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"TOO MUCH 'YELLOW' IN THE MELTING POT":

PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEW ZEALAND CHINESE
1930-1960

PENELOPE LAW

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for B.A.( Hons. ).
University of Otago, 1994.
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Acknowledgements

The completion of this long essay would not have been possible without the help of a number of people whom I badgered for most of the year. Thanks to Brian Moloughney my supervisor, the staff at the Hocken Library, Reon and Milo for their computer wizardry, Milo's computer, and Carolyn.
Preface

The Chinese make up the largest immigrant group of Asian origin in New Zealand, and recently the history of the Chinese both internationally and within New Zealand seems to be undergoing a revival. Within New Zealand much of the historiography concerning the Chinese tends to concentrate on the early gold miners and the New Zealand Government's restrictive immigration policies. By researching images of the Chinese in New Zealand from 1930-1960 I hope to expand understanding of the topic beyond these familiar issues, and discover avenues for further research. My hypothesis is that perceptions of the Chinese in New Zealand during this time period went through an important stage of transition and change.

The time period 1930-1960 saw through a series of changing relationships between Chinese and New Zealanders, both domestically and internationally. Prior to 1930, the Chinese that remained in New Zealand following the gold rush were generally tolerated and accepted so long as their numbers remained small. They were also subject to the 'tall poppy' syndrome, because whenever Chinese were seen to be profiting it was supposedly at the expense of New Zealand businesses. Whether this was due to fears of the 'yellow peril' or outright racism it is hard to say, probably it was a combination of both. The Chinese had never been a
wanted, conscious part of New Zealand's immigration plan except initially when they were invited to immigrate to New Zealand. They were expected to contribute to New Zealand economically, however, this plan backfired when the Chinese were perceived to be making a fine profit for themselves and sending money home to China. Feeling threatened and uncomfortable by the seemingly increasing presence of New Zealand's Chinese population, the government of the day introduced immigration restriction measures. Restrictions were relaxed during World War Two only because it was considered the humane thing to do, given the political and social situation in China.

In the thesis, *The Chinese in Dunedin*, Niti Pawakapani makes a valid point concerning the study of images relating to a minority race, that it is important to beware of presumptions and an overly sympathetic attitude. If this caution is not observed conclusions may be too emotional and not strictly historical.¹ It is also important to remember that social prejudices and racial conflict are a fact of life for any minority living in a majority culture. Admittedly, it is also hard not to generalise in a study revolving around images and perceptions of one race by another race since perceptions are heavily dependant upon one's class and the nature of the contact, or lack of, that one had with the Chinese.

It is important to remember that perceptions of the Chinese in New Zealand revolved around male Chinese, since there were very few women in the country until 1951 and I did not come across any images in the media concerning Chinese women. Would such masculine

based perceptions have been vastly different had the male-female balance been more equal earlier on? Possibly so, since many of the prejudices and stereotypes that abounded during this time derived from European and Maori fears of immorality associated with Chinese males. The controversial issue of intermarriage would have been less so had more Chinese women immigrated to New Zealand at the same time.

The main primary sources I researched for this study were newspaper articles and political cartoons. The Truth (Truth) became my main primary source since it was the only newspaper which regularly featured articles about the Chinese, and was consequently a rich source of images. Truth has long been renown for being a tabloid newspaper, full of scandals that interest people at the time. Subsequently it reflected and encouraged those images which New Zealand society was primarily concerned with. I noticed a pattern emerge in Truth's treatment of the Chinese and from the 1930s to the 1940s. Roughly eighty percent of articles featuring Chinese focused upon the 'immorality' of the Chinese because of images relating them to opium smoking, consorting with white and Maori women, and to a small extent, sexual offences concerning young girls. These stories were highly publicised by Truth, and reading about white women who consorted with Chinese seemed to be a popular form of newspaper voyeurism during the 1930s.

The more enduring image was the frugal-yet-rich Chinese whose businesses, it was claimed, were unfairly competitive and deprived New Zealanders of employment opportunities. The
image of the addicted opium addict and the claim that Chinese worked too hard combined to form an impossible image of the Chinese who was hopelessly addicted to opium, but at the same time was able to work hard, and cheat New Zealanders out of business which was considered rightfully theirs!

Until the 1950s, when it was supplanted by The Listener, Truth was the most popular publication in New Zealand. The images it contained and communicated were shared by a significant section, albeit the conservative working class section, of New Zealand society. Provided that the biases and distortions of the articles are taken into account, Truth provided me with a valuable primary source.

