

Locating a celestial black hole:
Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in North Queensland,
1873-1900.

By
Peter Moore

Being a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History

University of the Sunshine Coast
November 2014

Culturally Sensitive Warning

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People should be aware that this thesis may contain names of, and references to, people who have since passed away. Readers should be aware that in some Indigenous communities, hearing or seeing names of deceased persons might cause distress, particularly to the relatives of these people.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisors Dr David Trudinger and Dr Marcus Bussey for their support, advice and encouragement during the production of this thesis. I am also indebted to Peter Low, Jeannie Mok and the committee of the Chinese Museum of Queensland for instigating my quest into the history of Chinese migrants in Queensland, and for the financial assistance that enabled my research trip to North Queensland. I would also like to thank Dr Francesco Ricatti, Dr Gary Crew, Dr Kevin Rains, Dr Michael Williams and Sandi Robb who have at various stages offered advice and information that may relate to my research. Further to this I'd like to thank the staff of the University of the Sunshine Coast Library, the Queensland State Archives and the University of Queensland Fryer Library for their assistance during the research process. I also thank the volunteers and staff of the Cairns Historical Society, Cooktown Historical Society and Cooktown Museum for allowing me access to their records and assisting in my research. My greatest gratitude is for my partner and daughter, my parents and family for your patience, company and support.

I wish especially to acknowledge and thank the Kuku-Yalanji, Kokomini, Guugu-Yimidhirr and other Peoples of all traditional southern Cape York Peninsula Countries past and present for the deepened respect I have evolved through this research.

Table of Contents

Culturally Sensitive Warning.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Chapter One:	1
Introduction.....	1
<i>Locating a celestial black hole</i>	1
<i>Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in North Queensland, 1873-1900</i>	4
Research outline and findings.....	7
Literature review	10
<i>A history of colonising historiography</i>	10
<i>Indigenous Australians</i>	13
<i>Chinese Australians</i>	17
<i>Aboriginal-Chinese relations</i>	21
Chapter Two:.....	25
Theoretical framework.....	25
<i>Relatedness theory</i>	25
Methodology.....	29
<i>Perspective on truth</i>	29
<i>A moment in time</i>	31
<i>Reconstructing cultural contact</i>	32
Narrative Method.....	33
Chapter Three: Palmer River Discontinuity 1873-1874	36
<i>Cooktown: Outsiders who are strangers</i>	36
<i>Outsiders: European and Chinese</i>	41
<i>The frontline: Aboriginal women and the Outsider</i>	45
<i>Conflict: Beyond enfoldment</i>	47
<i>Realignment: Outsiders who are known about</i>	51
Chapter Four: British Consolidation Discontinuity 1874-1892.....	54
<i>Strangers: The incoming tide</i>	55
<i>Legislation: Biting the hand that feeds you</i>	61
<i>Capitalising: Solving the 'Aboriginal problem'</i>	65
<i>Other: Aborigines and Chinese</i>	72
Chapter Five: Protecting Aborigines Discontinuity 1892-1900	78
<i>Barron Valley: Chinese threat</i>	79
<i>Protectors: Dismantling relatedness</i>	81
<i>Another: Outsiders who are friends</i>	85
<i>White Australia: Removing the traces of relatedness</i>	90
Chapter Six: Conclusion	94
List of references.....	99
Primary sources	99
<i>Autobiographies, books, journals and memoirs</i>	99
<i>Correspondence</i>	99
<i>Government documents and reports</i>	101
<i>Newspapers</i>	102
Secondary sources	105
<i>Conference papers</i>	105
<i>Books</i>	105
<i>Edited book chapters</i>	108
<i>Journal articles</i>	111
<i>Unpublished theses</i>	112
<i>Websites</i>	113

Chapter One:

Introduction

Locating a celestial black hole

[T]he farthest galaxies move away from us at a speed greater than that of their light, which cannot reach us, such that the darkness we see in the night sky is nothing but the invisibility of the light of the unknown stars.¹

Like constellations glittering across the depths of a moonlit night, Anglo-Celtic metanarratives dominate the course of Australian historiography. These glorified remnants cloak the vista of a timeless past in relatively recent reflected glories of white battlers forging a nation, economic and political progress, mono-cultural unity, of all mates being equal and there being a democratic fair-go for all. Within the surrounding void-depths that define the Southern Cross are countless pasts disappearing beyond view. These pasts continue to be colonised by a limited vision, as they move away from memory and comprehension faster than post-empiricist cartographers can complete the map.

Since the late 1960s, a growing number of Australian historians have searched beyond the foregrounded stars, challenging established metanarratives with postcolonial, race, class, gender, Indigenous and other critical perspectives. These critics of white nationalism's simplistic claims have impacted on the nation's cultural paradigm, and signalled new possibilities for Australia's future. Yet, the Southern Cross remains prominent for many self-proclaimed 'real' white-Australian, with no apparent depth of field required to admire its luminance. However, to a large degree, even these critical perspectives have continued to inadvertently colonise non-Westerners by remaining centred on Europeans, in part because the extant written evidence is overwhelmingly European.

¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen, New York: Zone Books, 2002, p. 162.

While much has been written about contact between Europeans and Aborigines, and the historiography relating to contact between Europeans and non-Europeans is beginning to grow, little published research has explored contact between Aborigines and non-Europeans. For example, a growing number of historians have revealed the Chinese role in opening North Queensland to agriculture and industry; involvement in local, national and international trade, transportation and communication; and their role played in social and business networks, thus challenging notions of Australia being an entirely white-built nation. However, throughout Australia generally, and in North Queensland specifically, few historians have endeavoured to explore the pre-Federation relationship between Aborigines and the Chinese.

This is understandable, as the creation and selective preservation of certain types of evidence has served white-Australia's Anglo-Celtic perspective. However, the preserved evidence possesses layers of perspectives beyond those immediately visible to others obscured in the voids. Therefore, mapping these voids commences with their influence on the preserved evidence. The same evidence labelling the Chinese 'celestials', the Aborigines 'blacks', and leaving holes where their voices should be.

This thesis identifies one such celestial black hole where Chinese and Aboriginal voices should be: the relationship between Chinese and Aborigines in pre-Federation North Queensland. As little direct evidence remains to fully chart this celestial black hole, it must be inductively analysed by its influence on the creation of scattered fragments of text. This thesis therefore does not seek definitive answers, but aims to create a scaffold for future research by directing attention to a void-depth in the past that may hold a key to defining Australian identity in the future.

Australian identity remains contested in 2014 because the nation is yet to come to terms with how its society came to be, and therefore, what it means to be Australian. For much of the 20th century, a white-Australian cultural habitus has both informed, and been informed by, an Anglo-Celtic historiography celebrating the birth of an exclusively white nation in 1901, for many, even later on a foreign shore in 1915.² This triumphalist perspective continues to retain dominance for many Australians, to inform Australian school curriculums, and has been championed in national political discourse by Prime Ministers such as John Howard.³ This 'mythistory' exists at the exclusion of Aborigines and non-Anglo-Celtic migrants, such as the Chinese.⁴ The virtual exclusion of all other races as inconsequential in Australian pre-Federation history serves to deny them a voice in the birth of the nation, and justifies a 'scale-of-whiteness' criterion in the definition of Australian identity.⁵

The construction of this mono-cultural mindset, marginalising non-Anglo-Celts, has been evident in the nation's social engineering since well before the White Australia Policy. For example, the arguments against introducing Chinese and Indian indentured labour in 1837 were also manifested in the One Nation Party's representation of Australia being overrun by Asians in the mid-1990s.⁶ This fear of

² Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago, 1992; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, Stanford, CA, 1998; and Pierre Bourdieu, *The Fields of Cultural Production*, New York, 1993 cited in Christine Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, *What Is Migration History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009, p. 79. Habitus is defined as the embedded internalised cultural and behavioural norms of individuals and societies that evolve through contact with other individuals and societies.

³ Eric E Rump, "Migration to Australia", in Leonore Loeb Adler and Uwe P. Gielen (eds), *Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective*, Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003. See Eric Rump for an example of Australian history as represented in a high school textbook.

⁴ William H. McNeill, "Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, 1986, pp. 8-9. The term mythistory is taken from US historian William McNeill.

⁵ Toula Nicolacopoulos and George Vassilacopoulos, "Racism, Foreigner Communities and the onto-Pathology of White Australian Subjectivity", in Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed.), *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 32, 34. Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos argue 'whiteness functions as the unacknowledged socially and institutionally embedded norm that defines the human condition' for Australians as 'white', 'non-white' and 'not-white-enough'.

⁶ Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass (Chairman), "Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee on Immigration, Indian and British, into New South Wales", in New South Wales Legislative Council, *Votes & Proceedings*, Sydney, 1837.

the non-Anglo-Celt infecting the purity of the British gene-pool and polity has remained one of the rationales underpinning immigration policy and white cultural habitus for nearly 200 years.⁷

Unless the balancing voices, agencies, networks, lifestyles and events of Aborigines and non-Anglo-Celtic migrant-Australians are equally represented in Australian historiography, it is unlikely that 21st-century Australia will fully come to terms with its racial diversity, and benefit from the human, social, political and economic capital existing in its cultural diversity.

Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in North Queensland, 1873-1900

Three documents in particular have led to this enquiry. In 1925, Taam Sze Pui's self-published memoir recalled constant terror on his maiden 1876 journey from Cooktown to the Palmer River goldfields: 'We kept close to the group not daring to detach ourselves lest we should be set upon by the black natives and probably be devoured by them'.⁸ In 1898, complaints by white community leaders such as EC Putt of the Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association to Protector of Aborigines for the Northern District of Queensland Walter Roth, revealed outrage that the Chinese were implementing cut-throat practices, such as paying Aborigines higher wages and when due, supplying better housing and food, and sharing their opium and billy with the Aborigines.⁹ With a sense of incredulity, Roth quotes Putt's complaint that he had personally shot: '15 or 14 niggers in this district, and this is all the Government has done for me. I can't get a ---- nigger when I want one. They all go to the Chinamen'.¹⁰ Thirdly, in 1974, Kuku-Yalanji elder Norman Mitchell recalled

⁷ Janet Doust, "Setting up Boundaries in Colonial Eastern Australia Race and Empire", *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 35, no. 123, 2004, p. 157.

⁸ Taam Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, Innisfail: Self-published, 1925, p. 12.

⁹ W Roth, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898: The Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association, and Its Opposition to the Employment of Aborigines by Coloured Aliens", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898. Although some 21st-century sources have corrected the term Chief Protector of Aborigines to Aborigines, the title has been included here in its original form.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Roth censored Putt's expletive in his report. The final words in the original document are faded beyond recognition and have therefore been cited in Kathryn Cronin, "'The Yellow Agony': Racial

early-20th-century visits as a child to a Chinese garden on the Palmer River.¹¹ Mitchell's father would gift the Chinese with a large sand goanna for eating, and for producing cooking oil and medicines.¹² Mitchell's recollections and Putt's complaints indicate that prior to Federation, the hostilities on the Palmer River frontier, feared by Sze Pui, had evolved into emotional, social, work and trade relationships between Chinese migrants and the Kuku-Yalanji.

Given the significance of the Chinese and other non-European migrants in North Queensland history, it is surprising to find that pre-Federation Aboriginal-Chinese relations in North Queensland remain practically unrepresented in Australian historiography.¹³ Although various historians have touched on these relationships while pursuing other research, the discussion generally centres on post-Federation continuities, not pre-Federation discontinuities.¹⁴ No historian has specifically investigated the relationship between Aborigines and Chinese migrants in southern Cape York Peninsula between the discontinuity of the Palmer River goldfields and the legislated discontinuity of Federation.

This thesis therefore joins recently emerging research that demonstrates the agency of Chinese migrants, and extends the limited research identifying Aboriginal-Asian contact in pre-Federation Australian history. To achieve this, the present work utilises Quandamookah scholar Karen Martin's 2006 relatedness theory, intended as a methodological approach for 21st-century researchers recommending respect for Aboriginal 'regulation of Outsiders to Aboriginal Country', herein applied as a

Attitudes and Responses Towards the Chinese in Colonial Queensland", in Raymond L Evans, Kay E Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin (eds), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993 (1975).

¹¹ Christopher Anderson and Norman Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", *Aboriginal History*, vol. 5, 1981.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. AM Sheridan Smith, London & New York: Routledge, 2002 (1969), pp. 23-24. The terms 'continuities' and 'discontinuities' are taken from Foucault, who recommends suspending unquestioned epistemological unities and continuities such as tradition, progress, evolution and collective consciousness, used to group otherwise dispersed events, and establishing a focus on discontinuities and difference.

theoretical framework for understanding the North Queensland Indigenous Peoples' late-19th-century agency in contact with Outsiders.¹⁵ It is therefore important to note that Aboriginal sovereignty is herein recognised as being: 'the inalienable rights and relationships of Aboriginal Peoples to Country, all things within, material or non-material and all things that concern these rights and relationships'.¹⁶

The available documentary evidence relating to late-19th-century North Queensland has been overwhelmingly produced by Anglo-Celtic migrants and the progeny of earlier Anglo-Celtic migrants. This evidence has been influenced by late-19th-century European philosophical and scientific paradigms that served white-Australian beliefs and claims to rightful possession of the continent. Therefore, a focus on discontinuities has been applied in this thesis to decentre European continuities and inductively theorise the events through a relatedness framework to attain a more

¹⁵ Karen Lillian Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: An Investigation of How Rainsforest Aboriginal People Regulate Outsiders and the Implications for Western Research and Researchers* [Abstract], PhD, James Cook University, 2006, p. 9.

¹⁶ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' up to the White Women: Indigenous Women and Feminism*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000; Damien W Riggs, "'We Don't Talk About Race Anymore': Power, Privilege and Critical Whiteness Studies", *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/riggs_intro.htm>; Fiona Nicoll, "'Are You Calling Me Racist?': Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm>; S Gilbert, "The Role of Non-Indigenous Researcher Employed in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Programmes in Universities", in *Indigenous Research Ethics: Papers from the Conference Held in Townsville in September 1995*, edited by School of Indigenous Australian Studies, Townsville: James Cook University, 1995; L Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Otago: Zen Books, 1999; J Huggins, *Sister Girl*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1998; K Brown, "Researching the Aboriginal Past: Towards Community Control of the Research Enterprise", in *Indigenous Research Ethics: Papers from the Conference Held in Townsville in September 1995*, edited by School of Indigenous Australian Studies, Townsville: James Cook University, 1995; M Dodson, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commission: Third Report*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services, 1995; G Hingangaroa Smith, "Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge", in M Battiste (ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices and Vision*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002 cited in Karen Lillian Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, Teneriffe: Post Pressed, 2008, pp. 52-53. Original emphasis. All quotes taken from Martin's thesis maintain their original use of emphasis. Martin's use of emphasis and capitalisation is intended to denote both the connectedness of these words to the 'realities, knowledges, beliefs and wisdom of [her] Elders, family and Quandamooah kin', and 'to establish and confirm the different and distinct relationships and depths of meaning applied to these words'. The implementation of italicised terms relevant to Martin's personal Indigenous connectedness has not been replicated in this thesis outside of direct quotes as a sign of respect for the intimate significance these terms hold for Martin. However, as a demonstration of respect for the 'distinct relationships and depths of meaning' held by certain words for Indigenous Australians, Martin's example of capitalisation has been emulated. The term 'Outsider' is applied throughout this thesis in the context used by Martin, being all persons European, Asian and Aboriginal not Indigenous to Country.

inclusive reconstruction of cultural contact. The objective is to achieve a culturally comparative historiography that recognises Aboriginal, Chinese and European differences and equality.¹⁷

Research outline and findings

This thesis therefore seeks to identify the existence of Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in southern Cape York Peninsula between 1873-1900 within the constellations of white Australian historical documents. A specific focus is placed on the Guugu-Yimidhirr, Kokomini and Kuku-Yalanji in the Cooktown, Palmer River and Atherton Tablelands regions. The aim is to describe when, and suggest why, these relationships emerged, indicating how they influenced, and were influenced by, the burgeoning British dominance over the region. This thesis thereby tests the applicability of relatedness theory, recommended by Karen Martin as a methodological approach for 21st-century researchers working with Aborigines, as a framework for writing Aboriginal-Outsider cultural-contact history.

The remainder of this chapter explores relevant literature, explaining how the European concept of history continues to act as a tool of colonisation due to its

¹⁷ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; Jörn Rüsen, "Criteria of Historical Judgement", in Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Achim Mittag, and Jörn Rüsen (eds), *Historical Truth Historical Criticism and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*, Leiden: Brill, 2005; Regina Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2006, p. 146; Penny Edwards and Shen Yuanfang, "Something More Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", in Penny Edwards and Shen Yuanfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*, Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003, p. 7. Rüsen argues criteria of judgement embedded in individual and cultural paradigms underpin historiography, and that in order to develop a culturally comparative historiography, mutual recognition of differences and equality must be achieved. The collective terms Aborigines, Chinese and Europeans are themselves problematic, being 'discursive constructions' that create a false 'conceptual certainty' obscuring regional ethnicities, and class and religious differences that may or may not transcend political boundaries. The term Chinese encompasses Cantonese, Teochiu, Hokien, Han, Hakka and other ethnic groups, while Aborigine in relation to this thesis encompasses such Peoples as the Kuku-Yalanji, Kokomini, and Guugu-Yimidhirr. European in the Australian context predominantly refers to British and Irish, but can also refer to Germans, Swedes, Russians, and others involved in the Palmer River rush. However, the use of the terms Chinese and Aborigine are for the most part necessitated, as no distinction is made in the historical records, or the majority of related historiography, and the geographic locations referred to by their British names do not distinguish upon which People's Country the events occur. Therefore, in the interests of equal representation, the term European is applied to designate non-Aborigines and non-Chinese.

dependence on European epistemologies and ontologies. The history of researching Aborigines is discussed along with predominant Aboriginal-regulation-of-Outsiders theories emerging since the mid-20th century. This illuminates the significance of applying a theory based on Aboriginal epistemologies and ontologies.¹⁸ A discussion of the key areas researched since the early-1970s relating to the Chinese in North Queensland reveals a progression from being presented as antagonists, to being a significant and positive presence in the region. Finally, the limited attention to Aboriginal-Asian relations in Australian historiography is identified, indicating the significance of redressing this omission. Chapter Two explains the relatedness theoretical framework underpinning this thesis, and the methodological approach to reconstructing cultural-contact history through a focus on discontinuity. Finally, the application of the narrative method is described.

Chapter Three identifies two distinct Chinese migratory patterns prior to and after December 1874, focusing on the initial migrant group. These men were a part of a poly-ethnic migratory mining community and possessed prior relationships with other Chinese, Europeans and Aborigines. The chapter explores the conditions and circumstances surrounding the discontinuity of the opening of the Palmer goldfield through the lens of relatedness theory. It begins by identifying the inability of European document creators, blind to the relational quality of Indigenous life, to see beyond racially determined assumptions. The assumption that Aborigines invariably responded to invasion with war is challenged by evidence of Aboriginal attempts to enfold Outsiders.¹⁹ This is further challenged by the notion of Aboriginal women often being the frontline of contact within a predominantly male Outsider frontier. When interpreted through relatedness, the Aboriginal response indicates an

¹⁸ It is acknowledged in the limited space of this thesis, there is no opportunity to explore a Sino-historiographical dimension to the question being approached here from the position of Aboriginal relatedness. This limits the potential for a balanced approach to cultural contact that recognises cultural difference and equality. However, in relation to future research, the conversation may well begin with Zhang Longxi, "The True Face of Mount Lu: On the Significance of Perspectives and Paradigms", *History & Theory*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2010.

¹⁹ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 75. The term 'enfold' is a specific act of incorporating Outsiders and Entities, thereby enabling relatedness to evolve rather than assimilate or replace, a process where the 'other' becomes 'another'.

adherence to rectifying relatedness determined by the nature of the Outsider's transgression. Given such greater complexities existing on the frontier than previously acknowledged, it is probable that members of the first Chinese migrants had already commenced relationships with Aboriginal People prior to the arrival of migrants direct from China.

Chapter Four focuses on the British consolidation of the frontier via the judicial methods of the time, in response to the overwhelming numbers of Chinese arriving direct from China and ongoing hostilities with the Aborigines. This second wave of Chinese migrants, including Taam Sze Pui, arrived with no experience of Aborigines and were terrorised by frontier tales of cannibalism that encouraged the formation of racist attitudes. The anti-Chinese media campaign intensified, driving legislative responses that, coupled with the hardships of the Palmer fields, collapsed the region's economy, resulting in it being near-deserted. After a decade of devastation to People and Country, many of the surviving Aborigines became reliant on the Outsiders, living as fringe-dwelling labour for food, tobacco and opium. As the fields were deserted, the Aborigines had little alternative, but to follow. The Chinese established themselves throughout the North, forming intimate, social and working relationships with the Aborigines that were utilised by Europeans to deflect scrutiny away from European actions. Accounts published by Europeans visiting the North presented the views of their European hosts, representing the Aborigines and Chinese in a derogatory manner that served the perspectives and purposes of an emerging white Australia.

Chapter Five explores the hostile reception that the Chinese migrating away from the collapse of the Palmer goldfield to the Atherton Tablelands received from the district's Europeans. Soon after their arrival many Chinese had formed intimate and working relationships with the Aborigines. These relationships became a weapon in the hands of anti-Chinese agitators, motivated by a desire to remove Chinese competition for inexpensive Aboriginal labour. Accusations of the Chinese taking advantage of colonial systems and mistreating the Aborigines continuously proved

false, leading to the more serious accusation of supplying opium. Each subsequent investigation found the Aborigines preferred working with the Chinese because they were treated better. Within the records of these accusations and investigations exists evidence of enfolding and evolving relatedness between the Aborigines and Chinese, demonstrated by their mutual respect and resistance to official interventions. The State apparatus, in the form of *The Aborigines Protection and the Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*, brought these relationships under more intense scrutiny, in a process that determined to segregate the Aborigines and Chinese. While this system brought much grief to the already established mixed-race families and kinship networks, and placed the children of these families in greater peril by removing them, by Federation the legislation had only served to force Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness underground.

Literature review

A history of colonising historiography

The role 'history' has played in colonising Indigenous peoples and those deemed 'Other' is not unique to Australia, and has been the source of much philosophical and historiographical debate, particularly since the emergence of critical postcolonial studies in the mid-20th century. Central to this debate are the Eurocentric nature of historiography and the prevailing dominance of European thought underpinning the very concept of history itself.

Walter Mignolo explains how the Renaissance concept of history, in the form of textual documentation, came to be seen in Europe as the only relevant method for the accurate preservation of memory.²⁰ This notion then migrated to European peripheries along with colonisation, delegitimising Indigenous historical methods.²¹ As one of history's important functions is building identity, and European thought had elevated written history above all other forms, possessing the alphabet

²⁰ Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd ed., Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003 (1995), p. 135.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

controlled the narrative, empowering the narrator to define the identity.²² In this way, modern European thought sought to master global human diversity by differentiating the 'Other' in order to justify European imperialism under the metanarratives of progress, religious conversion and racial hierarchy.²³

This exclusion of non-European histories is accentuated when access to the past is limited by a lack of available non-European records, as in the evidence pertaining to the late-19th century in North Queensland. Only two Chinese-migrant memoirs relating to North Queensland from the mid-1870s are known to exist. Taam Sze Pui and Tam Sei both lived and worked on the Palmer River and then in the greater North Queensland district.²⁴ The only reference to Aborigines is Sze Pui's fear of cannibalism and their status as impediments and enemies.²⁵ Only Norman Mitchell's account of orally transmitted stories gives an extant indication of an Aboriginal perspective on the Chinese.²⁶

The inability to shed Euro-centrism continues, exacerbated by the selective preservation of documents, although 20th-century developments in world history (seeking to change historical focus), and postmodernism (seeking to change historical thinking), 'share the goal of 'provincializing Europe''.²⁷ However, as Michael Lang explains, even these histories aiming at ending the European metanarrative through global inclusion or social heterogeneity have emerged from Westerners whose thought is founded in European philosophies and concepts of history, and thus risk simply creating a new metanarrative.²⁸ Lang gives the example of subaltern studies as a combined, postmodern-world history approach that

²² Ibid., p. 133.

²³ Michael Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", in Marnie Hughes-Warrington (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in World Histories*, London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 170-171; Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, p. 127.

²⁴ Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*; Tam Sie, "Episodes in the Life of the Late Mr Tam Sie", *The Innisfail & District Historical Society Journal*, vol. 13, 1997 (1918).

²⁵ Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, pp. 12, 50-53.

²⁶ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland".

²⁷ Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 169.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 176; Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

endeavours to address Euro-centrism by recognising European 'teleological, normative and universalizing' conceptual frameworks and their influences on the documentary evidence.²⁹

In reconceptualising Indian history, Dipesh Chakrabarty claims history remains the domain of Europe, hence Indian (and by extension all non-European) 'history is itself in a position of subalternity'.³⁰ The over-emphasis on nation-state formation and the progress of non-Europeans towards modernity has sacrificed the histories of all those outside the metanarrative.³¹ This is confirmed by Karen Martin's argument from an Indigenous Australian perspective.³² Simply researching Indigenous People is not enough, if it is confined within a European conceptual framework.³³ Martin extends this argument in relation to researching 'on', 'about' or 'with' Aborigines while the theories underpinning the research remain European.³⁴

As with the diverse peoples conceptualised as Amerindians and those collectivised as Indians, Australian historiography relating to the diverse Peoples labelled Aborigines and Chinese migrants has been written to understand a past that serves the evolution of colonial to nation-state power and polity.³⁵ Through the use of the concept of *terra nullius*, Australian historiography has been able to ignore the alternative, in migration terms, that the Indigenous Australians were and, although not treated as such, are the host societies to both European and non-European migrants. Therefore much historiography continues to colonise the past by failing to challenge the standpoint that the British were hosts to all others.

²⁹ Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 182. Subaltern studies argue the daily lives of Indigenous peoples rarely resembled their historical explanation.

³⁰ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, p. 27 cited in Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 181.

³¹ Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 181.

³² Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*.

³³ Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 181; Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, pp. 25-30.

³⁴ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 29.

³⁵ Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", p. 182.

Indigenous Australians

Research into the violence of frontier and post-frontier relations rightly remains significant to the reconstruction of Australian historiography. In 2008, Jonathon Richards produced an extensive study of the role of the Native Police in Queensland's colonial history, revealing the extent to which European settlers were willing to go to exterminate the Indigenous presence.³⁶ In 2013, Timothy Bottoms argued the Queensland frontier was more violent than any other in Australia, and that the systematic slaughter of Aborigines had been ignored at the time by the authorities, then subsequently ignored in the historical record, and therefore Australian historiography.³⁷ Such research is invaluable, as for a nation to know itself, it must understand its past, not simply its myths. However, Martin argues that Aboriginal agency and survival continue to be valued in terms of ability to acculturate and integrate after initial contact with non-Aboriginal society, a standpoint that infers British sovereignty.³⁸ Consideration of the structures and processes of Indigenous societies as host nations must be explored first in order to understand relatedness from a standpoint of cultural equality.

In *Please Knock Before You Enter*, Martin discusses the assumptions underpinning research into Aborigines since the 1860s and their effect as another tool of colonialism and dispossession.³⁹ Early research saw Aborigines as specimens, assuming no permission need be required from Aboriginal People.⁴⁰ The removal of belongings and individuals, alive or dead, was legitimated as collecting 'data', believing these removals could be compensated by gifts of blankets or other

³⁶ Jonathon Richards, *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2008. Richards acknowledges insufficient evidence remains to truly understand the extent to which the Indigenous People were slaughtered.

³⁷ Timothy Bottoms, *Conspiracy of Silence: Queensland's Frontier Killing Times*, Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2013. This argument has been convincingly made by a number of historians such as Henry Reynolds in the latter part of the 20th century.

³⁸ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 50.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-35.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

novelties.⁴¹ European researchers believed only they possessed 'the right' to analyse, only they were qualified to present 'good' analysis of Aboriginal 'primitivism', and that Aboriginal knowledge was public domain to be exploited for self-gain.⁴²

This appropriation of Aboriginal Stories was exacerbated in the 1960s by a belief that the remnants of selected Aboriginal societies needed to be 'recorded and memorialised' before the race died out altogether.⁴³ The effect of this research, if not the purpose, was to sanction claims of *terra nullius* and silence Aboriginal voices with a weight of reliable 'data'.⁴⁴ However, Martin explains, Aboriginal research can also be a tool to counter colonisation and dispossession.⁴⁵ In recent years, some practitioners have endeavoured to refocus research "on' or 'about' Aboriginal People' to 'with' Aboriginal People.⁴⁶ However, while the methods changed, the applied theories tended to dispossess Aboriginal knowledge, experience and reality.⁴⁷

Three initial theories explaining Aboriginal regulation of Outsiders emerged from the mid-1970s.⁴⁸ Firstly, Outsiders were initially embraced as deceased relatives, and conflict only commenced once the Europeans failed to respond as expected.⁴⁹ Secondly, Aborigines punished Outsiders for not adhering to traditional structures and processes, and expected them 'to accept the consequences of inappropriate

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴² Ibid., p. 28.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 19, 29.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴⁹ R Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: Black Response to White Dominance 1788-2001*, 3rd ed., Crow's Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2002; Raymond L Evans, "The Darkling Plain: Impressions of Early Racial Confrontation", in Raymond L Evans, Kay E Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin (eds), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988; H. Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance of the European Invasion of Australia*, Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1990; CD Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1974 cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 41.

behaviour'.⁵⁰ Thirdly, Aborigines responded with less tolerance when they realised the Outsiders intended to stay.⁵¹ Martin argues, while the scholarship founded on these theories is well-intentioned and reveals the existence of Aboriginal agency, its adherence to contact-conflict, invasion-resistance, and conquest-assimilation dichotomies is a manifestation of Social Darwinism, where Aboriginal inferiority is reactive and powerless in the face of superior non-Aboriginal technology and intellect.⁵² Essentially, the postcolonial critique of race-relations dynamics has continued to privilege European agency, and according to Martin's critique, is therefore unbalanced and racist.⁵³

More recent race related theories have also been criticised as failing to decentre whiteness. Critical race theory, informed by identity and culture-specific epistemologies focusing on race, racism and the racialisation of subjects, recognises racial identity as a social construction, framed by habitus and hegemonic codes that can be contested, negotiated and changed.⁵⁴ Critical race theory identifies how even notions of inclusion still continue to racialise non-whites and centre whiteness, championing the need to redefine ontologies and epistemologies in order to refine scholarship.⁵⁵ However, it has been argued that critical race theory itself tends to re-

⁵⁰ Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance of the European Invasion of Australia* cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 41.

