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# An Overview of Historical Archaeology in Queensland, Australia

**Cameron S. Harvey**

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**Abstract** The ability of historical archaeology to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Queensland's recent past is hindered by factors including few practitioners, limited publications about historical archaeological research and a need to establish its relevance beyond the archaeological community. There exists great opportunities in Queensland for researchers to explore a diverse range of research topics of which only some are beginning to be investigated through historical archaeological enquiry. This paper investigates the current state of the discipline in Queensland, the challenges practitioners face today and into the future, and the avenues down which historical archaeologists may make significant contributions to our understanding of Queensland's recent past.

**Keywords** Queensland · Australia · Heritage registers · Archaeological heritage management

## Introduction

Queensland is a vast and diverse place. Comprising a landmass of over 1.7 million km$^2$ (about seven times the size of the entire British Isles or slightly larger than the US state of Texas), it is home to diversity in climate, geography and culture (Fig. 1). As Evans (2007, p. 3) notes in his historical overview of Queensland, the state features "striking variety, curiosity and excess" which is "all held and reflected in its human history." The human occupation of Queensland extends as far back as 60,000 years, though the last 188 years of non-Indigenous settlement and exploitation have modified the landscape significantly and fundamentally and a completely different range of material culture to that which existed before has been introduced. The physical evidence is both a diverse record of the experiences and challenges faced by those who worked and lived in Queensland and a resource for scholars to investigate and enhance our knowledge and understanding. This paper contains a

C. S. Harvey (✉)
Niche Environment and Heritage Pty Ltd, Brisbane, Queensland 4017, Australia
e-mail: charvey@niche-eh.com

