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Wage Theft, Misappropriation or Profiteering?

A Microhistory of the Coutts Store and its Exploitation of South Sea Islanders in Ayr, North Queensland

Abstract: In 1877, a special Government Savings Bank fund was established for the 'safekeeping' of wages belonging to South Sea Islanders working in Queensland's sugar industry. Legislation was subsequently introduced under the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1880 and The Pacific Islander Labourers Act 1880 Amendment Act 1884 to further regulate and protect South Sea Islander wages in Queensland. In theory, these policies ensured the protection and regular distribution of pay to recruits and facilitated their purchase of trade goods, an integral outcome of their employment. However, research by Adrian Graves and Clive Moore has demonstrated that this system was frequently exploited by employers, storekeepers and the Queensland government for their own financial benefit. Employing a microhistory approach, this paper builds on Graves and Moore's research by exploring how a general store in Ayr, North Queensland manipulated government-led financial systems and South Sea Islander labourers for its economic gain. Utilising a unique collection of letters written to the store's owner Charles Coutts between March 1901 and April 1902, it explores the techniques adopted at the Coutts Store to financially and psychologically exploit South Sea Islanders, a practice which ultimately facilitated the business's expansion into a multimillion dollar company throughout the 20th century.

Between 1863 and 1904, an estimated 50 000 to 60 000 men and women (collectively referred to as South Sea Islanders, or 'Kanakas', a derogatory term) from South Pacific islands such as Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, were legally and illegally recruited to work under indentured contracts in Australia's sugar industry.¹ Early recruiting practices often involved kidnapping, coercion and deception, yet some men and women engaged voluntarily, using the labour trade as an opportunity to escape the social and traditional constraints of their respective islands.² South Sea Islanders were crucial to the success of Queensland's sugar industry until 1906, when policies introduced as part of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 led to the deportation of thousands of workers between 1906 and 1908. An estimated 1 500 and 2 500 men and women remained in Australia under exemption certificates or by other illegitimate means.³ Their descendants (Australian South Sea Islanders) were not formally recognised by the Australian Government as a minority group until 1992.⁴

- 1 See Max Quanchi: *Australia's South Sea Islanders*, pp. 3-19; Charles A. Price, Elizabeth Baker: *Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Queensland, 1863-1904*, pp. 106-121; Clive Moore: *Revising the Revisionists*, pp. 61-86.
- 2 See Henry E. Maude, Ida Leeson: *The Coconut Oil Trade of the Gilbert Islands*, p. 423; Clive Moore: *Kanaka*, pp. 26 f.; Peter Corris: *Passage, Port and Plantation*, pp. 27 ff., 53-59; Kay Saunders: *Workers in Bondage*, pp. 127-140; Deryck Scarr: *Recruits and Recruiters*, pp. 5-24; Patricia Mercer: *The Survival of a Pacific Islander Population in North Queensland 1900-1940*, pp. 86 ff.
- 3 See Patricia Mercer: *White Australia Defied*, p. 99; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, pp. 10 f.
- 4 See Max Quanchi: *Australia's South Sea Islanders*; Australian Government: *The Call for Recognition*.

This period of Australia's history has been the subject of over 200 books, articles, chapters, dissertations, oral histories, Australian Research Council Linkage Grant projects and historiographies since 1917.⁵ South Sea Islander pay and living conditions on Queensland's sugar plantations have formed a key component of this research.⁶ In 1983 and 2015, detailed analyses of the 'truck system' of payment and misappropriation of South Sea Islander wages through the Queensland Pacific Islanders' Fund were published by Adrian Graves in and Clive Moore, respectively.⁷ Their research demonstrated that access to goods and systems of payment represented tools of control over South Sea Islander mobility, autonomy and financial independence. Graves' research highlighted the role consumerism played in financially benefitting storekeepers and plantations owners and binding labourers to their employers.⁸ Moore found that government led initiatives such as the Queensland Pacific Islanders' Fund facilitated the diversion of compensation payments away from the families of South Sea Islander men and women who died in Australia.⁹ Both Graves and Moore took a broad historical approach to their research, exploring these practices across Queensland in regions such as Mackay and Maryborough.

Using materials held in the James Cook University (JCU) Library's Special Collections and Queensland State Archives (QSA), this paper adopts a microhistory approach to explore the financial exploitation of South Sea Islanders by the managers of the Coutts Store in Ayr, Queensland. As Christian G. De Vito describes, microhistories offer an opportunity to understand specific events, people or places as "'fragments' through which 'universal' processes can be observed".¹⁰ They aim to, as Giovanni Levi argues, observe "aspects of large historical processes that would remain invisible under the homogenous categories of micro-history".¹¹ By adopting a microhistorical approach, this paper presents a detailed reconstruction of the systems Graves and Moore describe through the lens of the Coutts Store and the central characters in, and around it. This paper draws on research funded by an Australian Historical Association's 2025 Northern Australian Fellowship that explored the capacity for the JCU Library Special Collections in Townsville to tell the stories of South Sea Islanders in north Queensland.¹² As part of that research, the Henry Braby Collection, donated to the Library by the Coutts family – descendants of Charles Coutts – was reviewed in March 2025.

Henry Braby was an engineer, responsible for several patented inventions. Charles Coutts was an astute businessman who established a general store (the

5 See Bevil. H. Molesworth: *History of Kanaka Labour in Queensland*; cf. Clive Moore: *Revising the revisionists*, pp. 61-86; Imelda Miller [et al.]: *Developing A Holistic and Collaborative Approach for the Archaeology of Australian South Sea Islanders in Queensland*, pp. 435-449.

6 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 87-124; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, pp. 1-18; id.: *Kanaka*; Kay Saunders: *Workers in Bondage*, pp. 127-140; Tracey Banivanua Mar: *Violence and Colonial Dialogue*.

7 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 87-124; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, pp. 1-18.

8 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 87-124.

