witness conveyed the impression that certain abuses in the bêche-de-mer trade run perilously close to kidnapping and are wrongly debited against the pearl shelling trade. His opinion was that bêche-de-mer and tortoise shelling should be kept distinct from the pearl fishery. Bêche-de-mer fishing and tortoise shell are chiefly carried on by native labourers with this alarm respecting kidnapping still vibrating repetition may not be redundant concerning the necessity for rigidly insisting that every native labourer must be returned to his port of shipment and that every native labourer found on board any vessel must be satisfactorily accounted for by the person in charge."	Stop the recruiting boats	Complaining to the Protectors and accusing the fishing recruiters of being uncensored with Indigenous welfare	The fishing industry recruiters are not looking after Indigenous welfare	The Brisbane Courier. November 25, 1897 Pearl Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 7. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3661764">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/3661764</a>
93	1893	1893	Utilising or exchanging	"The women when stolen are frequently taken to Thursday Island and there sold or bartered for and at present time there is a very large number of native women employed at boarding houses, in Thursday Island and in various ways which cannot be described in these columns."	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities	Anon 1893 The beche-de-mer fishery: kidnapping native women. <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> Tuesday 19 December p.5



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94	1892	1892	Recruiting	"The young men are, it is said, constantly drafted off in boats which call at points on the coast to seek volunteers. The owners promise plenty of food during the term of engagement and payment in clothes, tobacco, iron, flour, and sugar. This accustoms the natives to the idea of payment and they look for a return for any work done by them for the missionaries"	Indigenous people taking control	Acquiring goods for service	Unknown	The Telegraph. October 8, 1892 Batavia River Blacks, P. 5. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/173495047">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/173495047</a>
95	1902	1902	Recruiting	"A great difficulty is created by the visits of a lawless class of whites and coloured men, engaged in bêche-de-mer and pearl shell industries in the Torres Straits, who for years kidnapped those whom they require either male or female along the tract of coast known as the Seven Rivers between the Jardine and Batavia Rivers"	Fishing recruiters taking control of Indigenous people away from missionaries	disregarding the law and kidnapping Indigenous people under the age of puberty or women	Indigenous people are commodities	Queensland Country Life. September 1, 1902 The Aboriginal Question in Queensland, P. 20. Queensland (1900-1954). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/101454325">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/101454325</a>
96	-	-	-	"do you remember much of was there much pearling and trochus when you were there? In? Mapoon? No not trochus. They used to pearl in behind. The Japs used to pearl in behind, but er...not, not trochus there. Trochus... somewhere in the Torres Strait, somewhere there, out. They just has those chalk fish?, who? bêche-de-mer, bêche-de-mer too we used to help our fathers with... getting bêche-de-mer if anybody know want to know how its done I could tell them, yeah? no one knows now, yeah, but I know I know because we used to work with out father, mm, we had three sisters an we had our cousin we work with our fathers here at oh its not far from Weipa we at Mapoon we had our way but these people they right just go across from Weipa to what you call pine river.	-	-	-	
97	-	-	-	(Mamoose's father was a bêche-de-mer fishermanHow did you used to catch them? (Beche-de-mer), no they buried it at the er when the tide is low eh. You go out and get them... then ta you see you see one that some big than that some big we were glad when we used to get the big ones you know	-	-	-	
98	-	-	-	Can you remember when they stopped getting beche-de-mer, I think the market stopped at Thursday Island that's when they couldn do it no more they use to send it overseas to china or some place where they eat it	-	-	-	
99	-	-	-	Went up to school in Badu left high school then went on a boat a diving boat, what trochas boat?, no diving boat the boat called Sorau.. Samuel Moresby was the skipper.. In a boat I went on it, what were you diving for pearls? Pearl yeah, I went there 12 months after 12 months i went back the ah Woggie seedon come to Koobin to 'cruiting for torchas the boat called sarawak	-	-	-	
100	-	-	-	What about pearl shell, pearl shell I never been a pearl shell I only been a deckhand, I was a cook oh me brother was a diver, the eldest brother hes been in that diving. See I was im on deckhand you, is that hard work too I mean pearl shell diving, oh yes dangerous i reckon when you tide you in the tide run on the bottom you sure the divers be out there, have they got tanks on their back, no only skin divers they got nothing	-	-	-	

## **APPENDIX 3: DEMOGRAPHY DATASET**

UID	DATE	YEAR	LOCATION	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE	SPATIAL	DESCRIPTION	SPECIFIC NUMBER	REFERENCE TYPE	REFERENCE
1	1916	1916	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"one hundred and twenty-three boys were licensed during 1916 for bêche-de-mer and trochus fishing"	123 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Telegraph. July 12, 1917 Thursday Island, P. 3. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape</a>
2	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The total number of aboriginals under the supervision of this mission is about 400, all of whom as occasion requires, receive rations or medical relief. About 160 have	400 supervision 160 neighbourhood	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