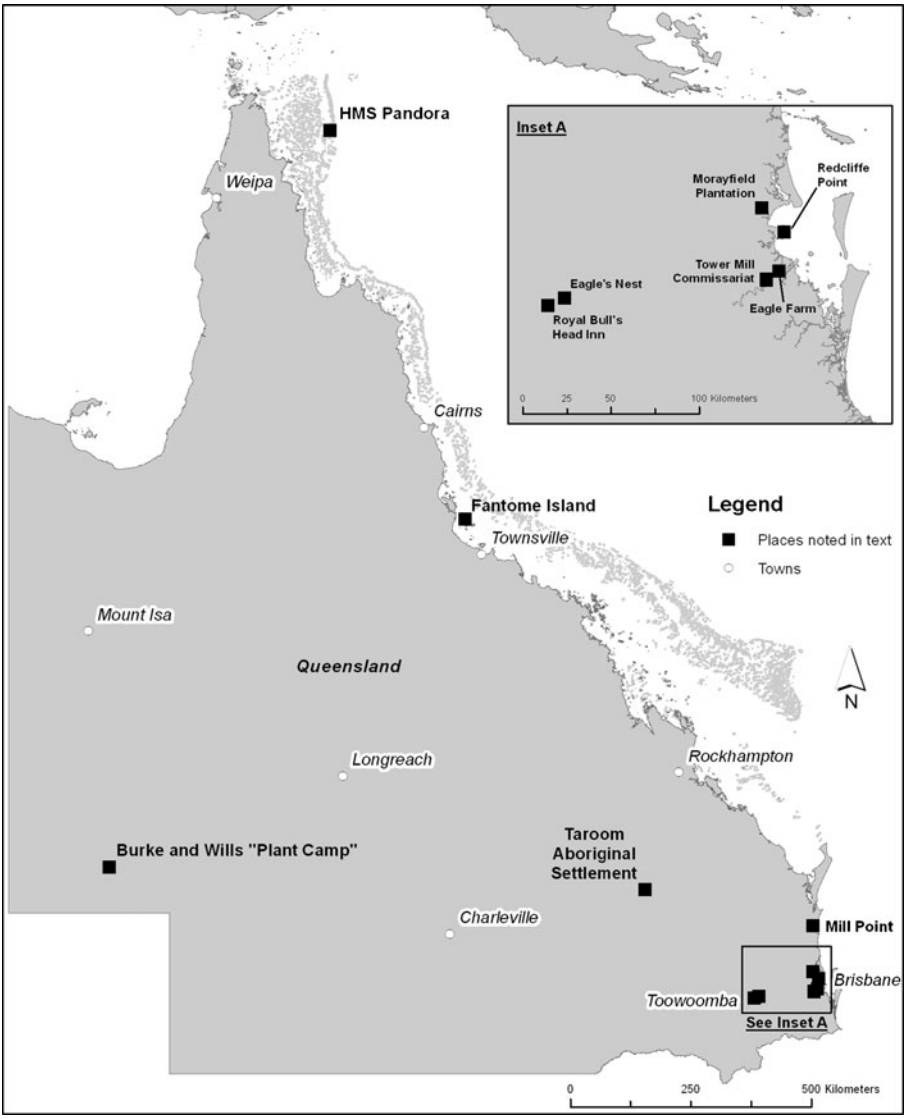


**Fig. 1** Map of Queensland showing place locations mentioned

brief outline of the development of the discipline in Queensland and some of the issues which confront practitioners in today. I conclude by examining some of the issues that must be addressed to ensure a continuation in growth of the discipline in Queensland.

## The Queensland Context

Historical archaeology in Queensland remains an emerging field. It is only in the last decade that a substantial body of literature on the subject began to appear in local and publications. The discipline developed in the 1970s along the same lines as it did in

other states and territories of Australia and its general emergence has been well documented and discussed by others (e.g. Connah 1988; Mulvaney 1996). The first documented historical archaeological excavation occurred in 1975 at the site of former Royal Bull's Head Inn in rural Drayton, southern Queensland. As a National Trust of Queensland sponsored project, the work at Drayton sought to employ archaeological excavation to "aid the complete and accurate restoration of historic buildings" at the site (van Proctor 1975, pp. 4–5). Excavation was undertaken by volunteers and aimed to relocate traces of original buildings long since removed. The project was considered more an experiment than a research orientated exercise, though van Proctor (1975, p. 5) noted that it was "a model dig" and "a worthy precedent for future projects sponsored by the National Trust". Unfortunately, no such project of this type has been attempted again by the Trust in Queensland.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, historical archaeology-specific projects were few in number or undertaken as little more than an aside to Aboriginal archaeological site identification within large environmental impact assessment projects. One notable exception was the 1979 excavation of the Commissariat Store in Brisbane, the capital of Queensland. Constructed during 1828–29 and one of Queensland's oldest buildings, the Store functioned as the main provisioning point for the issue of goods in the fledgling Moreton Bay Penal Settlement. Excavations focused on the sub-floor areas within the Store building with the discovery of a previously undocumented system of brick and stone drains and numerous artifacts from every phase of occupation and use of the building (Sanker 1979, pp. 9–10). Artifacts from the Commissariat became the first significant historical archaeological collection to be added to the Queensland Museum's collections; little, however, has ever been published about the archaeology, though Murphy (2003, this volume) has since undertaken a re-examination of the collections.

The introduction of heritage legislation in Queensland in 1987 provided the first protection for historical archaeological places and objects. Practitioners were required to obtain permits from regulatory authorities to undertake archaeological surveys and excavations. The first substantial set of historical archaeological projects emerged at this time. An early project of note was Higginbotham's (1990, 1991) investigations at the site of the former Eagle Farm Agricultural Settlement. This site dates to one of the earliest phases in Queensland's post-contact history and confirmed the survival of significant amounts of archaeological evidence relating to agricultural activities and a female (convict) factory. The site has since been afforded legislative protection due to its significance to Queensland's history and a management plan was prepared for the site in 2007 (RA Riddel Architecture 2007).

Today the *Queensland Heritage Act 1992* is the main legislation in Queensland for the protection and management of historical archaeological places and artifacts. The establishment of a heritage register in 1992 combined with nearly 20 years of assessment has amounted to 179 places entered in the register with historical archaeological values of significance to Queensland. While the requirement to obtain a permit to undertake historical archaeological surveys and most excavations was repealed in 2008 many assessments continue to identify historical archaeological

issues as a matter of course, or remain a fundamental requirement of large scale environmental impact assessments.

The regulatory supervision applied to historical archaeological investigations of the late 1980s right through to 2008 did not extend to any requirement to publish results. Few project reports have indeed turned into actual publications. One notable exception has been the results of excavations at Lang Park Stadium in Brisbane (e.g., Haslam et al. 2003; McGowan and Prangnell 2006, 2009; Prangnell and McGowan 2009, this volume; Rains and Prangnell 2002). Originally the site of the North Brisbane Burial Grounds and Brisbane's principal cemetery between 1843 and 1875, salvage excavation was undertaken as part of the redevelopment of the site. Almost 400 graves were excavated and some human remains were analyzed. The analysis showed that even an examination of a small sample of the remains created "a picture which can be used as a means of comparison with historical records, and to other archaeological studies of Australian cemeteries" (Haslam et al. 2003, p. 6).