⁵¹ Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society* cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 41.

⁵² Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, pp. 49-50.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵⁴ G Ladson-Billings, "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies", in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 2000; J Stanfield, "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research", in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *The Landscapes of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, London: Sage, 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 51; Susan W Hardwick, "Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration", in Caroline B Brettell and James F Hollifield (eds), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, New York & London: Routledge, 2008, p. 173.

⁵⁵ Ladson-Billings, "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies", p. 271; Stanfield, "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research", p. 350 cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, pp. 51-52.

centre whiteness.⁵⁶ Therefore, whiteness studies emerged from critical race theory's deconstruction of racialised power relationships to examine white 'power and privilege' as the 'standard against which the Other is judged as inferior'.⁵⁷ This also has been argued to re-centre whiteness, leading to critical whiteness studies interrogating the institutionalised construction of whiteness.⁵⁸

Alternatively, Aboriginal post-colonialism, as exemplified by Martin, directs the interrogation of colonialism towards the liberation of Aboriginal thought, theories,

⁵⁶ Stanfield, "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research"; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation", in Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed.), *Whitening Race*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004; Simeon Moran, "White Lives in Focus: Connecting Social Praxis, Subjectivity and Privilege", *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/moran_lives.htm>; Damien W Riggs, "'We Don't Talk About Race Anymore': Power, Privilege and Critical Whiteness Studies," *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/riggs_intro.htm>; J Haggis, "Thoughts on a Politics of Whiteness in a (Never Quite Post) Colonial Country: Abolition, Essentialism and Incommensurability", in Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed.), *Whitening Race*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004; Sara Ahmed, "Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism", *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm>; Fiona Nicoll, "'Are You Calling Me Racist?': Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm> cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 52; Hardwick, "Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration", p. 174.

⁵⁷ Stanfield, "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research"; Moreton-Robinson, "Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation"; Moran, "White Lives in Focus: Connecting Social Praxis, Subjectivity and Privilege"; Damien W Riggs, "'We Don't Talk About Race Anymore': Power, Privilege and Critical Whiteness Studies", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/riggs_intro.htm>; Haggis, "Thoughts on a Politics of Whiteness in a (Never Quite Post) Colonial Country: Abolition, Essentialism and Incommensurability"; Ahmed, "Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism"; Fiona Nicoll, "'Are You Calling Me Racist?': Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm> cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 52; Hardwick, "Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration", p. 174.

⁵⁸ Stanfield, "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research"; Moreton-Robinson, "Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation"; Moran, "White Lives in Focus: Connecting Social Praxis, Subjectivity and Privilege"; Damien W Riggs, "'We Don't Talk About Race Anymore': Power, Privilege and Critical Whiteness Studies", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/riggs_intro.htm>; Haggis, "Thoughts on a Politics of Whiteness in a (Never Quite Post) Colonial Country: Abolition, Essentialism and Incommensurability"; Ahmed, "Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism"; Fiona Nicoll, "'Are You Calling Me Racist?': Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty", *ibid.*, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm> cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 52; Hardwick, "Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration", p. 174.

Stories and realities in order to achieve 'a desirable future, not an existing reality'.⁵⁹ The desire is to decolonise 'Aboriginal Communities, of systems and institutions and especially Aboriginal research'.⁶⁰ This inverts the frontier contact, race relations, acculturation, assimilation and resistance approaches to Aboriginal research with Aboriginal terms of reference and empowerment.⁶¹ The need to critique power relations remains, as does the necessity to address with equal validity, 'the incommensurate differences between' Aboriginal and Western epistemology and ontology.⁶²

Chinese Australians

Mention the Chinese role in North Queensland's history to most 21st-century Australians and the response is market gardeners, gold miners and for some, as the preferred diet for cannibalistic Aborigines. This can be attributed to a number of factors including the sensationalist historical inventions of popular 1960s writers such as Hector Holthouse, and the pre-1970s nation-building focus on white-Australia's heritage.⁶³ Such simplifications of the Chinese migrants' role in North Queensland deny their legitimate claim to be seen, along with other non-Anglo-Celtic migrants and Aborigines, as pioneers and as Australians.

Since the late-1960s emergence of post-colonial and critical theories, historiographical approaches to Chinese migrants, as with Aborigines, have

⁵⁹ M Battiste, "Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization", in M Battiste (ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices and Vision*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002, p. xix cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 53; *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁰ Battiste, "Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization", p. xix cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 53; *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶¹ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 61.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶³ Hector Holthouse, *River of Gold: The Wild Days of the Palmer River Gold Rush*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1994 (1967); JW Collison, "The Origin and Growth of the Sugar Industry in the Cairns District", *The Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1945, p. 261; JW Collison, "Economic Development, North Queensland", *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1956, pp. 1198-1199.

challenged the earlier nation-building historiography. Initially, focus shifted from the Chinese as background antagonists founded on racial stereotypes and regional folklore that supported the White Australia Policy, to victims of bonded slavery and this racially exclusive policy.⁶⁴ The rise of multiculturalism and the acknowledgement of North Queensland's Taam Sze Pui and Tam Sei's isolated Chinese-migrant voices saw a new focus on the Chinese emerge, further contesting white history with explorations of Chinese agency.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ RB Brown, "The Desertion of Gilberton", in BJ Dalton (ed.), *Lectures on North Queensland History*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1974; Noel A Loos, "Aboriginal Resistance on the Mining, Rainforest and Fishing Frontiers", in Brian J Dalton (ed.), *Lectures in North Queensland History*, Townsville: History Department, James Cook University, 1974; Cathie May, "The Chinese Community in North Queensland", in Brian J Dalton (ed.), *Lectures on North Queensland History*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1974; Cathie May, "Chinese and Europeans in North Queensland: A Study in Race Relations", in Brian J Dalton (ed.), *Lectures on North Queensland History: Second Series*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1975; Cathie May, "Chinese-European Relations in Cairns During the Eighteen Eighties", in *Lectures on North Queensland History: Third Series*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1978; Kathryn Cronin, *The Chinese Question in Queensland in the Nineteenth Century - a Study of Racial Interaction*, BA Honours, University of Queensland, 1970, p. 2; Kathryn Cronin, "The Chinese Community in Queensland, 1874-1900", *Queensland Heritage*, vol. 2, no. 8, 1973; Kathryn Cronin, "'The Yellow Agony': Racial Attitudes and Responses Towards the Chinese in Colonial Queensland"; Cathie May, *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns 1870 to 1920*, Townsville: History Department, James Cook University, 1984; Noreen Kirkman, "From Minority to Majority: An Account of the Chinese Influx to the Palmer River Gold-Field, 1873-1876", in Henry Reynolds (ed.), *Race Relations in North Queensland*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1978. In the mid-1970s, James Cook University published a series of lectures outlining Aboriginal resistance to Europeans and the Chinese experience in North Queensland history. Kathryn Cronin's publications focus on the Chinese as victims of white-Australian racism and racial tension. Cathie May explores Chinese mobility, industry and interaction with Europeans from Innisfail to Cooktown and in the hinterland, demonstrating economic factors were crucial to race relations. Noreen Kirkman notes that although the Europeans on the Palmer goldfield expressed inflammatory rhetoric towards the Chinese, there was no significant violence between the groups, as opposed to the violent suppression of Indigenous Peoples by Europeans. Kirkman discusses rising European animosity towards growing numbers of Chinese overwhelming the European presence on the Palmer goldfields between 1873 and 1876.

⁶⁵ J. W. Cushman, "A 'Colonial Casualty': The Chinese Community in Australian Historiography", *Asian Studies Association of Australia. Review* 7, no. 3, 1984; HD Min-hsi Chan, "Becoming Australasian but Remaining Chinese: The Future of the Down under Chinese Past", in Henry Chan, Ann Curtoys, and Nora Chiang (eds), *The Overseas Chinese in Australasia: History, Settlement and Interactions*, Taipei & Canberra: Interdisciplinary Group for Australian Studies, National Taiwan University & Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, Australian National University, 2001, p. 3; Noreen Kirkman, "Chinese Miners on the Palmer", *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 13, 1987; Robert Ormston, *The Rise and Fall of a Frontier Mining Town: Cooktown 1873-85*, PhD, University of Queensland, 1996. Henry Chan claims Jennifer Cushman was pivotal in 1984 in recognising a central focus on racism and the White Australia Policy placing the Chinese as 'passive victims reacting and responding to white racism'. Kirkman addresses this in a lecture presented to the Royal Historical Society of Queensland in 1986, discussing the Chinese experience on the Palmer goldfields including European opposition, dealings with Government bodies and legislation, and Chinese communities and mining techniques, drawing on the only known first-hand accounts of Taam Sze Pui and Tam Sei. Robert Ormston explores the economic rise and fall of Cooktown between 1873 and 1885 as a result of the white business community failing to diversify. Ormston also addresses relations between

The 21st century has seen the emergence of new interpretations of the Chinese experience in North Queensland by including relevant cultural detail not apparent in earlier historiography. In analysing the autobiographies of Taam Sze Pui and Tam Sei, Shen Yuanfang notes they represented themselves in very different ways as pioneers, yet equals to Europeans, 'and, by extension, helping build Australia'.⁶⁶ Penny Edwards and Yuanfang argue the size of the Chinese population and their efficiency in achieving goals encouraged the Sino-phobia that acted as a catalyst for colonial unification into a Federated Australia in 1901.⁶⁷ Philip Griffiths similarly argues the White Australia Policy was first developed in 1888 with Queensland's *Chinese Immigration Restriction Act*, to reduce the perceived threat of the Chinese to British control of the continent.⁶⁸

Sandi Robb explores the survival strategies of women married to Chinese migrants in North Queensland, focusing predominantly on European women, while briefly discussing Indigenous women.⁶⁹ Michael Williams examines the Pacific Ocean destinations of the Pearl River Delta Chinese between 1849 and 1949 as part of the Chinese Diaspora, giving particular focus to the migrants' qiaoxiang.⁷⁰ Henry

Europeans and Aborigines, the under-rated presence of the Chinese and the key role they played in the town's commercial life.

⁶⁶ Shen Yuanfang, *Dragon Seed in the Antipodes: Chinese-Australian Autobiographies*, Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001, pp. 48, 52, 56. Shen Yuanfang's 1998 doctoral thesis was published in 2001, analysing Chinese migrant self-representation in personal records and autobiographies written across Australia.

⁶⁷ Edwards and Yuanfang, "Something More Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 3.

⁶⁸ Philip Gavin Griffiths, *The Making of White Australia: Ruling Class Agendas, 1876-1888*, PhD, The Australian National University, 2006, pp. xv, 35. Griffiths takes a Marxist stance to explore relevant political arguments in context of 'broader structures of thought' and plot how policy was shaped by these wider influences. He claims legislation was not in response to working-class racism or mobilization, but the threat of indentured labour to building 'a modern industrial economy', and 'to construct an homogenous people' reducing social discontent to enable institutions such as democracy.

⁶⁹ Sandi Robb, "Myths, Lies and Invisible Lives: European Women and Chinese Men in North Queensland 1870-1900", *Lilith*, no. 12, 2003; Sandi Robb, *Out of Sight, out of Mind: Wives of Chinese Men in North Queensland: Strategies for Survival 1875-1935*, BSS Honours, James Cook University, 2002.

⁷⁰ Michael Williams, *Destination Qiaoxiang: Pearl River Delta Villages and Pacific Ports, 1849-1949*, PhD, University of Hong Kong, 2002, p. 1. Williams defines qiaoxiang as the "'native land of one who is away" [as referring] to a person's home village, district or county, depending on which they choose to identify with as their place of origin'. Williams questions the limitations of nation-state boundaries in

Reynolds notes the significance of the Chinese as North Queensland pioneers, opening up much of the region for agriculture, introducing agricultural technologies and diversifying culinary diets.⁷¹ Kevin Rains' 'historical archaeological examination of the socio-economic relations' of Cooktown's Chinese employs migration network theory, revealing complex social negotiations between 'multiple sources of self-identification' in a community 'eroded by particularized alliances and divisions', and its reliance on other ethnic groups.⁷² Currently, the focus on Chinese migrants is diversifying into explorations of individuals and the multiple facets of lived experience.⁷³

relation to the study of migration and inverts the traditional focus on Chinese as expatriates or sojourners to explore the influence of their act of migration on their origin communities.

⁷¹ Henry Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005 (2003), pp. 61-82.

⁷² Kevin Rains, "Intersections: The Overseas Chinese Social Landscape of Cooktown 1873-1935", *Australian Archaeology*, no. 63, 2006, p. 75; Kevin Rains, *Intersections: The Overseas Chinese Social Landscape of Cooktown, 1873-1935*, PhD, The University of Queensland, 2005.

⁷³ Kevin Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc., 2011; Sandi Robb and Kevin Rains (eds), *Rediscovered Past: Chinese Tropical Australia*, East Ipswich: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc., 2014; Kevin Wong Hoy and Kevin Rains (eds), *Rediscovered Past: China in Northern Australia*, North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc., 2009, pp. iv, 1; Kevin Wong Hoy and Kevin Rains (eds), *Rediscovered Past: Valuing Chinese across the North*, North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc., 2012; Robb and Rains, *Rediscovered Past: Chinese Tropical Australia*; Wong Hoy and Rains, *Rediscovered Past: China in Northern Australia*; *Rediscovered Past: Valuing Chinese across the North*; CHINA Inc., "Northern Links: Chinese Networks and Nation", papers presented at the Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc. Conference held in Cairns in January 2014, Cairns: CHINA Inc., 2014. Kevin Rains' research into the Ah Foo family portrays Jimmy Ah Foo as a bold late-19th and early-20th century 'adventurer, entrepreneur and settler'. Since 2006, Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc.'s (CHINA Inc.) biennial publication *Rediscovered Past*, has shown a dedication to increasing understanding of Chinese diversity and agency in Australia's north, and contesting 'white Australia' versions of history. These publications collate articles based on multidisciplinary presentations at CHINA Inc.'s biennial conference in Cairns, and cover topics including Chinese ginger and sugar growing, market gardening, Taam Sze Pui's Innisfail department store, settler patterns, military service for Australia, existing cultural collections, temples and cultural exchanges with Italians, material culture and Atherton Chinatown, the pearling and bêche-de-mer industries, and hoteliers; and address the Chinese presence in the western gulf region, Cooktown, Cairns, Mareeba, Atherton, Winton, Ingham, Halifax and the Lower Herbert. The 2014 CHINA Inc. conference presented findings from Michael Williams' research into the significance of qiaoxiang, Chinese merchants on the frontier, the North Queensland Chinese watercraft industry, exhumations, existing threats to Chinese temples, the mystery surrounding the Herberton temple, mixed ancestries in the Gulf country, Carol Chong's personal genealogical exploration into her Aboriginal-Chinese ancestry, Chinese wives in Australia and the re-entry requirements for Queensland-born Chinese children returning from China.

Aboriginal-Chinese relations

In 1981, Christopher Anderson published an interview with Kuku-Yalanji man Norman Mitchell.⁷⁴ Though born after 1900, Mitchell shines an indirect light on the nature of the relationship between his People and the Chinese in late-19th-century North Queensland, passed down in the oral history of his forebears.⁷⁵ The interview gives a rare and unique Aboriginal perspective on cultural contact between Aborigines, Europeans and Chinese in North Queensland, identifying the Chinese were the only large group of non-Europeans that the inland Kuku-Yalanji had met.⁷⁶ Anderson suggests a significant point of similarity was apparent to the Kuku-Yalanji in their common discriminatory treatment by Europeans.⁷⁷

In illuminating Federation to Reconciliation relationships between Aborigines and the Chinese in various Australian locations, Edwards and Yuanfang suggest a closer cultural alignment existed between the two than was possible for 'Europeans with either group'.⁷⁸ Both Aborigines and Chinese possessed strong attachments to the land, believed in ancestral spirits, held significance for kinship networks, accepted polygamy and prescribed marriages under the intervention of older kin, identified with and named individuals in relation to 'age and familial ranking', and cared for health with natural and herbal remedies and medicines.⁷⁹ However, within these generalised and simplified similarities, there existed great structural differences in 'belief systems and social norms', as also with concepts of work, remuneration and wealth.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 21. Mitchell's Kuku-Yalanji names are Burrimuka or Babiwawu. Mitchell at the time was one of the last remaining Kuku-Yalanji, a people living in the Palmer River region of Cape York Peninsula.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24-25. Anderson and Mitchell chose to alter the names of certain persons they discussed in order to protect living relatives, thus limiting the historical potential of the interview and any subsequent research charting these anonymous individuals.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24-25.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.21.

⁷⁸ Edwards and Yuanfang, "Something More Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 7.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Henry Reynolds has written extensively on Aboriginal-European contact and Aboriginal resistance since the early 1970s.⁸¹ More recently, Reynolds has discussed the Chinese in North Queensland and Aboriginal-Asian contact within the scope of the Australian continent north of the Tropic of Capricorn.⁸² Across the North, Reynolds claims official attempts to halt the mixing of Asians and Aborigines failed to be successful due to the lack of officers to enforce the regulations and the Aborigines' preference for their treatment by Asians.⁸³ Reynolds argues that prior to Federation, Europeans, Asians, Pacific Islanders and Aborigines lived in close proximity, if not 'side by side' on pastoral stations, in 'makeshift settlements on the outskirts of towns', and on pearling and bêche-de-mer boats.⁸⁴ Europeans employed both Chinese and Aboriginal labourers and household staff, and it was common for an Aboriginal child to be living with a European family.⁸⁵ While undoubtedly, some Europeans treated these children well, Reynolds maintains that incidents of 'exploitation, cruelty and neglect' were ubiquitous.⁸⁶ Ultimately, unions between Europeans, Asians and Aborigines resulted in children with mixed heritage and features.⁸⁷

Regina Ganter's research spanning the north of the Australian continent, and temporally from pre-dating British colonisation to 21st-century effects of mixed-relations, presents the most extensive representation of Aboriginal-Asian contact.⁸⁸

⁸¹ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*; Henry Reynolds, *Race Relations in North Queensland*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1978; Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, Townsville: James Cook University, 1981; Henry Reynolds, "Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1974; Henry Reynolds, *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience, 1788-1939*, North Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1972; Henry Reynolds and Noel Loos, "Aboriginal Resistance in Queensland", *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1976.

⁸² Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 131, 137, 138-142.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 131, 137, 138-142.

⁸⁸ Regina Ganter, "Living an Immoral Life--'Coloured' Women and the Paternalistic State", *Hecate*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1998; Regina Ganter, "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", in Penny Edwards and Shen Yuangfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*, Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003; Regina Ganter, "China and the Beginning of Australian History", *The Great Circle*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2003; Ganter,

Ganter claims the poly-ethnic North's mixed-relations, though central to history, remain marginal to both Australia's Indigenous and Asian historiographies, and far more marginal in white historiography.⁸⁹ Ganter argues, to be relevant, Australian historiography must address cultural-contact and mixed-relations, rather than reinventing cultural boundaries and racial separation, claiming this can be assisted by viewing Australian contact history from the north as opposed to the traditional approach from the south.⁹⁰

Ganter notes that mixed-race families in the north 'long predate the British presence in Australia and have become an integral part of Indigenous identity', thus readdressing the Anglo-Celtic dominance as brief in the continent's history.⁹¹ For Ganter, the European occupation of Australia's north is more akin to theories of exploitation colonies than settler colonies.⁹² Europeans faced a minority imbalance within a 'poly-ethnic' society until decades into the 20th century.⁹³ However, supported by the state apparatus, the sparse 'white ruling elite' maintained dominance over an ethnically stratified society and economy, with camp Aborigines as unskilled labour at the base, and mixed-race descendants and Asians scaled by a combination of race, social worth and economic value.⁹⁴

The isolation of the North's Indigenous peoples, pre-existing Asian contact and endeavours to contain the mixing of Asian and Aboriginal blood has served the purposes of an 'anxious [white] nation' to define itself.⁹⁵ However, official efforts to separate Aboriginal and Asian populations failed to halt an emerging mixed

Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia; Regina Ganter, "Turning the Map Upside Down", *History Compass*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2006.

⁸⁹ Ganter, "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 69.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 69; Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 146.

⁹³ Ganter, "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 69; Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 146.

⁹⁴ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 146.

⁹⁵ Ganter, "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 81.

population that formed 'close-knit communities'.⁹⁶ Though depth is continuously being added to Australia's historiographical narrative, mapping the relationship between Chinese migrants and Aborigines has only just begun.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

Chapter Two:

To construct a scaffold for future research into Aboriginal-Chinese contact relying on a dominance of evidence written and preserved by a European third party justifying and indemnifying its racist and colonialist habitus first requires a new approach not founded on the epistemologies and ontologies of that third party. Relatedness theory offers such a new approach. This enables the foundation for a reconstruction of cultural-contact history that identifies and respects difference and equality. Central to this process is an evaluation of the assumptions underpinning history, and a rejection of European concepts of continuities such as progress for a focus on discontinuities. The lack of evidence from an Aboriginal or Chinese perspective requires the application of inductive logic to the evidence-based historical methodology through a process of deconstructing the European voice to find indications and traces of the events that influenced the documents' creation. In this way, mapping this pre-Federation, cultural-contact celestial black hole in Australian historiography can be commenced.

Theoretical framework

Relatedness theory

Martin's call to centre 'Aboriginal worldviews, knowledges, values and behaviours' underpins this thesis' approach to analysing the events recorded by European discourses in the historical record.⁹⁷ As a framework, relatedness theory 'is comprised of three conditions: Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being, and Ways of Doing'.⁹⁸ Martin defines relatedness as an ontological constant:

[T]he sets of conditions, processes and practices that occur amongst and between the Creators and Ancestors; the Spirits; the Filter and the Entities. This relatedness occurs across contexts and is maintained within conditions that are: physical, spiritual, political, geographical, intellectual, emotional, social, historical, sensory, instinctive and intuitive.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, pp. 50-51.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Each Entity, for example 'People [...] Climate, Waterways or Skies', is equal in value and exists in relatedness among its own Entity and with all other Entities.¹⁰⁰ No Entity is raised above another, and 'there can be no state of un-relatedness'.¹⁰¹ Relatedness is reciprocal and can be so deeply experienced that one Entity does not exist without the other.¹⁰² Thus, the lives and Laws of the People Entity are informed by the depth of their relatedness with specific sacred Entities.¹⁰³

Knowledge of the world is built on this premise of relatedness.¹⁰⁴ Knowing your People, Country and relatedness to the Entities is to know your Stories of relatedness, and therefore to know your identity, Law, and your relatedness in the present to both the past and the future.¹⁰⁵ This knowledge places the individual as 'part of the Stories of other People, the Creators and Ancestors, the Spirits and Entities', and is a life-long process from conception, itself a significant moment that shifts relatedness among People.¹⁰⁶ Kath Walker (Oodgeroo) wrote: 'The time of learning in the Aboriginal world never stops', from babyhood the child is taught to observe the Entities.¹⁰⁷

The maintenance of the knowledge of Stories is essential to 'Ways of Being' that confirm relatedness through respect, responsibility and accountability.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, relatedness is embedded in the Aboriginal world-view, and 'in its most simple and natural, but powerful form', sustains the Entities.¹⁰⁹ Through each of life's phases, relatedness between the person and the Entities expands as each fulfils their roles

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 72-74.

¹⁰⁷ Kath Walker, *Stradbroke Dreamtime*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1984, p. 50 cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 75.

and responsibilities.¹¹⁰ For example, incorporating Outsiders through ‘enfoldment and evolvment of relatedness’ is a feature of Aboriginal ontology and epistemology that has ‘occurred amongst Aboriginal nations for many thousands of years [...] and across great distances’.¹¹¹

As change is a constant amongst and between Entities, the ‘need for renewal and realignment, enfoldment and evolvment’ is continuous, and is dealt with by respecting relatedness so that “otherness’ becomes ‘anotherness’”, rather than transformation and replacement.¹¹² Stories are not owned, but there is a responsibility between the Entities to protect and remember, and continue the authorship of the Stories.¹¹³ Accountability to the protection and maintenance of relatedness between self and Entities requires ‘understanding the consequences of respecting [and damaging] relatedness and Stories of relatedness’.¹¹⁴ The individual is accountable in their actions and thoughts ‘to ensure relatedness is not damaged’.¹¹⁵

‘Ways of Being’ ground the contextualising of Stories through ‘Ways of Knowing’, and guide existence in both the individual’s Country and when in other Peoples’ Country.¹¹⁶ Thus, relatedness is engendered with those who are encountered through respect, responsibility and accountability towards their Ancestors, Entities and Stories.¹¹⁷ Should relatedness be strained, the host must rectify the situation.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 72.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 75.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 77.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 79.

‘Ways of Doing’ are the processes and practices of living relatedness: ‘the enfoldment and evolvment of Ways of Knowing and Ways of Being’.¹¹⁹ The process of living Stories is ‘coming amongst’ and ‘coming alongside’ Entities in relatedness.¹²⁰

Martin explains:

Coming amongst is evident as the physical, social, economic and intellectual interactions amongst Entities. Coming alongside is similar in processes to immersion but has a much deeper meaning because it begins with Ways of Knowing, enfolds Ways of Being and evolves to Ways of Doing.¹²¹

This ‘coming amongst’ is more than physical, it is coming amongst Stories and relatedness, and therefore the spiritual, intellectual, ‘social, emotional, cultural and economic’, in a self-reflexive and dialogic act across layered contexts while maintaining ‘self-identity and autonomy’.¹²²

Martin’s investigation into Burungu, Kuku-Yalanji regulation of Outsiders found three ‘types and levels of relatedness’ employed to mediate and determine the longevity of interaction: Outsiders who are strangers, Outsiders who are known about, and friends.¹²³ To be a stranger is ‘a temporary state of relatedness’ prior to being ‘another’ upon demonstrated ‘honesty, co-operation and respect’ through a series of ‘enfoldments and evolvments’ while maintaining ‘identity and autonomy’.¹²⁴ This enables relatedness to expand, not diminish.¹²⁵ Another, who fulfils these conditions that protect relatedness, is never excluded.¹²⁶

Though language and specific cultural norms differ between Aboriginal cultures, this thesis assumes relatedness transfers as a common system of contact across

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 79.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 9, 79.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 9. The Kuku-Yalanji terms Martin uses are *ngarrbal* meaning stranger; *waybal* meaning whiteman; and *jarwon* meaning friend. As these specific language terms may not necessarily transfer to other Indigenous languages, it is the concepts of relatedness that will be applied, not the language. However, it is interesting to note, that prior to contact with Europeans, only stranger and friend may have been used to mediate relatedness.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

Aboriginal diversity in southern Cape York Peninsula with insufficient variety to warrant the formation of a relatedness theory for each individual group. Therefore, the interpretation of the events described in the European created and preserved documentary evidence has been informed by relatedness.

Methodology

Perspective on truth

History does not reveal 'life as it "actually" occurred'.¹²⁷ As the historian has 'no direct contact with the past[,] historical explanation depends' on the availability, reliability and interpretation of selected primary and secondary evidence, each influenced by related paradigms and subjectivity.¹²⁸ The context of the event cannot be fully known at its occurrence, and therefore requires the historical perspective attained by hindsight.¹²⁹ This hindsight creates context, not facts, as the designation of 'fact' itself requires constructed knowledge associated with other facts founded on cultural paradigms to achieve meaning and accuracy.¹³⁰ This indicates there is a potential malleability in the description of events. However, the events themselves remain fixed and unchanging in their actual temporal and spatial location, independent of evidence and interpretation, and are therefore objective.¹³¹

As such, whether reconstructing or deconstructing history, the past can only be comprehended through the present, itself determined by temporal and spatial concepts, by language, and by perceptions of truth and myth.¹³² This means the appropriateness of applied theory and subsequent inferences are 'influenced by the

¹²⁷ Donald E Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", in J Amos Hatch and Richard Wisniewski (eds), *Life History and Narrative*, London: Falmer Press, 1995, p. 19.

¹²⁸ Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 88, 92.

¹²⁹ Martin Bunzl, *Real History: Reflections on Historical Practice*, London & New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 40-41.

¹³⁰ John Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: Or the Remembered Past*, New York, Evanston & London: Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 103-106.

¹³¹ Bunzl, *Real History: Reflections on Historical Practice*, pp. 39-40; Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: Or the Remembered Past*, p. 99; GR Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002 (1969), p. 48.

¹³² Lang, "Modern, Postmodern, World", pp. 176-177; Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: Or the Remembered Past*, pp. 108-114.

ontological and epistemological assumptions', and cultural and linguistic paradigms of the time of writing, each getting 'in the way of knowing the past'.¹³³ This does not belie the existence of historical truth so much as acknowledge there are multiple historical truths.¹³⁴ Hence, the writing of history is 'an engagement with [the writer's] own age', meaning history's analytic narrative not only establishes codes and tropes within the data, but also has the capacity to 'couple the past, the present and the future' in relation to 'human actions and outcomes'.¹³⁵

While interpretation may vary, Western history's logical, evidence-based methodology remains fundamental to the process, as does the endeavour to faithfully represent the past through historical 'difference, context and process [to] yield useful knowledge' that informs debate and the potential for greater certainty, rather than serving a particular ideology.¹³⁶ Questioning who created the historical documents, how they were created and for what purpose, remains central to historical analysis in order to establish the documents' reliability and authenticity, and to what level they may have been tampered with.¹³⁷ A focus on accurately validating relevant history within the 'requirements of scholarly objectivity' remains imperative.¹³⁸ However, while the narrative form tightens and orders the 'emplotted explication' of events, it is important to acknowledge 'the same data elements' can produce multiple emplotted narratives.¹³⁹ Hence, it is generally accepted that historical knowledge is indirect and 'truth-conditional', and that 'the-past-as-history'

¹³³ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 16-17, 29, 88, 186.

