

The Archaeology of the Peel Island Lazaret: Part 1: Survey

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An archaeological survey on Peel Island in Moreton Bay, southeast Queensland, was conducted to assist the conservation planning for the Peel Island Lazaret (PIL), one of a number of institutions housed on the island during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The survey revealed a patterning of artefacts across the island as well as landscape modification related to its Aboriginal and European institutional uses.

Introduction

Moreton Bay has been the focus of extensive archaeological activity over the past four decades (see Ulm 1995) and although most has been reconnaissance work the results of only two surveys have been published (Richardson 1984; Robins 1984). Most information is locked in unpublished theses (e.g. Prangnell 1999; Smith 1992) or consultancy reports (e.g. Ann Wallin and Associates 1998; Neal 1984; Prangnell and Coghill 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Prangnell and Ross 2002; Ross and Quandamooka Lands Council 1998). This paper provides the methods and results of the survey component of a PhD research project conducted on Peel Island (Prangnell 1999) as well as additional data on Aboriginal sites.

Peel Island is a small (3.9km²) island in Moreton Bay, midway between Cleveland on the mainland and Dunwich on North Stradbroke Island (Figure 1). The islands of Moreton Bay have been used by successive colonial and state governments to house persons considered unsuitable for mainstream society (e.g. Covacevich 1995; Goodall 1992; Ludlow 1991a, 1991b, 1995; Prangnell 1994, 1999). St Helena Island housed a quarantine station (1866–1867) and a prison (1867–1932), North Stradbroke Island had a benevolent asylum (1866–1946), a quarantine station (1854–1869), a lazaret (1891–1907) and an Aboriginal mission (1892–1940), and Peel Island had a quarantine station (1873–1906), an inebriates asylum (1910–1916) and a lazaret (1907–1959) (Figure 2).

The Peel Island Lazaret was established on a 160 acre reserve on the northwest corner of the island and it operated for 52 years, closing in 1959 (Figure 3). During that time there were 572 admissions and readmissions with up to 90 inmates housed in the lazaret at any one time, whilst 250 people died there and were buried in its cemetery. By 1919 'Queensland had the largest single mental asylum [Woogaroo] and lazaret [Peel Island] in Australia' (Evans 1969:286). A superintendent and his wife originally staffed the lazaret, but over time the staff grew to include an assistant supervisor, matron, doctor, four cooks, registered nurses and male attendants.

The Quarantine Station occupied the southeast corner of the island. It opened in August 1873 and closed in 1906. It was described in 1876 as about 10 or 12 acres of cleared land housing three buildings: a female ward, a hospital and a dispensary/storeroom (Ludlow 1991a:13-14). By the 1880s it had grown to 17 structures including dining rooms, officers' quarters and a telegraph operator's room (Ludlow 1991a:28) (Figure 4). The Inebriates Asylum was housed in the same buildings between 1910 and 1916.

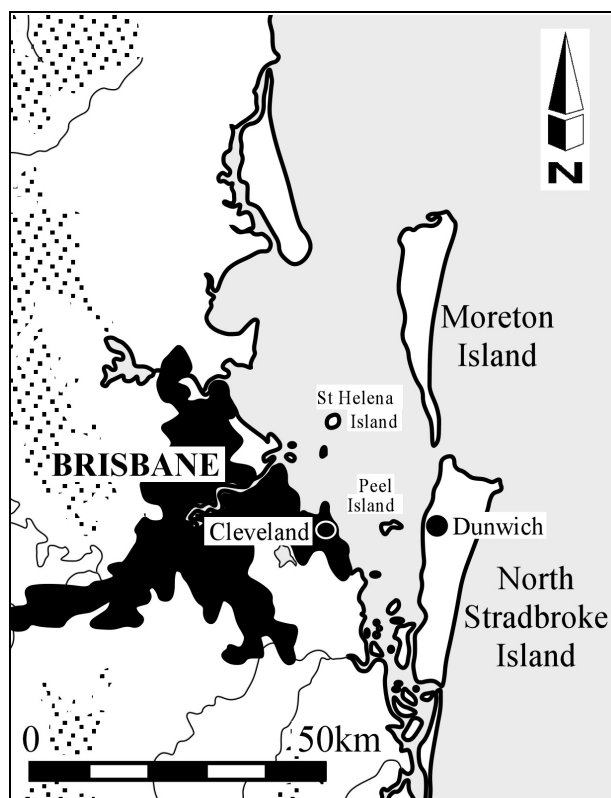


Figure 1. Moreton Bay showing the location of Peel Island.