Historical archaeology is currently taught in two Queensland universities—the University of Queensland, in Brisbane, and at James Cook University in Townsville. Both institutions feature subjects and post-graduate opportunities in historical archaeology. A perusal of post-graduate research topics reveals a range of study interests. Most recent fields of enquiry relate to topics including ethnicity and minority groups such as the overseas Chinese (Rains 2004), gender studies (Quirk 2007), the social contexts of early industry and landscapes (Mate 2010; Murphy 2010) and the impacts of government policy and institutionalization on people as reflected in material culture (Beck 2008; Hayes 2000; Prangnell 1999). This diverse range of topics is reflective of the growth in post-graduate historical archaeological research in Queensland beginning in 1990s and continuing to the present day. It indicates that the emphasis of historical archaeological enquiry in academia in Queensland is focused on reflexive studies founded in post-processual theory, rather than data collection and cataloguing activities and the scientific methods of problem-orientated research that characterized early research in other parts of Australia in the 1970s and 1980s.

## Discussion

In 1998, Graham Connah (1998, p. 3) asserted that even though the discipline was only a couple of decades old in Australia, it was his opinion that it was already facing a crisis related to two obvious weaknesses. The first related to the significant body of historical archaeological work being produced but only a small amount being published. This meant that valuable data and information about historical archaeological issues existed but was largely inaccessible to others. The second weakness was what he and Egloff (1994) had earlier described as the restricted university base of the discipline in Australia. Connah noted the limited number of historical archaeologists in academic roles at Australian universities teaching archaeology. Compounding this was a lack of relevant undergraduate courses.

According to Connah (1998, p. 5, 2010), the health of a discipline can be measured against the body of materials published by its practitioners. A search of peer reviewed publications for articles about Queensland historical archaeology can be used to assess the validity of Connah's first assertion. Major sources of archaeological

scholarship in Australia and a scattering of international sources were searched with a particular focus on the journals *Australasian Historical Archaeology, Australian Archaeology* and *the Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology, the International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, and *the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*. Several locally produced occasional series and monographs were also included, especially the *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum Series*, *Queensland Archaeological Research* and *Tempus*.

A total of 68 peer reviewed articles relating to Queensland historical archaeology were identified. This represents limited publication and little to show for 30 years of work across Queensland, averaging just two articles per year since 1975, though there were periods where there was a complete absence of publications about Queensland topics over several years. The most common subject of publication has been Queensland's maritime industry (35 articles). While the subject may appear to dominate the literature the results are skewed substantially by the extensive publication of excavation results and analyses associated with a single site—that of the wreck of *HMS Pandora*. This shipwreck has been subjected to intense interest and effort by the Queensland Museum since the 1970s (Gesner 1989). World War II and Defense-related studies (12) were also well represented in available literature, however, many of these articles were largely historical concerns, or at best descriptive in nature with limited archaeological analyses. The topic of early exploration, survey and settlements (9) features a more balanced set of articles. Jack et al. (1984) made an early contribution on this subject while investigating the site of a Chinese market garden on the Palmer River Goldfield, one of Queensland's most important goldfields of the late nineteenth century. Recent authors show continuing interest in the topic and move beyond purely descriptive works and site specific studies, such as Prangnell and Mate's (2011) investigation of small gold-mining towns of the Upper Burnett and tangible and intangible elements of labor heritage, and Prangnell and Quirk (2009) and Quirk's (2008, 2010, p. 88) explorations of the "narratives of goldfields life that continue to shape perceptions of the past."

Connah's second assertion of a restricted university base also rings true today. There are few people employed as historical archaeologists in Queensland today. At the time of writing only the University of Queensland has an historical archaeologist on staff, though many academics working in other Queensland universities also have experience working on historical archaeological projects. Few historical archaeologists are employed in the private sector and there are few government positions dedicated to any form of archaeological practice.