9 See *ibid.*; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, pp. 1-18.

10 Christian G. De Vito: *History Without Scale*, p. 352.

11 Giovanni Levi: *On Microhistory*, pp. 93-113.

12 See Adele Zubrzycka: *Hidden Voices*.

Coutts Store) in Ayr, Queensland in 1894. The Coutts Store marked the beginning of a long and successful line of retail, pastoral and tourism businesses owned by Charles and his family across north Queensland until the 1990s.¹³ Both men had connections to the sugar industry, having worked on plantations across Queensland; Braby in his capacity as an engineer and Coutts as a ploughman and later a South Sea Islander hospital wardsman.¹⁴ In 1901, Braby and Coutts established a business partnership and travelled to the United Kingdom to exhibit Braby's inventions at the Glasgow Exhibition and find buyers in the European market.¹⁵ During this period, a small collection of letters, dating from March 1901 to April 1902 were written to Coutts by his store managers Jack (Giovanni) Dossetto and Max Irving. These letters are now held in the Henry Braby collection. They offer a rare and candid insight into systems of credit, price inflation, and use of South Sea Islander "pay" to fund Braby and Coutts' business trip and reduce the store's liabilities. The extent to which these activities represent explicit theft, profiteering, or misappropriation of wages earned by South Sea Islanders in the district form the primary analytical approach of this paper.



Fig. 1: Group of South Sea Islander workers at the Seaforth Plantation, Ayr in ca. 1898

Ayr, Lower Burdekin

Ayr is located in the Burdekin Shire and named after the Burdekin River, a 740-kilometre perennial watercourse that runs to its south before flowing east into the Pacific Ocean. Positioned near the mouth of the river, the geographic region around Ayr is known as the Lower Burdekin. Ayr and its immediate townships occupy traditional Juru (or Yuru) and Bindal country.¹⁶ European settlement of the region began in the 1860s in connection with the pastoral industry, yet it soon became a central district for sugar growing.¹⁷ By 1882, the townships of Ayr and nearby Brandon had been laid out and four major sugar plantations and mills

13 Cf. John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, pp. 134, 276, 279-282.

14 See *ibid.*, pp. 65 f., 280.

15 See *The Northern Miner*, 24 July 1901, p. 3 (Advertising).

16 See Norman B. Tindale: *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*.

17 See Dorothy Gibson-Wilde: *Gateway to A Golden Land*, p. 17; John Henry Peake: *A History of the Burdekin*, p. 5.

established: Airdmillan, Kalamia, Seaforth and Pioneer.¹⁸ By March 1901, when the first letter held in the Braby collection was composed, the Airdmillan and Seaforth estates had ceased operations, and Kalamia and Pioneer were the only large mills in the district. Both were owned and managed by Drysdale Brothers and Company, and each estate was responsible for crushing sugarcane grown on their respective holdings and surrounding farms.¹⁹ Hundreds of South Sea Islanders were employed on these properties and engaged under a variety of long and short-term indentured contracts (Fig. 1).²⁰

South Sea Islander Wages and the Queensland Government Savings Bank

South Sea Islanders working on Queensland's sugar plantations were typically employed in two ways. The first was under a 3-year indentured contract generally reserved for first time workers. The second was as a 'time-expired' labourer – a worker who had completed their initial 3-year contract and was no longer contractually tied to a particular estate. Time-expired workers were preferred amongst cane farmers and estate managers and could negotiate higher wages.²¹ Recruits in the Lower Burdekin typically earned between £6 and £20 annually.²² Throughout the 1860s, wages were paid to first time recruits annually or at the end of their 3-year contract in cash or goods.²³ This system was initially subject to the Queensland Masters and Servants Act 1861 yet was unregulated and open to exploitation. Following public outcry, the Polynesian Labourers Act was passed in 1868 and specified that South Sea Islanders on 3-year contracts be paid a minimum of £6 annually "in the coin of the realm" (a wage that Moore notes did not increase for forty years), and provided with clothing, rations and a return passage home.²⁴ This legislation was, however, still exploited by employers, many of whom withheld wages until the expiration of a labourer's contract in order to disincentivise them from absconding or seeking employment elsewhere.²⁵ The Act also left recruits with limited legal rights, and they were often unable to claim unpaid wages, or access money owed to them by planters who had become insolvent.²⁶ Similarly, there was little legislative protection to prevent plantation owners from keeping the wages of deceased recruits.²⁷

In an effort to address this, the Queensland government established a special trust account in the Government Savings Bank in 1877. This was distinct from individual bank accounts and intended for employers to deposit South Sea

18 See Peter Griggs: *Plantation to small farm*, p. 116.

19 See *ibid.*, pp. 168, 202.

20 See Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Register of returns 1885-1896; Ledger, Pacific Islanders' wages, Townsville region, 1884-1907.

21 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 107.

22 See pay rates recorded in Inspector of Pacific Islanders: Register of Agreements, pp. index-369.

23 See Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 5; Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 107 f.

24 Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 4; Queensland Government, 31 Vic. No. 47.

25 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 108.

26 See *ibid.*, p. 108.

27 See *ibid.*; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 6; Tracey Banivanua Mar: *Violence and Colonial Dialogue*.

Islander wages directly into, rather than paying them cash or withholding wages in other ways.²⁸ Once the trust was established, an amendment to the Polynesian Labourers Act 1868 was passed which required deposits and withdrawals into the Government Savings Bank or independent trust accounts to be overseen by an Inspector of Pacific Islanders. These deposits and withdrawals were recorded in pass books and bank books (Fig. 2).²⁹ Bank books recorded wages held in the Government Savings Bank trust and were kept by each region's appointed Inspec-