¹³⁴ Elton, *The Practice of History*, pp. 46-47.

¹³⁵ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 16-17; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 88, 169, 184, 186; John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, revised 3rd ed., London & New York: Pearson Education Limited, 2002, pp. 29, 48; Elton, *The Practice of History*, p. 55.

¹³⁷ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁸ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, pp. xvi-xvii; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 88; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 20.

¹³⁹ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, pp. xvi-xvii; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 88; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 20.

is not what the past was, 'but what it is now', an engagement with the historian's own age and continuously open to revision.¹⁴⁰

A moment in time

Australian history is defined through European continuities and concepts of periodisation, where sequences of events within the overarching 'continuous infinite progress' of Western culture are demonstrated along a before-after continuum.¹⁴¹

The before-after prerequisite is imperative to Western historical thought and interpretation.¹⁴² However, contemporary Western concepts of modern or progress do not necessarily translate to the late-19th century, nor to non-Europeans at that time.¹⁴³

Historical times exist in their own malleable space between past and future, and are made meaningful when interpreted by historical perspectives of past experience, present existence, and future expectation.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, rather than the before-after linearity of the concept of progress, 'history' might be better served by the more malleable and fluid concept of temporal moments.¹⁴⁵ It is the failure to acknowledge temporal moments such as the Palmer River discontinuity that empowers the 2014 scale-of-whiteness criterion to define Australian identity, by excluding those 'races' that 'progress' ignores. Therefore, this moment of discontinuity remains for Indigenous and not-white-enough Australians in 2014. Such moments of discontinuity should become a central focus in any endeavour to achieve a culturally comparative historiography.

¹⁴⁰ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 29, 52, 186.

¹⁴¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*, London: Verso, 1993, pp. 93-97.

¹⁴² Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, p. 102.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁴⁵ Agamben, *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*, p. 103.

Reconstructing cultural contact

Cultures evolve. Even the culture of white-Australia proponents today is not the culture of the late-19th century, requiring awareness of parameters of comparison.¹⁴⁶ Jörn Rüsen argues that in order to develop a culturally comparative historiography, mutual recognition of differences and equality must be achieved.¹⁴⁷ Rüsen recommends being aware of the 'normative criteria' influencing judgement, and comparing the researcher's own paradigm as one among others in order to establish equality and recognise culturally different paradigmatic criteria of judgement.¹⁴⁸

The concepts of continuities and discontinuities discussed by Foucault offer a potential path to move away from Eurocentric criteria of judgement.¹⁴⁹ When multiple cultural trajectories converge in one place and time, they experience divergent ramifications and are simultaneously connected to events occurring in diverse times and spaces. Therefore describing the event of convergence as a stage in an overarching continuity simplifies the event by focusing on one trajectory. When not viewed through dominant British and white-Australian-progress continuities, the Australian frontier becomes a number of spatial and temporal discontinuities occurring in unison and disparately. That is, behind the continuity of creating a nation lies discontinuity to Aboriginal relatedness, discontinuity to Aboriginal-Chinese relationships, discontinuity to the children of these relationships, and the emergence of new trajectories that do not reflect mono-cultural 'progress'. These discontinuities, as the point of emergence of alternate trajectories, are the focus of this thesis.

This thesis relies in its near entirety on documents created by a third party bearing a specific ideological and material agenda that placed them supposedly higher on a physical, social, moral and cultural evolutionary hierarchy than the people to whom

¹⁴⁶ Rüsen, "Criteria of Historical Judgement", p. 138.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 134-139.

¹⁴⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*.

they refer. The documents were then selected for preservation by a culture desiring a national narrative that reflected the continuity of mono-cultural progress. Foucault suggests discourse must 'be treated as and when it occurs'.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, to identify relatedness occurring between two groups denied a voice, it is necessary to identify and deconstruct the Euro-supremacist subject function, or position, of the third party who speaks, and the relationship between the pure event of enunciation and its referent.¹⁵¹ This enables the reconstruction of the event from an Aboriginal and a Chinese perspective in light of a relatedness framework. This process of reconstruction is an unending dialogue where the possibilities for the future will be continuously influenced by how further research investigates this and other cultural-contact events in Australia's past.¹⁵²

Narrative Method

As a conceptual scheme for demonstrating the contextual meaning of events, the emplotted narrative 'preserves the complexity of human action' and makes accessible, 'historical knowledge and historical explanation [through] the telling of an event or connected flow of events'.¹⁵³ Though not sharing common epistemologies and ontologies, the concepts of non-Indigenous narrative and Indigenous Story have the capacity to be an enfolded and evolved experience transcending disparity. The emplotted narrative in form, content and function is a uniquely human linguistic expression that brings coherence to historical interpretation, experience and orientation, and a sense of relatedness to the past.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁵¹ Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, pp. 137-141.

¹⁵² EH Carr, *What Is History?*, 2nd ed., Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987 (1961), p. 30; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, p. xii; Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontological Development", in Peter Seixas(ed.), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2004, p. 67; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 93.

¹⁵³ Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 7; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 169.

¹⁵⁴ Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontological Development", p. 69; Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. K Blamey, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 (1990); Kevin Vanhoozer, "Philosophical Antecedents to Ricoeur's Time and

The narrative method is a temporal-data synthesising process, within 'a bounded system' that enables the conception of the system's 'unity of totality'.¹⁵⁵ To achieve this requires the extensive collection of relevant documents to be sorted, coded and reduced to appropriate categories in order to discover patterns in the past.¹⁵⁶ Seeking these patterns is called colligation, a distinctive historical methodology, where events are explained and encoded into the historical narrative by their 'primary connections to other events within their shared historical context'.¹⁵⁷ The method is hermeneutic in its interpretation through:

[C]ritical and comparative study of the evidence, double-checking the inferences drawn about it [and] establishing causal connections [while maintaining] a clear understanding of the constraints of cultural relativism and language use.¹⁵⁸

'Truth-value' is achieved through the logical consistency displayed by 'similarity and resemblance, contiguity and difference, and cause and effect', and the illumination of significance in the 'balance between theory and data'.¹⁵⁹

All relevant material on and around late-19th-century North Queensland has been sought and collated, including what other researchers have written.¹⁶⁰ Primary sources, possessing a direct association with their producers and reflecting an authority, opinion or perspective indicating both direct and indirect experience of

Narrative", in D Wood (ed.), *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*, London: Routledge, 1991 cited in Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 15.

¹⁵⁶ Muhammad Farooq Joubish et al., "Paradigms and Characteristics of a Good Qualitative Research", *World Applied Sciences Journal*, vol. 12, no. 11, 2011, pp. 2082-2084; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 46-47; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 23, 46-47.

¹⁵⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, "The Problem of Historical Consciousness", in P Rabinow and W Sullivan (eds), *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 106-107; Paul Ricoeur, "Du Conflit à La Convergence De Methodes En Exegese Biblique", in R Barthes and P Beauchamps et al (eds), *Exegese Et Hermeneutique*, Paris: 1971, pp. 47-51 cited in Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory", *History & Theory*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1984, p. 25; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 76.

¹⁵⁹ White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory", p. 17; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, p. 23; Michael G. Pratt, "For the Lack of a Boilerplate: Tips on Writing up (and Reviewing) Qualitative Research", *Academy of Management Journal*, vol. 52, no. 5, 2009, p. 857-858.

¹⁶⁰ Elton, *The Practice of History*, p. 60.

Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness have been initially arranged chronologically, by location and in relativity to common referents to judge their provenance, significance and reliability.¹⁶¹ Emplotment commenced with this inductive search for causal connections with the assumption that these events paralleled the 'unfolding temporal development' of relatedness.¹⁶² Secondary interpretations have been investigated and analysed to determine the accuracy and plausibility of this thesis, and to ensure the main points have been supported by the combined evidence.¹⁶³ The aim has been to gain insight and draw 'inferences to the best explanation' of the specific temporal and spatial influences on Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness by identifying which elements contributed to these relationships, and which detracted.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the process required 'imaginative reconstruction and interpretation' guided by fruitful and penetrating questions, 'and the application of informed standards of probability'.¹⁶⁵ This narrative's plot and hypothesis remain open to continued revision, subject to the discovery of new conflicting or contradictory data.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 92-93, 169; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", pp. 12, 13, 15, 18; Jenny Presnell, *The Information-Literate Historian: A Guide to Research for History Students*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 113; Elton, *The Practice of History*, pp. 60-66.

¹⁶² Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 92-93, 169; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", pp. 12, 13, 15, 18; Presnell, *The Information-Literate Historian: A Guide to Research for History Students*, p. 113; Elton, *The Practice of History*, pp. 60-66.

¹⁶³ White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory", pp. 2-3; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 92, 170; Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontological Development", p. 80.

¹⁶⁴ Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, pp. 92-93; Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 18.

¹⁶⁵ Elton, *The Practice of History*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶⁶ Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis", p. 16.

Chapter Three: Palmer River Discontinuity 1873-1874

This thesis applies relatedness theory to interpret European created documentary evidence to gain insight into the emergence of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness in southern Cape York Peninsula between the opening of the Palmer River goldfields and Federation. This chapter focuses on Cooktown and the Palmer River, identifying the existence of Aboriginal-Chinese contact, and the likelihood of relatedness evolving between selected members of the two cultures within twelve months of the field opening. Analysis reveals the Guugu-Yimidhirr, Kuku-Yalanji and Kokomini attempted to regulate and enfold Outsiders, while remaining responsible and accountable for the protection of the Entities, relatedness and Stories. The Europeans were unable, or unwilling, to comprehend such concepts, and recorded Aboriginal hostility and depredations. However, acknowledging the restrictions of the document creators' cultural habitus reveals indications of Aboriginal attempts to communicate, Aboriginal women as the frontline of contact and negotiation, and the nature of Aboriginal responses being determined by the Outsider's transgression. From the evidence emerges a very significant difference between the intent of the Chinese and the European. Whereas the European laid claim to unquestioned possession of the Entities, the Chinese did not.

Cooktown: Outsiders who are strangers

Comparatively little detail of the thousands of Chinese who migrated to the Palmer River from their own perspective has been preserved in the public domain. However, two distinct migratory patterns can be identified: Those who migrated from within Australia and those who migrated direct to Cooktown from Southern China. For the vast majority within each stage, the initial motivation to migrate to Australia was the same: the desire to raise their family and origin communities out of poverty and to escape civil unrest through a limited time spent in Australia. As with their European counterparts, the first stage of Chinese migrants arrived from within Australia, many possessing previous experiences and relationships with Aborigines.

The first Chinese arriving in Cooktown and on the Palmer were members of the same migratory mining community as Europeans.¹⁶⁷ Although not necessarily a bonded community, these Chinese miners and associated businessmen were familiar with their European counterparts, and possessed existing associations with other Chinese from places such as Georgetown, Gilberton, Ravenswood, Charters Towers and Rockhampton.¹⁶⁸ While animosity towards the Chinese is apparent in the media of the time, most European business leaders were pro-Chinese, profiting by the Chinese presence.¹⁶⁹ These business leaders and the European population's dependence on Chinese services, such as supplying fresh produce, carrying provisions to the goldfield, accommodation and trade with China, ensured anti-Chinese movements remained contained.¹⁷⁰

Jimmy Ah Foo and his English wife Evelina travelled by ship from Townsville, through cyclonic weather, arriving in Cooktown early in 1874 to open a Boarding House and then a small restaurant.¹⁷¹ Shipping companies had established direct transits from Brisbane to Cooktown since January, the Queensland National Bank and the Bank of New South Wales had opened branches in Cooktown, a Palmer River mail run was up

¹⁶⁷ Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23; *The Cooktown Courier*, "Police Court", 12 September 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Land Sale", 26 September 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, 21 November 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, 28 November 1874; WH Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, Brisbane: AH Frater, 1921, p. 53. Ah Sing, Ah Shong, Willie Ah Man and Ah Foy were granted carriers licenses on 9 September 1874, to meet the European and Chinese demand for provisions on the Palmer field. Corfield returned to Cooktown after the 1874-1875 wet season and established a lucrative contract carrying for a Chinese Storekeeper.

¹⁷¹ Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, pp. 6-24; *The Cooktown Courier*, "Police Court", 12 September 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Land Sale", 26 September 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, 21 November 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, 28 November 1874; WH Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, p. 53. Little is known of Jimmy Ah Foo's origins in Guangzhou, but he was already operating a Springsure boarding house in 1866, aged 23. By April 1875, Jimmy and Evelina Ah Foo had opened the Canton Hotel, one of 50 hotels in Cooktown. Ah Foo became a British subject, indicating his commitment to a future in the colony. Like many of his fellow European and Chinese businessmen, Ah Foo petitioned, participated in, and contributed funds to Cooktown's infrastructural development. For example, Wang Ong, Sea Wah, Wing On and Lamp Pang subscribed towards the development of a Cooktown school. Jimmy Ah Foo expanded his business interest into carrying, and running hotels in Palmerville and on the Lower Palmer near Edwardstown (Maytown).

for tender, and construction had begun on three Government wharves.¹⁷² After the end of the 1873-1874 wet season, over a week's worth of mid-April rain had flooded the rivers again, leaving travellers on the Cooktown-Palmer road trapped without supplies, killing their own horses and those not closely guarded by others to avert starvation.¹⁷³ Although some Chinese gardens had been established around the tent-city, they were far from ready to meet demand.¹⁷⁴

Up to 4000 sick and starving people were trapped in the town, unable to move inland and too impoverished to afford to leave.¹⁷⁵ Angry mobs, robberies, assaults and murders were reported, including a potential riot averted by Sub-Inspector Clohesy after a Chinese man attacked a European with a tomahawk.¹⁷⁶ Evelina Ah Foo was called upon to give evidence in a domestic violence case in Cooktown on 21 May 1874.¹⁷⁷ Multiple attacks by Aborigines had occurred on the Palmer road, including the deaths of two miners in one party.¹⁷⁸ The Native Police brought the

¹⁷² *Empire*, "Steam to the Endeavour River", 2 January 1874, p. 1; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Palmer River Goldfields", 8 January 1874, p. 1; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Australian Steam Navigation Company", 10 January 1874, p. 1; *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "For the Palmer River Gold-Fields", 13 January 1874, p. 1; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Australian Steam Navigation Company", 28 January 1874, p. 1; *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Queensland National Bank Limited", 26 January 1874, p. 1; *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Gold-Fields. The Palmer", 21 April 1874, p. 3.

¹⁷³ *Northern Argus*, "Miscellaneous", 17 February 1874, p. 3; *Empire*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *Evening News*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *The Newcastle Chronicle*, "The Palmer River Rush", 5 March 1874, p. 4; *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 18; *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Gold-Fields. The Palmer", 21 April 1874, p. 3. Diggers had been deserting the field in desperation at 50 to 80 a day.

¹⁷⁴ *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "Miscellaneous", 5 March 1874, p. 4; *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "News from the Palmer", 19 March 1874, p. 4.

¹⁷⁵ *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "News from the Palmer", 19 March 1874, p. 4; *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 18 April 1874, p. 2; *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "Australian Telegrams", 18 April 1874, p. 4; *The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser*, 15 April 1874, p. 3; Thomas Hamilton, *The Brisbane Courier*, "Telegraphic", 6 April 1874, p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "Telegraphic Despatches. Colonial. Cooktown", 13 April 1874, p. 2; *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "Australian Telegrams", 18 April 1874, p. 4; *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "News from the Palmer", 19 March 1874, p. 4; *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "Cooktown and the Palmer", 18 April 1874 p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ *The Cooktown Courier*, "May 21", 23 May 1874.

¹⁷⁸ *Empire*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *Evening News*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *The Newcastle Chronicle*, "The Palmer River Rush", 5 March 1874, p. 4; *The*

only survivor of their response to this incident back to Cooktown, a three-year-old boy no-one could understand.¹⁷⁹ As miners, merchants, carriers, tradesmen, and for some their families, arrived by sea, those wanting to depart needed to be restrained at gunpoint from rushing steamers to get a berth south.¹⁸⁰ After the rivers went down, the population of Cooktown continued to fluctuate around 1000, including those arriving for and departing from the Palmer.¹⁸¹

On 2 May 1874, the *Cooktown Courier* described a remarkable incident as being 'considerable amusement [...] caused by the vagaries of a couple of black boys'.¹⁸² Seven months after initial hostilities in what was escalating into a prolonged frontier war between the region's Indigenous Peoples and the expanding Outsider population, these two 'boys' took up a stand at the upper end of Cooktown's street.¹⁸³ A large crowd gathered as:

One of the boys went down on his hands and knees, and imitated the movements of a kangaroo feeding, then giving two or three hops in imitation of the animal being disturbed, and other movements. These imitations were so true to nature as to elicit roars of laughter from those assembled round. It was astonishing with what fidelity to nature the various movements were mimicked. After causing considerable laughter, the youngsters then separated and retired to opposite sides of the road-way, and, on a given signal, came bounding in kangaroo fashion, and imitated a pitched battle between two kangaroos. This was so well sustained and so good as to elicit approval as well as laughter from the onlookers. The sham battle lasted some minutes, and those conversant with the habits of our long-tailed mammals declared the imitation perfect.¹⁸⁴

A sense of supremacy and rightful possession to the land blinds the writer to all other interpretations than believing the 'boys' had come to entertain. When considered as an act of coming alongside, these Guugu-Yimidhirr messengers had endangered their lives by entering the cauldron of Cooktown and bringing a Story of

Goulburn Herald and Chronicle, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 18.

¹⁷⁹ *Empire*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *Evening News*, "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874, p. 3; *The Newcastle Chronicle*, "The Palmer River Rush", 5 March 1874, p. 4; *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰ *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "Cooktown and the Palmer", 18 April 1874 p. 3; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 2 May 1874.

¹⁸¹ Hamilton, *The Brisbane Courier*, "Telegraphic", 6 April 1874, p. 2.

¹⁸² *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 2 May 1874.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

relatedness being strained to the Outsiders occupying their traditional land. Not only had conflict resulted from the Outsiders entering Aboriginal land, with thousands of starving people in Cooktown, it is likely that the region's wildlife Entities were being decimated through over-hunting. Being of equal value to the Aborigines, they were accountable to protect these Entities. As host, it was the Aborigines' responsibility to rectify relatedness through enfoldment and evolvment. The warring Entities metaphor inherent in the messengers' Story was lost in the laughter of the people of Cooktown.

Generally a habitus of superiority existed in the European, whether manifested in violence or what was deemed good-hearted humour. A group of European men intent on climbing Mt Cook stumbled upon a Chinese garden at the foot of the mountain and decided to help themselves:

The war-cry of "watermelons" was raised, and soon the Mongolian paradise was desecrated by the feet of the "godless infidel." The celestial brethren of the moon prepared for a vigorous resistance. A war parley was sounded, and on the production of two pieces of silver the party were appeased [...] the party rose and silently blessed the almond-eyed celestials, who were regarding them with no small surprise.¹⁸⁵

In more serious situations, as in the death of Tommy Ah Fook, the result was little attention paid to investigating the relevant circumstances, claiming it was simply 'strange'.¹⁸⁶ A cook at the Gap Hotel, Ah Fook had been involved in a heated exchange with a waitress named Mary Linde.¹⁸⁷ The report claimed Linde 'threw a fork at him, which just penetrated the skin of the breast below the left nipple'.¹⁸⁸ A man named Mahoney intervened, and Ah Fook threw a knife at him.¹⁸⁹ Mahoney struck Ah Fook on the head twice and 20 minutes later he was dead.¹⁹⁰ The official report returned that Ah Fook died of an over-excited 'diseased heart'.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ *The Cooktown Courier*, "Ascent of Mount Cook", 9 May 1874.

¹⁸⁶ *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "Northern News", 20 May 1874, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Bullock team operator William Henry Corfield described the European diggers as an eclectic group including 'some doubtful characters'.¹⁹² However, some were 'highly connected in other countries', and some were 'Varsity men'.¹⁹³ As opposed to the dehumanising of Aborigines and the Chinese in contemporary European accounts, Corfield romanticised the digger as slow to make friends, yet holding a tenacious loyalty when he did.¹⁹⁴ Corfield's final load for 1874 as the rains came, found him in Palmerville, where he made camp 'six miles down the river' with his 'black boy' and recently employed Chinese cook.¹⁹⁵ The Palmer's population was increasing, including 'a considerable sprinkling of Chinamen' as last minute arrivals attempted to beat the rain.¹⁹⁶

Outsiders: European and Chinese

Although the British had considered the east coast of the continent their territory since 1770, physical possession of southern Cape York Peninsula was not commenced until the discovery of gold in 1872. The most serious problem William Hann had reported facing after his party found this gold on the Palmer River, and then travelled on to the Endeavour and Bloomfield Rivers, was running out of tobacco.¹⁹⁷ In mid-1873, James Mulligan's Palmer River prospecting party found the Agwamin, Kuku-Yalanji and Kokomini they encountered 'very numerous' but not hostile.¹⁹⁸ Mulligan was more concerned with the goldfield's limited potential and the dangers of travelling to the field without suitable provisions as the wet season approached than the danger posed by the Aborigines.¹⁹⁹ Over half of the Etheridge's

¹⁹² Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, p. 52.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 51, 53.

¹⁹⁶ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874.

¹⁹⁷ *The Queenslander*, "Mr. Hann's Exploring Trip", 21 October 1872, p. 7; *The Queenslander*, "Georgetown", 15 June 1872, p. 2; WM Hann, *The Brisbane Courier*, "The York Peninsula Exploring Expedition", 14 November 1872, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ James Mulligan, *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Palmer River Gold-Field", 7 October 1873, p. 3; CB Expreses, *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "The Palmer Gold-Field", 15 October 1873, p. 3. Mulligan observed the Aborigines had followed his groups' inspection of the river with curiosity, studying their actions and the holes they'd dug as they moved along.

¹⁹⁹ Mulligan, *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Palmer River Gold-Field", 7 October 1873, p. 3; Expreses, *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "The Palmer Gold-Field", 15 October 1873, p. 3;

population of 400 had already left for the Palmer taking insufficient provisions by the time Mulligan's party returned on 5 September, and the rest were planning to leave.²⁰⁰ Within weeks of Mulligan's assessment of the non-hostile Aborigines, they were being described as 'very troublesome', 'hostile', 'fearless', 'dangerous', as thieves and 'bold', from the Endeavour to the Palmer River, and in need of being 'taught the effects of the rifle' before the Palmer would be safe.²⁰¹

It is not possible to determine whether the Aborigines began defending their Country because the European population increased, or if European violence towards Aborigines instigated the war. WI Webb, a member of the team surveying the first Cooktown-Palmer road, claimed the trouble did not start until some Aborigines were shot for no reason.²⁰² However, attacks had already occurred on the Palmer before the surveying team arrived.²⁰³

Corfield's account indicates a further complexity developing on the Palmer with the introduction of Aboriginal Outsiders travelling with European Outsiders, and the

James Mulligan, *The Queenslander*, "The Miner, the Palmer Rush - Letter from One of the Prospectors", 11 October 1873, p. 6.

²⁰⁰ Mulligan, *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Palmer River Gold-Field", 7 October 1873, p. 3; *Express, Rockhampton Bulletin*, "The Palmer Gold-Field", 15 October 1873, p. 3; Mulligan, *The Queenslander*, "The Miner, the Palmer Rush - Letter from One of the Prospectors", 11 October 1873, p. 6.

²⁰¹ *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873, p. 5; Howard St George, *Illawarra Mercury*, "Telegraphic Despatches (from the Herald)", 28 November 1873, pp. 2-3.

²⁰² SE Stephens, "The Palmer Goldfield by S.E. Stephens. Hon. Curator of History - James Cook Museum", Cairns Historical Society ID G01916, 1970, p. 2; *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "Local and General News", 23 October 1873, p. 2; HH, *The Brisbane Courier*, "A Trip to the Palmer", 13 December 1873, p. 5; St George, *Illawarra Mercury*, "Telegraphic Despatches (from the Herald)", 28 November 1873, pp. 2-3; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 5 December 1874. In October 1873, Commissioner Howard St George and AC McMillan lead 108 men, including Native Troopers and 86 miners from Cooktown, surveying the first road to the Palmer. While St George and McMillan denied any deaths occurred on either side, members of the party describe three separate altercations, including a major battle along the Normanby River, approximately halfway from Cooktown to the present site of Laura. Webb claims that shortly after some Aborigines were shot, approximately 80 Aborigines attacked in what became known as Battle Camp. Eye-witnesses reported the Aborigines who survived the conflict were followed and massacred.

²⁰³ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "Local and General News", 23 October 1873, p. 2; *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873, p. 5. The day the road surveying team arrived in Cooktown, the *Queensland Times* described European retaliation to an earlier attack.

combination of Chinese Outsiders and Aboriginal Outsiders within European camps.²⁰⁴ Many Europeans migrating with the frontier were 'accompanied by Aboriginal men and women' exchanging labour and sex for 'food, tobacco and opium'.²⁰⁵ The Europeans therefore brought pre-conceived notions of dealing with Aborigines from earlier experiences. However, the racial and social hierarchy of these relationships is apparent in the boy being presented as Corfield's possession.²⁰⁶

One of the first Chinese to arrive on the Palmer was John Ah Poy, who had established a garden by December 1873, leading to a warning from a Palmer correspondent that although the field was ideal for the Chinese, 'they must not attempt coming here at present; war is already proclaimed'.²⁰⁷ While such gardens would have ensured fresh produce was available on the field, they were seen as the thin wedge into European territory that would inevitably be followed by hordes of 'Chinese locusts' taking advantage of the Europeans' dangerous prospecting work.²⁰⁸ This European impression indicates a strategic approach to mining, and a network within the Chinese mining and related business community. The Chinese knew what to expect from new fields and implemented systems to prepare for the arrival of larger numbers from other fields. As with the European miners, the Chinese already living in the Australian colonies, and those returning from China, migrated with previous experience of life in mining communities, and often with some knowledge of Aborigines.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Carriers, such as Corfield, were regularly accompanied by an Aboriginal man or child, though it is difficult to ascertain where these Aborigines' were from, or their ages, as the reference 'boy' was in ubiquitous use.

²⁰⁵ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 27.

²⁰⁶ Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, pp. 8-15, 40, 46-47, 50-51, 53, 65-66, 125. In his recollections of the boy, it is obvious Corfield held a considerable paternalistic affection for him.

²⁰⁷ *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873, p. 5; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 6 June 1874.

²⁰⁸ *The Cooktown Courier*, "Mining", 20 June 1874.

²⁰⁹ *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, "Sydney", 19 March 1874, p. 2; *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "Local and General News", 2 May 1874, p. 3; *The Queenslander*, "Voyage of the R.M.S. Jeddah", 2 May 1874, p. 9; *The Queenslander*, "Townsville", 2 May 1874, p. 12. For example, a telegram from Sydney noted 20 Chinese men setting off overland to the Palmer. One large group of Chinese men were observed travelling through

The desertion of Georgetown and Gilberton for what was being called 'the richest field in Queensland' left mostly Chinese diggers in the region, some of whom were attacked near the Gilbert River in November 1873.²¹⁰ Two men were killed, two severely wounded and three were missing.²¹¹ The Chinese subsequently began to leave the district for the Palmer as well.²¹² Police evidence before the Legislative Assembly reported the Chinese had been difficult to protect, as they tended to be scattered in small groups in isolated locations 'over a radius of forty miles, and, for some unaccountable reason, the blacks [held] them (the Chinese) in the greatest detestation'.²¹³ This led to a qualification that confirmed a sense of European agency over Chinese dependency, noting the Europeans were leaving because of a lack of business, whereas the Chinese were afraid of the Aborigines.²¹⁴

This was a common white Australian observation in the late-19th century that lingered on into 20th-century historiography and popular myth.²¹⁵ It is unlikely the

Ipswich. On the same day the two Aboriginal boys were reported imitating kangaroos in Cooktown's street, 72 of approximately 200 self-paying Chinese passengers were reported disembarking in Townsville, having travelled the first direct-passage voyage from Hong Kong to Melbourne aboard the *Jeddah*, many being return travellers to Australia and to the Charters Towers and Ravenswood fields.

²¹⁰ *The Queenslander*, "Law and Mining", 20 September 1873, p. 9; *Evening News*, "Queensland", 24 November 1873, p. 2.

²¹¹ *The Queenslander*, "Law and Mining", 20 September 1873, p. 9; *Evening News*, "Queensland", 24 November 1873, p. 2.

²¹² *Evening News*, "Queensland", 24 November 1873, p. 2; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Telegraphic", 29 December 1873, p. 2.

²¹³ Queensland Parliament, "Patrick Mcnamara Corbett", in *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard, Brisbane: 1874, p. 975.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 971-976. The desertion of Gilberton was addressed by a Select Committee and subsequently debated in the Queensland's Legislative Assembly in July 1874, confirming claims of Aboriginal attacks were exaggerated, and that the fields had been deserted within three weeks of the Palmer River field opening.

²¹⁵ *The Brisbane Courier*, "Telegraphic", 24 November 1873, p. 2. For example, *The Brisbane Courier* reported the disappearance of two Chinese market gardeners on 13 November 1873 on the road from Millchester to Seventy-Mile. Ah Pow was found ten miles from Millchester, speared and tomahawked, his neck cut and his kneecaps removed and placed with his boots about three metres away. Sam Choy was not found. The editorial revealed much of the writer's prejudice, and the type of information presented to the general public that would have been responsible for creating beliefs in the Aboriginal hatred of the Chinese: 'The Northern aboriginal natives have a strong prejudice against the Chinese. They say -- "No good that fellow. Baal whitefellow, baal blackfellow" -- and they kill off these anomalies of humanity whenever they can do so with safety. The cutting off the knee caps of their victims is a precaution taken to prevent the latter from following them and haunting their camps'.