The development of a sufficient university base and any subsequent increase in the quantity and quality of published work about Queensland's historical archaeology cannot occur without reform to the regulatory systems within which historical archaeology operates. Queensland has diverse types of historical archaeological places, some unique within Australia, and prospective researchers need to be more aware of the research potential of sites in Queensland. Practitioners also need to convince people outside the discipline that historical archaeology is worth doing and of relevance beyond a small number of academics and interest groups. These topics are explored in the remaining sections of this paper.

## Regulatory Reform

Reforming heritage legislation to improve protection and management of historical archaeological places and artifacts is essential for growing the discipline in Queensland. Reform should be guided by the needs of the academic and consulting communities, but the concerns of the general public, property owners and developers who traditionally face significant costs associated with salvage archaeology, project redesign and lost time, must be key considerations. International standards and agreements relating to historical archaeological heritage, particularly the International ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage (ICOMOS 1990) and the experiences of countries struggling with similar issues, such as the United States of America and Canada should be viewed as models to draw upon.

Any move for legislative reform should also be viewed with some caution and may not necessarily be the answer to all problems confronting the discipline. When the time comes for a review of the *Queensland Heritage Act*, what constitutes "best practice" in historical archaeology today must of course be the ultimate goal though it must be acknowledged that some compromises will likely be made. For example, several amendments made to the *Queensland Heritage Act* in recent times have not resulted in improvements to archaeological practice and even weakened the situation. The requirement for practitioners to seek government approval for historical archaeological survey and excavation was removed in 2008. Ever since then potentially destructive work has been carried out with limited regulatory supervision. On the other hand, some temporary protection was added for previously unrecorded archaeological sites located during the course of development or other ground disturbing works. This requirement, however, is fundamentally flawed and relies on those with the least to gain from compliance with the legislation (i.e. a developer or someone hunting historic artifacts for profit such as a bottle collector) to admit they have found or even destroyed important archaeological evidence. Recent changes to legislative requirements in other Australian jurisdictions, such as in New South Wales, have arguably weakened the ability to protect important places and this should act as a warning. Legislation has been and will continue to be developed in reference to political motivations that do not necessarily correlate with the wishes and desires of the archaeological community.

## Integrating Archaeological Heritage Management into Planning Systems

The integration of historical archaeological issues within broader planning frameworks may be the key to more effective management and protection. The integration of archaeological enquiry with local planning requirements is an emerging concept in some parts of Australia, though is still in its infancy in Queensland. The inclusion of legislative provisions in the *Queensland Heritage Act* for local heritage registers was a step in the right direction even though content requirements were broad and local governments could opt out of including them in their core planning schemes. This could be rectified through

the strengthening of local planning provisions to include a requirement for local heritage overlays. A standard planning practice in Victoria, these overlays contain information on a range of heritage places, including historical archaeological places, deemed of State or local significance (State Government of Victoria 2010). Greater cooperation between the different levels of government and significant capacity building of development assessment officers and planners within local government would be required to achieve such a goal.

A greater role for planning in archaeological heritage management has been examined in Australia within the context of managing the archaeology of urban areas (Iacono 2002, 2005; Murray and Crook 2005). The early identification of archaeological issues and integration of heritage requirements within planning frameworks is seen to be critical for effective protection and management. Early identification would reduce the likelihood of archaeology being the "eleventh hour" inconvenience for developers and property owners and will allow sufficient opportunity for remedial action before project budgets, designs and work schedules are set. One tool suggested by Iacono (2002, 2005) to achieve greater integration is the use of archaeological plans. These plans are usually produced in the form of a map which displays archaeological potential and are useful for property owners, managers, and developers taking archaeological considerations into account early in development planning.

In 2008–09, the Queensland Government, University of Queensland and the Brisbane City Council co-operated on a pilot project to develop an archaeological plan for the central business district area of Brisbane (Prangnell 2009a; Prangnell and Terry 2008). The plan was developed for eventual integration into Brisbane's local planning scheme. As the basic concepts of the plan were intended to be transferable to other regions of Queensland, it provides a model for the development of other local planning instruments.