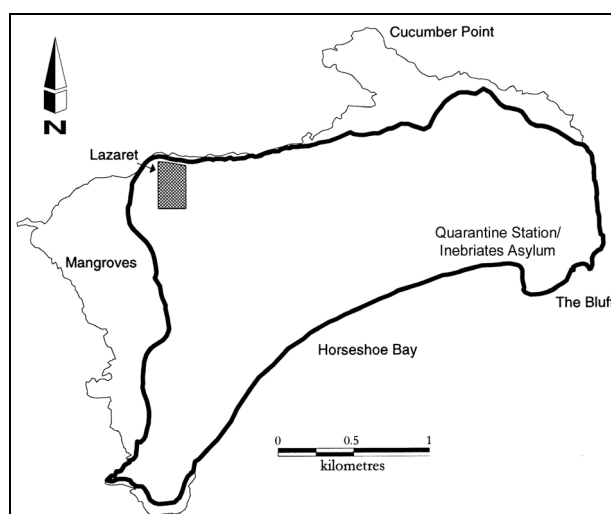


Figure 2. Locations on Peel Island.

In 1993 the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service (now Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service) gained managerial control of the island and its cultural heritage resources and the entire island was entered on the Queensland Heritage Register. A Federal Government 'One Nation' grant was obtained to develop *The Peel Island Lazaret Conservation Plan* (Blake 1993) and to undertake conservation work on the remaining fabric. Nineteen buildings had roofs, guttering, stumps, and stump caps replaced and were boarded up to minimise the effects of the weather and vandals (Figure 5).

The Surveys

In 1993 and 1995 archaeological surveys concentrating on the area external to the lazaret were conducted as part of the wider conservation planning process. These surveys had three main aims. The first aim was to locate and describe the surface distribution of archaeological sites across Peel Island. In order to develop a comprehensive management plan it was important to understand the distribution and character of artefacts from the lazaret (and elsewhere) and to determine the extent to which the staff and patients of the lazaret had used the island. This aim follows directly from policies contained in the Conservation Plan (Blake 1993:39, 54, 59, 60), namely:

Policy 7 – A comprehensive survey of Aboriginal sites on the island should be undertaken, and guidelines for the management of these sites prepared.

Policy 59 – A detailed study of elements within the perimeter zone [the area immediate adjacent to the main part of the lazaret and contains the cemetery] should be undertaken.

Policy 81 – An inventory of movable items relating to the lazaret should be an urgent priority. The inventory should include items both on and off the island and list ownership.

Policy 89 – Further research of the history of the lazaret should be initiated.

The second aim was to identify any patterning in the distribution of artefacts from the lazaret that may supply evidence of paternalistic behaviour in the institution. In addition to the cultural heritage management issues, my PhD research addressed the interrelationships of the various groups at the lazaret and their relationship with the Queensland Department of Health and Home Affairs that forced them to occupy the island. Thus, a secondary aim of the surveys was to identify the existence of physical evidence of institutionalised and paternalistic behaviour across the entire island. Artefacts from the lazaret included items related to: food, such as bottles or tin cans; clothing, such as buttons or shoes; accommodation, such as building fittings or window furniture; hospital functions, such as vials or bedpans; personal effects, such as combs or watches; and recreation, such as fishing sinkers.

A final aim was to supply training in archaeological survey techniques for members of the Quandamooka Lands Council, the local traditional owners of the southern and eastern islands of Moreton Bay. This task was part of a larger cultural resource management training program coordinated by the Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service, Department of Environment and Heritage and Quandamooka Lands Council.



Figure 3. Peel Island Lazaret, 1956 (Photograph: M. Gabriel).



Figure 4. Peel Island Quarantine Station, 1880s (Photograph: John Oxley Library, neg. 48286).



Figure 5. Huts in white male patients' compound after conservation work, 1995 (Photograph: J. Prangnell).



Figure 6. Dump 1 on the western edge of Peel Island, 1995 (Photograph: J. Prangnell).