Aborigines had a stronger prejudice against the Chinese than the Europeans. The Chinese were less inclined to travel heavily armed with powerful rifles, and as reported to the Legislative Assembly, received less police protection. Regina Ganter claims, to the Aborigines, the Chinese would have appeared as colonisers or uninvited trespassers on their country and, receiving less police protection, were a more susceptible target.²¹⁶ However, Ganter qualifies this by suggesting that although violence occurred, it must be remembered, so too did 'harmonious relations'.²¹⁷

The frontline: Aboriginal women and the Outsider

Aboriginal women were the frontline creating relatedness with Outsiders. The overwhelming majority of the 'British, European, Pacific, Chinese and Southeast Asian populations' on the northern frontier were male, creating 'a strong demand for local Aboriginal woman (sic)'.²¹⁸ Whether forced or consensual, casual or marital, sexual relations between Outsiders and Aboriginal women were 'ever present'.²¹⁹ Consenting relations addressed access to a substitute for the loss of traditional food sources and the establishment of trade relations.²²⁰ Such trade included food, tobacco and opium, as mentioned above. However, the repercussions for the Outsider violating an Aboriginal woman, or failing to respect and be responsible for relatedness may very well account for numerous records of Aboriginal attacks and violence, such as the Gilbert River Chinese. As Ann McGrath affirms: 'If a husband failed in his duties towards Aboriginal kin, he was in more danger than the White police could pose'.²²¹

²¹⁶ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 165.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

²¹⁸ Ann McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", in Penny Edwards and Shen Yuangfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*, Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003, p. 39.

²¹⁹ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 17.

²²⁰ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 39.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

In Normanton, in 1874, Chinese men were accused of frequently kidnapping Aboriginal women and children.²²² This may be accurate, or may be a combination of European behaviour being transferred to the Chinese to divert unwanted attention, combined with the impossibility for the European habitus to comprehend meaningful relationships with what they saw as a less-evolved species. Henry Reynolds claims:

The kidnapping of women was common on all parts of the frontier as parties of single white men used the speed of their horses and power of their guns to pillage traditional society.²²³

Such behaviour is as likely to have led to the Palmer frontier war as any other. On the occasion of the alleged kidnapping of Aboriginal women and children in Normanton, a large number of Aborigines had gathered near the town.²²⁴ The European reporter claimed a woman and two boys had been taken and forcibly detained by Chinese men.²²⁵ The Aborigines were entering the town at night and 'on one occasion robbed nearly every European house'.²²⁶ No indication is made of a reprisal on the Chinese. The document expresses European fear and opinion, influencing the interpretation of the situation. This implies the Chinese of Normanton had developed relations with the local Aborigines. Blaming the Chinese transfers guilt and any sense of accountability onto a perfectly acceptable and available scapegoat.

If Aboriginal women and children were regularly with the Chinese, it is possible that the Chinese men were involved in sexual relations with the women, in trade relations with the tribes, and that the children were their offspring. It is also possible that these women and children were working for the Chinese. It is equally possible that they were detained against their will. However, if the Aborigines had gathered to seek reprisal against the Chinese, it seems strange to attack the European homes instead. Attacks on Chinese men in regions prior to migrating to the Palmer appear to be a result of failure to respect, and be responsible and accountable for

²²² Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 846933, Correspondence - inwards, 1874.

²²³ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 11.

²²⁴ Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 846933, Correspondence - inwards, 1874.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

relatedness, or as McGrath suggests, for Aboriginal kin. The European records of attacks are generic references founded on racially determined assumptions, such as the police evidence read before the Legislative Assembly, and do not enable a sufficient understanding of what may have motivated the conflict. However, like the Europeans, the first Chinese to enter the Palmer goldfield from the Gilbert possessed intimate knowledge of Aborigines.

Conflict: Beyond enfoldment

The Outsiders were aware they were taking land from the Aborigines, noting Aboriginal determination to maintain traditional hunting and fishing grounds.²²⁷ The European-created historical documents inevitably indicate violence they committed was justified as being in response to an Aboriginal attack, though generally at a later time.²²⁸ It was inconceivable for the European that their actions disrespected sovereignty or destroyed relatedness, Entities and Stories. For even the most enlightened Europeans, the conflict was one of territorial possession and maintenance of hunting grounds.

Most, if not all attacks on Europeans appear to have been reported in newspapers and received official responses. No accurate records exist to enable a calculation of Aboriginal or Chinese casualties. Numbers provided by observers and participants may have been exaggerated for effect or reduced during investigations.²²⁹ Accurate

²²⁷ *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873, p. 5; St George, *Illawarra Mercury*, "Telegraphic Despatches (from the Herald)", 28 November 1873, pp. 2-3; Billy Barton, *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Palmer", 23 December 1873, p. 3; Howard St George, *Rockhampton Bulletin*, 16 December 1873, p. 2; Eye-witness, *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Blacks Again", 13 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Reefs", 20 June 1874. The Aborigines are described as endeavouring to contain the mining camp to the river, keeping the Europeans and Chinese out of the surrounding gullies.

²²⁸ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "Local and General News", 23 October 1873, p. 2; *The Brisbane Courier*, "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873, p. 5. For example, *The Brisbane Courier* implies that in response to a 'lad' being speared in the foot and a horse being speared, ten prospectors attacked an Aboriginal camp. No mention is made of what happened to the 30 Aborigines who defended the camp 'fearlessly', but the correspondent gives a detailed account of all the prospectors' equipment that was recovered.

²²⁹ Eye-witness, *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Blacks Again", 13 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Reefs", 20 June 1874; Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's*

records were not kept of official 'dispersals' in remote locations, and unofficial battles between Europeans and Aborigines were not reliably recorded, if at all.²³⁰ However, the term dispersal has become synonymous with slaughter. As hostilities escalated, calls quickly arose for the immediate deployment of Native Police, and therefore the introduction of a lethal form of Aboriginal Outsider.²³¹ Rosalind Kidd charts the role of the Native Police in Queensland's history.²³² The lawlessness and bloodshed of this systemised 'machine for murder' is testament to both 'the tension and intolerance in outlying districts' and its failure as a form of orderly control, inevitably aggravating race relations.²³³ For the frontier Europeans, the Native Police offered a legalised solution to the 'native problem'.²³⁴ However, some members of the Native Police deserted and joined those they were tasked with destroying.²³⁵

Throughout 1874, the Guugu-Yimidhirr, Kokowarra, Kuku-Yalanji and Kokomini maintained what has been described as a 'fierce resistance and virtual guerrilla warfare' response to the invasion of their Countries, receiving far greater casualties than their invaders.²³⁶ While the reason for this has been explained by numerous historians discussing superior European weapons, strategies, and overwhelming numbers, a less obvious additional reason indicates an initial respect for Outsider

North, p. 12. For example, the figure of 100 Aborigines attacking Mulligan's prospecting party in mid-1874 was reduced to 40 or 50 the following week.

²³⁰ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "Local and General News", 23 October 1873, p. 2; HH, *The Brisbane Courier*, "A Trip to the Palmer", 13 December 1873, p. 5; St George, *Illawarra Mercury*, "Telegraphic Despatches (from the Herald)", 28 November 1873, pp. 2-3; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 5 December 1874; Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 12. See Footnote 214: Battle Camp. Although St George and McMillan denied any deaths on either side, eye-witnesses claimed a massacre had occurred. The battle entered regional folklore and the location remains named Battle Camp. A year after the battle, *The Cooktown Courier* referred to it as 'the famous "battle" between the diggers and the niggers'.

²³¹ *Evening News*, "Queensland", 24 November 1873, p. 2.

²³² Rosalind M Kidd, *Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988*, Volume I, PhD, Griffith University, 1994, pp. 36-42.

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37, 39; GW Rusden, *History of Australia*, vol. 3, London: Chapman & Hall, 1883, pp. 231-232 cited in Kidd, *Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988*, Volume I, p. 39. Bruce Elder, *Blood on the Wattle*, NSW: Child & Associates, 1988, p. 108 cited in footnote 54 in Kidd, *Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988*, Volume I, p. 36. 'It was common practice to offer Aborigines in prison the chance to serve out there time in the native police force'.

²³⁴ Kidd, *Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988*, Volume I, p. 39.

²³⁵ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874.

²³⁶ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23; Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, p. 16.

Entities, responsibility to protect Stories, accountability to protect and maintain relatedness with Entities, and acting within the traditional structures of rectifying relatedness.²³⁷

Although Aboriginal attacks did result in deaths, it is difficult to imagine such skilled hunters and trackers could not hit their target more often, should their intention in every attack have been only to kill. The Guugu-Yimidhirr had demonstrated their ability with a spear to James Cook at Gungahdie in July 1770.²³⁸ They had waited three weeks, studying the Outsiders, before choosing how to come amongst them, initially halting at the range of the Outsiders' muskets.²³⁹ During Mulligan's prospecting trip to the Palmer, party member Peter Brown had shot at a bird, startling a group of Aborigines he had been unaware of in the grass only two metres from him, sending both Brown and the Aborigines running in opposite directions.²⁴⁰ An observer on the first Cooktown-Palmer road surveying team, 'HH', claimed Aborigines could kill with a spear at 80 yards.²⁴¹ A prospector named Kininmouth observed his attackers waited at their rifles' range for his men to fire, prior to advancing while the rifles were reloaded.²⁴² Many attacks resulted in Outsiders being speared in the thigh.²⁴³ Given Aborigines were capable with their weapons, and could be two metres from a man without his knowledge, it appears more likely that the nature and outcome of the attack reflected the Outsider's, or another Outsider's,

²³⁷ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 24.

²³⁸ Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks*, Echo Library, 2006 (1768-1771), p. 322. A river Cook subsequently named after his ship.

²³⁹ James Cook, "Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771 [Manuscript]", John Hutchinson and Samuel Wallis (eds), 1768-1771, 10 July 1770; Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks*, p. 314.

²⁴⁰ Exprees, *Rockhampton Bulletin*, "The Palmer Gold-Field", 15 October 1873, p. 3; Richard Semon, *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea Being the Experiences and Observations of a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea and the Moluccas*, London & New York: Macmillan, 1899, pp. 251, 265-267; Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 12. The naturalist Richard Semon observed in 1892, that no matter how much effort he applied, he was unable to find an Aborigine. If they did not want to be found, a European would be unable to find them.

²⁴¹ HH, *The Brisbane Courier*, "A Trip to the Palmer", 13 December 1873, p. 5.

²⁴² WB Kininmouth, "Attacked by the Blacks", *The Cooktown Courier*, 13 June 1874.

²⁴³ Eye-witness, *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Blacks Again", 13 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Reefs", 20 June 1874. Initially, attacks were at dawn. A significant strategic shift was signalled in a midday attack on Mulligan's 1874 prospecting party. 'After dispersing the blacks' in a battle that lasted two hours, the prospectors retreated to the main camp in the face of continued pursuit.

earlier transgression.²⁴⁴ The primary target of many attacks, particularly as traditional food sources disappeared, was not the Europeans, but their horses.²⁴⁵ This does not deny Aborigines killed Outsiders, but indicates a greater complexity to the motivation behind attacks, and the choices to rectify, not kill.²⁴⁶

In the first year of the Palmer field opening, the Chinese population remained relatively small compared to the European population, and did not prospect in outer locations. Therefore, they may have been a less obvious target for Aboriginal attack. Alternatively, they may have been less inclined to take Aboriginal women forcefully. However, the attacks that did happen were likely to be a result of transgression, whether by a Chinese man or a European man. Such attacks targeting the Chinese would not have been of as great an interest to the Europeans as the rare, early European deaths. The responses to these 'infamous' killings were brutal.²⁴⁷

The price paid by Aborigines for attacks on Europeans and their horses received condemnation from Europeans further south.²⁴⁸ However, for many Europeans in North Queensland in the early years of the rush, the only solution was taking matters into their own hands and 'dispersing' all Aborigines.²⁴⁹ Judy Atkinson claims the

²⁴⁴ As all Europeans and all Chinese would most likely have looked the same.

²⁴⁵ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 5 December 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 12 December 1874; Kininmouth, "Attacked by the Blacks", *The Cooktown Courier*, 13 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874.

²⁴⁶ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 13 June 1874. For the European Outsider, possession of a rifle was considered imperative for survival. The Cooktown-Palmer mailman chose to travel unarmed and was recorded missing on 13 June 1874.

²⁴⁷ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 5 December 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "Murder by the Blacks at the Laura", 23 January 1875. No murders had occurred on the Cooktown-Palmer road since the reprisal for the infamous killing of Strau, his wife and child. At dusk on 18 January 1875, approximately 100 Aborigines attacked the camp of a four-man crew sent to repair the Laura River crossing boat. One was speared in the thigh and another fatally through the back before their return gunfire halted the attack. *The Cooktown Courier* called for 'a lesson likely to endure amongst the archives of their tribe'.

²⁴⁸ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 20 June 1874. For example, after two horses were speared, *The Cooktown Courier* claimed the Aborigines were instructed by the 'Westley Richards' on leaving 'the property of honest men alone'. Douglas' Native Police had completed a successful dispersal. *The Cooktown Courier* further expected 'that every man will do his duty' should the 'interesting heathen' get too close to the town.

²⁴⁹ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Blacks Again", 27 March 1875; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Wants of the Goldfields", 27 March 1875. 'A Palmer Critic' called for the creation of 'a flying column of Forest

ongoing violence and trauma of colonialism disrupted relatedness, as it could not be enfolded for relatedness to evolve, resulting in 'transgenerational trauma'.²⁵⁰ '[I]ntroduced diseases, physical violence, rapes, starvations, torture and death' are a collective trauma compounded through the generations from 'survivors to their children and grandchildren'.²⁵¹

As the Chinese population grew, so too did cases of gardeners, miners and packers being attacked. However, years later, Inspector Douglas of the Native Police only recalled three attacks on Chinese carrier trains, each time at Hell's Gate.²⁵² Many Chinese chose not to carry the large-bore offensive weapons like the Europeans' snider rifles, preferring the defensive small-bore revolver, which made them an easier target.²⁵³ That these packers were attacked so few times, suggests the Aborigines required greater provocation than an easy target. Unlike the Europeans, the Chinese were not seeking to create a Chinese colony. This is a significant difference in the two races that would have enabled very different relationships with the Aborigines. During all the years of frontier violence that followed the opening of the Palmer gold field, no record has been forthcoming of an organised Chinese attack on Aborigines.

Realignment: Outsiders who are known about

Given the excessive Aboriginal male casualties during the prolonged frontier conflict, the virtual absence of Chinese women, and the threat of losing caste for European women associating with Chinese men, it is understandable that emotional and

Rangers, composed of Europeans' to disperse the Aborigines. The critic claimed Sandy Creek had been left untroubled since the miners took retribution into their own hands in 'the Pine Creek affair' and Prospectors' Gully.

²⁵⁰ Judy Atkinson, *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia*, North Melbourne, Victoria: Spinifex, 2002 cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 76.

²⁵¹ Atkinson, *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia*, p. 64 cited in Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 76.

²⁵² A Douglas Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]", in *The Lone Hand - November 1, 1909*, Cairns Historical Society ID G07078, 2008 (1909).

²⁵³ Rev. Julian Edmund Tenison-Woods, "Northern Queensland No. iv [Transcript]", Cooktown Historical Society, 2014 (1879), p. 4.

sexual relationships were formed between Chinese men and Aboriginal women that broadened to include trade with Aboriginal groups.²⁵⁴ Billy Abu was born in Maytown to one such relationship in the 1880s.²⁵⁵ Ganter suggests it was most likely rural labouring, Hakka Chinese who formed relationships with Aborigines across the north of Australia, where she has noted a 'pattern of mixed family formation' involving Chinese and Aborigines.²⁵⁶ While Hakka Chinese were a minority group in Queensland, the presence of Chinese-Aboriginal relationships suggests it is reasonable to consider this also happened with other Chinese ethnic groups on the Palmer goldfields.

For these relationships to form required more than an imbalance in gender populations. In interviewing descendants of these relationships, Ganter found the Aborigines and Chinese shared further cultural similarities.²⁵⁷ The cultures shared similar funerary rituals, a responsibility to care for the land rather than dominate it, a strong ancestral awareness, 'a sense of social being rather than individual being', complex social and family relations 'within a simple material culture', and a respect for polygamous and arranged marriages sanctioned by the family, 'not the state'.²⁵⁸ McGrath suggests for an Aboriginal woman to marry a Chinese man, he would have guaranteed a commitment to her protection against removal from the district or abduction as a concubine.²⁵⁹ It is probable he would have also been required to fulfil obligations to his wife's Aboriginal kin, such as supplying 'relatives with necessities'.²⁶⁰ It is likely that many attacks on Chinese men, considered brutal or cannibalistic by the European commentators, were examples of Aboriginal funerary

²⁵⁴ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 146; McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 42; EH Parker, "Foreign Office to Colonial Office", Queensland State Archives Item ID 7162, Batch File, 1888, pp. 5-6.

²⁵⁵ "Billy Abu Saw Qld Gold Rush", Cairns Historical Society ID D8861. Billy's father Jimmy lived 'a frugal breadline existence' sending all his money back to his wife in China, while living with his Aboriginal wife until Billy was 14, at which time Jimmy returned to China. Billy chose to remain in Maytown.

²⁵⁶ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, pp. 146-147.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 50.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

practice or responses to the Chinese man failing to respect relatedness or his commitment to Aboriginal kin.²⁶¹

Not all European men committed violent acts against Aborigines, not all Chinese men did not. However, Chinese motivations were of a different order. They had migrated to Australia, either at their own expense or under a form of indenture to improve conditions for their families in China. Most planned to stay long enough to achieve this aim.²⁶² Some did, and returned home.²⁶³ Some made money and chose to stay, seeing themselves as pioneering their lives and Australia's future while continuing to support family in China through financial transactions, or by enabling further family members to migrate to Australia. For some, there would be no journey home in their life-time. Like certain European men, certain Chinese men formed varying levels of physical, emotional and trade relationships with Aboriginal Peoples. The first Chinese to arrive on the Palmer goldfields had lived in the colony for some time and were part of a migratory mining community. As with their European counterparts, they possessed previous experience and even relationships with Aborigines. This was not the case for the second wave of migrants arriving direct from China, who faced rising European antagonism, increasingly racist legislation, a hostile and foreign landscape and the terror imposed by rumours of cannibalism.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 51; Tenison-Woods, "Northern Queensland No. iv [Transcript]", p. 2. For example, of four Chinese that had been taken alive, one was hanging from a tree by his feet having been decapitated and much of his flesh removed, and claimed as 'being cooked by the party of eight natives'.

²⁶² Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23.

²⁶³ Ibid.

Chapter Four: British Consolidation Discontinuity 1874-1892

As little evidence remains from an Aboriginal or Chinese perspective, this thesis is viewing the European-created records concerning cultural-contact events in southern Cape York Peninsula during the late-19th century through the lens of relatedness theory, in order to identify the existence of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness. The previous chapter has revealed contact between the Guugu-Yimidhirr, Kokomini and Kuku-Yalanji and the first wave of Chinese Outsiders began within a short time after their arrival. Reports of Aboriginal attacks have begun to indicate a greater complexity than the simplifying European concepts of contested territory and racism. European accounts have revealed an inability and unwillingness to comprehend Aboriginal processes and practices. Further to this, the gaps in the documentary evidence have suggested European justification and indemnification of their own atrocities. The potential for the Chinese and Aborigines to evolve relatedness has been argued as existing in the frontline of Aboriginal women. Not possessing the European obsession with territorial acquisition, and sharing cultural similarities with Aborigines, the Chinese were more likely to be enfolded in intimate, social and trade relationships that maintained relatedness. However, the overall devastation wreaked by the Palmer River discontinuity threatened to be too great to be enfolded.

This chapter emphasises the second wave of Chinese Outsiders, arriving in Cooktown from southern China after 1874, did not possess prior knowledge of Aborigines, and many were unprepared to negotiate the environment they entered. The overwhelming number of Chinese migrants will be discussed as triggering European insecurities and an anti-Chinese media campaign that drove the creation of discriminatory legislation. It is argued that this legislation aided in the destruction of the region's economy, and the desertion of both its European and Chinese populations. The devastation to People and Country in North Queensland is identified as having left many of the surviving Aborigines dependant on Outsiders, working for food, tobacco and opium, leaving little alternative for the Aborigines, but

to follow the Outsiders as they deserted. Through the complaints and accusations of Europeans throughout the North, particularly on the Atherton Tableland, it becomes apparent that certain Chinese and Aborigines were continuing to evolve physical, social, economic and emotional relationships.

Strangers: The incoming tide

As the media served to justify territorial possession and the culling of Aborigines, so too it campaigned against the growing Chinese presence on the Palmer, inciting animosity and driving political debate.²⁶⁴ In June 1874, a Palmer correspondent forewarned the field's 3000-3500 population that 'hordes [of Chinese] are en route from Charters Towers', and called for 'every legitimate means' to stop the Chinese and avert a catastrophe, including legislating a three-year restriction on access from the date a field opened.²⁶⁵ Such provocative statements fed a cycle of animosity, leading to assaults on the Chinese that received latent approval from the media.²⁶⁶ Contrary to the media's representation, it was not until the failure of the Mitchell field that the growing number of Chinese was perceived a problem.²⁶⁷ The call emerged to draw on the Victorian example of applying a £10 Poll Tax to all Chinese

²⁶⁴ *The Queenslander*, "Overlanding to the Palmer", 18 April 1874, p. 8. The media representation of the Chinese was often by members of the general public, revealing both old animosities that had migrated from southern goldfields and a white superiority existing in European cultural habitus. A Charleville correspondent wrote to *The Queenslander*: 'I need scarcely say that all the Celestials, redolent of opium, and chattering like monkeys, are on the move'. The correspondent bemoans he will be the last remaining resident of a once prosperous town.

²⁶⁵ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, "The Palmer", 23 June 1874, p. 4; *Warwick Examiner and Times*, "The Hon. W. Yaldwyn at the Palmer", 25 July 1874, p. 2; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 13 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "Mining", 20 June 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "Mining Report", 23 January 1875. Member of the Legislative Council W Yaldwyn believed the field's population was closer to 2000 and estimated 40 to 50 Chinese were working an area deserted by Europeans. In June 1874, *The Cooktown Courier* reported the arrival of 'new chums' judging by their appearance, 'engaged to work [f]or tribute'. The tone of the article, suggests these may have been the first migrants under the indenture system.

²⁶⁶ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 6 June 1874; *The Queenslander*, "Lower Herbert (from Our Own Correspondent)", 1874, p. 9. John Ah Poy, having been among the first to arrive on the field to establish a garden and food supply, was robbed. The correspondent notes the perpetrators 'got away safely'. *The Cooktown Courier* jested ongoing 'useful employment' could be generated for the 'blacks' by turning them onto the 'Celestial element'.

²⁶⁷ *The Cooktown Courier*, "Mining Report", 23 January 1875. Complaints arose when the Europeans fell back onto fields they had deserted to find them occupied. A line was literally drawn demanding an advancing party of 20 Chinese miners travel no further. The Chinese obliged without resistance in the face of armed Europeans.

miners and residents on the field, with the exception of gardeners and storekeepers.²⁶⁸ While a large number of Chinese chose to leave the Palmer, their population continued to grow.²⁶⁹

Selected Chinese businessmen expanded and consolidated trade networks with partners in Hong Kong and Guangdong, establishing a system of pre-paid transit that enabled larger numbers of Chinese migrants to come to Cooktown from the beginning of 1875.²⁷⁰ This system bypassed many of the issues related to migration, but also restricted these migrants' capacity to negotiate with colonial society by keeping them within their specific ethnic groups.²⁷¹ The dramatic increase in Chinese migrants was perceived as a threat to the British claim to possession of the land, and altered the European-Chinese-Aboriginal dynamic dramatically.²⁷² The threat to teamsters' and carriers' profits realised by Chinese business men importing 'coolies to pack their merchandise from Cooktown to the Palmer' was responded to with an

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 13 March 1875. *The Cooktown Courier* reported on 13 March 1875 that 300 Chinese miners had abandoned the Left-hand Branch and were heading to Oakey, leaving approximately 1200.

²⁷⁰ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]"; Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, p. 21. Inspector Douglas of the Native Police recalled the established Chinese arranged a system of bringing large numbers of 'the coolie class' to Cooktown. Two or three steamers a month would arrive bearing up to 600 Chinese, whose 'wives and children [he believed] were in pawn until the debt was liquidated'. The men repaid their debt by either carrying supplies to the field or through their findings, depending on their physical strength.

²⁷¹ Sie, "Episodes in the Life of the Late Mr Tam Sie"; Yuanfang, *Dragon Seed in the Antipodes: Chinese-Australian Autobiographies*, p. 63. Not all Chinese arrived under contract, enabling them a greater sense of freedom to negotiate with colonial society outside of the restrictions imposed by the chain migration system. Tam Sie had heard of untold wealth in Queensland, and arrived in Cooktown in 1875. Tam Sie does not reveal his place of origin; however, he presents himself as an already successful man, who after six months, tired of the Palmer goldfields and went into partnership with Kwong Hing to build a bêche-de-mer junk. Their first eight month voyage to New Guinea made £500. In 1877, Tam Sie left for Cairns and travelled around the North in various capacities, establishing himself as a pioneer, equal to, and friends with important old European pioneers. It is Chinese 'small men' that Sie contends with, as they attempt to rob him of his earnings. However, Sie continues to help these inferior Chinese men and mediates for them in legal and business dealings with Europeans.

²⁷² Rains, *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story*, p. 21; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 27 March 1875. This rapid increase in immigration was confirmed by the arrival of over 750 Chinese from Hong Kong aboard the steamers *Adria* and *Singapore*. The opportunity of an emergent trade direct with China and the proof large ships could land in Cooktown bearing up to 400 tons of provisions and passengers excited the Cooktown business community, however, the consensus of the Europeans was that given the insignificant finds to date on the fields, landing so many Chinese was against both races best interests. Concerns were exacerbated by the news further large numbers were en route and soon the European population would be outnumbered three to one.

act of barricading the new government wharves and demanding an unofficial £20 poll tax on arrivals.²⁷³

The Chinese businessmen subsequently relied on their own packers to transport supplies in trains jogging single-file, using baskets on a bamboo pole across their shoulders.²⁷⁴ Each team of up to 150 men was accompanied by two or three overseers carrying 'an old smooth-bore muzzle loading gun with powder and shot flask', at intervals of 50 men along the train.²⁷⁵ Perceived as fearing attack from the Aborigines, 'the Chinese kept up a loud conversation, which [...] might be heard sometime before they were met'.²⁷⁶ Their camps were avoided at night by European carriers and teamsters, due to the Chinese indiscriminately setting off fireworks and guns.²⁷⁷ Given their fear of Aboriginal attack, which Douglas claims rarely happened at night, the slightest noise would start them firing in all directions.²⁷⁸ These new arrivals had no experience of Aborigines, and would have arrived in Cooktown to tales of atrocities and horrors of cannibalism.

²⁷³ Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, pp. 53-54. Corfield claimed he took part in this blockade at the request of the wharves leaser FWJ Beardmore, describing: 'A stormy scene then ensued, as the coolies strongly objected to the imposition, ending by the swag of each man being confiscated and placed in the shed until payment was made. In carrying this out, we were ably assisted by the sailors and sympathetic civilians. Several of the Chinese attempted to escape, but were caught by their pigtails and brought back. After the controversy between Mr Beardmore and the Chinese storekeepers, the latter paid £20, the sum demanded for the release of the swags. The Chinese had no sympathisers to assist them in obtaining redress'.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54; Stephens, "The Palmer Goldfield by S.E. Stephens. Hon. Curator of History - James Cook Museum", p. 3; Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]". Although their loads were heavy, the Chinese carriers were treated well and Douglas believed their wives and children were well cared for. They were well-fed and only travelled during the cooler times of the day. The Chinese were law abiding, and while under indenture, were never known to cause disturbances. Those that were injured by the weight of their loads were carried back to Cooktown and shipped back to China. Any disputes they had were settled among themselves.

²⁷⁵ Stephens, "The Palmer Goldfield by S.E. Stephens. Hon. Curator of History - James Cook Museum", p. 3; Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]".

²⁷⁶ Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, p. 54.

²⁷⁷ Stephens, "The Palmer Goldfield by S.E. Stephens. Hon. Curator of History - James Cook Museum", p. 3.

²⁷⁸ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]"; Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, pp. 54-55. It was generally believed that these packers returned to Cooktown carrying gold that was then shipped back to China.

By mid-August 1874, the population of the Palmer field was estimated at 5000, of which 500 were estimated to be Chinese.²⁷⁹ Two white men had been recently killed by the Aborigines, when the first reference to cannibalism on the field appears.²⁸⁰ Claims of cannibalism would have been exacerbated by such discoveries as over 20 containers full of human bones that the Aborigines had tried to take with them during the dispersal at Pine Creek.²⁸¹ Similar claims have been recorded all over Queensland, and have been contested for many years.²⁸²

Claims of cannibalism in North Queensland would have arisen from a 'widely accepted belief that the Aborigines carried off the corpses of their victims'.²⁸³ Christopher Anderson argues that although some evidence exists of a specific mortuary practice on the Bloomfield River, 'no reliable reports' of cannibalism on the Palmer exist, and claims human flesh was a source of food are nonsense.²⁸⁴ Ganter calls Hector Holthouse's claim that Aboriginal cannibalism was a culinary practice 'ludicrous'.²⁸⁵ References to cannibalism have generally been repetitions of a small number of incidents claiming to be first-hand accounts.²⁸⁶ Ganter agrees with Anderson that these accounts may have actually been examples of Aboriginal

²⁷⁹ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 15 August 1874.