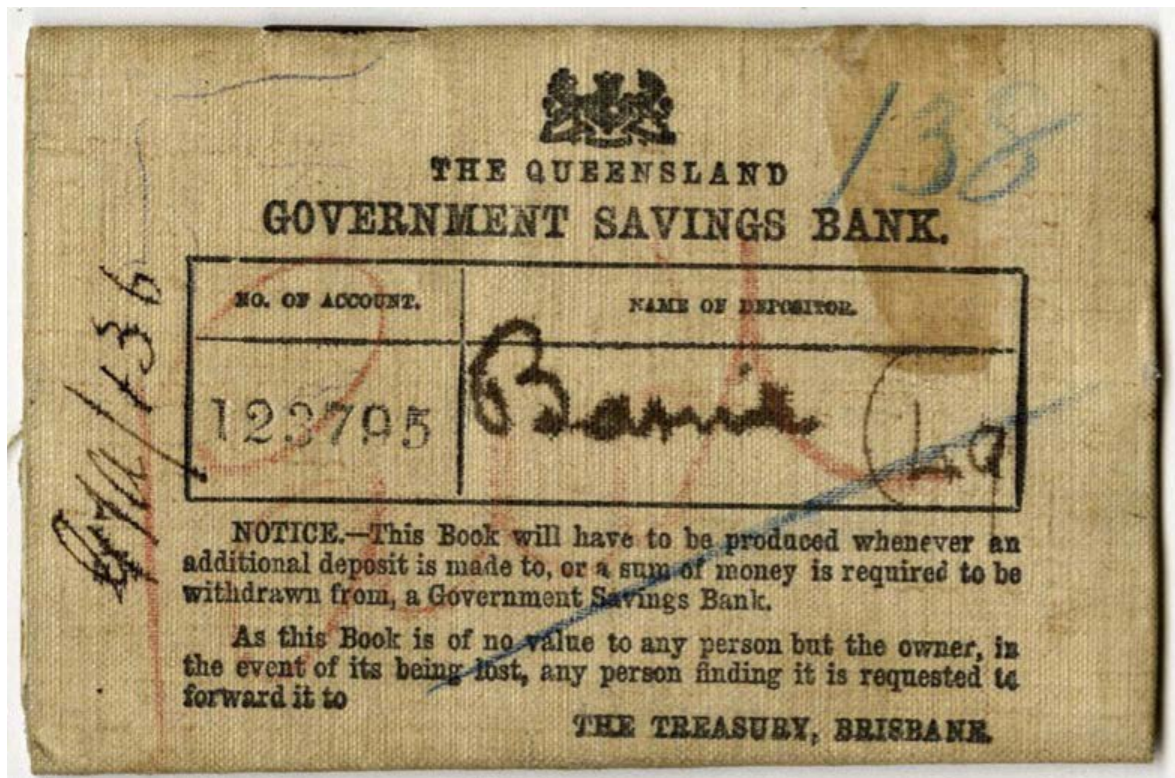


Fig. 2: Queensland Government Savings Bank Pass book issued to the Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Maryborough as Trustee for Barrie

tor of Pacific Islanders. Wages held in State banks were also recorded in bank books which were held by employers or bank managers. Recruits were unable to withdraw money without access to their appointed Inspector of Pacific Islanders, and were thus reliant on those individuals to access their wages.³⁰ Douglas Brown, Manager of the Lower Burdekin's Pioneer Sugar Estate wrote extensively about the challenges of paying recruits under this system.³¹ In March 1897 he complained that time-expired recruits refused to re-engage at the end of their contracts unless they were paid: "We are sorry Mr Wallace [Townsville Inspector of Pacific Islanders] won't be down by the next steamer as we have failed in getting the 'Boys' to recommence work pending his arrival".³² Without efficient access to wages, South Sea Islanders were often forced to purchase goods from

28 See Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 5.

29 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 114.

30 See *ibid.*

31 See Douglas Brown to David Donald, 17 March 1897, p. 26.

32 Douglas Brown to David Donald, 9 March 1897, pp. 22f.

stores, hawkers or vendors on credit.³³ As will be discussed later in this paper, the same practice occurred at the Coutts Store in Ayr.

In 1880, the Pacific Island Labourers Act 1880 (44 Vic. No. 17) replaced the Polynesian Labourers Act 1868. Under the new Act, wages were to be paid every six months in the presence of the Inspector of Pacific Islanders or Police Magistrate. According to Graves and Moore's research, pay could be distributed to South Sea Islanders in four ways under the Act: (1) cash; (2) payment into a Government Savings Bank trust account; (3) payment into a trust account held by an Inspector of Pacific Islanders, or (4) into an independent bank of the recruit's choice.³⁴ Moore also suggests that in some instances, wages were held in accounts managed by their employers.³⁵ To date, the exact number of recruits who chose to deposit their wages into the Government Savings Bank trust or their own savings accounts is not known. However, Graves estimates that 23 per cent of South Sea Islander deposits were made into personal accounts, rather than the special Government Savings Bank trust fund.³⁶ According to Moore's research, by 1884, £13 869 of South Sea Islander money was being held in the Government Savings Bank wages trust account and £3 917 in individual Government Savings Bank accounts.³⁷ By 1901, South Sea Islander wages totalling £32 693 had been deposited in the Government Savings Bank, demonstrating its widespread adoption in the industry.³⁸

The Queensland Government Savings Bank and the Lower Burdekin

Up until 1896, all South Sea Islanders wages in the Lower Burdekin deposited into the Government Savings Bank were managed by the Inspector of Pacific Islanders in Townsville. Between 1885 to 1896, all associated withdrawals and deposits were recorded in account books, bank books, ledgers and cash books. Many of these are held in the QSA. According to the Townsville Inspector's cash books, the majority of (recorded) South Sea Islander withdrawals and deposits during this period were witnessed by "Henry Boyd", the Wardsman of Townsville's Ross Island Immigration Depot.³⁹ A journey to the Ross Island Depot from the Lower Burdekin would have taken at least two days by foot or half a day by boat prior to the construction of the Ayr Tramway in 1901.⁴⁰ During this period, South Sea Islanders wages held in the Government Savings Bank trust ranged from £181, £545.0.6 and £845.3.7.⁴¹ According to cash books, only two South Sea

33 See Henry Turner: *Rural Life in Sunny Queensland*, p. 65 cf. Adrian Graves, *Truck and Gifts*, p. 114.

34 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 113 f.; Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 5.

35 See Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 6.

36 See Adrian Graves: *Cane and Labour*, pp. 138-142.

37 See Queensland Government: *Savings Bank Deposits by Polynesians, Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, pp. 845 ff., cf. Clive Moore: *The Pacific Islanders' Fund*, p. 6.