Prior to this investigation only one archaeological survey had been conducted on Peel Island; that was in 1963–1964 when Ponomov recorded eight shell scatters or middens on, or behind, Horseshoe Bay (1964:59-61). Ponomov was unable to survey the remainder of the island due to access constraints that obtain to this day. The sites he identified (Ponomov Sites 93–99) are summarised in Table 1 and shown in Figure 7. Ponomov (1964:59-60) remarked on the abundance of *Donax deltoides* and the absence of stone artefacts in the Peel Island sites.

The current survey employed an interval transect survey strategy. Sixteen 10m-wide pedestrian transects (A–P) running north-south (magnetic) were placed at 200m intervals across the island (Figure 8). A transect bearing of 0°/180° was selected to simplify the archaeological training component. At every 100m point along each transect a 2m x 2m quadrat was marked out, the surface leaf litter removed and the area examined for cultural material. At the centre of each quadrat the ground was probed with a 120cm metal rod to detect subsurface material.

Much has been written in the archaeological literature on the merits of different survey strategies. Redman's early works demonstrate the importance of using probability sampling (as opposed to judgment or haphazard sampling) to allow for the use of statistical inference and to reduce sampling bias (1973, 1974). Probability sampling therefore allows for 'estimating total population values for common artefacts or features. It is also good as an exploratory feature, in that it forces one to look 'everywhere'' (Redman 1987:251). However, it is inadequate 'for locating rare features or artefacts, dealing with clustered distributions, or illuminating contiguous spatial patterns' (Redman 1987:251). The use of the systematic quadrat design in association with the interval transects increased the ability to detect clustered or contiguous patterns.

While a systematic sampling strategy was employed on Peel Island, the grid was not placed at right angles to the study area as is typical with such samples (Plog 1976:137) because the edge of the study area is formed by the island's coastline (not including the fringing mangroves). The 100m interval quadrats avoided problems associated with 'periodicities in the phenomena' (Plog 1976:137), as each 100m measurement commenced at the start of each transect (i.e. the edge of the island). For example, Transect A contained four quadrats whereas Transect C contained 22 quadrats. While a systematic sample has similar advantages over the more accepted random stratified sample, any actual gains in estimation precision are dependent on the actual properties of the population (Plog 1976:142). Furthermore, Orser and Fagan (1995:131) suggest that any strategy is acceptable as long as it is based on knowledge of the region's history and 'good science'.

Data recorded at each quadrat included transect number, quadrat number, location (beach, beach ridge, mangrove flat, bank, crest, swamp, flat, swale, road or the lazaret), canopy vegetation (mangrove, paperbark, *Callitris* spp., *Eucalyptus* spp., *Banksia* spp.), understorey vegetation (sisal, grass, lantana, leaf litter, ivy/vine), soil type (red loam, yellow sand, black mangrove mud), surface visibility, and artefact attributes (quantity and character of shell, bone, stone, ceramic, glass, metal etc.). A 'notes' section was included for recording all materials located within the visual window.

Table 1. Sites recorded by Ponomov (1964) on Peel Island.

Site No.	Size	Shell Species
93	Small	<i>Saccostrea glomerata</i> <i>Anadara trapezia</i> <i>Pyrazus ebeninus</i>
94	Small	<i>Donax deltoides</i>
94a	Not very large	<i>Saccostrea glomerata</i> <i>Anadara trapezia</i> <i>Trichomya hirsutus</i> <i>Pyrazus ebeninus</i>
95	Not very large	<i>Donax deltoides</i>
96	Small	<i>Saccostrea glomerata</i> <i>Pyrazus ebeninus</i>
97	Large	<i>Saccostrea glomerata</i> <i>Pyrazus ebeninus</i> <i>Anadara trapezia</i> <i>Trichomya hirsutus</i>
98	Large	<i>Trichomya hirsutus</i> <i>Saccostrea glomerata</i> <i>Pyrazus ebeninus</i>
99	Small	<i>Donax deltoides</i>

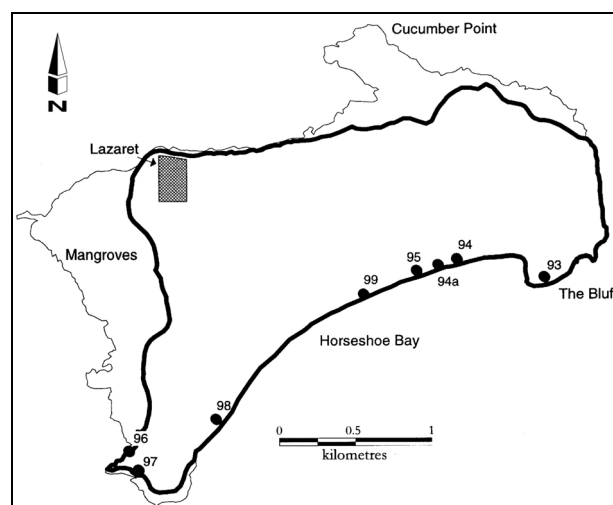


Figure 7. Location of the shell midden sites identified by Ponomov (1964) on Peel Island.