The New Zealand media seemed to draw attention to crimes committed by its minority populations, particularly the Chinese during the 1930s. This resulted in a heightened awareness amongst New Zealanders of Chinese crimes, which led to the formation of popular images of the Chinese as immoral, despite common knowledge that Chinese had the lowest crime rate of all immigrants, and indeed Europeans. The Chinese were not the only ones targeted, as most immigrants to New Zealand received bad press, an indication that there is a long tradition in this country of associating immigrants with excessive criminality.²

Chapter One

"Excellent Tillers of Soil"

The history of the Chinese in New Zealand dates from 1865 when twelve Chinese gold-miners were invited to Otago by Dunedin businessmen. It was thought the introduction of Chinese gold-miners would lift Otago out of its economic slump, caused by people leaving to mine the West Coast goldfields. Ironically, the Chinese were selected due to the 'ideal' characteristics of their race and the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce described them as frugal, temperate, well behaved and "excellent tillers of soil" who would subsequently promote "a prosperity of the mercantile and trading classes".\(^1\)

From the beginning it seems that New Zealand could make use of the Chinese, but not the other way around, and initially the Chinese presence in New Zealand was based upon the premise 'what you can do for us' more than 'what we can do for you'. Once the Chinese were perceived to be gaining more from this relationship than they were giving, then they were perceived to be greedy, mean and unfairly competitive.

\(^2\) Ibid.
The type of men that came to New Zealand were usually young and physically fit. Most came from one of the nine counties in Guangdong province, which is situated close to Hong Kong, and wives and families usually remained in China. Much of the money earned on the goldfields was sent home to relatives, which led to complaints the Chinese were of no material benefit to New Zealand because they lived frugally and did not put as much into the economy as they took out. New Zealand proved to be a popular place and by the mid 1870s, four thousand Chinese had settled in Southland, the West coast, and Otago. Later on chain migration was established as members of the extended family joined relatives already in New Zealand.

Chinese gold-miners survived on little and frugal living was a common practise amongst Chinese businesses. It was assumed most Chinese must be doing extremely well, which aroused jealousy amongst New Zealanders who felt they were missing out. This jealousy manifested itself in the view that Chinese thrift was equivalent to stinginess and greediness. Contrary to popular belief the Chinese did splash out and treat themselves to special foods, and gambling and opium for recreational and relaxation purposes. In Chinese culture, special foods and opium were seen to be luxury items, and single men living on their own with the intention of returning home rich, had little need for luxury items.

Increasingly white New Zealanders became fearful of the Chinese presence in their country, and there followed a period of anti-Chinese agitation amid fears of the 'yellow peril'.

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Particularly during the nineteenth century, Chinese were perceived to be a bad influence on society because of their propensity for gambling and opium smoking. Concerns about the Chinese led to the formation of the Select Committee on Chinese Immigration in 1871, which demonstrated that these images of the early Chinese gold-miners were not related to reality. Instead the Report portrayed them in a very positive light, claiming they were industrious, frugal, moral, adaptable, and would inevitably return home. These 'positive' qualities could easily be turned around by those arguing against Chinese immigration, since industriousness led to unfair competition and inevitable repatriation meant they were slowly sucking the country dry! These reasons were used by the government to justify restricting Chinese immigration.4

Because the Chinese were racially and legally 'alien' to New Zealanders, they were viewed as outsiders, and the fact that they were temporary sojourners up until 1950 did little to discourage this view. The Chinese were considered to be less acceptable because, unlike Maori, they could easily be excluded due to their different language and country of origin.5 HDM Chan sees the Chinese as playing the role of an 'out group' through which an emerging New Zealand European society could define its identity. Thus, the Chinese were seen as an alien group which would be disloyal and present a challenge to this colonial identity. In comparison to the Europeans at this time, the Chinese were able to maintain their cultural distinctions and had a strong sense of social cohesiveness, which contrasted with European

5 A. Ballara, Proud to be White, Auckland: Heinemann, 1986, p.104.
divisiveness. In the 1890s this sense of Asian solidarity led to perceptions of the Chinese as keeping to themselves, resulting in unfair competition. This view of the Chinese as outsiders meant they were thought to be made of 'different stuff' than Pakeha.

The terms used to refer to Chinese, such as 'Chinaman', indicate the outsider image. although many did think it was the proper term of identification for people from China. They were also referred to as 'John', 'Johnney' or 'Charlie', possibly because many found Chinese names too difficult to pronounce or remember. During the 1930s they were mostly referred to as 'Orientals', 'Chinamen' and 'Celestials' by the media and the public. I only came across one instance in which they were referred to as 'John'. These terms were not used in an overly racist way, but probably in a defining way, since Chinese were still 'aliens' at this time. After 1940 'Chinese' was most often used, and occasionally after 1950 'New Zealand Chinese'. This indicates the changing image of Chinese in New Zealand society.

Negative images of the Chinese gave way to an anti-Chinese hysteria which reached its height during the years 1890-1920, even though the Chinese population was less than one per cent of the non-Maori population. Fears of an Asian invasion were embodied in the theory of 'the yellow peril' and the Government responded by limiting Chinese immigration.