3	1908	1908	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"Mapoon Mission Station was my next place of call. Some 250 natives permanently live at the	250 permeant 200 roam	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1908. Votes and Proceedings of
4	1908	1908	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	About 90 people reside continually on the station, but in addition to these some 70 or 80 bush natives often visit the	90 reside 70-80 roam	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
5	1908	1908	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"190 Mainland natives have been signed on articles (all males) during the year 1908, as against 183 and 215 respectively during 1907."	190 males signed on	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
6	1908	1908	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"There has been a brisk demand for this class of labour for the bêche-de-mer industry, and a total of 190 of these natives have been signed on during the last	190 males signed on	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1909 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
7	1909	1909	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"114 permits were granted to Mainlanders to work in the industry;—making a total of 376, compared with 371 the previous year.	376 permits for aboriginal	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1909. Votes and Proceedings of
8	1909	1909	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"There were 19 reported deserters among the Mainlanders during the year, representing 17 per cent, of the total number to whom permits	19 desertion	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1909. Votes and Proceedings of
9	1911	1911	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	The number of natives living in houses at the Mapoon settlement is, according to the returns of the census collector, 240, including the children housed in the various dormitories. Besides these, there are still about 150 more, who at regular intervals visit the station to obtain food, medicine, and other benefits, but who are not domesticated.	240 reside 150 roam	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1912 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1911. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
10	1912	1912	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	In the early part of the year some difficulty was experienced in obtaining labour for the fishing boats; 77 permits to recruit were issued, and, in many instances, the boats returned without obtaining boys.	77 permits	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1913 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1912. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
11	1912	1912	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	The average number of aboriginals who have benefited by the rations issued was 240.	240 reside	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1913 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
12	1913	1913	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	461 permits for such employment being issued at Thursday Island alone.	461 permits	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1913. Votes and Proceedings of
13	1914	1914	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	At Thursday Island, the principal centre of the pearl shell and bêche-de-mer industries, 408 agreements were entered into for the employment of aboriginals as seamen,	408 men employed	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1915 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals for 1914. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative
14	1915	1915	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	Five hundred and thirty-seven aboriginals were signed on to fishing boats at Thursday Island in the bêche-de-mer and trochus shell industry as compared with	537 men signed on	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
15	1916	1916	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	Six hundred and sixty-nine aboriginals were engaged during the year for employment on the fishing fleets in Torres Strait, an increase of 132 on the previous year's returns.	669 men signed on	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1917 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals
16	1918	1918	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"The number of aboriginals employed by the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fleets in Torres Straits was 435 of which 264 were natives of Torres Straits Islands and 171 were mainlanders."	171 mainland	Historical Newspaper	The Week. September 6, 1918 Protecting Aboriginals. P. 27. Brisbane (1876-1934). Retrieved from

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17	1905	1905	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"Seventy-three permits to recruit 550 mainlanders were issued during the year. Of those at least three permits to recruit twenty-eight men were not used, leaving seventy permits for 522 men used. This does not mean that actually 522 men were required by recruiters, as many permits were issued which were really duplicates and triplicates. This would happen in the case of a recruiter who would be unsuccessful in his first or second trip, and would obtain a second or third permit for the same number of men. For instance, permits were issued at intervals to one employer to recruit a	522 men	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
18	1905	1905	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"In all, 101 cases of desertion were reported during the year"	101 desertion 40 came from Japanese Captains	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
19	1905	1905	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The total number of natives who have benefited by the Mission, either as permanent or casual residents, is over 200, all of whom are closely connected with the station. There are at least another 150, who only come to the station in cases of sickness and trouble, or to enjoy	200 reside	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly.