Seven distinct vegetation zones exist on the island (Oxnam 1989) (see Figure 8):

1. Open grassland and exotic plantings at the lazaret.
2. Low open forest of eucalyptus and callitris that dominates the centre of the island and the Bluff on the southeast corner.
3. Tall open forest of eucalyptus that occurs across the northern and western parts of the island.
4. Mangroves along the northern and western margins of the island as well as a small isolated community on the southwestern corner.

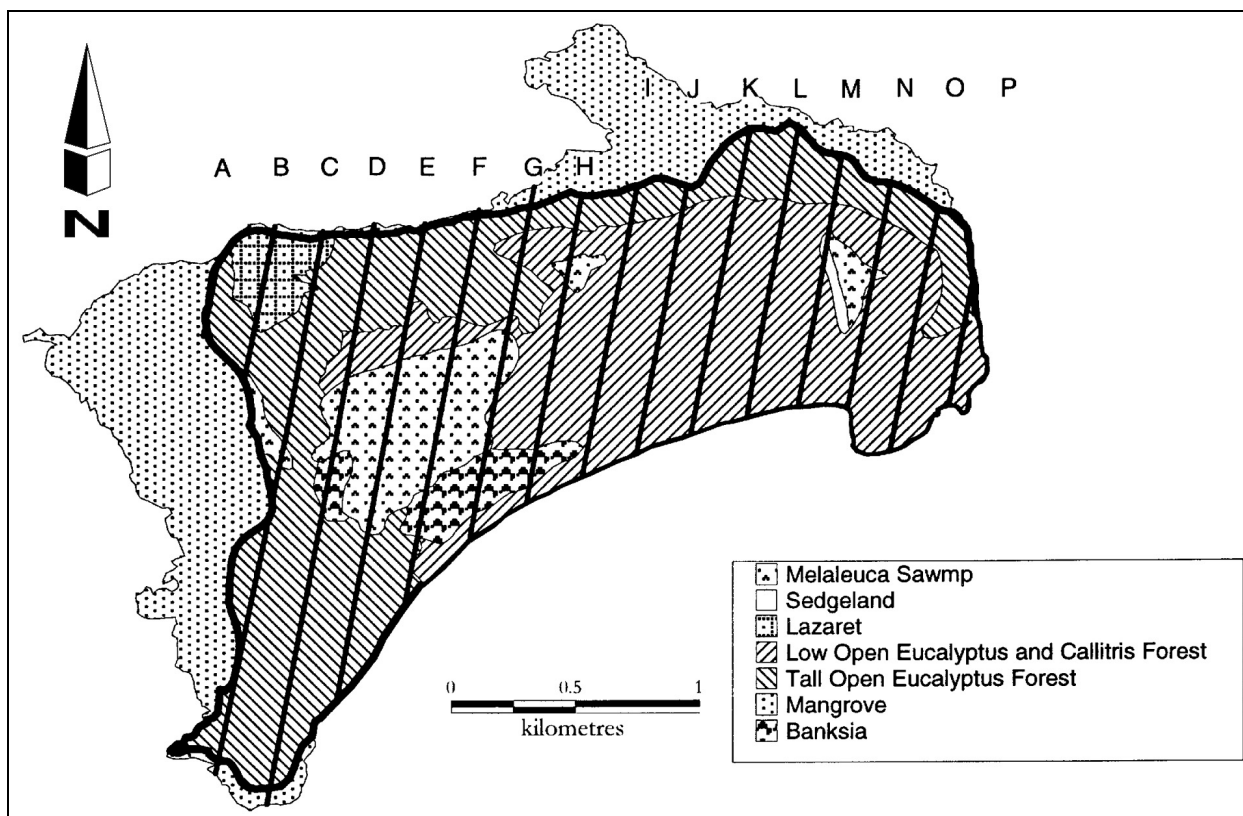


Figure 8. Vegetation zones and survey transects on Peel Island.