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8 HDM Chan, "Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century...", p.30.
The beginning of New Zealand's white policy was heralded by the introduction of the first discriminatory legislation in 1881, due to Pakeha feeling threatened by the 5,000 strong Chinese community at the time. The 1881 Immigration Restriction Act meant Chinese immigrants faced a poll tax of ten pounds (which was later increased to one hundred pounds), and the number of Chinese allowed into the country was limited to one per ten tons of cargo. This increased to one per hundred tons, then finally one per two hundred tons.9

In 1888 the editor of the Otago Daily Times reiterated the argument which was continually to cause resentment against the Chinese until the 1940s. He stated they were basically hard to assimilate since they were merely "birds of passage" and not colonists.10 Their presence in New Zealand presented an economic challenge because they were frugal and sent most of their money home, and a lifestyle challenge since it was inconceivable that they should blend into a white dominated society.

The formation of anti-Chinese leagues in 1894 and 1895 was a response to the colony wide dispersal of Chinese, as they began to move from the Otago and West Coast gold fields northwards to urban areas. This also coincided with a similar shift by the European population, which felt threatened by Chinese competition in the towns. Consequently the platforms of the anti-Chinese leagues for the limiting of Chinese immigration were supported

9 D. & P. Beatson, Chinese New Zealanders, p.34.
10 H.D.M. Chan, "Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century ..," p. 31.
by trade and labour councils, and in 1896 another Asiatic Restriction Bill was passed by parliament.\textsuperscript{11} From 1874 until 1911, in an effort to keep an eye on the Chinese 'problem', they were given special treatment in census forms and were required to list their age, sex, housing situation and occupations.\textsuperscript{12}

Fears of the 'yellow peril' persisted into the twentieth century and an avid believer, Lionel Terry, shot dead an elderly Chinese in Wellington in 1905, in a effort to bring attention to the threat. However, Terry's behaviour was by no means an accurate reflection of how New Zealanders felt at the time, because he was later declared insane at his trial.

Advocates of the 'yellow peril' theory saw that a peaceful 'Mongolian' invasion would endanger Anglo-Saxon civilisation and way of life. Confrontation with an 'inferior' society, such as the Chinese, would lead to the destruction of the 'superior' one, and it was assumed that Maori society would suffer even more because it was already considered 'inferior'.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p.30.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p.31.
This cartoon "The Yellow Peril," typifies the image of the Chinese in the early twentieth century and shows an obviously Chinese male octopus emerging from a massive cave, and ensnaring a Maori woman standing on a comparably small piece of land representing New Zealand. The apparent immorality and threat posed by the Chinese is evident by the emergence of the octopus from the dark cave, from whence lowly, dangerous animals are supposed to derive.
This image portrays the fears of a small country being engulfed by the sheer size and population of a larger one, and of the 'immoral' Chinese corrupting society's women. Interestingly, the woman depicted is Maori, and intermarriage between Chinese and Maori was considered to be extremely detrimental to the Maori as a race. The whole cartoon depicts the perception of being overwhelmed by a totally different, fearsome culture and the vices associated with such a race are displayed on the arms of the octopus: 'opium traffic', 'greed', 'licentiousness', 'brutality' and 'evil habits'. This image offers a definition of what the yellow peril meant to early twentieth century New Zealanders, and depicts the terror of a small country being overwhelmed by a racially different one.¹⁴

By 1907 a reading test of a hundred English words and a poll tax was required before Chinese could immigrate to New Zealand, and Chinese already living in the country were excluded from the old age pension.

In 1914 scientific views concerning the 'dangers' of miscegenation were circulating and these convinced people that different races should not intermarry since the offspring would endanger and weaken society. It was assumed the offspring of mixed marriages would be inferior physically and mentally, therefore the 'strength' of the British race would be weakened.¹⁵

¹⁴ The Truth, 16 February, 1907. p.5.
¹⁵ A. Ballera, Proud to be White, p.107.
Following World War One there was a sudden influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants into New Zealand, from 1919 to 1926, which reversed the long term trend. Most of the new immigrants began to establish themselves in fruit shops and market gardening and laundry businesses, causing panic amongst some that the 'yellow peril' was well on its way. In 1920 another Restriction Act was passed and all non-British immigrants had to obtain a permit from the Minister of Customs, which meant that entry applications were to be granted at the discretion of the Immigration Minister. Loopholes in the previous legislation were now effectively closed, without the use of overt racial overtones which would have embarrassed the colonial office. Since it was administered by one person, the issue of Chinese immigration was removed from parliamentary debate and future amendments were accomplished by cabinet decision.\textsuperscript{16}

The passing of these immigration restriction acts meant some notable and well known politicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were anti-Chinese, or rather were supported restricting the numbers of Chinese. Sir George Grey, Richard John Seddon and William Pember Reeves obviously saw the 'yellow peril' as serious enough to warrant preventative legislation.\textsuperscript{17}

The onset of the Depression in 1930 generated anti-Chinese alliances between the Returned Services Association (RSA) and the Anti-Chinese League. Economic downturns often

\textsuperscript{16} C, Sedgewick, "The Organisational Dynamics of the New Zealand Chinese," \textit{Tauwhi}, p.52.