²⁸⁰ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Courier", 15 August 1874; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Reefs", 22 August 1874. The editorial claims the young, tender man in good condition was cooked and eaten, while the other, being in poor condition, was simply mutilated. A third man was killed a few days later and again the claim of cannibalism emerged, as his body could not be found.

²⁸¹ *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874.

²⁸² Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co, 1904, pp. 18-19; Semon, *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea Being the Experiences and Observations of a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea and the Moluccas*, pp. 222-223; W Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900", Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1901; *The Cooktown Courier*, "The Palmer", 3 October 1874. Tom Petrie's reminiscences of mid-18th-century South-east Queensland observed that the persistent beliefs the Bon-yi (Bunya) festival often ended with a cannibalistic feast to compensate for all the nuts and vegetables were 'quite untrue'. His daughter Constance Petrie claimed that the Southeast Queensland Aborigines 'were most certainly cannibals, however, as they never failed to eat any one killed in a fight'. Naturalist Richard Semon explained in 1899: 'In many places we find it the custom that parts of the dead are eaten by their relatives'. Northern Protector of Aborigines Walter E Roth, in discussing contagious diseases in 1901, thought, although an objectionable practise 'on the grounds of general public morals', the practise seemed not to actively spread disease. *The Cooktown Courier* claimed that 'too many well authenticated cases of cannibalism' had occurred.

²⁸³ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 26.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 164.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

mortuary practice 'which involved burying the bones after they had been cleaned of flesh by firing'.²⁸⁷ Michael Pickering's investigation of the vast references to cannibalism confirmed only a 'handful of reliable first-hand accounts that involved the ritual consumption of certain body parts, such as kidney fat'.²⁸⁸

Folkloric warnings that Aborigines preferred the taste of Chinese flesh were spread amongst new arrivals by some Europeans, to discourage their presence on the field and because being unarmed, the Chinese were an easier target for attack.²⁸⁹ Although there is no account of this being successful, Ganter suggests the rumours may also have been intended to affect a discipline on the Chinese that removed the temptation of leaving the main organised group to speculate in small numbers for self-gain.²⁹⁰ The accusations of cannibalism likely arose as an 'ideological defence mechanism' that dehumanised Aborigines, justifying their extermination, as had justified colonial violence across the world.²⁹¹ It is unlikely that beyond the possibility of mortuary, ritualistic consumption of selected family and slain enemies' body parts, as argued by Anderson, Ganter and Pickering, that cannibalism took place. If it did take place, then it is highly likely it was as a sign of respect. However, the fear it engendered was very real for later Chinese migrants such as Taam Sze Pui, and may have contributed to the formation of racist attitudes towards the Aborigines on the part of some Chinese.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Ibid.; Michael Pickering, *Cannibalism Among Aborigines*, PhD, La Trobe University, 1985. Ganter draws on Pickering's research.

²⁸⁸ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 164; Pickering, *Cannibalism Among Aborigines*; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", pp. 26-27. Anderson believes limited 'ritual consumption of parts of a slain enemy' may have occurred, but cannot be reliably substantiated.

²⁸⁹ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 26; Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 164.

²⁹⁰ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 164.

²⁹¹ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 27. Anderson's interview with Norman Mitchell revealed accounts of cannibalism have entered Kuku-Yalanji beliefs as they have European, the elderly enjoying the fear the concept 'engendered in Europeans and Chinese', and taking pride in it as a distinctive form of resistance.

²⁹² Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, p. 12.

Taam Sze Pui arrived in Cooktown 10 February 1877 with his father and younger brother.²⁹³ Sze Pui's memoir places him as a pioneer enduring almost insurmountable hardship in a virgin land, where the Aborigines were barbaric savages.²⁹⁴ Shen Yuanfang suggests Sze Pui's representation of Aborigines as an ever-present threat and 'unintelligible and irrelevant impediments to his frontier experience' justifies his colonising power, and identifies 'the existence of racial prejudice' in the Chinese.²⁹⁵ For Sze Pui, the Chinese are exploring and exploiting the land, the Europeans are not Australian, but English, and the Aborigines are 'mighty enemies'.²⁹⁶ Given the stories about cannibalism that remained legitimate to Sze Pui while he wrote his memoirs in 1925, and the vastly different experience that the later arriving Chinese endured, it is obvious that many of these arrivals were not capable of quickly adjusting their expectations and strategies to the environment they encountered. Many were unable to make enough money to break out of the system, and remained trapped in a cycle between Cooktown and the Palmer.²⁹⁷

By the time Sze Pui arrived in Cooktown, within two years of the first immigrant arrivals, the Chinese population on the Palmer was at its peak of an estimated 17,000, compared to only 1100 Europeans.²⁹⁸ Yet, Douglas remembered only three attacks on Chinese carrier trains, each time at Hell's Gate.²⁹⁹ This suggests the fear the new wave of Chinese experienced was more a result of the stories they were

²⁹³ Ibid., pp. 5-10; Catherine May, "See Poy, Tom (1853–1926)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2013 (1988), <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/see-poy-tom-8381/text14713>>. Sze Pui was from generations of a poor, fish and mulberry farming family in Ny Chuen villiage, Kwangtung province. He had some valuable experience working for a small merchant uncle. A flood destroyed his village and family's farm, leaving their situation desperate.

²⁹⁴ Yuanfang, *Dragon Seed in the Antipodes: Chinese-Australian Autobiographies*, pp. 50-52.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 53

²⁹⁷ Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, pp. 10, 22-28, 32-33. Many Chinese were trapped and penniless, gold was difficult to find, and the climate caused frequent illness. In 1882, after nearly six years searching for gold, working in domestic service and in a restaurant, Sze Pui accepted work in the Johnson River Valley clearing land for a future sugar plantation. With the money he earned, he established himself as a merchant. Sze Pui describes years of continuing to overcome hardships and potential attacks from 'black natives', to become one of Queensland's most successful Chinese businessmen.

²⁹⁸ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]"; Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, p. 10.

²⁹⁹ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]".

told, than actual events. While the European record indicates numerous attacks happened, in the few Chinese records of the Palmer frontier, no actual reference is made to such experiences.

Legislation: Biting the hand that feeds you

During 1875, 1876 and 1877, 7254, 6555 and 7460 Chinese immigrated to Queensland respectively.³⁰⁰ The Queensland Government responded to calls for restrictions to the growing Chinese competition on the gold fields with the *Chinese Immigrants Regulation Act 1877 (The Act 1877)* enforcing a £10 Poll Tax on Chinese entering the colony; and the *Gold Fields Act Amendment Act 1878 (The Act 1878)* enforcing £3 miners rights and £10 business licences per year for Asians and Africans, while restricting Asian and African access to gold fields until three years after the field was declared, unless discovered by an Asian or African.³⁰¹ These levies were justified as contributions towards the £16,000 expended on police protecting Chinese, and to encourage a better class of Chinese immigrant.³⁰² Between the

³⁰⁰ Allan Morrison, "Article from Week 22.2.1879. 'Statistics of Queensland'", in Allan Arthur Morrison Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland Library.

³⁰¹ Queensland Parliament, "Gold Fields Bill", in *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard, Brisbane, 1876, pp. 633, 637; Morrison, "Article from Week 22.2.1879. 'Statistics of Queensland'"; Kirkman, "Chinese Miners on the Palmer", p. 58.

³⁰² Queensland Parliament, "Gold Fields Act Amendment Bill", in *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard, Brisbane, 1876, pp. 371, 373, 380-382; Queensland Parliament, "Gold Fields Bill", pp. 633-635; Morrison, "Article from Week 22.2.1879. 'Statistics of Queensland'"; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 22. Charles Buzacott argued, even if the Chinese left the northern goldfields, the Europeans would still require the £16,000 of police protection. John Thompson claimed Cooktown's large revenue was derived from the Chinese, who contributed more gold revenue than the white man through the duties charged on his imported luxuries, and while their population had increased in the Palmer district, according to a Commissioner of Police report, crime had decreased. FH Hart insisted, an English storekeeper in Cooktown had informed him, the whites were more worried about the Aborigines than the Chinese. According to the 1876 census returns, the population of Queensland was 170,000, the total population of Chinese in Queensland was less than 10,000, of which 6,600 were on the Palmer. The exact figures are questionable, as in further debate it was claimed 12,000 people lived in Cooktown of which 7000 were Chinese, and they raised more revenue than the average town of 32,000. As this was a Parliamentary debate, statistical latitude is to be expected. The population of Queensland in December 1877 was recorded as 203,084. The combined goldfields population was 30,433. Though the official records may not have included all the Chinese, they were claimed to account for 15,991 on the goldfields, of whom 13,278 were miners. There were 14,442 Europeans associated with mining, of whom only 4678 were miners, with 'the remainder being merchants, carters, timber-getters, and women and children'. These figures contradict claims the Chinese population on the Palmer alone peaked at 17,000 in 1877; however, many Chinese may not

passing into law of *The Act 1877* in August and December that year, the number of official Chinese immigrants was below 200.³⁰³

The funds raised by these levies were not invested back into Cooktown or the Palmer gold fields, and became partly responsible for the desertion of the district. The Colonial Secretary was petitioned by combined Chinese and European business people and miners to increase police protection, not from the Aborigines, but from other Chinese and Europeans.³⁰⁴ Chinese businessmen and miners were making insufficient funds to meet the demands of the new levies and were deserting the region.³⁰⁵ They were not receiving the benefit of greater police protection and had even been assaulted by Native Police.³⁰⁶ The Chinese business community anticipated 'great troubles'.³⁰⁷ By the beginning of the 1877-1878 wet season, Corfield claimed the Palmer goldfield was 'falling off', and although carrying had been very lucrative, he was struggling to keep his teams employed.³⁰⁸

The Brisbane Courier continued to condemn the Chinese presence in the colony and celebrated the great victory for 'anti-Chinese agitation' in the form of *The Act 1877* protecting the colony from the 'Yellow Agony' invasion.³⁰⁹ However, these Acts

have been registered, and numbers may have dropped prior to the census being taken. Chinese immigration had accounted for approximately a third of the year's 22,596 immigrants.

³⁰³ Morrison, "Article from Week 22.2.1879. 'Statistics of Queensland'"; Kirkman, "Chinese Miners on the Palmer", p. 58.

³⁰⁴ Gough et al, Queensland State Archives Item ID: 1098203, Correspondence - inwards, 1877; Chow Lee et al, Queensland State Archives Item ID: 1460907, Correspondence - inwards, 1877. The roads from Cooktown to the goldfields were lawless and violent. The Chinese were particularly targeted by both Chinese and European horse thieves and bandits. The petitioners noted the introduction of the £10 Poll Tax, the heavy tax on rice imports and the increased miners rights and business license fees, all with the expressed intention to cover the costs of protecting the Chinese on the northern goldfields. No police beside the Native Police, 'who do not patrol the roads', had been stationed between Cooktown and Byerstown, nor Cooktown and Edwardstown.

³⁰⁵ FC Hodel, Queensland State Archives Item ID 846976, Correspondence - inwards, 1877.

³⁰⁶ Ibid. Chinese miners were being singled out and assaulted by the Native Police; two men had had their 'ponytails' cut off. An attached note corrects the assumption it is Native Police, as none were employed under Goldfield Wardens; however, the note suggests the assailants may have been 'black trackers'.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*, p. 70.

³⁰⁹ *The Brisbane Courier*, "Saturday, January 4, 1879", 4 January 1879, p. 4; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Friday, January 10, 1879", 10 January 1879, p. 2. *The Brisbane Courier* called for a national rising of 'Anti-Chinese Immigration Leagues' to bring about legislation to permanently halt the importation of

contributed to the downfall of Cooktown, and ignored the dependence the colony had on the Chinese.³¹⁰ Douglas estimated up to 14,000 Chinese migrated to other North Queensland areas such as 'Mt. Molly [Mount Molloy], Mt. Carbine, Mareeba, Port Douglas and Mossman, [...] Atherton, Cairns and Innisfail', while others returned to China or remained destitute in Cooktown.³¹¹ Chinese subscriptions to the Cooktown hospital became insufficient to meet the growing number of Chinese paupers.³¹² To save the district, Cooktown's business community petitioned the Queensland Government to invest some of the revenue the district had raised into the permanent resolution of peace with the Aborigines.³¹³ However, it was common consensus that only removing *The Acts 1877* and *1878* could save the town.³¹⁴ The

cheap Chinese labour. The Chinese were portrayed as conditioned to living in poverty: 'How can [the European] compete with the barbarian whose superfluous females are thinned off by practice of infanticide, who maintains no wife'. The editorial insisted, the Chinese and British could not work side-by-side, the colony must be only British or only Chinese.

³¹⁰ Queensland Parliament, "Supply", in *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard, Brisbane, 1878, p. 769.

³¹¹ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]"; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", pp. 22-23.

³¹² William J Hartley, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879. Secretary of the Cooktown District Hospital Committee William J Hartley claimed the hospital's debt was caused solely by the number of Chinese patients and was threatening its ability to remain open. Hartley requested funds from the Poll Tax be diverted towards the hospital to help meet the rapidly increasing number of patients. An unattributed newspaper clipping attached to Hartley's letter revealed the Committee meeting indicated that many of the patients would have previously defrayed their own costs, but with the collapse of the goldfields, 'poverty and destitution' had increased dramatically in the region. While by the end of the year, the number of Chinese patients had dropped by 16; the number of European patients had increased by 115.

³¹³ John Thomas Clarke, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847003, Correspondence - inwards, 1879. The petitioners called for a hospital, a powder magazine, a patent slip, a quarantine station, for the Endeavour River to be deepened, the formation of both an immigration and health board, the construction of roads and bridges, and the formation of a Railway league to raise funds to create a rail line from Cooktown to the goldfields, then on further south, and funds from the Government for the creation of a Botanical Gardens and recreation area. Town by-laws were enacted and a plan for a School of Arts was implemented.

³¹⁴ Douglas, "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]"; Rev. Julian Edmund Tenison-Woods, "Northern Queensland No. iii [Transcript]", Cooktown Historical Society, 2014 (1879), pp. 2-4; DH Borchardt, "'Tenison-Woods, Julian Edmund (1832-1889)'," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography: Australian National University, 2014 (1976), <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tenison-woods-julian-edmund-4700>>; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Cooktown", 4 October 1879, p. 4; *Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser*, "Our Nutshell", 2 September 1879, p. 3; *The Brisbane Courier*, "Departures", 5 January 1880, p. 2; *Queensland Punch and Figaro*, "Read This, Sammy", 28 July 1883, p. 11. While analysing coal deposits relative to Cooktown in late-1879, President of the Linnæan Society and Catholic priest Julian Edmund Tenison-Woods noted Cooktown's dependence on the Chinese. While most claimed the Poll Tax came too late to restrict their presence, it had also devastated the Cooktown economy by ceasing Chinese trade. Publicans claimed the Chinese were their best customers, always sober, peaceable and quiet.

Chinese presence was in every aspect of 'colonial life except the civil service'.³¹⁵ Without the Chinese, the Cook district could not sustain its European population, who were also deserting.³¹⁶ By 1880, the Poll Tax was deemed a failure that had cost the colony £40,000 in revenue per year.³¹⁷

Many of the Chinese leaving the gold fields established themselves in the various towns of North Queensland, gaining a monopoly in the agricultural and fishing industries.³¹⁸ The Chinese first arrived on the Atherton Tableland in 1881, employed as timber-getters and in land clearing.³¹⁹ They formed a camp known as Cedar Creek by 1885 that became more established with the construction of shops and huts by 1887, and came to be known as Atherton Chinatown.³²⁰

They were regular travellers who paid without complaint and, who without, the accommodation houses would have no business.

³¹⁵ Tenison-Woods, "Northern Queensland No. iii [Transcript]", pp. 5-6; John Hall, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1878; John Hall, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879; Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879. The Chinese fulfilled the service needs of the Europeans: gathering feed for horses, supplying fire wood, childcare, affordable food such as tropical fruits, making the furniture, waiting on domestic tables, operating all the major stores, carrying supplies to the interior, catching the fish. In September 1878 and again in June 1879, Cooktown's Mayor, John Hall, requested the Colonial Secretary address the disparity of male to female immigrants arriving in Cooktown. The residents of Cooktown felt 'great inconvenience' in having to employ Chinese household staff and nursing staff for their children. Hall argued there was a great need for female labour, as the employment of Chinese for these positions 'should not be allowed in a British community', and requested a proportionate amount of female immigrants be sent to Cooktown. In response to Hall's request, the Immigration Office advised the Colonial Secretary, 'apart from the difficulty - I might say impossibility - of getting any number of single girls to consent to proceed further north after landing in Townsville' on the possibility of employment where no accommodation can be assured, the best that could be offered was free passage to anyone willing to take the chance.

³¹⁶ Queensland Parliament, "Labourers Bill," in *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard, Brisbane, 1880, p. 839. Walsh claimed the north could not be developed without Asians, as the climate did not suit Europeans. Though he was anti-Chinese, as he claimed were the Legislative Assembly, it was far better the northern climate kill the Chinese than Europeans: 'The more Asiatics they had the more Europeans would be required to look after them - the one was as necessary as the other'.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23.

³¹⁹ Unknown, "The Hou Wang Temple Atherton Queensland", Cairns Historical Society ID G06496; Gordon Grimwade, "Cedar Camp: Atherton's Chinatown", Cairns Historical Society ID G06684, 1995.

³²⁰ Unknown, "The Hou Wang Temple Atherton Queensland"; Grimwade, "Cedar Camp: Atherton's Chinatown".

Anti-Chinese Europeans reacted almost immediately. Jeremiah Collins of the Herberton Miners Association (HMA) complained in April 1883, that the new regulations banning the employment of Chinese as miners, had left a loop hole allowing the Chinese to work in capacities other than mining.³²¹ The HMA feared the opening would result in all the colony's Chinese coming to Herberton.³²² Up to 300 Chinese were in the district looking for employment, of which approximately 150 had taken up farming-land leases from unscrupulous selectors around Scrubby Creek, 'defeating the benevolent intentions of the Homestead Act'.³²³

Queensland law refused Chinese who were not naturalised British subjects access to owning freehold land.³²⁴ Europeans either lacking the capital or the capacity to clear and develop their land, leased it to the Chinese until it was made suitable for European agricultural methods.³²⁵ The HMA and European miners of both Emu and Thompson's Creeks were unanimously determined to ensure the Chinese did not get a 'foothold in the district', having experienced their arrival at the Palmer.³²⁶ They rejected anyone 'who would surreptitiously try to flood this part of Northern Queensland with the "yellow agony"'.³²⁷ Collins asserted a unanimous rejection by the miners for anyone who allowed the Chinese to live among Europeans.³²⁸

Capitalising: Solving the 'Aboriginal problem'

The smoke of Aboriginal fires could still be seen in the distance around Cooktown in 1879.³²⁹ Europeans considered it unsafe to venture out of the town unarmed.³³⁰ Yet, all suitable land outside Cooktown appeared to be taken up by Chinese gardens.³³¹

³²¹ Jeremiah Collins, *The Queenslander*, "Chinamen on the Tinfields", 28 April 1883.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Collins, "Chinamen on the Tinfields".

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Tenison-Woods, "Northern Queensland No. iv [Transcript]", p. 1.

³³⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-2. Tenison-Woods claimed the Normanby River basin on the old Cooktown-Palmer road remained 'thickly populated by hostile natives'.

³³¹ Ibid., p. 2.

Attacks on Chinese were still occurring; however, these Chinese farmers could only have operated their gardens if left relatively unscathed.³³² This would indicate they maintained some form of contact with the local Aborigines, possibly sharing a trade relationship involving their garden produce, tobacco and opium.

By 1883, 400 Europeans and 840 Chinese remained on the Palmer fields. Many of the remaining Aborigines were living as fringe-dwellers around mining camps and towns, working as itinerant labourers for rations and opium.³³³ Some Aboriginal women were in relationships with Outsiders and raising children, such as Billy Abu's parents mentioned above.³³⁴ The remaining populations of all three races would have been in continuous contact, coming to rely on each other for services and supplies. Although violent incidents still occurred, they were more likely to be directly related to personal contact, or what were considered rogue groups who remained in the district. As the Outsider population migrated away from the field, the devastation wreaked by their presence over the past decade left many Aborigines little alternative but to follow.³³⁵

Throughout the broader district, on earlier goldfields, Chinese and Aborigines were in regular communication. European complaints and fears identify Chinese living with Aborigines in relationships, which infers socialising with kinship networks and Aboriginal communities. The Chinese were accused of spreading leprosy and venereal disease throughout Aboriginal communities.³³⁶ The European residents of Georgetown demanded government intervention to stop Chinese lepers spreading the disease on the Etheridge goldfield by their cohabitating with Aborigines.³³⁷ Such accusations were exaggerated, as had been earlier observations and complaints, legitimising European superiority, justifying retaliation, and deflecting the potential of their own behaviour being brought under scrutiny. In response, a medical

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 24.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Edward T Green, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³³⁷ George H Brookes, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847269, Correspondence - inwards, 1888.

inspection found one Aboriginal man with leprosy and one Chinese man with syphilis.³³⁸ One Chinese man believed to be a leper was later reported as being killed by Aborigines between Woodville and Union Camp near Thornborough, though no trace of Aborigines was found.³³⁹

During the mid to late-1880s, numerous solutions to continuing outbreaks of conflict with Aborigines, and in some locations their evolving relatedness with the Chinese, were being petitioned to the Colonial Secretary. The European and Chinese residents of the Palmer goldfields petitioned for more Native Police.³⁴⁰ However, the system of Native Police dispersing the Aborigines had proven expensive and ineffectual.³⁴¹ Edward Green demanded all Aborigines be removed permanently from the northern towns for both the Europeans' and Aborigines' best interests.³⁴² Some called for reserves, where Aborigines could live traditionally under European supervision, isolated from the negative influences of lower-class Europeans and the Chinese.³⁴³ In this manner, Aborigines could be self-sufficient, providing marketable products and

³³⁸ Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1888; AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 5 April 1888. However, official attempts to reassure Europeans they were not in danger did not lessen the very real fear that migrating Chinese miners were spreading disease.

³³⁹ AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 3 May 1888.

³⁴⁰ Palmer goldfield petitioners, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847184, Correspondence - inwards, 1886. The petitioners claimed their levies were not resulting in adequate protection for the population of approximately 1000, and therefore the region may need to be abandoned. Within the previous 12 months, Aborigines had killed eight Chinese miners and a large number of horses. European and Chinese miners had been forced to abandon the creeks running into the Mitchell River. Ten horses of one Chinese packer had been killed in the preceding days.

³⁴¹ WB Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³⁴² Green, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Marian Ellis Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*, 2nd ed., London: John Murray, 1898, pp. 80-83. Green complained that the European women and children of Georgetown were almost daily being solicited by Aboriginal women and children, and bearing witness to 'disgusting scenes' of Aborigines having sexual intercourse outside their homes. During a visit to Georgetown four years later, Ellis Rowan described a distasteful place with cat's mating at night, drunken miners on Saturdays and Sundays, and little else of interest. This indicates Green's complaints deflected any sense of responsibility for the issues Georgetown faced. For Rowan, the local Aborigines were 'a wretched-looking, misshapen and repulsive race', who ate their fat women and children when food was scarce.

³⁴³ WH Kent, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Albert Roberts, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Jocelyn Brookes, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1888. Plans for a reserve near Georgetown were later rejected on the grounds of the poor soil and climate, the diversity of tribes within the local population of 400 was seen too also make cohabitating impossible, and the great expense involved in establishing it.

skills to the colony as they gradually assimilated to European customs.³⁴⁴ A fourth option, to halt increasing outrages and depredations, was presented by the Herberton Progress Association (HPA) and Barron Valley Farmers and Progress Association (BVPA) on the Atherton Tableland: Bring the Aborigines in and feed them for labour.³⁴⁵ Feeding the Aborigines was presented as fair compensation for destroying their traditional food sources, seen as motivating the depredations.³⁴⁶ The proponents of this approach believed it to be humane.³⁴⁷ It had worked elsewhere in the colony and would civilise the Aborigines, bringing them 'under the proper subjection of the Law'.³⁴⁸ The benefits of the 'no work no food' system included lowering the cost of land clearing, averting inevitable bloodshed, and its track record of reducing Indigenous populations.³⁴⁹

Although some Chinese and Europeans had for many years developed relationships with the Aborigines, in his reminiscences, John Winfield accredits the commencement of the peace between Europeans and Aborigines to John Byrnes.³⁵⁰ In 1896, Archibald Meston confirmed John Byrnes of Thornborough was the first

³⁴⁴ Kent, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³⁴⁵ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Roberts, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Gilbert White, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887. Crops were being stolen, homes required armed guards to avert being broken into, and settlers felt they faced extreme dangers. The petitioners claimed many settlers had abandoned their land, and the rest were 'holding on in hope of getting their certificate' so they could leave the land and still own it, should it one day be valuable.

³⁴⁶ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Roberts, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; White, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887. Writing in 1887, Gilbert White had not heard of one act of violence towards a settler in the seven months he had lived in Herberton.

³⁴⁷ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Roberts, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; White, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³⁴⁸ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887; Roberts, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³⁴⁹ White, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

³⁵⁰ John G Winfield, "Reminiscences of Mr John Winfield", Cairns Historical Society ID G01028. Winfield does not identify a date. It is likely to be late-1886 to early-1887. Byrnes took in a young Aboriginal boy found by Inspector Douglas, teaching the boy some English. When the child's mother arrived, Byrnes offered her food any time she wished to come back. After two men had been speared in Watsonville, west of Herberton, many of the local Aborigines were killed by miners. The mother and child came to Byrnes, who told her to encourage the Aborigines to come to his station. Gradually most of the local tribes came in and were fed and protected. Ongoing supplies were organised by the warden, and by Winfield's account, hostilities ceased.

man to initiated reconciliation by offering food and protection.³⁵¹ In 1887, with Government approval, M Wason began supplying rations to Aborigines at Union Camp on the Hodgkinson goldfield.³⁵² For the next two years, the greatest disturbance was a Chinese miner's tent being rifled.³⁵³ Requests began to come in from station owners in Chillagoe, Atherton, Thornborough, Northcote, Mitchell Vale and the Barron River, for allowances to supply rations from their properties to ensure safety for their districts.³⁵⁴ Given the violence the Aboriginal Peoples had endured, the success of this system required an extraordinary act of trust and courage on their part. It also required a significant level of trust on the part of the Europeans and a shift in their strategic thinking.³⁵⁵ The program was immediately successful, ending the 'depredations'.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ Archibald Meston, "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland", Queensland House of Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, Brisbane, 1896, p. 11.

³⁵² AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 May 1889.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*; WH Ryder, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 March 1889. In 1889, the program received provisional approval to continue on a budget of £20 per month for Aborigines in need, while suitable land for a reserve to distribute rations indefinitely was sought.

³⁵⁴ AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 9 September 1889; William Atherton, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889; WH Ryder, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 9 October 1889.

³⁵⁵ Brooke, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889; Fred Robinson, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889; AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 25 June 1889; Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889. A Waroona station owner named Robinson was willing to try something different after six years of harsh measures had failed to stop his cattle being killed by Aborigines. So, Robinson captured an Aborigine and had him beaten and chained up for trying to escape. Sub-Inspector Brooke felt this man was not likely to come back, so sent troops out to capture another one, whom he 'clothed, fed and inspired with a certain amount of confidence and then sent him to bring in his friends'. The Aborigines were initially unsure of Robinson's intentions, so sent for a coastal Aborigine who had experience with Europeans. Gradually the numbers coming to his station began to increase, until the anticipated 40 was 120. Financial support and blankets were immediately supplied to maintain the program.

³⁵⁶ GPM Murray, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889; Under Colonial Secretary, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1890. At the request of the Colonial Secretary, relieving Police Magistrate GPM Murray inspected Herberton, Waroona, the Johnstone, Tully, Murray and Herbert Rivers, Atherton, Northcote, Thornborough, Kingsborough, Union Camp, Chillagoe, Cairns, the Mulgrave River, the Mount Orient Mine and Mitchell Vale to ascertain the condition of the Aborigines and assess the ration system, reporting his findings on 13 November 1889. While in many locations the Aborigines were away when Murray visited, he found 'depredations had almost entirely ceased since the Blacks had been let in and fed'. Murray strongly recommended Zillman's request to establish Aboriginal reserves, suggesting such reserves should be large enough to ensure no contact with whites and the ability for the Aborigines to live and hunt as they had always done. This, Murray felt, would allow the Aborigines seclusion and avoidance of detrimental influences for the few years they had left until the natural process of their extinction took place. The recommendation for a reserve was declined.

By October 1890, the Aboriginal population of Atherton was estimated to be 300.³⁵⁷ The winter had reduced the available sources of food in the region.³⁵⁸ Police Magistrate AH Zillman and contracted distributor WB Kelly of the BVPA lobbied for an increase in the ration allowance to be able to feed the women, children and elderly.³⁵⁹ Many Aboriginal men were working for settlers, and no trouble was recorded.³⁶⁰ As a result of the government rations, the settlers believed the district was becoming prosperous through felling scrub and opening new land.³⁶¹ This would have placed the Aborigines in direct contact the Chinese who had been working clearing land for agriculture in the district since 1891.³⁶² The relationships formed during this time would lead to ongoing complaints from the Europeans, as the Aborigines came to prefer working for the Chinese.

Hostilities continued in North Queensland, though extended periods could pass without incident.³⁶³ As since 1873, the motivations of Aborigines in these attacks may not have been apparent or considered relevant to the Europeans recording the events. Generally, incidents relating to the Chinese received little more than passing notice.³⁶⁴ To discover a European who had observed a pattern in Aboriginal attacks and drawn a valid conclusion is rare. During his years in North Queensland, Swedish prospector Eric Hultman found attacks by Aborigines 'normally occurred as epidemics at periodic intervals'.³⁶⁵ Hultman, his friend John Norman and camp

³⁵⁷ AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 29 September 1890; WB Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 18 September 1890.