38 See Clive Moore: *Kanaka*, pp. 179 f., 182 f.

39 T. B. Pugh: *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar* (1894), p. 175.

40 See Peter Bell: *A Short History of Thuringowa*, p. 38.

41 See Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: *Cash book*, pp. 1-63.

Islanders had their savings in the custody of the Townsville Inspector rather than a trust account in 1886.⁴²

In April 1896, Police Magistrate, James C. Baird, was appointed as Ayr's Inspector of Pacific Islanders to 'relieve' the Inspector of Pacific Islanders in Townsville of their duties in the region.⁴³ In September that year, 219 South Sea Islander accounts, totalling approximately £500 and held in the Townsville Government Savings Bank trust were transferred to Ayr.⁴⁴ This left the Townsville's Government Saving Bank trust account with only £289.9.6 in March 1897.⁴⁵ It is not clear where the £500 was deposited in Ayr, although it was presumably placed under Baird's control. Bank books, pay books and cash books for Ayr dating from 1896 to 1907 have not been located. Consequently, there is no record of South Sea Islander wages held in the Lower Burdekin's Government Savings Bank after 1896. Baird died in May 1898 soon after he brought a case against Charles Coutts for supplying firearms to recruits.⁴⁶ These charges were "quashed on appeal", yet Coutts was found guilty of those and other charges later that year and ordered to pay a fine.⁴⁷ Baird was replaced by Clement A. Collard, who retained the position of Acting Police Magistrate and Inspector of Pacific Islanders until May 1902.⁴⁸ Collard was also one of the licencing justices in Ayr, and granted liquor licences in the region and may have facilitated the supply of alcohol for Coutts' benefit.⁴⁹ He was replaced by Alexander Fraser who remained in the role until 1907.⁵⁰

South Sea Islander Consumerism, Queensland's Regional Stores and the Truck System

Acquiring goods to take back to home islands in trade boxes played a vital role in the lives of South Sea Islanders in Queensland. Trade boxes – wooden storage chests with handles and lockable lids – were filled with goods that were valued by recruits such as tobacco pipes, metal axes, firearms, gun powder, nails, beads, matches, handkerchiefs, calico and clothing.⁵¹ Firearms were particularly coveted and purchased freely until 1884, when their sale to South Sea Islanders was banned under the Pacific Islanders Act 1884. After 1884, firearms were regularly

42 See *ibid.*, pp. 1-63.

43 See *The Capricornian*, 22 August 1896, p. 23 (*Queensland News*).

44 See Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Cash book, pp. 63-68.

45 See Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Cash book, p. 70.

46 *The Charters Towers Herald and Mining Record*, 29 September 1897, p. 3 (*The Way to Put a Set on Him*); *The North Queensland Register*, 20 October 1897, p. 18 (*Northern Supreme Court*); *The Northern Miner*, 30 October 1897, p. 4 (*Northern Supreme Court*).

47 *Charters Towers Mining Standard*, 29 October 1897, p. 3 (*Clips, Chips and Chunks of "Standard" Value*); *Charters Towers Mining Standard*, 5 November 1897, p. 3 (*Clips, Chips and Chunks of "Standard" Value*).

48 See *The Telegraph*, 24 May 1902, p. 2 (*Official Notifications*); *The Telegraph*, 9 June 1898, p. 4 (*Official Notification*).

49 See Pugh's *Queensland Almanac and Directory*, 1901, p. 207; *Victoriae Reginae*, 1885, No. DCCCLVII; Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, pp. 9, 11.

50 See *Daily Standard*, 27 October 1916, p. 11 (*Sub-Inspector A. Fraser*); *The Toowoomba Chronicle and Darling Downs General Advertiser*, 13 May 1902, p. 3 (*Retrenchment*).

51 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 88; John Cromar: *Jock of the Islands*, p. 157; Tracey Banivanua Mar: *Violence and Colonial Dialogue*, pp. 67f.

acquired illegally.⁵² As Graves describes, firearms were principally useful in Australia for hunting, yet they were most valuable on home islands where they facilitated resistance against recruiters, missionaries and opposing clans.⁵³ These and other goods acquired in Queensland had the capacity to facilitate marriage, or maintain status and authority and acquire land.⁵⁴ To return home without a trade box was a source of “shame”.⁵⁵

By the early 20th century, goods such as iron and steel tools, tobacco, and calico had become integral in Melanesian society. Graves’ research demonstrates that this generated a further dependency on commodities and reliance on trade boxes brought back by returning recruits.⁵⁶ The significance of trade boxes made them tools of control for plantation owners, tying recruits to their employers and their contracts, which needed to be fulfilled before a recruits could access their wages. As a result, the threat of losing access to their wages disincentivised workers from absconding from sugar estates late into their contracts or challenging poor working conditions or mistreatment.⁵⁷

This reliance on goods meant that South Sea Islanders played an important role in the local retail economies of sugar towns across Queensland.⁵⁸ Within these retail economies existed a system of consumption and payment defined as the “truck system”.⁵⁹ Historically, the truck system refers to a process in which “consumption is tied to the employment contract”.⁶⁰ In the context of South Sea Islanders in Queensland, Graves defines it as “the payment of wages in goods or in money with a view to it being spent in shops [“truck” shops] in which the employer has either a direct or indirect interest”.⁶¹ On sugar plantations, recruits were often forced to purchase goods from “truck” shops on credit between pay days.⁶² The truck system was complex and flexible, permeating itself throughout local economies, social and professional networks, and sugar estate systems more broadly.⁶³ Recruits relied on it as a source of goods, plantation owners used it as a tool of control, and storekeepers depended on it as a source of income.

In addition to truck shops, goods could also be purchased from plantation stores “either directly or selected from the plantation store on pay day” or regional stores close to plantations or in larger regional towns”.⁶⁴ Graves’ research demonstrates that regional store owners – sometimes, but not always, affiliated with

52 See Queensland Government: A Bill to Amend ‘The Pacific Island Labours Act of 1880’; Patricia Mercer: *White Australia Defied*, p. 26.

53 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 93ff.

54 See *ibid.*, pp. 87, 91; Clive Moore: *Kanaka*, p. 54; William Gordon Farquhar: *Diary*, 7 January 1871, p. 16.

55 See John B. Thurston to commander-in-chief of Australian Station, 21 July 1891 cited in: Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 15, 91. Tracey Banivanua Mar: *Violence and Colonial Dialogue*, p. 68.

56 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 100, 106.

57 See *ibid.*, pp. 15, 91.

58 See Tracey Banivanua-Mar: *Violence and Colonial Dialogue*, pp. 66, 68; Patricia Mercer: *White Australia Defied*, p. 26; Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, pp. 119f.

59 Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 87-123.

60 George W. Hilton: *The Truck System*, p. 1-9.

61 Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 87.