5. Melaleuca in a central swampy basin and in three other low-lying areas across the interior of the island.

6. Thick banksia-dominated groves to the south and west of the central swamp.

7. A small area of sedgeland, dominated by small water tolerant plants along the western margin of the eastern-most melaleuca swamp.

The island is also divided into four geological zones (Oxnam 1989).

1. Most of Peel Island is composed of Triassic-Jurassic Quartzose to subliable sandstone, siltstone and shale. This zone corresponds closely to the distribution of open forest (both low and tall) across the island.

2. There is a Holocene Coastal Plain Swamp Basin comprised of mud, sand and peat and it includes the sand of Horseshoe Bay and corresponds to the distribution of melaleuca in the interior.

3. A Holocene Coastal Plain Beach Ridge of sand and shell runs along the northern margin of the island.

4. A Holocene Tidal Flat zone of sand and mud corresponds to the current distribution of mangroves.

Results

To date, 13 transects (A to M) have been surveyed; three transects on the island's eastern side remain unsurveyed. The thickness of the vegetation and the lack of ground surface visibility posed two major and related constraints to the survey. Most of the ground surface was covered in thick leaf litter (up to 13cm) that had accumulated due to

the absence of bushfires since at least the turn of the nineteenth century. A total of 155 quadrats were examined in detail along the 13 survey transects, of which only 24 (15.5%) exhibited any surface visibility prior to the removal of leaf litter and the average surface visibility over all quadrats was only 6.4%. For those quadrats exhibiting surface visibility the average was 41.4%. Visibility of 100% was only achieved on the beach sand of Horseshoe Bay at the extreme southern end of Transects E–M and at the northern end of Transect M. The thick vegetation meant that between transects it was only possible to identify and record large conspicuous items such as water tanks and truck bodies. Small items, such as bottles or ceramics, could not be detected more than 4–5m from transect lines.

The majority of quadrats (63.2%) were on the flat parts of the terrain (Table 2) while the next most frequent were in the central swampy areas (11.6%) and on beaches or beach ridges (9%). The dominant canopy vegetation at quadrat locations was callitris (54.2%), followed by banksia (13.5%) and eucalyptus species (12.9%) (Table 2). The largest contributors to low surface visibility were ground cover plant species and thick leaf litter. Table 2 lists the frequencies of ground covers at quadrat locations. Over 80% of the quadrats were located on yellow sands, with red loams being the next most frequent associated soil type (12.9%) (Table 2).

Artefacts were found in 57 locations across the island (Figure 9). A number of different artefacts and archaeological places were found that related to Aboriginal uses of the island, to the Quarantine Station (located at the southeast corner), to the lazaret and to post-lazaret use. Incidental cultural materials unrelated to the island's occupation were also found.

Table 2. Summary of survey quadrat location, vegetation, ground cover and soil type.

Location	# of Quadrats	Vegetation	# of Quadrats	Ground Cover	# of Quadrats	Soil Type	Colour	# of Quadrats
Beach/Beach Ridge	14	Banksia	21	Dune species	1	Clay	Brown	1
Flat	98	Callitris	84	Fern	6	Loam	Black	2
Hill Crest	2	Eucalyptus	20	Grass	33		Red	20
Lazaret	3	Lantana	1	Groundsel	2	Mud	Black	5
Mangrove Flat	6	Mango	1	Heath species	1	Sand	Black	1
Road	2	Mangrove	6	Lantana	5		Brown	1
Slope	12	Nil	5	Leaf Litter	86		Yellow	125
Swamp	18	Pandanus	1	Nil	5			
		Paperbark	14	Seaweed	3			
		Pine	2	Vine	13			

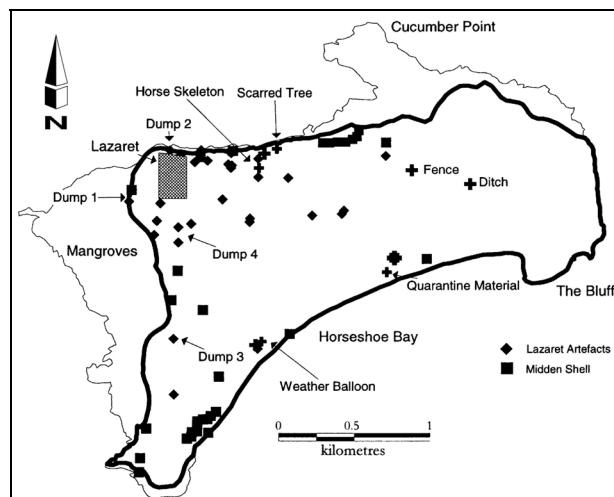


Figure 9. Artefact locations across Peel Island.