20	1906	1906	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"In his annual report Mr. O'Brien says:—" 308 permits for the employment of aboriginals were issued during the year, 270 of these being from the mainland and	270 signed on	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1907 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1906. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative
21	1906	1906	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	38 Torres Strait Islanders; 2 were females signed on for housework. All the males "The total number of aborigines under my supervision is between 400 and 500, all of whom receive assistance when required. The able-bodied men who are provided with food	200 reside 400-500 supervision	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1907 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1906. Votes and Proceedings of
22	1907	1907	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"" The total number of aborigines living upon the Mapoon Reserve is 425, all of whom are under my supervision, and have benefited by the mission.	180 reside 425 supervision	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1907. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative
23	1904	1904	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"Only 180, however, can be called bona fide residents, including 65 children, who are "Rev.N. Hey:—"The total number of aboriginals under the supervision of the mission is about 400, all of whom have, from time to time, received rations and medical help when required. The number who have settled down at or near the station, including the children, are over 200. The remainder still come and go,	200 reside 400 supervision	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative
24	1904	1904	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"he number of permits issued at Thursday Island for the employment of mainland natives in the bêche-de-mer and pearl-shell fisheries was 383, showing an increase of	383 permits	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
25	1903	1903	Thursday island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"The number of aboriginal (mainland) natives on articles of vessels engaged in the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fisheries on 31st December, 1903, was 183, or about	183 employed	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland
26	1903	1903	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	8 per cent, of the total number of men on articles, as against 148, or 6.7 per cent, on "Ninety-three applications were put in for permits to recruit 670 native labourers (mainland), in the aggregate; of that number 308, or about 45 per cent, of the number applied for, were recruited. Of those recruited 133, or 43.18 per cent., came from Mapoon	308 signed on	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1903. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland
27	1901	1901	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"I am only too glad to take this opportunity of giving the information asked for. During the year ending 31st December, 1901, the total number of Torres Strait Islanders signed on articles at Thursday Island was 336, while in the same period the number of	314 signed on	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland
28	1902	1902	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"At Thursday Island, Protector Bennett says :—" During the year ended 31st December, 1902, I issued 130 permits to recruit in the aggregate 990 aboriginals. The recruiters	340 signed on	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland
29	1904	1904	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"following masters for having aboriginals illegally on their boats:—Marcario, at Cooktown (17-2-4); and A. L. Artigoza (30-4-4), Lucio Jerusalem (6-5-4), Peter Seden	?	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1904. Votes and Proceedings of
30	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"During the north-west season, and at other times when the native foods are scarce these numbers are considerably increased"	?	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
31	1899	1899	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The shipping of 104 young men from Mapoon during the past 12 months"	104 recruited	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1900 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of

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32	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"Average daily number of Aboriginals at Mapoon Mission station was 77"	77 daily average	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
33	1901	1901	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"Average daily number of Aboriginals at Weipa Mission station was 56"	56 daily average	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
34	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The number of people living in modern houses, permanent inhabitants of Mapoon settlement is about 200, though more than 400 individuals occupy camps from 15 to	200 reside 400 supervision	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
35	1902	1902	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"182 aboriginals living permanently on the station"	182 reside	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
36	1902	1902	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"200 boys the maximum number which has ever been shipped here in a 12 month period (1902)	200 boys recruited	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
37	1903	1903	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"The daily average of Aboriginals being fed at Weipa is 76"	76 daily average	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
38	Saturday 7 November 1903	1903	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"There are about 350 boats engaged in the fisheries"	350 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Grenfell Record and Lachlan District Advertiser. November 7, 1903 The Queensland Pearl Shell Industry, P. 1. New South Wales (1876-1951). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape</a>