62 See *ibid.*, pp. 108-118.

63 See *ibid.*, pp. 122f.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

nearby plantations – often took advantage of South Sea Islanders by inflating the price of goods. This occurred regularly, but was most lucrative when workers were in a state of “heightened anxiety [to] fill their trade boxes before they left the colony”.⁶⁵ The inflation of goods is supported by the historical record, for example, in 1886, Charles M. Woodford – a naturalist and government minister – remarked that a returning recruit had spent £4.10/- on a musical box that was “a great waste of money”.⁶⁶ Furthermore, in 1877, an appraiser estimated that the price of goods purchased by recruits in Queensland was 33 per cent above the company’s “legitimate profits”.⁶⁷ South Sea Islander had few avenues available to them to resist this system, working in “isolated areas [...] where they constituted a captive market for estate stores [and arguably independent shopkeepers]”.⁶⁸ While it can be reasoned that not all storekeepers engaged in these practices, Graves’ research indicates that they were pervasive across Queensland. Using the microhistory framework, this paper will now explore Coutts Store’s function and role within this broader context.

Coutts, Braby and the Mysterious Journey of South Sea Islander Wages at the Coutts Store

Charles Coutts was twenty when he moved to Australia from Aberdeen, Scotland in 1886.⁶⁹ He initially settled on the McIvor River, north of Cooktown, before working as a ploughman on the Bloomfield Sugar Plantation near Cairns and later as a navvy on the Cairns Railway.⁷⁰ Coutts eventually travelled to Ayr where he purchased a second-hand circus and its menagerie. After selling the circus, he found employment as a farm labourer on the Seaforth Sugar Plantation.⁷¹ Subsequently, in 1890, despite having no medical training, he took on the position of wardsman in charge of the Pioneer Sugar Estate’s South Sea Islander hospital.⁷² It was here that he met John Drysdale, manager and co-owner of the estate, and its Chief Engineer, Henry Braby.⁷³ These relationships were instrumental both personally and professionally for Coutts. In 1894, Coutts left Pioneer and established a retail store (Coutts Store) in Ayr, a business venture funded, according to Roy Connolly, by John Drysdale.⁷⁴

Henry Braby was a Sussex born consulting engineer employed at the Seaforth, Kalamia and Pioneer Sugar Estates between 1885 and 1899.⁷⁵ Braby was

65 Ibid, pp. 110-116.

66 Charles Morris Woodford, 17 April 1886, cited in: Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 116.

67 Case of the Schooner “Chance”, pp. 1234-1244, cited in: Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 116.

68 Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 114.

69 See John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, p. 280.

70 See *ibid*, p. 280.

71 See Roy Connolly: *John Drysdale and the Burdekin*, p. 113.

72 See John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, p. 280.

73 See *Pioneer Sugar Mills: Pioneer Sugar Mills (Pty) Limited: 1884-1958*, p. 22.

74 See Roy Connolly: *John Drysdale and the Burdekin*, p. 114.

75 See John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, pp. 65 f.; Charles Young to Manager, U. M & A. Co of Australia, 18 February 1899, p. 2.



Fig. 3: The Coutts General Store, circa. 1910

well-known across Queensland's sugar industry for overseeing the construction of sugar mills in Mackay and the Lower Burdekin. He was also responsible for several inventions, including the spear system of irrigation at the Pioneer Sugar Estate, an innovation which arguably led to its historic survival and ongoing success.⁷⁶ In May 1885, while working as engineer at Pioneer, Braby "accidentally" shot and killed a South Sea Islander named Saripell.⁷⁷ He was later acquitted of the death, alleging it occurred during shooting practice and was the fault of a "sensitive trigger".⁷⁸ The death, and Braby's subsequent arrest in Rockhampton, were heavily reported by the local media.⁷⁹

The Coutts Store was a single storey iron building located on the corner of Queen and Edwards Streets, in Ayr's town centre (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). Coutts was one of only three storekeepers in town, although other stores were located near the Pioneer, Airdmillan and Kalamia Sugar Estates.⁸⁰ Between circa 1894 and 1901, Coutts employed Sam Murry – a South Sea Islander – to assist at the store.⁸¹ Murry also leased land from Coutts where he grew sugar cane and resided on the property.⁸²

The Coutts Store was patronised by South Sea Islanders and European cane farmers across the region. According to the Townsville Inspector of Pacific Islander's cash books, Islanders working at the Kalamia Sugar Estate were purchasing

76 See John Henry Peake: *A History of the Burdekin*, pp. 34f.; *The Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 7 September 1938, p. 2 (W. Braby to the editor: Back to Ayr Week); Peter Griggs: *Global Industry, Local Innovation*, pp. 50f.

77 *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 June 1885, p. 4 (European Mails).

78 *Ibid.*

79 See *The Capricornian*, 1 August 1885, p. 16 (Current Notes).

80 See *The Port Denison Times and Kennedy District Advertiser*, 22 September 1894, p. 4 (*The Lower Burdekin*); T.P. Pugh: *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar 1895*, p. 48; *id.*: *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar 1901*, p. 728, and *id.*: *Pugh's Queensland Almanac, Directory and Law Calendar 1904*, pp. 562, 620.

81 See Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, pp. 4f.

82 Dossetto accused Murry of stealing from the store prior to Coutts and Braby's departure for Scotland in 1901, see *ibid.*, pp. 4f., 9f.



Fig. 4: The Coutts Ltd General Store, 1918

goods from Coutts on credit from at least 1895.⁸³ No detailed records of items traded by the shop have been found, although its main suppliers were Burns Philp & Co. and Hollis Hopkins and Co., who has warehouses in Townsville.⁸⁴

In February 1901, Coutts hired Max Irving and Jack Dossetto to manage the shop while he and Braby travelled to Europe to attend the Glasgow International Exhibition. The trip, allegedly funded by Coutts, aimed to attract buyers for three of Braby's inventions: an 'improved' fire lighter, steam generator and wind motor.⁸⁵

Jack Dossetto had recently arrived in Australia from Italy,⁸⁶ and Max Irving was a Tasmanian-born storekeeper.⁸⁷ Notably, the year Dossetto and Irving took over the store's management coincided with the opening of the Ayr Tramway, which appears to have diverted much trade away from Ayr and into nearby Townsville.⁸⁸ Irving and Dossetto wrote to Coutts regularly between March 1901, and April 1902, updating him on surrounding businesses, residents and the store's finances. All orders and sales between March and June 1901 were recorded under 'cash sales'; 'order book' (items ordered into the store though not

83 Cf. index notes referring to five South Sea Islanders – Sailleo (also Sailho), Levee Vato (or Lunee Vato), Tommy, Aechoo (or Eachoo) and Mameceombo, who owed Coutts between £3.4.3 to £6.8.6 in 1895 and another, unspecified year – in Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Ledger; Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Cash Book, pp. 1 f. Levee, a time-expired labourer, along with Aechoo, Sailho and Mameceombo were all from Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands and employed by the Young Brothers at the Kalamia Estate, cf. Inspector of Pacific Islanders, Townsville: Ledger, pp. 159, 169; Inspector of Pacific Islanders: Register of Agreements, pp. 97, 172.