\textsuperscript{17} H.D.M. Chan, "Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth...", p.30.
provided 'valid' reasons for anti-Chinese feelings and the years of the 1880s, the 1890s, the 1930s and the 1940s all experienced increases in yellow peril fears.\(^{18}\)

By the late 1920s a number of Chinese had established market gardens in rural areas and many enlisted the employment of local Maori women. Increasing contact between the two races led to intermarriage and children, which caused alarm amongst Maori and Pakeha alike. The Chinese were said to be exploiting Maori women, which was seen as an insult to the Maori race, and miscegenation fears led to an alliance between the Anti-Chinese league, the National Women's Council and four Maori organisations\(^{19}\).

White men felt threatened by sexual competition from a race perceived to be racially inferior and Chinese men who consorted with white women were seen to be sexually immoral. The absence of women in the 25-55 age bracket increased and confirmed the sexual rivalry between the two races. There were also fears of a white slave trade, that an inferior race could possess a superior race's women. This image, in particular, shows the deep-seated anxieties of Europeans concerning miscegenation and the affect it would have on a pure white society.

Another common perception was that Chinese were filthy and riddled with disease. Disease was seen to be inherent in the Chinese themselves and in the nineteenth century Chinese

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p.33.

\(^{19}\) C. Sedgewick, "The Organisational Dynamics of the New Zealand Chinese," Tauiwi, p.52.
immigrants to Australia were blamed for spreading leprosy, smallpox and the bubonic plague.\textsuperscript{20}

Chinese were seen to be susceptible to hysterical outbursts and crazed and irrational anger was often associated with them. This could be because the Chinese language when spoken angrily sounds harsh and like 'gibberish', and Chinese gestures of anger were probably misunderstood by Pakeha to be evidence of hysteria. Perhaps this was one reason for labelling intellectually disadvantaged children with the term 'mongoloid'.\textsuperscript{21}

Perceptions of the Chinese were often linked to the image of China's vast size and population. Chinese society was generally perceived to be overpopulated and non-progressive, an ailing giant. The Chinese in China were often referred to as 'the teeming millions', and it was imagined they were a people subsisting in an over populated country and, given the opportunity, would spill out of China and take over the greener pastures of New Zealand. It was believed New Zealand had nothing to gain from China, therefore, New Zealanders had no obligations of friendship or respect. This did not change until World War Two.\textsuperscript{22}

These images of the Chinese were similar in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. New Zealand's restrictive immigration legislation followed similar legislation in the United States

\textsuperscript{20} L. Strahan, "The Luck of a Chinaman," p.64.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., p.67.
\textsuperscript{22} D. & P. Beatson, Chinese New Zealanders, p.37.
and Australia, and increased communication between countries meant a discourse on Chinese immigration could be carried out. Inevitably, a kind of group consensus emerged, by which other European settled countries held similar images of the Chinese.\textsuperscript{23}

In summary, the image of the Chinese by the late 1920s was negative, especially amongst groups that saw themselves competing with Chinese economically. Those concerned with the morality of Chinese-European or Chinese-Maori relationships saw the Chinese as a real threat to New Zealand society. New Zealanders whose only contact with Chinese was buying vegetables, or as neighbours, probably enjoyed friendly relations with Chinese, so long as they were seen to be keeping within their accepted economic and social spheres. The Chinese were respected as providers of essential services yet they were still turned upon when they were seen to step out of their allotted spheres. Images of the Chinese, according to Chan, were probably as much due to xenophobia as they were to racial prejudice.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{23} H.D.M. Chan, "Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth...," p.32.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p.34.
"Yes, you can't keep love out even for a Chinaman"\textsuperscript{1}.

During the 1930s the New Zealand media perceived the sexual liaisons of its Chinese population to be extremely newsworthy, and newspaper articles served to publicise and encourage existing stereotypes. Until 1940, articles in \textit{Truth} concerning minority races focused more on Chinese than Maori or Hindus.

Why were the Chinese so high up in the public's consciousness, especially during the mid to late 1930s? The Depression probably played a large part, since the media needed a scapegoat to focus public attention on. Chinese also suffered during the Depression, however, those that did not were perceived to be taking jobs and money away from New Zealanders who should get first priority. Another explanation, discussed in Chapter One, was the tendency of the media to focus upon the 'bad points' of a particular minority. It seemed to be the turn of the Chinese in the 1930s. During the 1950s such attention was focused upon Maori.

Was increased media attention to blame for the perpetuation of such images? This was probably the case, as the media is responsible for the spread of ideas, and increasing

\begin{small}
\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Truth}, 28 February, 1934, p.13.
\end{small}
attention focused upon a particular group would certainly have dispersed negative and positive images throughout New Zealand society.