³⁵⁸ WB Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 11 June 1890.

³⁵⁹ AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 April 1890; Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 29 September 1890; Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 18 September 1890.

³⁶⁰ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 11 June 1890; Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 April 1890.

³⁶¹ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 18 September 1890.

³⁶² Unknown, "The Hou Wang Temple Atherton Queensland"; Grimwade, "Cedar Camp: Atherton's Chinatown".

³⁶³ Eric Hultman, "In the Land of the Man Eaters", in *Aftonbladet*, Stockholm: Eric Holtsmark (trans.), Cairns Historical Society ID G09818, 1999 (1907).

³⁶⁴ *The Cairns Argus*, "Cooktown Items", 12 September 1890; Howard St George, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847428, Correspondence - inwards, 1891. Such as a Chinese gardener expected to make a full recovery, having been speared at Limestone Creek on 3 September 1890 while tending his garden. On 4 November 1891, a Chinese man named Long Chong was speared near Maytown and carried to hospital, where he later died of his injury.

³⁶⁵ Hultman, "In the Land of the Man Eaters".

'guardian and cook' Tong Fui were prospecting the Hodgkinson River in 1891, and came to be on friendly terms with a large group of Aborigines camped across the river hunting and fishing.³⁶⁶ Returning from prospecting one day, they found Tong speared.³⁶⁷ The tribe was gone, signalling an attack was imminent.³⁶⁸ As they hurried away, they came across Naranbah, a young Aboriginal woman from the tribe.³⁶⁹ The men, women and children in her camp had been dispersed as they slept before day break, by station owner and Justice of the Peace Arthur Crowley and his men, including a Chinese man.³⁷⁰ One woman fled five kilometres to another camp, carrying her one-year-old as her intestines dragged on the ground.³⁷¹ Naranbah's husband Koorbooroo had been sent with a 'message token' to gather the neighbouring Peoples as reinforcements to rid the region of the whites.³⁷² Naranbah had taken the message token to delay the retaliation and give Hultman and Norman time to escape.³⁷³ She had come to grow fond of them.³⁷⁴ In light of such circumstances, it becomes apparent that the Aborigines were willing to enfold the Outsiders, now well-established in their Country, but unwilling to timidly accept Outsider brutality.

The irregularity of these attacks suggests responses to transgressions. It is inconceivable that Aboriginal People would fully understand the complexities of British law within so few years. However, British law did not differentiate between Aboriginal law, assault or self-defence, especially when a European was killed.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ *The Cairns Argus*, "Cooktown Items", 26 August 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Cooktown Items", 5 September 1890. Police arrested an Aboriginal boy named Henry Box in Laura's Chinatown on 25 August 1890, for being implicated in the shooting of HR Jones. The boy's mother had brought him to Chinatown, considering it a safe location, and contacted the Police. Jones' son later captured Harry Box, claiming him to be in possession of the 'horse, saddle, bridle and rifle and ammunition' he had stolen after the murder. Harry Box was rumoured to have confessed to the killing and was remanded in custody after the initial hearing. Henry Box was discharged. Constable Smith had also arrested an 18-year-old Aboriginal boy named Joker, who was with a group of 300 Aborigines, 15 miles from

While the Aborigines showed willingness to enfold the Outsiders and evolve relatedness, the European Outsiders showed rare understanding of responsibility for mutual respect. The murder of George Hobson on the Barron River caused recent kindness to Aborigines to be questioned, claiming they did not understand kindness or gratitude: 'the more you give them the more they will want'.³⁷⁶ This foreshadowed arguments well into the future. A man named Darkie admitted shooting Hobson for refusing to let him go to the bora ground, and was committed for trial.³⁷⁷ While it was inconceivable for the Aborigines to understand British law within such a short time, it was considered irrelevant for many of the British to understand Aboriginal law.

Other: Aborigines and Chinese

Descriptions of the North by European visitors during the early 1890s present versions of the frontier that were informed by their European hosts, propagating myths of frontier heroes struggling against the odds that would become Australian history and underpin white Australian identity. As such, the roles and presence of Aborigines and Chinese were correspondingly diminished, and the nature of their relationships ignored. However, these accounts have left indications of the experiences the Chinese and Aborigines shared. For example, at each of the

Princess Charlotte Bay. The Police Court heard the 'boy came with [Constable Smith] after some trouble'. Joker took Smith to where he had discarded the rifle, still loaded and fully cocked, and admitted shooting Jones because Jones had threatened to shoot him. The correspondent relating the court hearing suggested: 'The boy does not apparently realise the gravity of his offence, and was greatly delighted at the Court-house clock striking'.

³⁷⁶ *The Cairns Argus*, "Russell River Notes", 8 August 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Correspondence", 26 August 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Local and General", 26 August 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Local and General", 5 September 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Police Court", 9 September 1890. The indignation of a selector on his own selection being told 'to clear out to his own "Gunya"' by a group of Aborigines when he entered their camp was considered beyond reproach. A resident selector, under the pseudonym 'Truth' claimed that the Aborigines were causing no trouble and had actually been a great help to the white selectors, suggesting there was no need for a police presence. Two Aborigines named Darkie and Bismarck, were charged with Hobson's murder. Bismarck claimed he had not killed Hobson.

³⁷⁷ *The Cairns Argus*, "Police Court", 12 September 1890.

locations Botanical illustrator Ellis Rowan visited between 1890 and 1892, Aborigines and the Chinese were either working together, or in close proximity.³⁷⁸

While staying at Goondi Sugar Plantation on the Johnston River near Geraldton (Innisfail), Rowan noted the plantation's population of 700 was mostly Chinese men employed clearing the dense scrub, the sound of their axes being synonymous with 'new-formed sugar plantations'.³⁷⁹ Rowan inadvertently describes a minority, elite-European governed 'poly-ethnic' plantation society and local Aboriginal community, the combined population of which was comparable to the Palmer River at that time.³⁸⁰ Occasionally the Aborigines raided the sugar cane, only a few days earlier killing a Chinese man, and according to her host, eating him.³⁸¹ It is more likely the affluent girl from Melbourne was being told a true tale embellished with cannibalism to excite her imagination. However, the killing of the Chinese man indicates interaction with the Aborigines. An unrelated reference to an Aboriginal boy sent collecting butterflies signals the likelihood of Aboriginal house servants and labourers on the plantation. It is also likely these Aboriginal workers were members of the tribe camped annually by the river. Given the close proximity of Aborigines and Chinese, and the Chinese man being killed, it is difficult to imagine relations were not formed.³⁸²

³⁷⁸ Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*, pp. vii-viii. Rowan travelled through areas heavily populated with both Chinese and Aborigines, the latter at times reported on as an almost girls-only adventure of meeting wild blacks and cannibals, while the former were hardly mentioned other than being a constant part of the landscape.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 37; Sze Pui, *My Life and Work*, pp. 27-35. Taam Sze Pui had been in this region for eight years. After felling timber and land clearing for some months, he had taken over a peddling business. He then purchased a small business, gradually expanding it to become a successful merchant with trade partners in Hong Kong.

³⁸⁰ Ganter, "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History", p. 69; Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 146; Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*, p. 33. Rowan was informed that a week prior to her arrival at Goondi, over 100 Aborigines had been camped by the river, living there during the dry weather and returning to the mountains in the wet season.

³⁸¹ Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*, p. 33. The Aborigines had since been driven away by Rowan's unnamed host 'Mr. A.'. Rowan was warned not to 'wander about here alone, as the natives are not to be trusted'.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 36. With the heat making it impossible for Rowan to explore her surrounds and capture things of interest, she sent a 'small black boy' after butterflies, disappointed when he returned with a grasshopper.

The condescending nature of European superiority over all other races and ignorance towards non-European humanity, fed by fantasies of a personal real world experience with the savages of the North is prevalent throughout Rowan's account, giving the impression these non-Europeans were her play-things.³⁸³ Between Herberton and Georgetown, Rowan's travelling party sought shelter from the rain in an Aboriginal camp.³⁸⁴ At no time, does Rowan contemplate the Aboriginal People taking in their oppressor on a wet night.³⁸⁵ Though described as being very cautious of the Outsiders entering their camp, the Aborigines remained true to their responsibility to relatedness and protected the Outsiders, giving them food, a fire and shelter.³⁸⁶

In Cooktown, Rowan stayed with a family named Bauer, who had arrived soon after it was settled, and were training a ten-year-old Aboriginal girl to be a maid.³⁸⁷ Rowan described:

[A] really wild untamed being from one of the native camps [...] and wonderfully intelligent, painfully inquisitive, and very honest, though, I daresay, she already knows the contents of every box and drawer in this house; but is utterly without affection or gratitude, like all her race, and yet there is something very winning in her soft gentle manner and voice.³⁸⁸

By the 1890s, Aboriginal fringe-dwellers would enter European towns in the mornings looking for work, often for the same 'regular employers', being paid in 'food, clothing, tobacco and opium'.³⁸⁹ A German missionary in Cooktown described

³⁸³ Ibid., pp. 40-44, 56-57. While at Cairns, Rowan was taken on 'an insane midnight ride [...] to see a corroboree of really wild natives'. For some time Rowan's party were unable to find the Aborigines, as they had hidden, believing the Outsiders to be a dispersal party. When the Aborigines were finally convinced the Europeans 'only wanted to see them as friends', they joined the group, from Rowan perspective, 'chattering like two monkeys'. At the Muldiva mine, west of Chillagoe, Rowan noted a Chinese market gardener and Aboriginal women employed as water carriers, being 'the only thing they are good for'.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 68-69, 75-76.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 77. Rowan worried they had offered her human flesh and spent a sleepless night due to the many sounds of the bush.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 76-77.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 101. Rowan saw the Cooktown Aborigines as a 'miserable-looking race', who couldn't help themselves: the traditional means of cremating their dead lead to the temptation of snatching some flesh and eating it, and they used their dead babies as pillows.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 99-100.

³⁸⁹ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, pp. 28-29. Reynolds claims that Aborigines, by this time, were living in the 'undesirable locations', such as the

the Guugu-Yimidhirr crossing the Endeavour River by canoe in family groups: 'Once they reach town they seem to be audible and visible everywhere: dirty and very scantily clad, they shout and chatter, but they know where they are heading'.³⁹⁰ The missionary describes the Guugu-Yimidhirr, such as the Bauer's maid, working for publicans, European wives and Chinese businessmen.³⁹¹ This observation again places Aborigines and Chinese together in an economic interaction. As with the Europeans, the Chinese in North Queensland towns were employing fringe-dwelling Aborigines.

German zoologist and naturalist Richard Semon met Rowan in Cooktown in June 1892, while on a similar sojourn discovering the Australian frontier.³⁹² Semon observed Rowan's oil paintings of Australian flora had been enlivened with random insects 'without caring if any relationship existed between them'.³⁹³ The same may be ascertained from her observations of the Aborigines and Chinese in North Queensland. It is unlikely Semon nor Rowan were long enough in North Queensland to make the assumptions they write without the influence of the European opinions they encountered.³⁹⁴ However, Semon lamented the destruction of traditional hunting grounds brought about by white colonisation, leading into a spiral of hunting domesticated animals, reprisal killings, Native Police massacres and the inevitable annihilation of the Indigenous People.³⁹⁵ Ironically, other than the disappointment

Chinese Gardens, dry creek beds and rubbish dumps around the fringes of towns, near enough to be accessible for casual labouring work, 'but far enough away for the comfort of both parties'.

³⁹⁰ *Church News*, no. 28, 1896, p. 41 cited in Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, pp. 31-32.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Semon, *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea Being the Experiences and Observations of a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea and the Moluccas*, pp. 251-252, 265-267, 272. Semon recorded the population of Cooktown to be approximately 2600, Maytown 'including its surroundings 858, and Palmerville only 25, of which most were Chinese. Ten per cent of Cooktown's population were Chinese, who were 'well-to-do tradesmen, planters and speculators'. Semon acknowledged that the treatment of the northern Aborigines was one of Australia's darkest chapters, and as a result they were shy of men walking around the bush with a rifle all day.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253. Semon listed the standard complaints of the time circulating within white-Australian society relating to the Chinese not bringing their wives, making money and returning to China, being replaced by younger Chinese men, and being perpetrators of 'hideous immorality [and] fearful vice'.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

of not finding an Aborigine in the wild, Semon bemoaned he had not found a massacre sight to gather some Australian crania for scientific purposes.³⁹⁶

The same visitors to the North commented on the ubiquity of the Chinese presence, and a reliance on them for the northern communities' survival and prosperity.³⁹⁷ Within 10 years of deserting the Palmer goldfields and arriving in various locations throughout the North, such as the Atherton Tableland, the Chinese had negotiated discriminating legislation and reinvented themselves, becoming intricately involved in opening up the region to agriculture.³⁹⁸ During this time, the Chinese and European Outsiders had come to rely heavily on the Aborigines. Reynolds states the Aborigines 'had invaluable skills that were immediately transferable to the introduced economy', and being mostly paid in kind, were a highly sought after labour force.³⁹⁹ As relations between Aborigines and Europeans began to improve with the rations and blankets program, the Aborigines had begun reinvesting in relatedness through working for the Europeans.⁴⁰⁰ However, this led to an unregulated system exploiting Aboriginal men and women, and applying them to the

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 266.

³⁹⁷ Joseph Walker, *The Cairns Argus*, "North Queensland", 10 October 1890; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23; Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*; Semon, *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea Being the Experiences and Observations of a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea and the Moluccas*; May, "The Chinese Community in North Queensland"; *The Cairns Argus*, "The Banana Trade", 4 November 1890; *The Cairns Argus*, "Local and General", 8 August 1890; McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 43. Economic factors were crucial to Chinese-European race relations. Reverend Joseph Walker of Ballarat was unsure how the Europeans would survive without the Chinese. In Cairns, Europeans and Chinese commercial elites held close ties. During the Chinese banana-growers' 'strike' against the AUSN shipping company, the Chamber of Commerce backed the Chinese. *The Cairns Argus* supported the Chinese, calling their strike 'justified' and possessing public support. Whereas the Chinese were excluded from industry and commerce in Herberton, and faced open hostility around Atherton.

³⁹⁸ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 23; McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 43; Rowan, *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*, pp. 38-39. Having cleared the land for agriculture, the Chinese established North Queensland's first major agricultural industries, including bananas, sugar, and maize. The Chinese also experimented with less successful crops such as rice and cotton; however, bananas quickly became a major part of North Queensland's economy. At one stage, 20 sampans ferried Chinese produce down the Barron River to the port in Cairns.

³⁹⁹ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 20.

⁴⁰⁰ Robinson, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889. Within two years of Robinson changing his violent approach to supplying food, the Aborigines had cultivated an acre of potatoes on his land.

continued destruction of their traditional lands and food sources.⁴⁰¹ The Aborigines preferred working for the Chinese, with whom they could establish closer emotional, social, work and trade relations. With the Chinese, the Aborigines were not in danger of violence, or being denied access to rations and payment. Aboriginal and Chinese workers, and the relationship between the two races, rapidly became a weapon serving the agendas of the European land-owners' economic aspirations.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 20.

⁴⁰² W Voss, Queensland State Archives Item ID 847450, Correspondence - inwards, 1892; Roland Thomas White, *The Worker*, "A Back Block Picture", 19 November 1892, p. 4. Though not explored in this thesis, the Chinese workers were also being used as a weapon in the Labour movement's battles with the Pastoralists at this time.

Chapter Five: Protecting Aborigines Discontinuity 1892-1900

This thesis is applying relatedness theory to preserved European documentary evidence detailing the events that unfolded in southern Cape York Peninsula in the late-19th-century, to enable a more balanced insight into the emergence of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness. The previous chapter identified the different experience unprepared migrants arriving direct from China endured, as compared to the first wave of migrants. The anti-Chinese response to these migrants' arrival was discussed, and the influence the media had on legislation that was in part responsible for the near-desertion of the Palmer River and Cooktown districts by both Europeans and the Chinese. The devastation of the Palmer River discontinuity had left the remaining Aborigines little choice but to follow the Chinese and Europeans as they migrated to other areas in the North. However, analysis of the European records revealed relatedness between the Chinese and Aborigines had continued to evolve.

This chapter analyses the vehement European opposition faced by the Chinese arriving on the Atherton Tableland, revealing the existence of intimate and working relationships between the Chinese and Aborigines. The misrepresentation of these relationships to serve the landowners desire for inexpensive Aboriginal labour, combined with continuous investigations finding the Chinese treated the Aborigines better than the Europeans is analysed through relatedness theory, revealing a mutual respect and resistance to European intervention. It is argued that even under the intense scrutiny of *The Aborigines Protection and the Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* the Aborigines and Chinese maintained their relatedness and kinship networks, defying the European desire for them to be segregated. The discontinuity enforced in response to this defiance, in the form of removals by the State, is argued to have torn apart mixed-race families, endangered mixed-race children and forced families and kinship networks underground to maintain and further evolve their relatedness.

Barron Valley: Chinese threat

The burgeoning relationship between the Chinese and Aborigines added further fuel to the Barron Valley and Herberton Europeans' increasingly vocal anti-Chinese stance. By 1891, vehement anti-Chinese selector and Barron Valley Justice of the Peace Edward Putt was calling for the abolition of supplying rations in his region, claiming the 'aboriginal question' was solved, and the system was enabling the Chinese and Malays to employ all the Aborigines without providing for them.⁴⁰³ Zillman responded to Putt's complaint, suggesting 'it would not be advisable or safe to cease feeding the blacks at Atherton', as it would intensify earlier conflict, given the Aborigines were now better informed about the whites.⁴⁰⁴ Only Aborigines who were not employed received rations, which meant it was not possible for those Aborigines working for the Chinese to be reimbursed by anyone else, but the Chinese.⁴⁰⁵

Putt took his complaint to the media, and the article was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary by a man using the pseudonym Thomas Marchal.⁴⁰⁶ A second, more detailed investigation into Putt's allegations revealed his informant to be WB Kelly

⁴⁰³ Edward Creber Putt, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891; AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891. Parts of the Atherton region were sublet to the Chinese, and one farm to some Malays. Zillman responded to Putt's allegations, stating that the Chinese fed and clothed the Aborigines, as did the Europeans. He also suggested Putt's claims of a Chinese monopoly in employing Aborigines was inaccurate, Putt employed 14 Aborigines himself. Zillman noted few in the region would agree with Putt's opinion, as he was 'commonly termed a windbag'.

⁴⁰⁴ Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891; Hugh Galbraith, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893. Original emphasis. It was unlikely the system of supplying Aborigines with food would soon cease, as it was far more cost efficient than the previous system of punishing 'depredations' with the Native Police, which had failed to achieve subjection to colonial rule. Zillman further denied Putt's claim the 'back scrubs [were] teeming with tucker', reiterating police protection had been far more effective since 'the blacks were brought in'. The rationing system had commenced in Atherton on 11 November 1889, and common consensus was to cease the system would result in a return to the terrors of before.

⁴⁰⁵ Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891.

⁴⁰⁶ Edward Creber Putt, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893; Thomas Marchal, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893. Putt responded to Zillman's enquiry by taking his complaints to the public through *The Wild River Times*, writing that the Chinese, Malays and Kanakas were bartering the Aborigines out of their rations with tobacco. Rather than subsidising aliens to compete with Europeans, Putt believed the £30 per month spent on feeding unemployed Aborigines should be used to employ the Labour party to cut roads through virgin scrub and open up new farming land. Thomas Marchal forwarded Putt's letter to the editor to the Colonial Secretary, claiming there was enough work available for the Aborigines to be self-supporting, and the Chinese and Kanakas were robbing European generosity.

who had lost the contract to supply rations to Aborigines.⁴⁰⁷ Such a revelation indicates ulterior motives and animosities within the European community, using Aboriginal-Chinese relations to settle disputes.⁴⁰⁸ The investigation found twenty-five selectors were subletting their land to Chinese farmers, of whom only 12 employed Aborigines intermittently.⁴⁰⁹ Interviews with selectors and Aborigines revealed the Aborigines did not give their rations to the Chinese, Malays or Kanakas, and they had never heard of the accusation.⁴¹⁰ Herberton's Sub-Inspector Galbraith felt it was better to have the Aborigines working for the Chinese, who were feeding them, 'than roaming in the bush + stealing'.⁴¹¹ The existence of a Thomas Marchal in the region could not be proved, but the handwriting of the letter seemed 'very suspiciously like that of Mr. W. B. Kelly'.⁴¹² A comparison of Marchal's handwriting (see Figure 1a) and the handwriting of a petition Kelly later admitted writing (see Figure 1b), confirmed Marchal was Kelly.⁴¹³

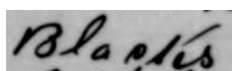


Figure 1a

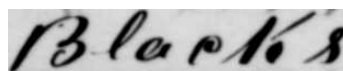


Figure 1b

Kelly's petition, signed by 13 farmers, of which three were Putts and three were Roberts, was sent to the Colonial Secretary in 1895, claiming the generosity of the farmers and settlers and availability of 'greater work then the Suply (sic)' ensured ample employment for the Aborigines.⁴¹⁴ The petitioners insisted the rationing be stopped to avoid the Chinese, Malays and Kanakas using the Aborigines 'for imoral

⁴⁰⁷ Galbraith, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

⁴⁰⁸ AH Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893. Zillman called Putt's assertion of the Government subsidising Chinese against Europeans 'rot', and suggested Putt was being manipulated by others with economic motives.

⁴⁰⁹ Galbraith, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893. Three Malays employed Aborigines when the Aborigines came to them for work, but the Aborigines preferred working for the three Kanakas, because they treated them very well.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Zillman, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

⁴¹³ Marchal, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893; WB Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895; Police Magistrate Herberton, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895.

⁴¹⁴ Kelly, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895.

(sic) purposes'.⁴¹⁵ The prevalence of spelling mistakes and altered handwriting style in both the petition and the Marchal letter compared to Kelly's usually meticulous official correspondence suggests the forethought to distance himself from accusations of settling scores that may weaken his compatriots' argument.⁴¹⁶ This group of men were part of the driving force behind the BVPA's ardent anti-Chinese agenda. Their motivation, while racially targeted, was to remove the competition for inexpensive labour. Kelly eventually admitted he wrote the petition because of a grudge against the man who had won his ration distributing contract.⁴¹⁷ The investigating Police Magistrate felt Atherton remained the best place for distribution as it had a low European population, and the remaining non-European population were less likely to be 'shocked by the presence of the blacks'.⁴¹⁸ Unable to remove Chinese competition for Aboriginal labour, the BVPA commenced with the more serious accusation of Chinese supplying opium to Aborigines. This led in part to a legislative discontinuity to what remained of Aboriginal autonomy and actively sought to segregate Aborigines from the Chinese.

Protectors: Dismantling relatedness

While travelling through Cape York Peninsula in 1896 to assess the condition of Northern Aborigines, Special Commissioner Archibald Meston found many tribes difficult to convince of his good intentions.⁴¹⁹ However, Meston reported Outsiders who had shown kindness and friendship to the Aboriginal People upon whose land they lived, had come to be seen as trusted friends, and their livestock had been left

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Police Magistrate Herberton, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Meston, "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland", pp. 1, 9-10; *ibid.*, p. 2 cited in Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, pp. 10-11. In 1896, under the instruction of Home Secretary Horace Tozer, Meston reported many Aboriginal tribes who had been hostile to each other had broken down barriers between themselves and formed combined camps with the remainder of their peoples. In certain cases, such as the Mossman people, the tribe was extinct. When Meston offered a bullock to a large group near the Annan River, the 'old women warned the men not to go near the carcass, believing that the white men were waiting for the chance to shoot all who gathered around the animal. They had only seen the European as 'a deadly enemy armed with a rifle or revolver' and in one tribe's case they looked like 'hunted wild beasts, afraid to go to sleep in their own country'. The Aborigines revealed tales of kidnapping by *bêche-de-mer* crews, slavery, abandonment, murder, rape and the many loved ones who never to return.

alone.⁴²⁰ This confirms earlier indications that Aborigines responded directly to Outsider behaviour, remaining open to the possibility of enfoldment for relatedness to evolve. Continuing trouble with Europeans was caused by what Meston called 'unscrupulous and degraded whites' rather than any behaviour of the Aborigines.⁴²¹

Meston singled out the Chinese as a serious threat to the Aborigines' moral and physical health through supplying opium, particularly in the Barron Valley.⁴²² The exchange of opium was a part of Chinese-Aboriginal relations throughout North Queensland, however, the issue of opium to Aborigines was common among Europeans as well.⁴²³ Blaming the Chinese strengthened the argument for removing them from the colony, while alleviating European guilt over the high Aboriginal death rate, and diverting attention away from such behaviours as European men supplying opium to prey on Aboriginal-Asian children as young as 12.⁴²⁴ Meston admitted the Chinese had become scapegoats, and was aware that Europeans were

⁴²⁰ Meston, "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland," pp. 9-10. A generation of white children had grown up with Aboriginal children and possessed a more 'kindly feeling' than many of their predecessors. On the Barron River, food distribution had been 'a source of great comfort and satisfaction especially to the old people', and was seen as 'an act of friendship' that had brought peace to the district.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Meston noted three towns in the Tully and Murray Rivers districts where the Aborigines 'frequently came running in terror at midnight for protection from white men who had entered the camp with revolvers to frighten the women into submission'.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 25; McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 41. This was a common claim by Europeans. Opium, Meston claimed, was introduced to the Aborigines by the Chinese to 'the annihilation of all sense of manhood or womanhood, self-respect, shame, virtue, honesty, and veracity'.

⁴²³ Meston, "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland", p. 12; Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", pp. 25-26; Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897. Sub-Inspector Martin cited in Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900". Whereas Chinese use was generally moderate and involved a purer form, the Aborigines were given opium ash, ingested in a water mix that severely affected their health. In an anonymous letter to Archibald Meston, every white man in Mitchell was accused of supplying opium to the Aborigines, resulting in the Aborigines spending their meagre earnings on opium rather than food or blankets. Sub-Inspector Martin suspected most of the European settlers in the Mackay district kept opium 'for the purpose of getting work out of the blacks'.

⁴²⁴ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 26; Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897; Kidd, "Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988. Volume I", p. 136. While no accurate records exist, Rosalind Kidd estimates that by 1897, the Aboriginal population of Cape York Peninsula had been 'reduced by two thirds', compared to the loss of 850 Europeans. Should Kidd's calculation be remotely accurate, this percentage of the population casualty rate far exceeds any individual or combined percentage of population death rate for the nations involved in WWI. There has been no corresponding calculation of Chinese deaths relating to this period.

prevalent in supplying opium to Aborigines to 'induce them to work', and to keep the women on their stations.⁴²⁵ All attempts to enforce restrictive laws had failed and, in Meston's opinion, no amount of policing would resolve the problem.⁴²⁶

In response, Meston drafted 'Queensland's first Aboriginal Protection legislation', to be named *The Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897 (The Act 1897)*.⁴²⁷ By determining opium to be illegal and seizing control over the remnants of Aboriginal autonomy, *The Act 1897* enabled the removal of Aborigines from their Country, and their segregation from the Chinese, thereby restricting evolving relatedness under imposed terms of 'immoral association'.⁴²⁸ The State was empowered to enter the private lives of Aborigines and Chinese, prohibiting Chinese from employing Aborigines and placing them under greater scrutiny for any observed or suspected association.⁴²⁹ McGrath states that the legislation gave a

⁴²⁵ Meston, "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland", p. 12.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., pp. 12-13; Unknown, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1896; Edward Baker, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897. The capacity of the *Sale of Poisons Act 1891* was being questioned by those endeavouring to enforce it. One convicted opium dealer, John Lewis, was released from court on the grounds the evidence could not be proven to be poison, even though two constables and the man who purchased it had smoked some and gave evidence it was opium. Edward Baker reported that in Mitchell in 1897, the sale of opium to Aborigines was a thriving industry. For Meston, the only solution was the removal of all Aborigines to isolated reserves, and compulsory imprisonment for offenders.

⁴²⁷ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 43; Archibald Meston, Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897. In preparing the Bill, Meston drew on the example of 'American Indian Laws'. Among 28 clauses, Meston proposed severe restrictions on Aboriginal mobility and non-Aboriginal access, the supply of alcohol and opium to Aborigines made illegal, and the possession of opium other than by licensed chemists also made illegal. Meston proposed unlimited powers of removal, unrestricted police access for investigations and Aboriginal evidence be made admissible in court for opium related cases. All people caring for or employing Aborigines were required to register their relationship, and harbouring any Aborigine or cohabitation of any form with a female Aborigine or 'half-caste' outside of legal marriage was made illegal.

⁴²⁸ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 41; Archibald Meston, "Outline of Work in 1897: New Systems of Improvement; Their Future Welfare; Special Protective Legislation", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897. Meston indicated the need to protect the Aborigines, particularly of North Queensland from 'the injustices of the lawless whites', he did not mention any other race. *The Act 1897* restricted immoral associations and the transfer of opium between Europeans and Aborigines as well; however, the anti-Chinese debate surrounding its creation and the inclusion of opium restrictions implies a focus on Aboriginal-Chinese relations. Meston claimed that *The Act 1897* made the Native Police an 'impartial tribunal entrusted equally with the defence of the whites and the protection of their own countrymen'.

⁴²⁹ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 41.

clear advantage to the European over the Chinese 'in both the employment of cheap Aboriginal labour, and access to Aboriginal women partners'.⁴³⁰ Meston was appointed as Protector of Aboriginals for the Southern District of Queensland, and Walter Roth was appointed for the Northern District.