84 See Max Irvine to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, p. 3; Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 2.

85 See The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser, 23 November 1901, p. 1304 (A New Steam Generator); Roy Connolly: John Drysdale and the Burdekin, p. 114.

86 See Townsville Daily Bulletin, 8 June 1946, p. 2 (Death of J. Dossetto).

87 See Delta Advocate, 9 March 1940, p. 11 (Obituary. M. H. Irving).

88 See John Henry Peake: A History of the Burdekin, pp. 7, 16; Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 16 April 1901, p. 4; Frances Pollon: Shopkeepers and Shoppers, p. 234.

yet purchased) and 'day book' (a chronological list of all transactions and customer orders (see Table 1).

The earliest record of Irving and Dossetto's business with South Sea Islanders in the district is on 8 April 1901. That month, Dossetto wrote to Coutts describing his success selling goods at a 100 per cent markup to "new chum" (recently engaged) recruits and chasing down those who had purchased goods on credit:

"I have had all the new chum Kanakas in Ayr the last four Sundays and been as busy as a man could be. I managed it all myself[.] I think I have made a better fist of those boys than you would have done yourself all the time. Boxes sold even down to the old ones. All stuff I have sold is over 100 per cent [of their profit margin] so that is not to [sic] bad. If the business is going back with the whites it is not doing so with the blacks. For February I sold £161.11.6 and collected £246.9.9. I think I have collected pretty well all the money from the boys. There is about four that I cannot find but you can bet I will make up for them).⁸⁹

Max Irving, on the other hand, described March's trade as "exceedingly dull", bringing in only £524.4.3.⁹⁰ The store also had rising "liabilities" which were exasperated by money coming out of the business to pay for "Mr Braby's travelling expenses" and legal fees, yet not enough coming in to "meet engagements".⁹¹ Irving predicted that the business would fall into debt until the end of sugar cane crushing season, which typically ran from June to November.⁹² By early June, Dossetto's attitude had changed, lamenting to Coutts that "things are very bad here and [...] business is going back every day [...] If it was not for the Kanaka trade the business in the shop would hardly pay expenses).⁹³ Dossetto had, however, been "kept busy with the boys [South Sea Islanders]" and "booked about £600.0.0 to them" since February, 80 per cent "if not more" of which would be a profit once those credits were paid.⁹⁴

In July 1901, the business owed Burns Philp "about £1700", a large sum considering their cash sales for June had only been £90.5.7 and combined orders of sales and credits had only totalled £434.3.2 (see Table 1).⁹⁵ According to one of Irving's letters, Coutts had suggested that he sell land to cover the business's expenses. Irving had apparently cautioned against this due to the "dullness of the place" and "considerable outlay of cash" to divide and survey the land.⁹⁶ Curiously, Irving alluded to the pressure of these liabilities being alleviated by the promise of South Sea Islander "pay" – between £400-£500 – coming into the store later that month.⁹⁷ While he did not elaborate on what form the £400-£500 would take, his letter implied that the money would put them in a position to reduce their debt to a point that the business could stay afloat. Dossetto was also doing his best to take advantage of recruits for the store's financial benefit. That same month he wrote to Coutts boasting that he had "greatly improved

89 Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 8 April 1901, p. 4.

90 See Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 16 April 1901, pp. 3 f.

91 Ibid, p. 4.

92 See David Donald to Messrs Drysdale, 31 October 1885, p. 173.

93 Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 3 June 1901, p. 1.

94 Ibid, p. 1.

95 See Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 11 July 1901, p. 1.

96 Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, p. 3.

97 See *ibid*, pp. 1 f.; Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 23 July 1901, p. 7.

<i>Month & Year</i>	<i>Sale Type</i>	<i>Sales</i>
March 1901	Kanakas (Cash)	£41.15.0
	Cash sales	£104.5.8
	Order book	£152.3.7
	Day book	£226
	Total	£524.4.3
April 1901	Kanaka	£31.16.6
	Cash sales	£63.5.1
	Order book	£163.11.4
	Day book	£206.17.7
	Total	£465.11.1
June 1901	Kanaka	£30.17.6
	Cash sales	£90.5.7
	Order book	£145.3.4
	Day book	£167.16.9
	Total	£434.3.2
January 1902	Total sales	£408.4.8
February 1902	Total sales	£480.1.2
March 1902	Total sales	£298.12.8

Table 1. Coutts Store sales, March 1901 to March 1902

on [Coutts'] system" with South Sea Islanders, collecting £376.18.1 (presumably in cash) and booking £656.2.6 to them since February.⁹⁸ Again, the processes involved in Coutts' "system" were not described, although it seemed to represent the inflation of prices to almost double their value as a way of balancing out the businesses debts and profiteering from South Sea Islanders shopping in the store.

A month or so later, Irving used £800 of South Sea Islander "pay" to reduce the store's debts to Burns Philp and Co. "from nearly £1800" to "a little over £1000".⁹⁹

Whether South Sea Islander "pay" was represented by actual wages being deposited at the store for safe keeping (perhaps as part of the Queensland Saving Bank trust meant for Collard's safe keeping), or by recruits using their "pay" to purchase goods or pay off their accounts in the store is not clear. If the £800 was from sales alone, the store would have had to sell goods to approximately 80 South Sea Islanders spending an average of £10 each in one month.

By November 1901, "[t]hings at the store [had] been going along at a dragging [sic] pace" and its liabilities had risen to £2050.17.0, with book debts (credit owed to the business) now at £2707.8. This left the store account with an actual balance of £656.8.8, but that sum was contingent on all credits were paid. Money was also required for Coutts and Braby who had cabled for £630 between July and

⁹⁸ Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 23 July 1901, p. 7.