## The Queensland Heritage Register as a Research Tool?

The heritage register is primarily used by heritage professionals for understanding the history and heritage values of specific places or areas under study. As noted previously, the register includes 179 places with historical archaeological values to Queensland. A search of comparable registers across Australia shows that Queensland is in this way performing well in the protection of historical archaeological places through their identification, significance assessment and registration on the State heritage register (Fig. 2). Since 2003, an average of seven places with historical archaeological values has been added to the Queensland heritage register each year, averaging about 17 % of annual registrations. This is close to double the average number added in the preceding decade. The main reason behind the increase is the addition of a specific archaeological place category to the register in 2008. Since then 14 places have been entered specifically for their historical archaeological values. Queensland also recognizes that archaeology is not just a compliance related activity and proactive identification and assessment programs for historical archaeological places have been undertaken in some parts of the State.

The majority of archaeological places entered in the register have only been subjected to investigations of sufficient detail to establish archaeological

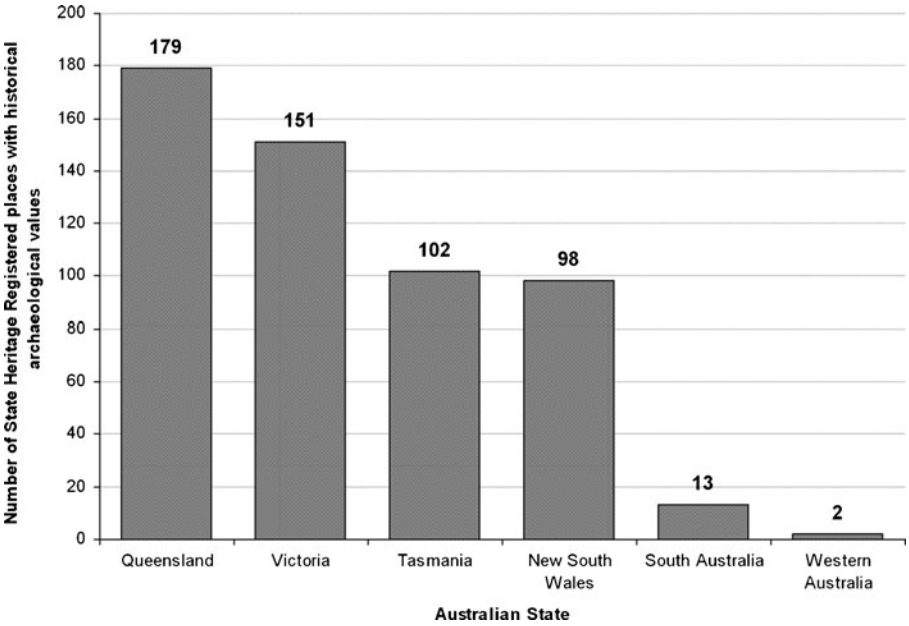


**Fig. 2** Number of heritage registered places with ascribed historical archaeological values

potential and importance to Queensland's history. Only a few notable exceptions have ever been subjected to additional academic scrutiny. Examples include the Mill Point Settlement site in southeast Queensland (Murphy 2010; Rae 2005), the Tower Mill (Hall et al. 1996; Prangnell 1991), and the Commissariat Stores (Murphy 2003). The most recent example of additional academic research within a registered place was by Hadnutt (2010), who examined artifacts excavated from the Burke and Wills' Plant Camp. The ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition of 1860–61 is arguably the most well known Australian story of exploration. The expedition set out from Melbourne to cross the Australian continent from south to north and then back again. Some expedition campsites and blazed trees have been relocated including that of Camp 46, also known as the "Plant Camp." A team of researchers from the University of Melbourne and Royal Society of Victoria relocated the site in 2006 following a careful re-analysis of records made by the original expedition navigator William Wills (Leahy 2007). Subsequent archaeological investigations have relocated a range of artifacts including canvas and leather sewing kit needles, thrust block, duck bill leather sewing pliers, percussion caps, nipples and bullets consistent with the caliber, vintage and make of weapons taken on the original expedition (Fig. 3). Some of these artifacts have been retained by the Queensland Museum and since analyzed and used in public exhibitions.

Academic studies of registered places, like those at Mill Point and the Plant Camp illustrate that historical archaeological places entered in the register are a valuable resource for researchers. The lack of interest in the register to date may be the result of a lack of understanding amongst the academic community about what archaeological research can and cannot be done within a heritage registered place. It is hoped


**Fig. 3** Pen nib from the Burke and Wills Plant Camp, remote southwest Queensland

that forthcoming standards and guidelines will help clarify such issues and encourage greater interest.

## Making a Significant Contribution

> The value of historical archaeology should be assessed merely on the basis of its contributions to history (Connah 1998, p. 5).