Aboriginal Sites

Seventeen shell middens were located ranging in size from relatively large mounds covering up to 8500m² to much smaller shell scatters, the smallest consisting of six shells from three shellfish species. The largest middens cluster on the northern edge of the island and behind Horseshoe Bay on the southern side. All but one of these sites occur in open forested areas, the exception being a small scatter of shellfish remains beside a track in an area dominated by banksia that may have been deposited during the operation of the lazaret as part of the road base. The northern middens close to the lazaret all display evidence of having been used during institutional times. They have been dug out in places and the shell has been used around the lazaret to make pathways, concrete and garden features (e.g. Prangnell 1999:274). Ross subsequently excavated one of these disturbed middens with the Quandamooka Cultural Resource Management Team and obtained dates of c. 1,200 BP for the middle layers (Ross 2000; Ross and Coghill 1996, 2000; Ross and Duffy 2000). These middens are approximately 1m high and consist mostly of oyster

(*Saccostrea glomerata*) and whelk (*Pyrazus ebeninus*) shells, with some fish bone, large amounts of charcoal and some dugong bone.

Large scatters of shellfish remains were found behind Horseshoe Bay and in close proximity to Ponosov Sites 94a, 95, 96 and 97, although the relocation of these sites could not be confirmed. Ponosov Site 98 was relocated at Quadrat 2 on Transect E and was found to be much larger than the original description of a 'large' site having 'a cultural layer reaching 24 inches and more in depth' of 'Mytilidae [*Trichomya hirsutus*], Ostreidae [*Saccostrea glomerata*] and Potamididae [*Telescopium telescopium*]' (Ponosov 1964:60). Today it actually comprises a set of three mounds some 100m from the Horseshoe Bay beach which together measure approximately 285m long (on a 30°/210° axis) and up to 30m wide. The mounds are rounded and up to 2m high in places. *Saccostrea glomerata* and *Pyrazus ebeninus* are the main shellfish species represented. As both are mangrove species and could not have been collected from Horseshoe Bay, they must have been transported from elsewhere. Three broken orange quartzite flakes were located on the surface of the northernmost mound. The stone is not from Peel Island. Charcoal and coral are eroding from the mounds. It appears that Ponosov recorded the northern portion of this large midden complex.

In total, four middens were found along the northern edge, seven along the western edge and six along the southern coast of the island. All the shell was found within 130m of the shoreline except the small scatter in the banksia. Shell was found across all four geological zones. *Saccostrea glomerata* was the most common shell type, followed by *Trichomya hirsutus*. In contrast to Ponosov's survey, almost no *Donax deltooides* shell was sighted.

An old eucalyptus tree with a large elongated scar on its western side was found at the northern end of Transect E (Figure 9). The base of the scar is located 3m above the ground and its characteristics are not inconsistent with those known to have been the result of Aboriginal activities.

Quarantine Station Sites

Evidence of the use of the island by Quarantine Station inmates is limited in extent and open to alternative interpretations. Toward the southern end of Transect J is a small scatter of whelk, cockle and oyster shell that contains fragments of Dutch case gin bottles (probably manufactured by *A van Hoboken*), beer bottles, a salad oil bottle and fragments of a green and white underglaze transfer-printed dinner plate. This material may represent a westerly manifestation of the Quarantine Station but it is equally likely that it is from the lazaret or otherwise of Aboriginal origin.

Other possible evidence of the Quarantine Station is a row of wooden fence posts found towards the northern end of Transect J. These round posts are grouped into two sets of two, some 10m apart. Sisal, which was grown at the Quarantine Station (see Ludlow 1991a:47, 1995:101), runs in a 30m band around the northern and western sides of the posts. The trunks of the trees growing immediately to the west of the fence posts have markedly narrower diameters than those to the east. This fact suggests that the area to the west of the posts was cleared of vegetation more recently than that to the east and it may mark the edge of a Quarantine Station garden plot.