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<tr>
<th>Sensational Police Allegations Regarding White Girls and Chinese</th>
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<tr>
<td>LAUNDRYMAN AND EUROPEAN WOMAN IN COURT</td>
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<td>“Wife” Acquitted: Associate and Others Heavily Fined</td>
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Actual headline from New Zealand Truth


<table>
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<th>WHITE WOMEN AND CHINESE</th>
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<td>Discovery At Hamilton</td>
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Actual headline from New Zealand Truth

*Truth. 27 October, 1937, p. 10.*

The majority of articles from 1930-1940 in *Truth* dealing with the non-Pakeha population highlight Chinese-European, and to a lesser extent Chinese-Maori, relationships. It was widely assumed that female contact with Chinese would lead to opium addiction and half-caste children, which were seen as contributing towards the
moral decay of society. There were twenty-eight 'scandalous' cases during this time ranging from white women consorting with Chinese, opium smoking, unfair competition and the sexual molestation of young girls.

Up until 1936 most articles focused upon Chinese immorality, with respect to their sexual behavior and opium smoking. There were only three articles relating to Chinese in Truth prior to 1935, one in 1930 and two in 1931, all concerning paternity suits or sexual molestation. 'Baby was like Ah Chuck', concerned a divorced white woman who alleged that Chinese market gardener Ah Chuck was the father of her baby. One journalist commented: "So unusual is it in this country for a Chinese to appear in an affiliation action of this nature that a good deal of interest was aroused in the back of the court."² Throughout this period all of these articles emphasised racial distinctions by referring to 'white women' and 'Chinamen', which was indicative of the lack of contact between the two races. The Judge remarked (in reply to the prosecution's evidence that the baby looked like the accused), that, "They are all alike...You can't tell one from another," which reveals a lack of understanding between the two races at the time.³

One story, which was a follow up on "..Truth's recent disclosures regarding the association of white girls with Chinese in Christchurch," told of Vera Veronica Mullins, aged twenty one, who was found trying to gain admission to a Chinese laundry in the early hours of the morning. Stories like this caused moral outrage, especially when the female in question was 'claimed' by a man of 'inferior' race. Truth noted with disdain the

² Ibid., 2 October, 1930. p.9.
³ Ibid.
Chinese occupier who shouted "That's my girl!" when the police arrested her. The image of the sexually depraved Chinese was reemphasised by the reporter who noted that the occupier had previously been convicted of "...a grave charge concerning a very young girl." As for Vera Mullins, her association with a Chinese was explained away by her immoral character, since she had invariably "...associated with persons of bad repute, thieves housebreakers and the like." She was found guilty of being idle and disorderly, and was sent to Mt Magdala, a correctional institution.⁴

In 1937, 'Discovery at Hamilton' told of two women found living in Chan Dow's laundry. Jean Sue Sun, aged twenty seven, and Joan Whitelaw, aged twenty three, were found guilty of being idle and disorderly without lawful means of support. Whitelaw was given two years probation and sent to the Auckland Salvation Army Home. It was noted that this type of situation was unusual: "..a rare one for Hamilton and [it] aroused considerable public interest." Jean Sue Sun was accused of influencing Joan "..to follow her mode of life" and the Judge concluded, "..the evidence shows you are in the habit of leading an immoral life." Jean's father attributed her marriage to a Chinese to the fact she had not had a proper start in life: "..her mother was dead and her upbringing was unsatisfactory." Jean was sentenced to two years detention at Point Halswell.⁵

Women who consorted with Chinese were deemed immoral by association and in most court cases where a white woman was involved, her morality was almost always put on trial. Such relationships with Chinese posed a threat to the stability of society and I came

⁴ Ibid., 14 March, 1934, p.11.
⁵ Ibid., 27 October, 1937, p.10.
across many examples of Pakeha women who were sent to corrective institutions under the charge of being 'idle and disorderly'. There was no law forbidding Chinese-European unions in New Zealand, however, society felt threatened by such liaisons and used the Idle and Disorderly Persons law to try and protect itself. Other countries did instigate laws prohibiting Chinese-European relationships, but New Zealand preferred to do so covertly.

Women were arrested and usually charged under the Idle and Disorderly Persons law under Section 50 (Arrest of persons without lawful means of support) of the Police Offenses Act of 1927. Section 50(1) meant a policeman had the right to arrest a person with or without a warrant if he "has reasonable cause to believe that any person has no lawful means of support or has insufficient lawful means of support." Section 50(2) meant if the woman could not prove that she had insufficient lawful means of support, she was then deemed to be idle and disorderly.

The application of this law seemed to be used for punishing women for consorting with Chinese, rather than for prosecuting women who had no lawful means of support. New Zealand society wanted its women kept clear of Chinese influences to avoid the consequences of miscegenation. Undoubtedly there were many instances of white women co-habitating with Pakeha men, who were not charged with being idle and disorderly. Living with a Chinese man was obviously not considered a legitimate means of support.

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possibly because it was assumed that a woman would have to be without any means of support to even consider it.