As practitioners within a relatively young discipline, historical archaeologists in Queensland have plenty of work ahead of them to fill gaps in our historical understanding. While European occupation of the land is short in time span there were earlier visitations and ephemeral occupations by Asian peoples particularly Macassan fisherman from around Sulawesi in modern day Indonesia (MacKnight 1969, 1972, 1986). It is unclear when these visits first began though it is assumed that they commenced sometime in the seventeenth century. Macassans made frequent and repeat journeys and interacted with local Aboriginal and Islander populations. Trade in tools, cloth, canoes, and some foods took place and such interactions influenced Aboriginal language and art (Burningham 1994; Campbell 2002; MacKnight 1973). Evidence of Macassan activity survives around Australia's northern coastline mainly in the form of trepan (sea cucumber) processing sites. To date there has been limited archaeological interest in the archaeological potential of such subjects even though the remoteness of the coastline in question may equate to great promise for future researchers.

The heritage register is also far from representative of the full range of historical archaeological place types that are known to survive in Queensland. The majority of entries relate to Queensland's mining heritage, including remnants of the prolific gold, tin, copper, silver, and rare metals industries of central and north Queensland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Fig. 4). Their recognition is due to a number of studies on the mining theme initiated by the Queensland Government during the 1990s rather than any deliberate effort to protect such places (Jane Lennon and Associates and Pearce 1996; Kerr 1992; Pearson 1994).

More effort must be directed at the identification of other important and underrepresented archaeological place types. Recent efforts have been made to investigate

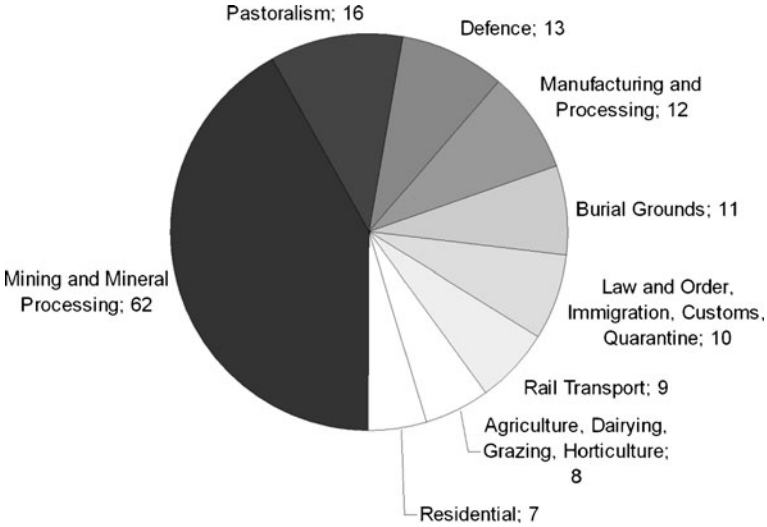


**Fig. 4** Queensland heritage-registered places with historical archaeological values grouped by historical category

places and enter in the heritage register places associated with the past control and discrimination of Indigenous peoples, such as the former Taroom Aboriginal Settlement in central Queensland (Department of Environment and Resource Management 2010; State of Queensland 2012a) and Fantome Island (Department of Environment and Resource Management 2011; State of Queensland 2012b).

Fantome Island is located off the north Queensland coast and was the site of a lock hospital between 1928 and 1945 and a lazaret (or leprosarium) between 1939 and 1973. Both facilities were used for the isolation of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and South Sea Islander patients or inmates (Fig. 5). The archaeological remnants on the island are representative of the disproportionate responses of former governments to the public health issues of venereal diseases and Hansen's disease (leprosy) as they affected Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and South Sea Islander people. The archaeological remains illustrate how non-European patients were kept at different facilities and treated differently to European patients and they provide insights into the significant work undertaken by religious orders with non-European patients in Queensland (State of Queensland 2012b).