Six hundred and fifty metres south of the northern end of Transect L is a 48m-long straight trench measuring 4m wide and 1m deep that runs on an angle of 170°/350°. This trench may relate to garbage or sanitary disposal from the Quarantine Station as it does not match recorded dumping practices at the lazaret or the prescribed practice for nightsoil disposal:

[I]t was laid down many years ago that the sanitary reserve was to be trenched in accordance with the provisions of the Sanitary Conveniences and Nightsoil Disposal Regulations. These provide, inter alia, (Regulation 33(c)) that no trench shall be more than 18 inches or less than 10 inches in depth or more than 18 inches in width, and shall not exceed 10 feet in length (QSA A31759 1947).

Incidental Sites

The only incidental items located during the survey are the remains of a weather balloon at the southern end of Transect F, a small hut, a wooden telegraph pole and a concrete post marked 'PMG CABLE', indicating the position of the telephone cable linking Cleveland and Dunwich.

Lazaret Sites

It is clear from the distribution shown in Figure 9 that artefacts relating to the lazaret concentrate near it, but there is also a general scatter of such materials across a large part of the island. Lazaret artefacts are found up to 1,500m east on Transect I (tin cans, glass, kerosene lamp and a clock), approximately 1,500m south on Transect D (wire) and 1,400m southeast on Transect F (a water tank and fragments of green bottle glass). The presence of the water tank so far from the lazaret may be explained by the practice (among some patients) of moving huts from the coloured patients' compound to Horseshoe Bay for use as 'holiday shanties' (Ludlow 1991b:29). The tank may have been part of this relocation activity. A horse skeleton with a bullet hole in its skull was found at the northern end of

Transect E. When the lazaret closed in 1959 a single horse, named 'Podge', was left on the island (QSA WOR/Leper Lazaretto Peel Island Batch: 642 of 1961) and was eventually shot by the caretaker in December 1962 (QSA WOR/Leper Lazaretto Peel Island Batch: 686 of 1963). This skeleton is probably that of 'Podge'.

The survey highlighted four main areas of lazaret dumping (Figure 9). Dump 1 is located on a 6m-high 40° slope 200m from the western edge of the lazaret and along the northern part of the western margin of the island (Figure 6). At high tide the lower parts of the dump become inundated. The dump extends for 80m along the slope and consists of items of everyday lazaret life such as bottles, ceramics and leather fragments. It appears that throughout the course of the lazaret's operation material from the huts and stores that were not incinerated were dumped here.

Dump 2 lies to the north of the lazaret and has a higher and steeper slope than Dump 1. It contains almost entirely of either hospital items, such as enamelled bedpans and urine bottles, or artefacts related to the kitchen such as cooking pots and parts of stoves. There appears a marked difference in the pattern of dumping that occurred at the lazaret; items related to the infrastructure of the hospital went over the northern cliff while items related to the daily life of the residents (patients and staff) went over the western cliff.

Dump 3 is on the southwestern part of the island near the wooden jetty (on Transect C) and is a different style than the other two in that it contains metal drums, glass, ceramics and the extensively corroded bodywork of a Ford truck. This dump's location is unusual, being so far from the lazaret yet so close to the jetty. Probing indicated no associated subsurface deposits and it would appear that the dumping was a single event. This conclusion is supported by the homogeneity of the ceramics; they all have a vitreous stoneware body and bear the same Queensland Government crest. The only pieces exhibiting makers' marks were manufactured by John Maddock and Sons Ltd of Burslem, England, and at least one cup cannot date to earlier than 1955 (Godden 1964: Mark No. 2473). Conjecturally, at the time of the lazaret's closure in 1959, the patients' truck made its last trip to the jetty and a large part of its load was transferred to waiting boats, after which it was driven into the bush and abandoned.

Dump 4 is a large dump part way between the lazaret and the swamp that contains items from lazaret and post-lazaret periods and it appears to be the site used by the Redland Shire Council on-site caretakers who supervised the area from 1959 to 1993. It contains many motor vehicle parts and other machine and architectural elements.

Discussion

The Peel Island survey was successful in characterising the island's archaeological record and met its three aims, each of which is discussed below in light of the results.

Aim 1: To locate and describe the surface distribution of archaeological sites across Peel Island in order to develop a comprehensive management plan.