Within three months of Roth's arrival in Cooktown, the BVPA attempted to take advantage of the new legislation, forwarding the resolution of 'a large public meeting held in Atherton' to Sub-Inspector William Cooper of the Cairns police, unanimously carrying a protest against the Chinese, Kanakas and Asians employing Aborigines.⁴³¹ The BVPA accused these people of being the only suppliers of opium to the Aborigines, adding 'and the females, in our opinion, are only employed for [W.C.S.I. ?] moral purposes'.⁴³² The BVPA assured that Europeans were 'only too willing to feed and clothe the Aboriginals for their labour'.⁴³³

In his role as Protector of Aborigines for the Cairns district, Cooper interviewed 500 Aborigines between Cairns and the Tate River, finding with the exception of 40 elderly people, they were all 'in good condition, healthy and contented', though their main concern was the threat of removal under *The Act 1897*.⁴³⁴ A general

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ WF Logan, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

⁴³² Ibid. The letter is annotated by Cooper indicating a possible error on the part of Logan.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ William Cooper, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898; TJ Byrnes, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898; WE Parry-Okeden, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 17 May 1898; AC Haldane, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898. The advice Cooper received from Queensland Premier Thomas Byrnes had proven invaluable. The distribution of pipes and tobacco attributed as a 'special gift' from Byrnes and the Government created far greater good will and trust 'than all the talking in the world could have done'. Cooper reassured these people they would not be removed from their country as 'the Government wished to be their friend'. He instructed the able bodied to find work and recommended to Roth and the Commissioner of Police that invalids and neglected children be issued a small ration from the nearest Police Officer. The idea of establishing a reserve had met ubiquitous disapproval from the Europeans and Aborigines in the region. Many Aborigines in North Queensland had come to believe they were to be forcibly removed. Police Magistrate AC Haldane had written to the Under Secretary in March, explaining the Herberton Aborigines had received news of being mustered into reserves two months earlier and had left town. Haldane requested Roth 'patrol the district to inspire confidence' in the Aborigines so they may return to working for the Europeans 'for their general welfare'.

consensus existed in the Atherton region and every town participating in ration distribution that the demand for Aboriginal labour was increasing and that men capable of working should do so or find their own food, thereby withholding rations to ensure they did work.⁴³⁵ While inspecting the district, Cooper met with the BVPA and the Montalbion Progress Association (MPA).⁴³⁶ Both Associations wanted registration of Aboriginal workers to be abolished, for the Chinese to be refused access to Aboriginal workers and rejected the formation of reserves.⁴³⁷ However, as Cooper discovered, the relationships between Aborigines and the Chinese were more complex than simple working arrangements. Many Chinese men had formed long-term intimate relationships with Aboriginal women, indicating these Chinese may have been employing Aboriginal kin.

Another: Outsiders who are friends

Upon completion of his investigation into the BVPA's and MPA's accusations, Cooper informed Roth that:

[T]here are a good number of cases of Chinese and Kanakas, who have been living with gins for from three to fifteen years and have families of half caste children, cases of this description I would suggest, be not interfered with.⁴³⁸

Ann McGrath noted that cases existed of both Chinese and European men mistreating Aboriginal women, as did cases of both being hard-working and treating Aboriginal women well.⁴³⁹ Generally, Chinese men were known to take their responsibilities and duty of care to their Aboriginal wives and families seriously,

⁴³⁵ Cooper, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898"; W O'Regan, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898. Concurrently, Clerk of Petty Sessions W O'Regan reported 'starving' Aborigines had begun pilfering at the Tate River tin mines, causing him to distribute beef and flour to 120.

⁴³⁶ Cooper, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898".

⁴³⁷ Minutes of a Special Meeting: Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898; Minutes of a Special Meeting: Montalbion Progress Association, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898", Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898. The BVPA attendees were listed as 'Kelly (President), Butler, Corbett, Windhaus, Crabbe, Roberts and Halloran'. The meetings had been called at short notice, limiting the presence of each of the Associations' members.

⁴³⁸ Cooper, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898".

⁴³⁹ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 52.

receiving the tolerance, respect, sympathy and even defence of those investigating them.⁴⁴⁰ These relationships were key sites of negotiating relatedness that created 'a system of community-based protection which Queensland's segregation-oriented legislation could not hope to achieve'.⁴⁴¹ The drive towards a white Australia turned in on these cross-cultural families, social and kinship networks, tasking often unwilling police with dismantling homes.⁴⁴² The Chinese collaborated to evade the restrictions of *The Act 1897*, at times engaging 'good lawyers' and conducting 'well-orchestrated' legal challenges.⁴⁴³ However, many of their children were removed over time.⁴⁴⁴

Regina Ganter has interviewed a number of Aboriginal-Chinese families finding that in many cases the offspring never knew their father, in others they only knew a name.⁴⁴⁵ Ganter attributes this to numerous factors:

[C]asual liaisons, the traditional Aboriginal ascription of paternity which devalued biological paternity, the family commitments of such men in their home country, the likelihood of their deportation at the end of their contracts, the laws prohibiting cohabitations, [and] the policies discouraging mixed marriages.⁴⁴⁶

In numerous situations large families were formed, spanning multiple generations, where the children identified themselves as Chinese, Indigenous or both.⁴⁴⁷ Examples of certain children being taken back to China also occur in Ganter's research.⁴⁴⁸ More often, however, are cases of children being taken away under *The Act 1897* throughout the first half of the 20th century, defined as 'neglected children' or victims of 'immoral associations', therefore losing 'their mothers as

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 48, 52.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 39.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁴⁴ Anderson and Mitchell, "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland", p. 24.

⁴⁴⁵ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 177.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 166. Such as three of Sam Ah Bow and Opal's children at Louie Creek who travelled back in 1903. Sam and Opal had married in 1898, though the first of their five children had already been born by 1886. Sam had left the Chinese march from the Northern Territory to Georgetown, Croydon and the Atherton Tablelands, at Burketown. Sam would employ Chinese travellers passing through, and supplied the local Chinese hawkers. Opal became the mid-wife to the Aboriginal women of the district, who would travel to Louie Creek when it was time to give birth.

well'.⁴⁴⁹ While most of Ganter's interviews relate to the 20th-century experiences of Northern Territory and Western Australian Asian-Aboriginal relationships, they reveal the emotional cost to the families involved and the denial of information that may have alleviated some of the subsequent grief, confusion and isolation for the victims. Such issues transfer directly to North Queensland.

Roth agreed with Cooper's assessment.⁴⁵⁰ The BVPA wrote again to Cooper, complaining the Chinese were still employing Aborigines, and requested heavy fines be implemented for any Chinese associating in any way with Aborigines.⁴⁵¹ The BVPA threatened taking action to the Premier, should Cooper not act immediately.⁴⁵² Roth was sent to Atherton and district, interviewing both European and Chinese farmers to assess the situation.⁴⁵³

The BVPA consisted of approximately 70 paying subscribers and was operated by a committee of nine members.⁴⁵⁴ Roth summarised his impressions of 'the class and stamp of men on this Committee; the majority of them are illiterate'.⁴⁵⁵ WB Kelly had been against the protest letter and D Roberts had felt pressured into voting for it.⁴⁵⁶ Eight of the committee members employed Aborigines, and most leased land to the Chinese.⁴⁵⁷ Both Kelly and H Corbett claimed the Europeans could not get enough

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 167, 177. Such as Sam and Opals' granddaughter, removed at 14 years of age in 1935 to be a domestic at Gregory Downs.

⁴⁵⁰ W Roth, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

⁴⁵¹ "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898: The Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association, and Its Opposition to the Employment of Aborigines by Coloured Aliens".

⁴⁵² Ibid.; William Cooper, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898; Parry-Okeden, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 16 August 1898. Cooper sought advice from the Commissioner of Police, Roth and Inspector Marrett, as prosecution may involve 130 people. Commissioner Parry-Okeden instructed Cooper to take no further action until he had investigated the situation.

⁴⁵³ Roth, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898: The Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association, and Its Opposition to the Employment of Aborigines by Coloured Aliens".

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. J Moran did not employ Aborigines or Chinese and his land remained undeveloped. A man named Butler had quarrelled with the Chinese and removed them from his land. Roth found Butler,

Aborigines to work for them because the Chinese treated them so well.⁴⁵⁸ Two of the Aborigines employed by Putt had 'complained to the Police about the master starving them'.⁴⁵⁹ Roth found Putt to be abusive, insulting and threatening, claiming he had shot:

15 or 14 niggers in this district, and this is all the Government has done for me. I can't get a ----- nigger when I want one. They all go to the Chinamen.⁴⁶⁰

Anti-Chinese sentiment pervaded the 380 Europeans living in the district, based solely on an inability to get the Aborigines to work for them, which they blamed on the Chinese for supplying opium.⁴⁶¹ However, no evidence or witness existed of the Chinese supplying Aborigines with opium, 'beyond belief and hearsay'.⁴⁶² No European questioned the efforts of the Police, and all Europeans denied the Chinese leasing their land were distributing opium, each accusing their neighbours' Chinese lessees.⁴⁶³

The Atherton Police considered the Chinese far better employers of Aborigines than the Europeans.⁴⁶⁴ Only a handful of Europeans did not starve their Aboriginal workers, whereas the Chinese, though difficult for the Europeans to comprehend, allowed Aborigines 'full use of his humpy, even to smoking the same pipe, and

and a man named Windhaus abusive and aggressive. Butler held a permit for an Aboriginal woman, and believed, along with a carpenter named Crabb, that Aborigines should be kept on reserves and forced to labour clearing scrub for Europeans.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid. During Roth's investigation, the Atherton Police records revealed only Ah Choo, Sam Yin, Ah Lin, Chong Sing and Ah Que had been convicted of supplying opium, in each case as an item of merchandise or to procure a woman, never for supplying to Aborigines. Two Chinese men were at the time were also under surveillance. However, some members of the Chinese community had reported information pertaining to Chinese selling opium to Aborigines.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. The Chinese were leasing over half the cultivated area in the region. The European farmers were unaware that the Chinese depended on Aboriginal labour to be able to maintain their leases. Roth estimated 400 Aborigines lived in the greater district. The 100 European farmers held permits for 116 Aboriginal workers. The 300 Chinese farmers, according to the Police, employed 50 Aboriginal workers, although this number would have been greater given the possibility of Aborigines working with the Chinese without permits. According to Kelly the figure was 70, Roth conceded the possibility of the number being up to 100. Roth also reported the resident six Japanese, 13 Malaysians and 11 Kanakas did not employ Aborigines.

drinking out of the same “billy””.⁴⁶⁵ Such behaviour suggests a more intimate relationship of working with friends and kin. This indicates the Aboriginal workers had embraced the Chinese, as the Chinese had proven themselves to respect relatedness, and be responsible and accountable for Aboriginal Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing. The Police felt if the Europeans treated their Aboriginal workers ‘considerately and kindly’ they would have as many workers as they pleased.⁴⁶⁶ Roth concluded the BVPA’s accusations were unfounded, yet recommended the Chinese be denied the ability to employ Aborigines.⁴⁶⁷

For approximately a decade, the region's Aborigines had been working for limited food from the Europeans. However, the complaints by the BVPA, MPA and HPA indicate many Aborigines preferred working with the Chinese. It had only been ten years since the standard response to Aborigines spearing cattle was dispersing the tribe. By 1898, Chinese men had lived and worked around Atherton and Herberton for approximately 17 years. Some had been married to, or living with, Aboriginal women for 15 years.⁴⁶⁸ This suggests the Aboriginal women either migrated with the Chinese into the region, or within a short time of arriving in the region, the Chinese men had established relationships with the local Aborigines. Therefore, these Chinese men would have been enfolded into kinship networks involving multiple levels of interaction of 'coming amongst' each other, respecting each other's 'self-identity and autonomy'.⁴⁶⁹

Ganter states that ‘[m]any Aboriginal workers held their Chinese employers in high esteem’.⁴⁷⁰ Aboriginal kin may have commenced working with the Chinese well before working for the Europeans, further evolving relatedness in a mutually

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. Roth admitted his recommendation was considered for ‘personal reasons’, suggesting if the Aborigines didn’t want to work for a European, there was plenty of food in the scrub.

⁴⁶⁸ Cooper, "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898".

⁴⁶⁹ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 79.

⁴⁷⁰ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, p. 154.

beneficial relationship.⁴⁷¹ Sandi Robb claims that the Chinese and Aborigines crossed cultural boundaries, sharing understandings of 'Law and Dreaming, Feng Shui and Confucius', developing a mutual understanding.⁴⁷² Given such a length of time and the lack of evidence of Chinese violence towards Aborigines, it is probable the region's Aborigines considered the Chinese as 'another' and as friends, no longer Outsiders, and that in certain cases their relatedness had become the deeper immersion of 'coming alongside'.⁴⁷³

White Australia: Removing the traces of relatedness

Greater official efforts were applied to the restriction of opium and interaction between Chinese and Aborigines.⁴⁷⁴ However, in more remote locations 'the blacks and Chinese [continued to] have indiscriminate intercourse'.⁴⁷⁵ The Chinese were continuing to be accused of supplying opium and charcoal opium to the Aborigines for access to Aboriginal women.⁴⁷⁶ Inspector Charles Marret of Cooktown estimated six or seven per cent of Aboriginal births were mixed race children and recommended they be removed to Missions by the age of five, 'and kept there until puberty'.⁴⁷⁷ Roth agreed with Marrett's figures with the exception that they only

⁴⁷¹ Robb, "Out of Sight, out of Mind: Wives of Chinese Men in North Queensland: Strategies for Survival 1875-1935", p. 114.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁷³ Martin, *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers*, p. 79.

⁴⁷⁴ Charles Marrett, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898. Inspector Charles Marret claimed by December 1898, that the efforts had been successful in the locations 'more closely under the influence and supervision of police'.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.; W Roth, "Observations of Working of Opium Regulations &Tc", Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898. Since the new regulations, three Chinese packers: Ah Chong, Ah Chup and Chow Hing had acquired 20, 15 and 13 tins of opium respectively. Under the regulations, the Customs Officer, the importer and the retailer are recorded, but the product appeared to have unlimited distribution after the retailer. Roth argued it would be impossible for the police to follow them for the length of their journeys to observe how it was distributed.

⁴⁷⁶ Marrett, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898; Roth, "Observations of Working of Opium Regulations &Tc". From these locations, the opium was believed to be distributed by the Aborigines among those who cannot otherwise obtain it. Marrett suggested this would not be stopped while the Chinese had access to opium. Roth believed the only way to stop opium reaching Aborigines was to refuse Chinese permits to employ Aborigines, 'to make possession of charcoal opium a penal offence, and to increase the import duty on opium by 100 per cent. Also of great concern to Roth was the number of Europeans he believed to be starting to indulge in opium.

⁴⁷⁷ Marrett, Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898; Roth, "Observations of Working of Opium Regulations &Tc". Roth concurred, the enforcement of *The Act 1897* had not restricted Aboriginal access to opium, and heightened Chinese awareness of the risk involved in

represented those not killed at birth.⁴⁷⁸ Roth believed removal to Mission stations was the only alternative to infanticide.⁴⁷⁹ This demonstrates the continued inability of Europeans to see beyond their own criteria of judgement after 26 years of contact with the northern Aborigines. However, the nature of the Chinese relationships with Aborigines continued to frustrate Roth's desires to justify their segregation.

Roth's report for the year 1900 discussed a continuing issue relating to the employment and other relationships between the Chinese and the Aborigines.⁴⁸⁰ However, the prevalence of 'respectable and law-abiding citizens' among the Chinese was beyond question, and Roth could not 'conscientiously refuse' an employer on grounds of race.⁴⁸¹ Roth blamed the European farmers for the continuing permission for Chinese farmers to employ Aborigines.⁴⁸² The BVPA demonstrated the perfect example.⁴⁸³ That 70 of the 76 European selectors either employed a percentage of the approximately 230 Chinese men, or leased their land to Chinese farmers, meant many able-bodied Aborigines found their work with the Chinese.⁴⁸⁴ The BVPA's demands to prevent the Chinese employing Aborigines could not be met.⁴⁸⁵ Roth suggested the initially temporary ration distribution system was creating pauperisation.⁴⁸⁶ The older Aborigines no longer needed to hunt, and the younger ones felt no pressure to learn survival skills or to find work.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore,

supply it. Special regulations requiring Customs Officers to label packaging and the licencing of buyers had, in Roth's opinion, proved ineffective.

⁴⁷⁸ Roth, "Observations of Working of Opium Regulations & Tc".

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900". Roth repeated, as he had done on several occasions, his reticence to permit 'any Chinese or other coloured aliens' to employ Aborigines.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.; W Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899", Queensland House of Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, Brisbane, 1900, p. 1.

⁴⁸² Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900". As the traditional lands, rich with the resources needed for the Indigenous Peoples' survival, was cleared to accommodate expanding farmland, the Aborigines needed to find work with the farmers to ensure their survival.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid. The best Roth could do was refuse permits to Chinese men who held an opium-related conviction.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. The policy of supplying rations, which had done so much to improve relations between Aborigines and the European and non-European occupiers of Aboriginal Country, no longer served a positive purpose in Roth's opinion.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

Roth recommended the gradual reduction of rations to address the complaints of European farmers that Aborigines would not work for them, by ensuring the Aborigines worked for survival.⁴⁸⁸

The Atherton Chinese were forced to form camps on their farms in order to be able to afford the high rents paid to their European landlords.⁴⁸⁹ Warden Haldane suspected the prevalence of opium in these camps threatened the health and morals of the Europeans, and 'certain destruction in the near future of the once-robust native population'.⁴⁹⁰ However, in the second-half of 1900, only 29 Chinese men north of Mackay were convicted of 'unlawfully supplying blacks with opium', and only three were convicted with 'unlawful possession of opium'.⁴⁹¹ Though these successful convictions indicate a larger number of undetected cases, they remain a small percentage of the Chinese population in the northern-half of Queensland.

The Chinese were restricted from employing younger Aboriginal girls and girls of mixed parentage to protect the moral safety of these children.⁴⁹² Such a restriction would have ended the potential safety of children working within their kinship network. Many of these girls were kept in European employment as 'nurse-girls' under the guise of being family members to avoid paying wages.⁴⁹³ Once these girls '[got] into trouble [they were] no longer wanted' and sent away to fend for themselves.⁴⁹⁴ Roth claimed these abuses of Mary Magdalene's 'coloured sister'

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. Opium continued to remain an issue, as many Aborigines refused to work unless paid in opium.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ AC Haldane cited in *ibid.* The pursuit of convictions for opium trafficking had only resulted in more cautious methods of distribution, 'such as leaving a pipe with opium at a stump in the scrub for the aboriginals to visit at their leisure, thereby incurring no risk of prosecution'. Roth also suspected certain northern mail-contractors as opium smugglers.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid. Roth cited numerous cases of abuse by European employers, for example: a pregnant 15-year-old who had never associated with Aborigines and could only identify the father as being one of three men; a nine or ten-year-old often beaten by her employer and left to wander the streets at night and sleep under various houses, where '[a]ny day the Chinamen may get hold of her'; an 11 or 12-year-old with venereal disease; another ten-year-old 'believed to have been already tampered with'; and a 15-year-old covered in scars from her employers beatings, and whose own baby born 12

occur 'ad nauseam' and placed the blame solely on the men who neglected their duty of fatherhood.⁴⁹⁵ However, it is quite likely these children had been taken away from their fathers or kin.⁴⁹⁶ The solution in Roth's opinion was to remove these girls to the Missions until they were eligible for marriage.⁴⁹⁷ English law did not recognise the legality of Aboriginal marriage ceremonies, and Roth recommended that no Aboriginal marriage to a non-Aboriginal should be performed without the prior consent of the Home Secretary.⁴⁹⁸ However, marriages continued to take place, most concerning to Roth, those marriages between Chinese men and Aboriginal women.⁴⁹⁹ Such marriages, Roth believed, inflicted 'a great moral wrong' on the women.⁵⁰⁰

From their inception, frontier communities had been ethnically diverse. These communities had become intertwined and inter-dependent, 'sometimes cross-generationally', through family, kin, social and employment networks.⁵⁰¹ Federation brought in legislation that would separate many cases of relatedness that had enfolded and evolved over 28 years. As with each legislative attempt to remove the Chinese presence and end contact between the Chinese and Aborigines, it ultimately failed, serving to drive these relationships underground and out of the public's view. For many of the children of these marriages, the nightmare had only just begun. In the more remote locations, many Chinese and Aborigines chose to risk prosecution and continued their lives and relatedness as by the Laws of humanity, they were perfectly entitled to do.

months earlier had died. Once evidence these girls had been tampered with became obvious, they were sent back their Aboriginal camps.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. Original emphasis.

⁴⁹⁶ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899", p. 10. Legal action against men who had assaulted girls whose physical appearance was less than 16 years of age was nearly impossible to achieve as no legal documentation of their actual age existed.

⁴⁹⁷ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900"; Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899", p. 10.

⁴⁹⁸ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900"; Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899", p. 10.

⁴⁹⁹ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900"; Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899", p. 10.

⁵⁰⁰ Roth, "Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1900".

⁵⁰¹ McGrath, "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era", p. 47.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

A celestial black hole has been located in Australian historiography in the form of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness evolving in southern Cape York Peninsula between 1873 and 1900. While numerous researchers have explored European-Aboriginal contact, and a growing number of researchers are exploring European-Chinese contact, few researchers have sought to analyse Aboriginal-Chinese contact in Australia's past. No historian has specifically addressed pre-Federation Aboriginal-Chinese relationships emerging from the 1873 Palmer River gold rush discontinuity to Aboriginal Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing, and prior to the legislated discontinuity of Federation.

By viewing these North Queensland events occurring between 1873 and 1900 as a series of discontinuities, rather than Eurocentric nation-building continuities, it has been possible to identify the white-Australian cultural habitus influencing the creation and selective preservation of the documentary evidence. This has been argued to be a determining factor in the inability of Europeans to accurately perceive Aboriginal behaviour and understand Aboriginal relationships with the Chinese. With this acknowledgement, gaps appeared where the voices of the Aboriginal and Chinese people influencing the documents' creation should exist. An alternative analysis of the evidence through Aboriginal epistemologies and ontologies has proven successful in casting some light on these silenced participants. Given recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty, relatedness theory has proved a useful framework for inductively theorising the perspectives of those Aborigines and Chinese whose voices are missing, gaining a more balanced, culturally comparative historiography, thereby creating a scaffold for future research.

This thesis has therefore shown the likelihood of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness evolving through various forms of contact from as early as the 1873-1874 arrival of the first wave of Chinese from within Australia. These Chinese men were part of a

migrating mining community, and would have possessed previous experience with Aborigines. The second wave of Chinese migrants arriving direct from southern China did not possess this experience and therefore were prone to frontier stories of Aboriginal atrocities, which encouraged some to develop racist views of the Aborigines. However, throughout the approximately 28 years investigated, numerous examples of Aboriginal-Chinese relationships have been disclosed as emerging under a variety of circumstances and in various locations. These relationships were not of a unified nature, but relative to the needs of the participants.

It has been argued that greater complexity existed on the frontier than that presented by European justifications of their actions. The analysis herein reveals Aboriginal Peoples attempted to communicate with the Outsiders. Aboriginal women were a frontline of contact, enabling the potential for Outsiders to be enfolded into relatedness. This explains alternative motivations behind Aboriginal behaviour previously described as battles fought over territorial possession. Through relatedness theory, these attacks have been interpreted as demonstrating responsibility for protecting relatedness and making the targets of their attacks accountable for their transgressions, such as raping or abducting Aboriginal women, or failing to be responsible to Aboriginal wives and kin.

However, beyond the potential for Chinese men to become intimately involved with Aboriginal women due to the frontier's gender imbalance, other significant factors influenced the potential for relatedness to evolve. These included cultural similarities between the Aborigines and Chinese, the evolution of a sense of mutual respect between the two cultures, and the significant factor of the Chinese not claiming possession of the Entities. Not all Chinese men entered intimate relationships with Aboriginal women; however, it is probable that through such first points of contact, further enfoldment and evolvment of relatedness occurred, incorporating ethnic and kinship networks that expanded to include social, trade and work relationships. It is through these contacts that the Aborigines and Chinese were able to explore their similarities and differences, developing their relationships from

otherness to anotherness. These relationships would have gained greater significance for the Aborigines as they became more reliant on the Outsiders due to the devastation to People and Country wrought by war.

These relationships have been identified by their influence on the racist, economic and indemnifying motivations of the Europeans. Frontier stories of Aboriginal cannibalism and greater hatred for the Chinese have been dismissed as European justification for colonisation, fears of losing territorial possession to the overwhelming numbers of Chinese migrants, and the European sense of racial superiority. The legislative responses to the growing Chinese presence in the colony aided in the near-desertion of the Palmer goldfield and Cooktown for other communities throughout North Queensland.

This led to both Chinese and Aboriginal communities re-establishing themselves in locations such as the Atherton Tablelands, where evidence of evolving relatedness exists in the apparent, European economic motivation to remove Chinese competition for inexpensive Aboriginal labour. Partly in response to European accusations of Chinese ill-treatment of Aborigines, *The Aborigines Protection and the Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* brought Aboriginal-Chinese relationships under greater scrutiny in an attempt to segregate the two. However, the inability of the State apparatus to find justification for its racist agenda in the Chinese treatment of Aborigines, and their combined resistance to imposed segregation, reveals the depth of relatedness evolved between them. While the increasing powers of the State apparatus ultimately set out to destroy Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness, consolidating the birth of a mono-cultural modern nation, it ultimately failed, as the Aborigines and Chinese moved their relationships out of the public gaze.

Other pathways to further research within this celestial black hole have become apparent, but could not be included in this thesis. For example, pre-existing Aboriginal knowledge of European and Chinese Outsiders, established through Indigenous communication and trade networks, and Stories of contact with

European explorers.⁵⁰² While this thesis has focused on Aboriginal-Chinese contact through the European records, the cultural complexity of the frontier was far greater. Numerous cultures participated in the Palmer goldfield mining community, most notably Aboriginal People who migrated to the North either in their capacity as Native Police, voluntarily as miners' labourers, or involuntarily as children taken from distant communities. Thirdly, this thesis has focused on the land-owners' manipulation of Aboriginal-Chinese relatedness for their own economic agendas. The Chinese and Aborigines were also used for the Labour movement's agendas, of which analysis would add greater context to this celestial black hole.

Only one theoretical framework has been applied to this analysis. The investigation of both broader and alternate Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies would strengthen the foundation of the scaffold created herein. This would also stabilise the transferability of this scaffold to other Aboriginal-Outsider cultural-contact voids in Australia's historiography. Such a process can only benefit from the combination and comparison of the Aboriginal, European and non-European participants' epistemologies and ontologies. Further to this, a broader multidisciplinary approach

⁵⁰² Walter E Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane & London: Edmond Gregory, Government Printer, 1897, pp. 118, 120-125; Reynolds, *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North*, p. 6-7; Walter E Roth, "An Account of the Koko-Minni Aborigines", Cairns Historical Society, 1899; Cook, "Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771 [Manuscript]"; Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks*; Robert Logan Jack, *Northmost Australia: Three Centuries of Exploration, Discovery, and Adventure in and around the Cape York Peninsula, Queensland: With a Study of the Narratives of All Explorers by Sea and Land in the Light of Modern Charting, Many Original or Hitherto Unpublished Documents, Thirty-Nine Illustrations, and Sixteen Specially Prepared Maps*, 2 vols, vol. 1, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd, 1921, pp. 202-220. This could be further explored by following the patterns of popular and significant Aboriginal Stories, known by the term 'corroboree', migrating across the continent, and transcending language and beliefs. Such as the Molongo (also known as Molonga and Mudlunga) which was first recorded migrating from the Northern Territory into Northwest Queensland in 1897, then east, south and west, appearing in Boulia, Alice Springs, on the Diamantina, and at Kilalpaninna in 1901 and on the Neales River in 1906. A further communication pathway involves investigating the extensive Aboriginal trade networks throughout Northern Queensland, recorded by Walter Roth in 1899. Understanding previous knowledge of Europeans through contact with British explorers such as Lieutenant James Cook, Joseph Banks and Edmund Kennedy may require a similar approach to this thesis. Each of these explorers experienced encounters that demonstrate Aborigines choosing to make contact through the process of coming amongst.

would bring far greater insight to this, and other Aboriginal cultural-contact research.⁵⁰³

Therefore, it has been found that Karen Martin's relatedness theory, recommended as a methodological approach for 21st-century researchers working with Aborigines, also offers an effective theoretical framework for investigating the history of Aboriginal-Outsider cultural-contact in a way that recognises differences and equality. However, a deeper investigation would require a multidisciplinary approach, the application of relevant epistemologies and ontologies for each culture involved in contact, and additional theoretical frameworks. In context of the question posed by this thesis, the application of relatedness theory has proven effective in identifying and analysing the existence of Chinese-Aboriginal relatedness in southern Cape York Peninsula between 1873-1900. Thereby meeting the objective of this thesis: to create a scaffold for further research by ascertaining when and why these relationships evolved, and how they influenced and were influenced by British colonial society.

⁵⁰³ Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*; Ganter, "China and the Beginning of Australian History"; Campbell Charles Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepanners in Northern Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976; Paul SC Taçon and Sally K May, "Rock Art Evidence for Macassan-Aboriginal Contact in Northwestern Arnhem Land", in Marshall Clark and Sally K May (eds), *Macassan History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*, Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013, <http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Macassan+History+and+Heritage/10541/cover.xhtml#toc_marker-1>; Sandy Blair and Nicholas Hall, "Travelling the 'Malay Road': Recognising the Heritage Significance of the Macassan Maritime Trade Route", *ibid.*; Maggie Brady, "Drug Substances Introduced by the Macassans: The Mystery of the Tobacco Pipe", *ibid.* Such an approach has been demonstrated by the historical and archaeological work of Campbell Macknight, Regina Ganter, Maggie Brady, Sally May, Paul Taçon, Sandy Blair, Nicholas Hall and others researching Yolngu-Macassan contact, which is arguably an example of relatedness evolving to a deeper level of immersion. Applying similar strategies to researching North Queensland may uncover evidence of lost voices in Aboriginal-Chinese contact sites, in Aboriginal Stories represented visually in rock art and passed down through family, and by tracing familial pathways both in Australia and Southern China to record the Stories of descendants. Addressing these possibilities through future research and analysis would enable a deeper and fuller understanding of this celestial black hole.