Attempts have also been made to relocate some of Queensland's oldest places, particularly the first settlement site at Redcliffe in southeast Queensland. In 1823 the area was chosen as the location of a new penal settlement to accommodate secondary offenders, those convicts considered of the worst class or who had reoffended while serving their original sentence of transportation from Britain. It was intended to control the convicts and affect reform through isolation, hard labor, strict discipline, and harsh living conditions. On September 1, 1824, the brig *Amity* set sail from Sydney with the commandant of the new settlement, Lieutenant Henry Miller, a detachment of soldiers, their wives and nine children, and an initial complement of 29 convicts (Steele 1972, p. 127; St Pierre 1994, p. 14). A settlement was quickly established on Redcliff Point at the northern extent of Moreton Bay. Health problems soon became a feature of the settlement with sickness arising from a lack of fresh

**Fig. 5** Carved timber gate posts located at the rear of the Fantome Island Lazaret Sisters' Quarters

food and supposedly diseases spread by the persistent mosquitoes that inhabited the area and within 8 months the settlement was relocated to the Brisbane River, the site of the capital city today.

Little physical evidence has ever been found from this short lived settlement site. Local residents have collected artifacts thought to be associated with the settlement, including convict-style leg-irons discovered in the 1970s and a small collection of bricks and other portable artifacts now held in the local museum. Recent archaeological investigations have attempted to located physical remains of the settlement through non-invasive geophysical surveys of areas of archaeological potential (GBG Australia 2008a, b; Sonnemann 2010) and archaeological excavation at the probable location of a freshwater well, the Commandant's house, and brick kiln (Cosmos Archaeology 2011; Harris 2011; Prangnell 2009b). No verifiable archaeological traces of the settlement were located during at the later two locations.

Queensland's important early primary industries of timber and sugar have also been a particular focus of efforts by the Queensland government's heritage unit. In 2011 the archaeological remains of Morayfield Plantation, one of Queensland's earliest sugar plantations, were investigated and entered in the heritage register. The Caboolture region was one of the first substantial sugar growing districts in south-east Queensland. George Raff, a prominent settler in the area, established a sugar

plantation on the banks of the Caboolture River in 1865 and by 1867 cultivation, processing, and distilling operations were well and truly established. Raff, a prominent supporter of the use of indentured Islander laborers in the sugar industry, used men from present day Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands to harvest cane (Hamilton 1994, p. 34; Morrison 1888, pp. 183–184; Tutt 1973, p. 76). While workers of European origin were housed in solid accommodation, Islander laborers were not so lucky living in communal quarters (Saunders 1982, p. 116).

Investigations at Morayfield Plantation continue and fieldwork focuses on identifying additional archaeological traces of the former main residence and plantation infrastructure, particularly stores and stables buildings, wharves, fence lines, mill, and early tramway formations (Fig. 6). Historical documentation is limited and it is expected that future archaeological investigations will provide otherwise unavailable information about the overall plantation layout, how it compares to other early sugar plantations around Queensland and the lives of indentured laborers.

## Engaging the Public and the Quest for Relevance

> We have to demonstrate in a public way that historical archaeology can tell us a lot more than we can learn from historical records, and can tell us different things, things that are both important and interesting (Connah 1998, p. 6).

While the value of the contribution made by historical archaeological scholarship to our understanding of the recent past is still sometimes debated by the archaeological community (Harrison and Schofield 2010) the general public understands the archaeological discipline through popular culture. In particular, movies, television series and documentaries depicting treasure hunting, the antiquities trade and a general fascination with exotic, mysterious and "vanished" ancient civilizations from other continents appear to dominate archaeological programming to the detriment of local content. It is no wonder then that amongst 2,100 responses by Australian's to a

**Fig. 6** Remnant stair case from the main Morayfield Plantation residence

recent survey on what Australian heritage means, archaeology was not even mentioned (McDonald 2006, p. 1). This oversight is shocking considering that respondents actually defined heritage very broadly and understood it to include a wide range of objects, places and experiences (McDonald 2006, p. 3). One could surmise that the majority of Australians do not know that archaeology is something even done in Australia.

Australian scholars have noted that when members of the public have some knowledge of archaeological work that the results are most often considered self evident or of little public benefit (Allen and North 2000, p. 55; North 2006, p. ii). The general public is overtly concerned about "historic architecture" and "irreplaceable" heritage places, such as national icons, with no recognition given to the wide range of archaeological resources found throughout the country (McDonald 2006, p. 9). This ignorance of archaeological values is particularly the case where the archaeological record has been created well within living memory, where the primacy of detailed documentation and oral accounts leads the public to believe that archaeological examination of the physical environment is costly and pointless.