39	1905	1905	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E	Greater than 10km	"Two hundred and ninety one permits to employ mainland aboriginals were issued during the year, 6 of these for employment as labourers, ashore and 285 for employment in the pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fishery all of these being male"	285 males	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1905. Votes and Proceedings of
40	1905	1905	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"The number usually residing on the station is in the sixties, augmented frequently by a few families who come and go	60 reside	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1906 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
41	1906	1906	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"100 people who permanently resident on the station"	100 reside	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1907 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
42	1907	1907	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The total number of aborigines living upon the Mapoon reserve is 425 all of whom are under my supervision and have benefited by the mission, only 180 can be called	180 reside 425 supervision	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
43	1909	1909	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"About 250 natives were in the mission station at the time of my visit some 100 of whom are permanent residents."	250 supervision 100 reside	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
45	1909	1909	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"Hey reports The number of Aboriginals who have benefited by the rations issued during the year was over 300 the average daily attendance at the station was only	daily average 118	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
46	1909	1909	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"Our statistics still point to our people being a dying race. So far as my observation goes the birth rate amongst the aborigines taken as a whole is very low and infant mortality is comparatively high... Those whom we consider our people number over	300 supervision, 68 daily average	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1910 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
47	1911	1911	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The number of natives living in houses at the Mapoon settlement is according to the returns of the census collector 240 including the children housed.. Besides there are still 150 more who at regular intervals visit the station to obtain food or medicine and	240 reside 150 supervise	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1912 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
48	1912	1912	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	"The total population under our influence is about 300 and amongst these the sexes are nearly equally divided.	300 reside on the reserve	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1913 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
49	1913	1913	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The report from Mapoon shows that the estimated population is 300 including 60 nomads the sexes being about equal"	300 reside on the reserve 60 under supervision	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
50	1913	1913	Weipa Mission	12°41'56.72"S	142° 4'40.73"E	Greater than 10km	" A population of 270 at Weipa mission"	270 reside	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1914 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
51	1914	1914	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The total population is approximately 300, though only about half of that number are permanent residents	150 reside 300 supervision	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1915 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
52	1915	1915	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"The average number of natives who have benefited by the Mission and the ration issued was 240	240 supervision	Government Report	Bleakley, J.W. 1916 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
53	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	1 to 10km	"The number of people living in modern houses, permanent bona fide inhabitants of the Mapoon settlement, is about 200, though more than 400 individuals, occupying camps	200 reside 400 supervision	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and
54	1901	1901	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"For the twelve month ending 31st December, 1901, there were recruited from Mapoon, through Mr. Hey's hands, a total of 105 young male adults, all coming from the hinterland and coastline extending from the Batavia River to Duyphen	105 young males	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1902 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1901. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland

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55	1902	1902	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"superintendent:—"The number of aboriginals who have come under notice, and received rations and medicine, was about 400, of whom 182 are bond fide residents. The monthly returns show the average number benefited by the daily rations	182 reside 400 supervision	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland
56	1902	1902	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"There were 123 males recruited here—the largest number on record—seventy by eight Europeans, and fifty-three by nine aliens; the recruiting area extended	123 males recruited	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1903 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1902. Votes and