⁹⁹ Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, p. 3.

November, eliminating any profits the business had made that year.¹⁰⁰ Correspondence paused between December 1901 and March 1902 before a final round of letters was sent to Coutts in April 1902. By now it was clear that Braby and Coutts' business trip was not going as planned and had not generated the orders – or money – they had anticipated.¹⁰¹ This continued to put pressure on the Irving and Dossetto, who were by now being chased by Hollis Hopkins and Co. for outstanding credits. Dossetto managed to pay off £200 to the company that month, but this drained the business account.¹⁰² Things were so dire that at the same time Dossetto paid the Hollis Hopkins and Co. account, he had been forced to withdraw money from his own account to cover his expenses.¹⁰³ Irvine too had borrowed £50 for Coutts and Braby's travel expenditures, writing to Coutts that he hoped trip would "eventually turn out a financial success [because it was] taking a long time [...] wasting a lot of money [and had] pretty well drained your business of funds [[...]] should you require more money I hardly know how I am going to raise it).¹⁰⁴

In the background, South Sea Islander trade appears to have continued to keep the store afloat. At the end of 1901, the store's takings totalled £1091.9.6 of which £1902.8.3 had been "booked" and £600 was "clear profit". According to Dossetto, booked sales had "kept the business going" and most were to South Sea Islanders, who he had "booked" £1000 to since March.¹⁰⁵ However, March 1902 sales had dropped sharply to almost half those recorded for the previous year (see Table 1), and the men were finding it difficult to recover money owed to the store by European farmers in the district. One of those accounts belonged to Clement Collard, the Inspector of Pacific Islanders in Ayr who owed the store between £60 and £70 pounds. Despite their financial predicament, Irving was unwilling to press Collard for money, worrying it might "effect [sic] the Kanaka pays somewhat".¹⁰⁶ As already described, Collard was required to witness all South Sea Islander deposits and withdrawals made into trust accounts and the Government Savings Bank.¹⁰⁷ Whether these funds were held in his own trust account, or the Immigration Department's account is not known. Irving did not elaborate on how the South Sea Islander pay would be affected, yet his comment implies a reliance on Collard to bring South Sea Islander earnings into the business.

Money was also owed to the store by South Sea Islanders, some of whom had presumably skipped town before Dossetto or Irving caught up with them.¹⁰⁸ Graves discusses this in his research, although he notes that South Sea Islanders were known for their honesty and efficiency when it came to paying off credit to shopkeepers.¹⁰⁹ In order to force recruits who owed money into the store,

100 See Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, pp. 2f.

101 See William Maw to Charles Coutts, 12 February 1902, pp. 1f.; William Maw to Charles Coutts, 17 February 1902, pp. 1f.; Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 1.

102 See Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 2.

103 See *ibid.*, pp. 2f.

104 Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 1.

105 Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 2.

106 Max Irving to Charles Coutts, 23 April 1902, p. 4.

107 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 113.

108 See Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, p. 3.

109 See Adrian Graves: *Truck and Gifts*, p. 116.

Dossetto purchased and displayed an Ayr Tramway timetable in the shop then advised workers that the Government had “taken over” their employer’s estates and money owed to the store needed to be paid.¹¹⁰ Irving made money back from workers whose accounts went unpaid by inflating the price of other recruit’s purchases “thre [sic] times over”.¹¹¹

Coutts and Braby returned to Ayr in mid-1902, at which time Dossetto and Irving’s correspondence ceased. Dossetto married Irving’s daughter, Beatrice in 1903 and opened his own store in Hambleton Junction, Cairns in 1903.¹¹² He later returned to Ayr, established a store on Queen Street in 1906, and joined the Ayr Shire Council.¹¹³ Irving opened a general store with his brother in Brandon.¹¹⁴

The Coutts Empire (1902-1990)

Little is published about the year following Coutts and Braby’s return to Ayr and it is unclear how Coutts financially recovered from their trip. Income from Islander customers would have gradually dwindled, because between 1906 and 1908, all South Sea Islanders not exempt from deportation left the Lower Burdekin and returned to their respective home islands.¹¹⁵ In February 1905, Coutts married Braby’s daughter Mabel (May) in Sydney.¹¹⁶ They divorced fifteen years later.¹¹⁷ Charles Coutts would maintain strong business interests in Ayr until his death in 1957. His former associate, Henry Braby, died from pernicious anaemia in Kyogle in April 1907, where he had recently moved in an effort to improve his health.¹¹⁸

Between 1907 and 1913, Coutts was financially stable enough to expand his business and establish a bakery and bulk store on Queen Street, purchase a block of land near the Ayr Railway station, and open additional stores in the nearby towns of McDesme and Home Hill.¹¹⁹ In July 1916, the business was incorporated, forming ‘Coutts Limited’ (Fig. 4 and 5).¹²⁰ Coutts replaced the original 1894 Queen Street store with a new brick building in 1928.¹²¹ That building, albeit modified, continues to stand today. Charles’ son Laurie joined the business in 1922 and was followed by his sons Graham and David in the early 1950s and 1970s.¹²²

110 Jack Dossetto to Charles Coutts, 19 November 1901, p. 5.

111 Ibid, p. 2.

112 See Townsville Daily Bulletin, 8 June 1946, p. 2 (Death of J. Dossetto).

113 See Morning Post, 25 August 1903, p. 3 (Advertising); The Townsville Daily Bulletin, 8 June 1946, p. 2 (Death of Mr. J. Dossetto).

114 See The Townsville Daily Bulletin, 9 March 1940, p. 6 (Personal).

115 See Patricia Mercer, *White Australia Defied*, pp. 98 f.; Clive Moore: ‘Good-bye, Queensland, good-bye, White Australia; Good-bye Christians’, p. 29; J.D. Brown to D. Donald, 28 September 1906, p. 234, JCULSC: PMR/LB/5.