Archaeological sites have been identified that relate to all uses of the island from pre-European times to the late twentieth century. Notwithstanding the fact that the

Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service has not yet developed a comprehensive management plan for the island, the survey results have been incorporated into the numerous plans currently used by this authority to manage the island. For example, the Fire Management System (Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service 2000) includes strategies to minimise the risk of fire to the scarred tree and the row of fence posts discovered. The survey results have also been incorporated into an interpretive work concerning the island's management (Prangnell and Ross 1997).

Aim 2: To identify any patterning in the distribution of artefacts from the lazaret that may supply evidence of paternalistic behaviour in the institution.

The Peel Island Lazaret was a paternalistically run institution. Paternalism can be defined as a set of behaviours that culminates in the 'exercise of freedom-diminishing control by one person over another' (Kleinig 1984:xii) justified by reasons referring 'to the welfare, good, happiness, needs, interests or values of the person being coerced' (Dworkin 1983:20). There are three dimensions to the social relationships expressed in paternalism: context, content and affect (Scranton 1984:236). While 'content' alone will be dealt with here, see Prangnell (1999) for a full discussion of all these aspects. The content of paternalism as a practice involves the overlapping spheres of provision, protection and control (Scranton 1984:237). Provision has often included housing, board, food, stores, churches, libraries and recreational facilities. Protection involves the paternalists being responsible for the moral health of their charges. This might include attempts to reduce or control the immoral effects of alcohol, sex and irreligion. Control includes either formal or informal policing, the establishment of standards of behaviour such as timeliness and diligence and the power to punish groups or individuals for violations.

Artefacts found across the island gave some indication of the provisioning of the lazaret by the Department of Health and Home Affairs, who operated the hospital for the entire period. Food-related items such as gin and beer bottles and heavily corroded tin cans occur regularly across the island. Tin and ceramic plates and mugs are scattered up to 1,100m from the lazaret and some ceramic cups bear the Queensland Government crest transfer. The only clothing items found were shoes (in the main dump), a good indication that when the patients finished with their department-issued clothing it was incinerated. The accommodation-related items found included kerosene lamps and tins, diesel fuel drums (electrical generators were first used at the lazaret in 1947), earth closet pans, bath tubs, hot water tanks, fibro sheeting and terracotta drainage pipes. Numerous generic medicine bottles were found, including lotion bottles with their contents intact. A metal urine bottle was also identified 200m southeast of the lazaret. The only personal item found was a small alarm clock located 1,500m east of the lazaret. Three dumping areas of 'D'-cell batteries were the only representatives of recreational activities. Prior to the introduction of electricity these large batteries were supplied by the department for use in crystal radio sets that represented one of the few ways the patients could receive information from the outside world.

All these artefacts are the remains of materials provided to the patients by the government. Thus, archaeological survey was able to provide an early snapshot of the range and quality of materials supplied to this institution as well as the activities that occurred there. Unofficial items were not permitted to enter the lazaret, although it is probable that illicit materials found their way there. These items could not have been disposed of through normal channels and it is reasonable to surmise that illicit items would have been dumped in the bush – albeit no evidence for such activity was found. Similarly, no evidence for the protection element of paternalism was found; this had to wait for the full-scale excavation program to be implemented.

Aim 3: To supply training in archaeological survey techniques for members of the Quandamooka Lands Council.

This aim of the survey program produced a very successful outcome. Since the project's completion the Quandamooka rangers have all used the survey skills they acquired in undertaking important cultural and natural heritage work on the islands of Moreton Bay for the Quandamooka Aboriginal Land and Sea Management Agency. A number of them also assisted with the subsequent midden excavation (see Ross 2000).

Conclusion

Although the lazaret stands today in decayed isolation on the northwest corner of Peel Island, the island itself contains abundant physical evidence for its continued use from pre-European times through to the post-lazaret period. It shows evidence of extensive Aboriginal use with mounded middens on both the north and south coasts. It also shows a concentration of lazaret artefacts close to the former institution site, yet some are spread up to 1.5km away – and the location of the water tank and bottle glass at Horseshoe Bay may indicate official sanctioning of patient use of the island away from the lazaret. Some tantalising evidence for the Quarantine Station may also have been found. Following the surveys, one of the dumps and four of the buildings at the lazaret were excavated with interesting results (see Prangnell 1999); but this phase of work will be published separately.

Acknowledgements

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