Section Forty Nine of the Police Offences Act concerning vagrants stated that every person was deemed an idle and disorderly person within the meaning of the Act, and was liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding three months:

a) who is the occupier of any house frequented by reputed thieves or persons who have no visible lawful means of support or

B) who is found in any such house in company with such reputed thieves or persons and does not give a good account of his lawful means of support or

D) Who habitually consorts with reputed thieves or prostitutes or persons who have no visible lawful means of support.7

The conviction of women as idle and disorderly under this Act subsequently meant that a Chinese man's support was considered 'unlawful', and that Chinese were considered to be on the same par as 'reputed thieves'.

Chinese-European relationships were mocked and portrayed negatively in the media, perhaps in an effort to show that such unions were socially unacceptable and could never work. Break-ups between Chinese and their white wives were popular stories and one

entitled 'Chinese and White Wife, Domestic Street Scene', triumphantly reported that the estranged wife of thirty nine year old Chinese gardener Hip Ying, ran safely back into the arms of a white man. Hip Ying's wife Patricia refused to live with him after they shifted to Wellington, and when he saw her in the street with another man, he assaulted her.

White women were considered too good for Chinese and it was assumed that Chinese men would naturally covet such prized possessions. Hip Ying's lawyer claimed in his defence that "Your worship can imagine the treasure the Chinaman saw in his white wife."8

'Chinese husband's suit for divorce against white wife' told of the case between Aucklander Hop Cheung Chan, who wanted to divorce his wife due to her involvement with another man. Chan's wife claimed he wanted possession of the children so they could be sent to China to be educated.9 In 1934 'Chinaman's young white wife tells court sensation' told of Elsie Sun, who wanted separation and maintenance from her husband on the grounds that he was addicted to opium. Joe Sun, a market gardener, denied the charge claiming he always got to work on time and was not in any trouble, financial or otherwise. It was noted that Joe was 'intelligent and one of the higher class of Chinese'. The perception of the Chinese as made of 'different stuff' in comparison to Europeans was commented on by the Judge who concluded that he "...didn't think that opium affected a Chinaman like a white man."10

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8 Truth, 21 October, 1936. p.10.
9 Ibid., 19 May, 1937 p.17.
10 Ibid., 28 March, 1934. p.11.
Headlines such as these were frequent during the 1930s and seemed to emphasise that marriage-wise, the two races were incompatible. In 1934 a Chinese man's love for his white girlfriend was ridiculed when it was reported that, when Louie Yen Foo went to visit his nineteen year old girlfriend, the girl's father assaulted him and rang the police. He was arrested and charged with being unlawfully on the premises and the father was charged with assault. Both charges were dismissed in court. The tone of the article was mocking and the journalist seemed surprised that Chinese reacted to love in the same way as Pakeha: "Yes, you can't keep love out even for a Chinaman....When love stirs the heart of a Chinaman it would seem that the resultant commotion is very similar to that which occurs in the breast of any young male afflicted with the same malady."

References to Louie as a 'Chinaman', and 'Oriental', indicate the perception of Chinese as outsiders, and resistance to the mixing of the two races is evident by the woman's father assaulting Louie. However, the story did end happily when the girl's mother gave her consent for the two of them to get married.11

Much surprise was shown when a woman chose a Chinese man over a white man and an article in 1934 noted that Lois Stella Alberta Larsen 'Preferred Chinaman', and subsequently divorced her husband to go and live with George Yee Ming in Newton, Wellington.12 Pakehas seemed puzzled over how an 'inferior' race could appeal to intelligent, attractive white women. Joe Sun was considered fortunate to have such a "..pretty young white wife.." who was "..well dressed, well spoken, and possessing a rather attractive face." Possibly because it seemed so implausible, it was decided such

women must be of poor morals, and Elsie Sun was questioned about her previous association with Chinese and the fact that she had been previously living with a Chinese man. The judge concluded that Elsie's marriage to a Chinese was "...simply a case of a woman with Chinese associations since her girlhood."\textsuperscript{13}

In 1936 two women were found living with Chinese and the nineteen year old woman was charged with being idle and disorderly. She was sent to a Salvation Army home and the twenty eight year old was charged with being a 'rogue and vagabond'. At the end of their trial both women asserted, to the apparent amusement of Truth, that "Chinamen are a damned sight better than the white man."\textsuperscript{14}