List of references

Primary sources

Autobiographies, books, journals and memoirs

- Banks, Joseph. *The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks*. Echo Library, 2006 (1768-1771).
- Cook, James. "Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771 [Manuscript]". John Hutchinson and Samuel Wallis (eds), 1768-1771.
- Corfield, WH. *Reminiscences of Queensland 1862-1899*. Brisbane: AH Frater, 1921.
- Douglas, A Douglas. "The First Chinese Invasion: The Story of the Palmer Gold Diggings Rush in 1874 [Transcript]". In *The Lone Hand - November 1, 1909*. Cairns Historical Society ID G07078, 2008 (1909).
- Hultman, Eric. "In the Land of the Man Eaters." In *Aftonbladet*. Stockholm: Eric Holtsmark (trans). Cairns Historical Society ID G09818, 1999 (1907).
- Petrie, Constance Campbell. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*. Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co, 1904.
- Roth, Walter E. *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*. Brisbane & London: Edmond Gregory, Government Printer, 1897.
- Rowan, Marian Ellis. *A Flower-Hunter in Queensland & New Zealand*. 2nd ed. London: John Murray, 1898.
- Semon, Richard. *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea Being the Experiences and Observations of a Naturalist in Australia, New Guinea and the Moluccas*. London & New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- Sie, Tam. "Episodes in the Life of the Late Mr Tam Sie". *The Innisfail & District Historical Society Journal*, vol. 13 (1997 (1918)), pp. 1-8.
- Sze Pui, Taam. *My Life and Work*. Innisfail: Self-published, 1925.
- Tenison-Woods, Rev. Julian Edmund. "Northern Queensland No. iii [Transcript]". Cooktown Historical Society, 2014 (1879).
- Tenison-Woods, Rev. Julian Edmund. "Northern Queensland No. iv [Transcript]". Cooktown Historical Society, 2014 (1879).
- Winfield, John G. "Reminiscences of Mr John Winfield". Cairns Historical Society ID G01028.

Correspondence

- Atherton, William. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889.
- Baker, Edward. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897.
- Brooke. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889.
- Brookes, George H. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847269, Correspondence - inwards, 1888.
- Brookes, Jocelyn. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1888.
- Byrnes, TJ. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.
- Chow Lee et al. Queensland State Archives Item ID 1460907, Correspondence - inwards, 1877.

Clarke, John Thomas. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847003, Correspondence - inwards, 1879.

Cooper, William. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Galbraith, Hugh. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

Gough et al. Queensland State Archives Item ID 1098203, Correspondence - inwards, 1877.

Green, Edward T. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

Haldane, AC. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Hall, John. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879.

Hall, John. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1878.

Hartley, William J. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879.

Hodel, FC. Queensland State Archives Item ID 846976, Correspondence - inwards, 1877.

Kelly, WB. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895.

Kelly, WB. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 11 June 1890.

Kelly, WB. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 18 September 1890.

Kelly, WB. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

Kent, WH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

Marchal, Thomas. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

Marrett, Charles. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Meston, Archibald. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897.

Murray, GPM. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889.

O'Regan, W. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Palmer goldfield petitioners. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847184, Correspondence - inwards, 1886.

Parker, EH. "Foreign Office to Colonial Office." Queensland State Archives Item ID 7162, Batch File, 1888.

Parry-Okeden, WE. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 16 August 1898.

Parry-Okeden, WE. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 17 May 1898.

Police Magistrate Herberton. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1895.

Putt, Edward Creber. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

Putt, Edward Creber. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891.

Roberts, Albert. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

Robinson, Fred. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889.

Roth, W. Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Ryder, WH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 9 October 1889.

Ryder, WH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 March 1889.

St George, Howard. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847428, Correspondence - inwards, 1891.

Under Colonial Secretary. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1890.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1888.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1889.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1896.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 846933, Correspondence - inwards, 1874.

Unknown. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847009, Correspondence - inwards, 1879.

Voss, W. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847450, Correspondence - inwards, 1892.

White, Gilbert. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 1887.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 9 September 1889.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 April 1890.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 23 May 1889.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 25 June 1889.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 29 September 1890.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1891.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1893.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 3 May 1888.

Zillman, AH. Queensland State Archives Item ID 847276, Correspondence - inwards, 5 April 1888.

Government documents and reports

Cooper, William. "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

Dodson, M. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commission: Third Report. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services, 1995.

Logan, WF. "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

Meston, Archibald. "Outline of Work in 1897: New Systems of Improvement; Their Future Welfare; Special Protective Legislation". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6826, Batch file, 1897.

Meston, Archibald. "Report on the Aborigines of Queensland". Queensland House of Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*. Brisbane, 1896, pp. 1-18.

Minutes of a Special Meeting: Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association. "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

Minutes of a Special Meeting: Montalbion Progress Association. "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

Queensland Parliament. "Gold Fields Act Amendment Bill". Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard. Brisbane, 1876.

Queensland Parliament. "Gold Fields Bill". *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard. Brisbane, 1876.

Queensland Parliament. "Labourers Bill". *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard. Brisbane, 1880.

Queensland Parliament. "Patrick Mcnamara Corbett". *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard. Brisbane, 1874.

Queensland Parliament. "Supply". *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard. Brisbane, 1878.

Roth, W. "An Account of the Koko-Minni Aboriginals". Cairns Historical Society, 1899.

Roth, W. "Home Secretary's Office Typescript Copies of Reports (from) W.E. Roth at Cooktown 1898: The Barron Valley Farmers' and Progress Association, and Its Opposition to the Employment of Aboriginals by Coloured Aliens". Queensland State Archives Item ID 6820, Batch file, 1898.

Roth, W. "Observations of Working of Opium Regulations &Tc". Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1898.

Roth, W. "Report of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals for 1899". Queensland House of Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*. Brisbane, 1900.

Roth, W. "Report of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals for 1900". Queensland State Archives Item ID 17980, Batch file, 1901.

Snodgrass, Colonel Kenneth (Chairman). "Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee on Immigration, Indian and British, into New South Wales". New South Wales Legislative Council, *Votes & Proceedings*. Sydney, 1837, pp. 629-57.

Newspapers

Australian Town and Country Journal. "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874.

Barton, Billy. *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*. "The Palmer", 23 December 1873.

"Billy Abu Saw Qld Gold Rush." Cairns Historical Society ID D8861.

Church News, no. 28, 1896.

Collins, Jeremiah. *The Queenslander*. "Chinamen on the Tinfields", 28 April 1883.

Empire. "Steam to the Endeavour River", 2 January 1874.

Empire. "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874.

Evening News. "Queensland", 24 November 1873.

Evening News. "The Palmer River Rush", 2 March 1874.

Exprees, CB. *Rockhampton Bulletin*. "The Palmer Gold-Field", 15 October 1873.

Eye-witness. *The Cooktown Courier*. "The Blacks Again", 13 June 1874.

Hamilton, Thomas. *The Brisbane Courier*. "Telegraphic", 6 April 1874.

Hann, WM. *The Brisbane Courier*. "The York Peninsula Exploring Expedition", 14 November 1872.

HH. *The Brisbane Courier*. "A Trip to the Palmer", 13 December 1873.

Kininmouth, WB. *The Cooktown Courier*. "Attacked by the Blacks", 13 June 1874.

Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser, 18 April 1874.

Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. "Cooktown and the Palmer", 18 April 1874.

Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. "Miscellaneous", 5 March 1874.

Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. "News from the Palmer", 19 March 1874.

Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser. "Sydney", 19 March 1874.

Morrison, Allan. "Article from Week 22.2.1879. 'Statistics of Queensland'." In Allan Arthur Morrison Collection: Fryer Library, University of Queensland Library.

Mulligan, James. *The Queenslander*. "The Miner, the Palmer Rush - Letter from One of the Prospectors", 11 October 1873.

Mulligan, James. *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*. "The Palmer River Gold-Field", 7 October 1873.

Northern Argus. "Miscellaneous", 17 February 1874.

Queensland Punch and Figaro. "Read This, Sammy", 28 July 1883.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser. "For the Palmer River Gold-Fields", 13 January 1874.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser. "Local and General News", 2 May 1874.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser. "Local and General News", 23 October 1873.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser. "The Gold-Fields. The Palmer", 21 April 1874.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser. "The Palmer", 23 June 1874.

Rockhampton Bulletin. "Australian Telegrams", 18 April 1874.

Rockhampton Bulletin. "Northern News", 20 May 1874.

Rockhampton Bulletin. "Telegraphic Despatches. Colonial. Cooktown", 13 April 1874.

St George, Howard. *Illawarra Mercury*. "Telegraphic Despatches (from the Herald)", 28 November 1873.

St George, Howard. *Rockhampton Bulletin*. 16 December 1873.

The Brisbane Courier. "Australian Steam Navigation Company", 10 January 1874.

The Brisbane Courier. "Australian Steam Navigation Company", 28 January 1874.

The Brisbane Courier. "Cooktown", 4 October 1879.

The Brisbane Courier. "Departures", 5 January 1880.

The Brisbane Courier. "Friday, January 10, 1879", 10 January 1879.

The Brisbane Courier. "Palmer River Goldfields", 8 January 1874.

The Brisbane Courier. "Saturday, January 4, 1879", 4 January 1879.

The Brisbane Courier. "Telegraphic", 29 December 1873.

The Brisbane Courier. "Telegraphic", 24 November 1873.

The Brisbane Courier. "The Palmer (from Our Own Correspondent)", 13 December 1873.

The Brisbane Courier. "The Queensland National Bank Limited", 26 January 1874.

The Cairns Argus. "Cooktown Items", 5 September 1890.

The Cairns Argus. "Cooktown Items", 12 September 1890.

The Cairns Argus. "Cooktown Items", 26 August 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Correspondence", 26 August 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Local and General", 5 September 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Local and General", 8 August 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Local and General", 26 August 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Police Court", 9 September 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Police Court", 12 September 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "Russell River Notes", 8 August 1890.
The Cairns Argus. "The Banana Trade", 4 November 1890.
The Cooktown Courier, 21 November 1874.
The Cooktown Courier, 28 November 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "Ascent of Mount Cook", 9 May 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "May 21", 23 May 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "Mining", 20 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "Mining Report", 23 January 1875.
The Cooktown Courier. "Murder by the Blacks at the Laura", 23 January 1875.
The Cooktown Courier. "Police Court", 12 September 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Blacks Again", 13 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Blacks Again", 27 March 1875.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 2 May 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 5 December 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 6 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 12 December 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 13 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 13 March 1875.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 15 August 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 20 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Courier", 27 March 1875.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Land Sale", 26 September 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Palmer", 3 October 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Palmer", 6 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Palmer", 15 August 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Reefs", 20 June 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Reefs", 22 August 1874.
The Cooktown Courier. "The Wants of the Goldfields", 27 March 1875.
The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser, 15 April 1874.
The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser. "Our Nutshell", 2 September 1879.
The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle. "The Palmer River Rush", 7 March 1874.
The Newcastle Chronicle. "The Palmer River Rush", 5 March 1874.
The Queenslander. "Georgetown", 15 June 1872.
The Queenslander. "Law and Mining", 20 September 1873.
The Queenslander. "Lower Herbert (from Our Own Correspondent)", 1874.
The Queenslander. "Mr. Hann's Exploring Trip", 21 October 1872.
The Queenslander. "Overlanding to the Palmer", 18 April 1874.
The Queenslander. "Townsville", 2 May 1874.
The Queenslander. "Voyage of the R.M.S. Jeddah", 2 May 1874.

Walker, Joseph. *The Cairns Argus*. "North Queensland", 10 October 1890.
Warwick Examiner and Times. "The Hon. W. Yaldwyn at the Palmer", 25 July 1874.
White, Roland Thomas. *The Worker*. "A Back Block Picture", 19 November 1892.

Secondary sources

Conference papers

- CHINA Inc. "Northern Links: Chinese Networks and Nation". Papers presented at Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc. Conference held in Cairns in January 2014. Cairns: CHINA Inc., 2014.
- Gilbert, S. "The Role of Non-Indigenous Researcher Employed in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Programmes in Universities". In *Indigenous Research Ethics: Papers from the Conference Held in Townsville in September 1995*, edited by School of Indigenous Australian Studies. Townsville: James Cook University, 1995, pp. 56-63.
- Brown, K. "Researching the Aboriginal Past: Towards Community Control of the Research Enterprise". In *Indigenous Research Ethics: Papers from the Conference Held in Townsville in September 1995*, edited by School of Indigenous Australian Studies. Townsville: James Cook University, 1995, pp. 21-28.

Books

- Adler, Leonore Loeb, and Uwe P. Gielen. *Migration : Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*. London: Verso, 1993.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. New York: Zone Books, 2002.
- Atkinson, Judy. *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia*. North Melbourne, Victoria: Spinifex, 2002.
- Barthes, R and P Beauchamps et al (eds). *Exegese et hermeneutique*. Paris, 1971.
- Battiste, M (ed). *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices and Vision*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.
- Bottoms, Timothy. *Conspiracy of Silence: Queensland's Frontier Killing Times*. Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2013.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Fields of Cultural Production*. New York, 1993.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford, CA, 1998.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loic Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago, 1992.
- Brettell, Caroline B and James F Hollifield (eds). *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. New York & London: Routledge, 2008.
- Broome, R. *Aboriginal Australians: Black Response to White Dominance 1788-2001*. 3rd ed. Crow's Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2002.
- Bunzl, Martin. *Real History: Reflections on Historical Practice*. London & New York: Routledge, 1997.

- Carr, EH. *What Is History?* 2nd ed. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987 (1961).
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Chan, Henry, Ann Curtoys and Nora Chiang (eds). *The Overseas Chinese in Australasia: History, Settlement and Interactions*. Taipei & Canberra: Interdisciplinary Group for Australian Studies, National Taiwan University & Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, Australian National University, 2001.
- Clark, Marshall and Sally K May (eds). *Macassan History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013.
http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Macassan+History+and+Heritage/10541/cover.xhtml#toc_marker-1.
- Dalton, BJ (ed). *Lectures on North Queensland History*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1974.
- Dalton, BJ (ed). *Lectures on North Queensland History: Second Series*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1975.
- Denzin, NK and YS Lincoln (eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, 2000.
- Denzin, NK and YS Lincoln (eds). *The Landscapes of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. London: Sage, 1998.
- Elder, Bruce. *Blood on the Wattle*. NSW: Child & Associates, 1988.
- Elton, GR. *The Practice of History*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002 (1969).
- Evans, Raymond L, Kay E Saunders, and Kathryn Cronin (eds). *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993 (1975).
- Edwards, Penny and Shen Yuanfang (eds). *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003.
- Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by AM Sheridan Smith. London & New York: Routledge, 2002 (1969).
- Ganter, Regina. *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2006.
- Harzig, Christine, and Dirk Hoerder. *What Is Migration History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.
- Hatch, J Amos and Richard Wisniewski (eds). *Life History and Narrative*. London: Falmer Press, 1995.
- Holthouse, Hector. *River of Gold: The Wild Days of the Palmer River Gold Rush*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1994 (1967).
- Huggins, J. *Sister Girl*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1998.
- Hughes-Warrington, Marnie (ed). *Palgrave Advances in World Histories*. London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Indigenous Research Ethics: Papers from the Conference Held in Townsville in September 1995*, edited by School of Indigenous Australian Studies. Townsville: James Cook University, 1995.

- Jack, Robert Logan. *Northmost Australia: Three Centuries of Exploration, Discovery, and Adventure in and around the Cape York Peninsula, Queensland: With a Study of the Narratives of All Explorers by Sea and Land in the Light of Modern Charting, Many Original or Hitherto Unpublished Documents, Thirty-Nine Illustrations, and Sixteen Specially Prepared Maps. 2 vols. Vol. 1.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd, 1921.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts.* Translated by Todd Samuel Presner. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Lectures on North Queensland History: Third Series.* Townsville: James Cook University, 1978.
- Lukacs, John. *Historical Consciousness: Or the Remembered Past.* New York, Evanston & London: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Macknight, Campbell Charles. *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976.
- Martin, Karen Lillian. *Please Knock before You Enter: Aboriginal Regulation of Outsiders and the Implications for Researchers.* Teneriffe: Post Pressed, 2008.
- May, Cathie. *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns 1870 to 1920.* Townsville: History Department, James Cook University, 1984.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization.* 2nd ed. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003 (1995).
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. *Talkin' up to the White Women: Indigenous Women and Feminism.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen (ed). *Whitening Race.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004.
- Munslow, Alun. *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies.* London: Routledge, 2000.
- Presnell, Jenny. *The Information-Literate Historian: A Guide to Research for History Students.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Rabinow, P and W Sullivan (eds). *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader.* Berkeley, 1979.
- Rains, Kevin. *Cedars of the West: The Ah Foo Family Story.* North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc., 2011.
- Reynolds, Henry. *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance of the European Invasion of Australia.* Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1990.
- Reynolds, Henry (ed). *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience, 1788-1939.* North Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1972.
- Reynolds, Henry. *North of Capricornia: The Untold Story of the People of Australia's North.* Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005 (2003).
- Reynolds, Henry (ed). *The Other Side of the Frontier.* Townsville: James Cook University, 1981.
- Reynolds, Henry (ed). *Race Relations in North Queensland.* Townsville: James Cook University, 1978.
- Richards, Jonathon. *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2008.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Oneself as Another.* Translated by K Blamey. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992 (1990).

- Robb, Sandi, and Kevin Rains (eds). *Rediscovered Past: Chinese Tropical Australia*. East Ipswich: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc, 2014.
- Rowley, CD. *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1974.
- Rusden, GW. *History of Australia*. Vol. 3, London: Chapman & Hall, 1883.
- Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig, Achim Mittag and Jorn Rusen (eds). *Historical Truth Historical Criticism and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Seixas, Peter (ed). *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. revised 3rd ed. London & New York: Pearson Education Limited, 2002.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Otago: Zen Books, 1999.
- Walker, Kath. *Stradbroke Dreamtime*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1984.
- Wong Hoy, Kevin, and Kevin Rains (eds). *Rediscovered Past: China in Northern Australia*. North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc, 2009.
- Wong Hoy, Kevin, and Kevin Rains (eds). *Rediscovered Past: Valuing Chinese across the North*. North Melbourne: Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia Inc, 2012.
- Wood, D (ed). *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Yuanfang, Shen. *Dragon Seed in the Antipodes: Chinese-Australian Autobiographies*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2001.

Edited book chapters

- Battiste, M. "Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization". In M Battiste (ed), *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices and Vision*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002, pp. xvi-xxx.
- Blair, Sandy, and Nicholas Hall. "Travelling the 'Malay Road': Recognising the Heritage Significance of the Macassan Maritime Trade Route". In Marshall Clark and Sally K May (eds), *Macassen History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013.
<http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Macassan+History+and+Heritage/10541/cover.xhtml#toc_marker-1>.
- Brady, Maggie. "Drug Substances Introduced by the Macassans: The Mystery of the Tobacco Pipe". In Marshall Clark and Sally K May (eds), *Macassen History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013.
<http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Macassan+History+and+Heritage/10541/cover.xhtml#toc_marker-1>.
- Brown, RB. "The Desertion of Gilberton". In BJ Dalton (ed), *Lectures on North Queensland History*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1974, pp. 83-100.

- Chan, HD Min-hsi. "Becoming Australasian but Remaining Chinese: The Future of the Down under Chinese Past". In Henry Chan, Ann Curtoys and Nora Chiang (eds), *The Overseas Chinese in Australasia: History, Settlement and Interactions*. Taipei & Canberra: Interdisciplinary Group for Australian Studies, National Taiwan University & Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, Australian National University, 2001, pp. 1-15.
- Cronin, Kathryn. "'The Yellow Agony': Racial Attitudes and Responses Towards the Chinese in Colonial Queensland". In Raymond L Evans, Kay E Saunders and Kathryn Cronin (eds), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993 (1975).
- Edwards, Penny, and Shen Yuanfang. "Something More Towards Reconfiguring Australian History". In Penny Edwards and Shen Yuanfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003, pp. 1-22.
- Evans, Raymond L. "The Darkling Plain: Impressions of Early Racial Confrontation". In Raymond L Evans, Kay E Saunders and Kathryn Cronin (eds), *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: A History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988, pp. 27-32.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. "The Problem of Historical Consciousness". In P Rabinow and W Sullivan (eds), *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*. Berkeley, 1979.
- Ganter, Regina. "Mixed Relations: Towards Reconfiguring Australian History". In Penny Edwards and Shen Yuanfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003, pp. 69-83.
- Haggis, J. "Thoughts on a Politics of Whiteness in a (Never Quite Post) Colonial Country: Abolition, Essentialism and Incommensurability". In Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed), *Whitening Race*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 48-58.
- Hardwick, Susan W. "Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration". In Caroline B Brettell and James F Hollifield (eds), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. New York & London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 161-182.
- Hingangaroa Smith, G. "Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge". In M Battiste (ed), *Reclaiming Indigenous Voices and Vision*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002, pp. 209-224.
- Kirkman, Noreen. "From Minority to Majority: An Account of the Chinese Influx to the Palmer River Gold-Field, 1873-1876". In Henry Reynolds (ed), *Race Relations in North Queensland*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1978.
- Ladson-Billings, G. "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies". In NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage, 2000, pp. 257-77.
- Lang, Michael. "Modern, Postmodern, World". In Marnie Hughes-Warrington (ed), *Palgrave Advances in World Histories*. London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 168-188.

- Loos, Noel A. "Aboriginal Resistance on the Mining, Rainforest and Fishing Frontiers". In Brian J Dalton (ed), *Lectures in North Queensland History*. Townsville: History Department, James Cook University, 1974, pp. 163-176.
- May, Cathie. "Chinese and Europeans in North Queensland: A Study in Race Relations". In Brian J Dalton (ed), *Lectures on North Queensland History: Second Series*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1975.
- May, Cathie. "The Chinese Community in North Queensland". In Brian J Dalton (ed), *Lectures on North Queensland History*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1974.
- May, Cathie. "Chinese-European Relations in Cairns During the Eighteen Eighties". In *Lectures on North Queensland History: Third Series*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1978.
- McGrath, Ann. "The Golden Thread of Kinship: Mixed Marriages between Asians and Aboriginal Women During Australia's Federation Era". In Penny Edwards and Shen Yuangfang (eds), *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Humanities Research Centre, 2003, pp. 37-58.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. "Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation". In Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed), *Whitening Race*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 75-88.
- Nicolacopoulos, Toula, and George Vassilacopoulos. "Racism, Foreigner Communities and the onto-Pathology of White Australian Subjectivity". In Aileen Moreton-Robinson (ed), *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, pp. 32-47.
- Polkinghorne, Donald E. "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis". In J Amos Hatch and Richard Wisniewski (eds), *Life History and Narrative*. London: Falmer Press, 1995, pp. 5-23.
- Ricoeur, Paul. "Du Conflit a La Convergence De Methodes En Exegese Biblique". In R Barthes and P Beauchamps et al (eds), *Exegese Et Hermeneutique*. Paris, 1971.
- Rump, Eric E. "Migration to Australia". In Leonore Loeb Adler and Uwe P. Gielen (eds), *Migration : Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003.
- Rüsen, Jörn. "Criteria of Historical Judgement". In Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Achim Mittag and Jorn Rusen (eds), *Historical Truth Historical Criticism and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 133-141.
- Rüsen, Jörn. "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontological Development". In Peter Seixas (ed), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 63-85.
- Stanfield, J. "Ethnic Modelling in Qualitative Research". In NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *The Landscapes of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. London: Sage, 1998, pp. 333-358.

- Taçon, Paul SC, and Sally K May. "Rock Art Evidence for Macassan-Aboriginal Contact in Northwestern Arnhem Land". In Marshall Clark and Sally K May (ed), *Macassan History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013.
http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Macassan+History+and+Heritage/10541/cover.xhtml#toc_marker-1.
- Vanhoozer, Kevin. "Philosophical Antecedents to Ricoeur's Time and Narrative". In D Wood (ed), *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 34-54.

Journal articles

- Ahmed, Sara. "Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism". *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004.
http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/ahmed_declarations.htm.
- Anderson, Christopher, and Norman Mitchell. "Kubara: A Kuku-Yalanji View of the Chinese in North Queensland". *Aboriginal History*, vol. 5, 1981, pp. 21-38.
- Collison, JW. "Economic Development, North Queensland". *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1956, pp. 1192-1200.
- Collison, JW. "The Origin and Growth of the Sugar Industry in the Cairns District". *The Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1945, pp. 260-264.
- Cronin, Kathryn. "The Chinese Community in Queensland, 1874-1900". *Queensland Heritage*. vol. 2, no. 8, 1973, pp. 3-13.
- Cushman, J. W. "A 'Colonial Casualty': The Chinese Community in Australian Historiography". *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1984, pp. 100-113.
- Doust, Janet. "Setting up Boundaries in Colonial Eastern Australia Race and Empire". *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 35, no. 123, 2004, pp. 152-166.
- Ganter, Regina. "China and the Beginning of Australian History". *The Great Circle*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2003, pp. 3-19.
- Ganter, Regina. "Living an Immoral Life--'Coloured' Women and the Paternalistic State". *Hecate*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1998, pp. 13-40.
- Ganter, Regina. "Turning the Map Upside Down". *History Compass*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2006, pp. 26-35.
- Grimwade, Gordon. "Cedar Camp: Atherton's Chinatown". Cairns Historical Society ID G06684, 1995.
- Joubish, Muhammad Farooq, Muhammad Ashraf Khurram, Aijaz Ahmed, Syeda Tasneem Fatima, and Kamal Haider. "Paradigms and Characteristics of a Good Qualitative Research". *World Applied Sciences Journal*, vol. 12, no. 11, 2011, pp. 2082-2087.
- Kirkman, Noreen. "Chinese Miners on the Palmer". *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 13, 1987, pp. 49-62.
- Longxi, Zhang. "The True Face of Mount Lu: On the Significance of Perspectives and Paradigms". *History & Theory*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2010, pp. 58-70.
- McNeill, William H. "Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians". *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, 1986, pp. 1-10.

- Moran, Simeon. "White Lives in Focus: Connecting Social Praxis, Subjectivity and Privilege". *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004.
http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/moran_lives.htm.
- Nicoll, Fiona. "'Are You Calling Me Racist?': Teaching Critical Whiteness Theory in Indigenous Sovereignty". *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004.
http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/nicoll_teaching.htm.
- Pratt, Michael G. "For the Lack of a Boilerplate: Tips on Writing up (and Reviewing) Qualitative Research". *Academy of Management Journal*, vol. 52, no. 5, 2009, pp. 856-862.
- Rains, Kevin. "Intersections: The Overseas Chinese Social Landscape of Cooktown 1873-1935". *Australian Archaeology*, no. 63, 2006, p. 75.
- Reynolds, Henry. "Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia". *Australian Journal of Politics & History*. vol. 20, no. 1, 1974, pp. 45-53.
- Reynolds, Henry, and Noel Loos. "Aboriginal Resistance in Queensland". *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1976, pp. 214-226.
- Riggs, Damien W. "'We Don't Talk About Race Anymore': Power, Privilege and Critical Whiteness Studies". *borderlands e-journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2004.
http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/riggs_intro.htm.
- Robb, Sandi. "Myths, Lies and Invisible Lives: European Women and Chinese Men in North Queensland 1870-1900". *Lilith*, no. 12, 2003, pp. 95-109.
- Stephens, SE. "The Palmer Goldfield by S.E. Stephens. Hon. Curator of History - James Cook Museum". Cairns Historical Society ID G01916, 1970.
- Unknown. "The Hou Wang Temple Atherton Queensland." Cairns Historical Society ID G06496.
- White, Hayden. "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory". *History & Theory*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1984, p. 1.

Unpublished theses

- Cronin, Kathryn. The Chinese Question in Queensland in the Nineteenth Century - a Study of Racial Interaction, BA Honours. University of Queensland, 1970.
- Griffiths, Philip Gavin. The Making of White Australia: Ruling Class Agendas, 1876-1888, PhD. The Australian National University, 2006.
- Kidd, Rosalind M. Regulating Bodies: Administration and Aborigines in Queensland 1840-1988. Volume I, PhD. Griffith University, 1994.
- Martin, Karen Lillian. Please Knock before You Enter: An Investigation of How Rainsforest Aboriginal People Regulate Outsiders and the Implications for Western Research and Researchers [Abstract], PhD. James Cook University, 2006.
- Ormston, Robert. The Rise and Fall of a Frontier Mining Town: Cooktown 1873-85, PhD. University of Queensland, 1996.
- Pickering, Michael. Cannibalism Among Aborigines, PhD. La Trobe University, 1985.
- Rains, Kevin. Intersections: The Overseas Chinese Social Landscape of Cooktown, 1873-1935, PhD. University of Queensland, 2005.
- Robb, Sandi. Out of Sight, out of Mind: Wives of Chinese Men in North Queensland: Strategies for Survival 1875-1935, BSS Honours. James Cook University, 2002.

Williams, Michael. *Destination Qiaoxiang: Pearl River Delta Villages and Pacific Ports, 1849-1949*, PhD. University of Hong Kong, 2002.

Websites

Borchardt, DH. "Tenison-Woods, Julian Edmund (1832-1889)". *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. National Centre of Biography: Australian National University, 2014 (1976), <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tenison-woods-julian-edmund-4700>>.

May, Catherine. "See Poy, Tom (1853–1926)". *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. National Centre of Biography: Australian National University, (2013 (1988)), <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/see-poy-tom-8381/text14713>>.