116 See The Northern Miner, 11 February 1905, p. 5 (Personal).

117 See Townsville Daily Bulletin, 28 July 1920, p. 2 (Coutts v. Coutts).

118 See The Richmond River Express, 9 April 1907, p. 2 (Sad Death).

119 See The Northern Miner, 23 October 1909, p. 4 (The Northern Miner).

120 See The Northern Miner, 22 July 1916, p. 4 (Telegrams).

121 See John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, p. 279.

122 See *ibid*, pp. 279, 281.



Fig. 5: Tropix Cinema, Queen Street, Ayr and the Coutts Bulk Store to its right

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Coutts family invested in hotels in Ayr and Townsville, soft drink manufacturing, fashion, meatworks, financial services and expanded their retail branches.¹²³ By the late 1980s, the Coutts brothers (now the Coutts Group Pty Ltd), owned twenty supermarkets and convenience stores in Townsville, Cairns and Ayr. Those businesses turned over an estimated \$40 million annually.¹²⁴ In 1983, the business diversified by purchasing the Queensland Stations, a group of pastoral stations, for \$33.7 million. In 1988, they developed the Burdekin Wilderness Lodge, a tourist attraction along the banks of Burdekin Falls Dam in Charters Towers (Fig. 6).¹²⁵ Between 1979 and 1986, Woolworths and Coles opened stores in Ayr.¹²⁶ The Coutts Group, like many independent businesses tied to the grocery and retail market, found it difficult to compete with these duopolies and were impacted by rising debts as interest rates rose.¹²⁷ In 1990, the Coutts Group was placed into receivership, owing \$80 million to creditors.¹²⁸

Conclusion

Adrian Graves and Clive Moore's research explored the systems used by employers, storekeepers and the Queensland Government to capitalise on South Sea Islanders and misappropriate their wages for their own financial gain. These

123 See *ibid.*

124 See Michael O'Meara: *Dauids Sets Sights on Coutts Assets*.

125 See Turi Condon: *More Coutts Assets for Auction*; Townsville City Council: *Burdekin Wilderness Lodge*; Premier's Department: *Title Public Facility License, Burdekin Wilderness Lodge*; John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, p. 282.

126 See John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, pp. 281 f.

127 See David T. Merrett: *The Making of Australia's Supermarket Duopoly*, pp. 301-321; John Kerr: *Black Snow and Liquid Gold*, pp. 281 f.

128 See Turi Condon: *Diversified Coutts Brothers Group Put into Receivership*.



Fig. 6: Still from a film promoting the Burdekin Wilderness Lodge

schemes were successful because they relied on the unfamiliarity of many South Sea Islander workers with colonial bureaucratic systems and their incentive to acquire goods before returning to their islands. Graves and Moore's work demonstrates that these systems occurred across the state of Queensland and impacted thousands of men and women working in the sugar industry. Employing the microhistory approach, this paper has explored these themes of exploitation and wage misappropriation in the context of the Coutts Store in Ayr, Queensland, which forms the nucleus of these activities.

Informing this narrative are Max Irving and Jack Dossetto's letters, which are both candid and incriminating. Their correspondence makes it clear that the store inflated the price of goods sold to South Sea Islanders by up to 100 per cent while simultaneously using their connections with Clement Collard to facilitate this process. While these strategies were common across Queensland, Irving and Dossetto's letters indicate that South Sea Islander wages formed a key component of the Coutts Store's survival throughout 1901 and 1902 and simultaneously benefited larger companies such as Burns Philp & Co. Most significantly, their correspondence demonstrates the extent to which their attitudes towards South Sea Islanders were normalised and accepted by those around them. Although Coutts and Braby were physically absent throughout this period, they arguably played a vital role within this dynamic, acting as antagonists who were motivated by their financial dependence on the South Sea Islander trade which indirectly subsidised their trip to Scotland and England. Consequently, profits made by capitalising on South Sea Islanders in the store contributed not just to the local, but the global economy.

The appointed Inspectors of Pacific Islanders in Ayr – James Baird and Clement Collard – were both active and passive players in this dynamic. Baird's efforts to hold Coutts accountable for his alleged sale of firearms to recruits in 1897 – despite Coutts' connections to powerful figures in the district – reveals a level of integrity he brought to the position. His death in 1898 opened the role to Collard, who used it to his and Coutts' advantage. Without surviving ledgers, cash books or bank books for Ayr and the Burdekin region, the extent of Collard's role in the store's access to South Sea Islander wages cannot be determined. However, his responsibility over South Sea Islander wages deposited into the Government Savings Bank trust appears to have allowed him to funnel hundreds of pounds directly towards the Coutts Store between 1901 and 1902. Exactly how Collard benefitted from this system is a matter of speculation, although he maintained a large account with the store without any resistance from Max Irving. An ancillary outcome of this system was the indirect financial advantage it gave to farmers (and Collard), who were disincentivised to pay off their outstanding accounts because South Sea Islander purchases alleviated the store's liabilities. From this perspective, it can be argued that the store's misappropriation of South Sea Islander wages created a manufactured economy that became embedded into the broader economy. This was so pervasive that it was almost impossible to disentangle without the risk of a broader financial collapse.

On the surface, this system benefited everyone except South Sea Islanders. However, Irving and Dossetto's correspondence demonstrates that not all workers were passive actors within this dynamic. Most notably, several successfully avoided paying off their credits to the store, and South Sea Islander Sam Murry found work at the store. Murry and Coutts' relationship enabled Murry to make an independent income by cultivating sugar cane on Coutts' leased land. This conflicts somewhat with Graves' research and demonstrates that some South Sea Islanders in the district had the agency to resist the broader colonial structures around them.

Today, the Coutts name endures in Ayr's collective memory and physical landscape through the Coutts Commercial Hotel, Bulk Stores (now the Centrepont Arcade) and Coutts Park. Simultaneously, Ayr and the broader region is home to a large Australian South Sea Islander community, some of whom descend from employees engaged at the Seaforth and Kalamia estates.¹²⁹ While the Coutts Store's connection to Ayr is embedded into its built and cultural landscape, its early connections to South Sea Islanders, so integral to the Lower Burdekin's historical development and economy, are largely invisible. This paper has highlighted the role Charles Coutts, Jack Dossetto and Max Irving played in the broader practice of capitalising on South Sea Islanders employed on Queensland's sugar plantations who were subject to Government legislation that controlled access to their wages. While Coutts' descendants did not play a direct role in this system, profits made from South Sea Islander workers acted as a foundation that facilitated the business's growth throughout the 20th century.

129 See Imelda Miller [et al.]: *Developing A Holistic and Collaborative Approach for the Archaeology of Australian South Sea Islanders in Queensland*, p. 10.

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