The image of the lascivious immoral Chinese was particularly apparent in stories concerning Chinese and young girls (see Appendix I). In February of 1931 Chang Jack Kow of Onehunga was accused of carnal knowledge of an under-aged girl because she claimed he was the father of her child. The tone of the article depicted the girl to be a pathetic figure under the influence of Chinese, and the huge bold headline 'White Girl and Chinaman' immediately drew one's attention to another juicy 'immoral Chinese' story. Cultural ignorance and racism were manifest in the judge's remarks that it was "...very hard with a child of that age to tell whether there is any Mongol strain...the child certainly seems to betray certain Mongol characteristics."\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 28 March, 1934. p.11.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 12 August, 1936. p.19.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 5 February, 1931. p.3.
There followed a spate of stories following this one involving Chinese and young girls. In actual fact few of these men were found guilty as charged, indicating there was a type of 'Chinese hysteria' prevalent at the time. In 1931 Fong Cheong, a twenty-eight year old grocer, was charged with carnal knowledge of a fourteen year old girl, and bold headlines declared 'Startling allegations of Clandestine Affair with Chinaman over Two Year Period'. Cheong denied all charges and was later acquitted. In June of the same year a fourteen year old Maori girl working on a Chinese-owned market garden in Palmerston North claimed she was pregnant to Sue Bing, a market gardener. Hing Lee, a fruiterer, was also charged with indecently assaulting a Maori girl aged fifteen. Both men denied the charges, but it was not reported whether they were found guilty or not. In Gisborne Ah Tai, another market gardener, was charged in the Gisborne magistrate's court with interfering with a ten year old girl. Ah Tai pleaded not guilty and his trial went to the supreme court. He was later acquitted, since it seemed he had only lifted up the girl to try to guess how much she weighed. It was reported that he had enjoyed a good reputation in the district for fourteen to fifteen years, and several Pakeha had testified to his good character. The girl's mother was probably aware of prevalent stereotypes of Chinese and thought the worst when she saw her daughter picked up by a Chinese man.

The reputation of the Chinese meant they were often used as scapegoats. In 1935 Truth gave details about a paternity suit concerning an eighteen year male and a sixteen year old female. The woman denied accusations that she knew Chinese, and had tried to
induce the man's eighteen year old sister to enter a taxi with a Chinese in the back. It is obvious that the defence tried to get off the charge by claiming the girl was of questionable morals, due to her 'Chinese associations'.

There were also reports alleging trafficking in white women by Chinese. An incident in Wanganui where two women, aged twenty five and twenty two respectively, were found living with two Chinese, led the detective in charge of the case to state he was satisfied it was a case of trafficking in women by Chinese. This was based on the fact that one of the men had paid the women's fare from Wellington to Wanganui!

One highly ambiguous story seemed to hint that a forty eight year old laundryman was using his premises as a brothel, since a number of women had been seen visiting his premises. One of these women was Yee Yuck's wife Gillian Ryan, aged thirty four, who was acquitted of an unstated charge. This was due to "...the dangerous situation Ryan must always be placed in through being in Yee Yuck's company as his wife and being known as such". The judge's statement seems officially to disapprove of Sino-European marriages due to the implication that being the wife of a Chinese represented personal and moral decadence for a white woman.

The mid 1930s saw a marked increase in stories about white women and Chinese. In 1936 South Dunedin police raided the premises of a young Chinese in Mafeking Place and discovered twenty seven year old Dorothy Howarth in the backyard, dressed in

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21 Ibid., 18 September, 1935. p.17.
22 Ibid., 21 November. 1934. p.10.
23 Ibid., 16 January. 1935. p.11.
night attire, intending to stay the night. Howarth was from Invercargill and had recently moved from Auckland to Dunedin. Chun Yeun, aged twenty eight, had been in New Zealand for fourteen years, and was charged with possession of opium and a shotgun, even though only a minute amount of opium was actually found. He denied the charge, claiming it was not his but an elderly Chinese man's. The judge summed up by stating: "When European women are found in Chinese quarters and opium is being smoked, it is a serious matter." Of course the women involved in such situations were of 'low moral standing' and the judge conceded, "...to give the Chinese his due...it was not a case of an oriental enticing a young woman." Howarth's defence claimed she was to be pitied and not blamed since "...the court was not a court of morals." The judge concluded: "A most unpleasant feature of the case is the finding of the woman on the premises, but the police state she is in no sense an innocent girl." Therefore Yeun was not entirely to blame! Yuen was subsequently fined thirty pounds and Howarth was probably charged with being idle and disorderly since it was noted: "She was not working and cannot account for her means." 

The reputation of the Chinese meant that women who associated with them were regarded as suspicious, and were often reported to the police by concerned members of the community. Mrs Daphne May McFaul, aged twenty three with one child, and Margret Patricia Browne, a twenty one year old waitress, were found 'consorting with Chinese' following complaints by neighbors. Mcfauull said she visited only one Chinese and looked after him in return for four to five pounds a week. Browne was living with

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24 Ibid., 5 August, 1936, p.20.
Alec Young and also received enough money from him to live on. Their association with Chinese was described as "...sordid, but it was tragic too." It was claimed the two women came to Wellington and instead of working they "..existed on the proceeds of immorality." Whether this meant they were prostitutes or just lived with Chinese, is unclear. The two terms might have meant the same thing. The two were regularly seen about the streets, particularly Taranaki Street which was part of the Chinese quarter, and were associates of a Jean Williams "..who was well known as consorting with Chinese." The judge noted that although the two women found consorting with Chinese were "..both attractive looking.." they had to be "..kept away from the public as long as they can be ...It is in the interests of humanity." McFaul and Browne were found guilty of being idle and disorderly because despite the fact they were being supported by their Chinese partners, this was deemed to be an 'unlawful' means of support. They were faced with the option of the maximum term of imprisonment or six months at the Salvation Army house.25