Public perceptions are at odds with those of the professional archaeologist in Australia whose views have been shaped by academia and by "doing" archaeology within a dominant heritage management paradigm. Even so, Australian historical archaeologists continue to battle lack of recognition and acceptance within a broader heritage establishment which often overlooks the potential value of the discipline and sometimes even its very existence. Heritage assessment criteria, developed by heritage bodies and government agencies, continue to reinforce perceptions that archaeology can only contribute anything of consequence when such information could not otherwise be obtained from other sources such as the documentary record (Queensland Heritage Council 2006, pp. 16–17; State of New South Wales 2001, p. 20). Recent discussions about the future of Australia's heritage programs also continue to promote the nation's tangible heritage as revolving around the "built and natural environments" with little recognition of the existence of archaeological phenomena (Spearitt 2011).

Archaeological projects in Queensland have begun to contribute substantive work that may help break down public misconceptions and expose the value of archaeological research to the broader heritage community. Archaeological investigations at The Eagle's Nest Depression Camp, near Toowoomba in southern Queensland, is one recent example. Established in 1932 at the height of the Great Depression, the camp housed and feed unemployed men. Assumed to have been too ephemeral in nature to leave behind any significant archaeological traces, substantial surface and subsurface remains were detected and excavated. Barker and Lamb (2009) identified that the archaeology was "a symbol of main-stream middle-class Australian values…a material symbol of the work ethic central at this time to notions of human dignity, respect and the moral development of individuals" (Barker and Lamb 2009, p. 263). Barker and Lamb (2009) also point out that while considerable historical scholarship has been carried out on aspects of the Great Depression and its effects across Australia, the issue has been almost been entirely ignored by the archaeological community.

It is important to find effective methods to increase general community awareness of historical archaeology as a discipline and its potential to contribute in new ways to our understanding of the past. The *Pandora* Project is a rare example of a historical archaeological project in Queensland that has

succeeded in communicating its findings to both academic and general audiences. A British Naval frigate, *HMS Pandora*, was bound for Timor after searching the South Pacific for mutineers from *HMS Bounty* when she wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef in 1791. The wreck was relocated in 1977 and has been subjected to one of the most extensive and expensive archaeological investigations in Queensland history. Over 10 field seasons the Queensland Museum has recovered thousands of artifacts. A significant amount of funding was raised to undertake these excavations and follow-up research into the finds including numerous peer reviewed articles on the subject (e.g. Campbell and Gesner 2000; Coleman 1988; Fallowfield 2001; Gesner 1989, 1990, 1993, 2000a, b; Henderson 1980, 1984; Illidge 2002; McCafferty 1989). The collection was considered of such significance that a museum was founded in Townsville dedicated to the collection.

## Concluding Remarks

It has been illustrated that limited historical archaeological research relative to the actual extent of the resource has been undertaken in Queensland since the first excavations in the 1970s. The potential for the discipline in Queensland to contribute to academic discussion and debate on a range of topical issues and particular aspects of Queensland's history is immeasurable and unlikely to be realized to any great extent without substantial growth in the number of practitioners actually "doing" historical archaeology and, most importantly practitioners, publishing their results. Closely related are the benefits of ensuring that the results of historical archaeological endeavors are of relevance beyond the academic community. More needs to be done to ensure that the results of a broad range of archaeological projects, from data obtained from academic research through to regulatory projects, find their way into the public domain.

It has been argued that any real increase in the actual number of practitioners in Queensland will not take place if suitable regulatory systems are not developed that foster such growth. At present it is the existence of regulatory requirements for archaeological investigations within certain development contexts that provide much of the historical archaeological work in Queensland. Any regulatory reform faces the challenge of balancing the desires of the archaeological community for best practice standards with often conflicting political motivations. To achieve effective reform, regulators must be convinced of the benefits of embracing a more inclusive understanding of cultural heritage as existing attitudes to planning issues seldom embrace concepts of archaeological potential or move beyond the recognition of built fabric.

Queensland is a vast and diverse place with a rich historical archaeological resource of great potential for increasing our understanding of the recent past. There exists great opportunities for researchers with a wide range of issues so far unexplored through archaeological enquiry. Much of this potential can only be realized once the discipline has achieved greater relevance within the broader community.

**Acknowledgments** Any errors or omissions in this article are my own. The opinions expressed also remain my own and unless referenced to specific legislation, policy or guidelines do not necessarily reflect those of my employer or the Queensland government.

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