57	1903	1903	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"During the year there were recruited for the bêche-de-mer boats 133 boys, an increase of ten over the number recruited during 1902."	133 boys recruited	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1904 Annual Report of the Northern Protector of
58	1904	1904	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"Eighty-four male aboriginals were recruited up to the end of July, sixty-five by Europeans and nineteen by aliens;"	84 males recruited	Government Report	Roth, W.E. 1905 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
59	1907	1907	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"the presence of a number of recruiting boats, which succeeded, at the beginning of the year, in enticing 21 Mapoon natives away, have been the cause of much trouble."	21 Mapoon men recruited	Government Report	Howard, R.B. 1908 Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
60	1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	less than 1km	"fourty nine young men were recruited during the year. They were taken, Mr Hey complains, just when they had become useful: and sometimes even school boys (whom the Hon. J. Douglas has frequently sent back) are enticed from the station. The natives go willingly out of their curiosity but they have no idea of the meaning of	49 young men	Government Report	The Queenslander. July 31, 1897 Mapoon Mission, P. 1. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
61	1897	1897	Mapoon Mission	12° 1'8.92"S	141°54'6.15"E	Greater than 10km	"There are about 200 permanent residents but coming and going the average is about 500"	200 reside, 500 supervision	Historical Newspaper	https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspape The Telegraph. July 19, 1897 Aborigines in the North, P. 6. Brisbane (1872-1947). Retrieved 21/01/18 from
62	1894	1894	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"A well informed correspondent sends an interesting letter on the bêche-de-mer fishery in Torres Straits. He says that 196 persons are engaged in the industry of whom 19 are employers"	119 bêche-de-mer	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. March 10, 1894 The Bêche-de-mer Fishery, P. 4. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from
63	1902	1905	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"In 1902 51 bêche-de-mer vessels were licensed"	51 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and beche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
64	1903	1903	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"In 1903 there were only 36 boats working"	36 boats	Historical Newspaper	<a href="#">The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and beche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from</a>
65	1903	1903	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"301 boats engaged (pearl shell)	301 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and bêche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
66	1902	1902	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"276 boats engaged (pearl shell)	276 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and beche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
67	1901	1901	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"331 boats engaged (pearl shell)	331 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and beche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
68	1900	1900	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"341 boats engaged (Pearl shell)	341 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. January 14, 1905 Pearl shell and beche-de-mer fisheries, P. 40. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
69	1895	1895	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"237 boats engaged (pearl shell)	237 boats	Historical Newspaper	Darling Downs Gazette. September 12, 1896 Torres Strait Pearl fisheries, P. 4. Queensland (1881-1922). Retrieved from

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70	1875	1875	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		" 50 boats engaged (pearl shell)	50 boats	Historical Newspaper	Rockhampton Bulletin. December 1, 1875 The Torres Strait Pearl Fisheries, P. 3. Queensland (1871-1878). Retrieved from
71	1894	1894	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"The return shows 154 of these two are known to have drowned while 25 cannot at present be accounted for and must be written off as deserters"	154 Aboriginal people employed	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. March 17, 1894 Thursday Island: The Beche-de-mer Fishery, P. 521. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from
72	1896	1896	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"207 pearling boats were licensed	207 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. November 25, 1897 Pearl Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 7. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from
73	1893	1893	Torres Strait				"250 vessels engaged in shelling"	250 boats	Historical Newspaper	<a href="#">Leader. November 4, 1893 Torres Straits Fisheries, P. 5. Melbourne (1862-1918). Retrieved from</a>
74	1896	1896	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"252 boats of all kinds were licensed"	252 boats	Historical Newspaper	<a href="#">The Brisbane Courier. November 25, 1897 Pearl Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 7. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from</a>
75	1897	1897	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		231 pearl diving boats licensed	231 boats	Historical Newspaper	The Brisbane Courier. November 25, 1897 Pearl Shell and Beche-de-mer, P. 7. Queensland (1864-1933). Retrieved from
76	1879	1879	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"104 boats"	104 boats	Historical Newspaper	Our Northern Fishereis, P. 753. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/19781335">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/19781335</a>
77	1879	1879	Thursday Island	10°34'50.54"S	142°13'9.92"E		"714 men engaged in these fisheries, 31 Europeans"	714 men	Historical Newspaper	The Queenslander. June 14, 1879 Our Northern Fisheries, P. 753. Brisbane (1866-1939). Retrieved from