In August an article entitled 'Two White Girls Dealt With' told of two women charged with being idle and disorderly. They were arrested following neighborhood complaints that they were associating with Chinese. One of the girls, Osbourne who was aged eighteen at the time and from Wellington, was declared a "woman of ill repute because of her associations with Chinese in Wellington." Apparently she had been consorting with Chinese ever since she had arrived in Palmerston North.26 On the same date a twenty one year old woman who had met a Chinese man six months previously, and gone

to live with him, was charged with being idle and disorderly. Her life was deemed "a sad story of association with Chinese..." and she was found guilty and sent to a Salvation Army house. An eighteen year old woman also charged with being idle and disorderly, was apparently consorting with a Chinese man in Wellington, as well as elsewhere. She was told by the magistrate: "We can't allow you to go running about with Chinamen; you will be committed to Wellington Borstal Institution."

Phyllis Mary Haymer, aged twenty, who was one quarter Chinese, was discovered living with a Chinese man in Palmerston North. She was acting as the man's housekeeper and the possibility of marriage had been suggested. As in most other cases concerning women who 'consorted' with Chinese men, it was alleged that she had been previously involved in 'misconduct' with other Chinese. This story is particularly significant because for the first time the morality and legality of punishing a woman for associating with Chinese was questioned. The defence asked whether the woman's punishment was for sin, or the fact that the man she was living with was of 'oriental' blood. The defence stated that the case probably would not have been brought before the court had the girl been found living with a white man. Phyllis Haymer was found guilty as charged and sent to Point Halswell for twelve months reformative detention.

A previously mentioned case in 1936 also challenged the existing social and moral norms of whether it was legally right to punish a woman living with a Chinese. The defence stated that it "could not be unlawful for a white woman to consort with a Chinese."
Despite there being some recognition of the injustices being done against these Chinese men and white women, nothing could be done short of changing society's images of the Chinese. It seems evident that the negative images of Chinese detrimentally affected the images and lives of the women who associated with them.

During the 1920s a large number of Chinese established market gardens in rural areas in the North Island, which provided employment opportunities for local Maori. Closer contact between the two races inevitably led to intermarriage and in 1929 miscegenation between Maori and Chinese was condemned and considered to be 'highly undesirable'. Many prominent Maori leaders, like the then Minister of Native Affairs Sir Apirana Ngata, went along with supporting this seemingly 'white New Zealand' policy. In a debate concerning the development of Maori land for Maori settlement, Ngata reiterated white fears of mixing blood with an 'inferior' race: "We do not want Maori slaves wandering about New Zealand mating with Chinese and Hindus - people who are all right in their own country but, in white New Zealand...are undesirable." In 1929 Ngata instructed a committee to inquire into the welfare of Maori employed on Chinese and Hindu market gardens. The numbers of Maori employed, working conditions, and how many Maori women were living with Chinese or Hindu men were investigated with the aim being to conclude whether it was in the interests of public morality for Maori women to be employed under such circumstances. The committee found that such associations were not in the interests of public morality, due to the general view that the offspring of lower races would create social problems. The report stated:

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31 A. Ballara, Proud to be White, p.110.
32 Ibid., p.107.
Intermingling of lower types of the races - ie Maori, Chinese, Hindus - will...have an effect that must eventually cause deterioration not only in the family and national life of the Maori race, but also in the national life of this country, by the introduction of a hybrid race, the successful absorption of which is problematical.33

Chinese-Maori relationships seemed to be treated differently by the media and the courts than were Pakeha-Chinese ones. In the case of a Maori girl's paternity suit against a Chinese in 1936, attitudes towards the girl's morality were less judgmental compared with those directed towards Pakeha women. 'Remarkable allegations about association of several Maori girls with Chinese and White men' told about a young Maori woman, Polly Paekau of Raglan, who alleged that Joe Young, a Chinese market gardener from Hamilton, was the father of her baby. Paekau stated she was in love with Young, but feared that her refusal to have an abortion would make him angry towards her. Paekau's morality was brought into question but not to the same extent as in previously reported cases involving Pakeha women. She was not sent to Borstal, her appearance was not remarked upon, and they did not attribute her association with Chinese as predictable because of an early association with them.34

33 Ibid., p.108.
34 Truth, 15 April, 1936. p.17.
In 1938 Maori and Pakeha alike grew alarmed at what they perceived to be the potential downfall of the Maori race through intermarriage and subjection to Chinese. The same type of 'hysteria' which arose in 1929 was occurring again. A boldly headlined article, 'Maori Women Associating with Asiatics Social Problem Now Grave', declared it scandalous that the recommendations of Ngata's commission had not been enforced. It claimed those who were interested in the welfare of Maori were extremely concerned about the circumstances which caused 'native women' to associate with Chinese. One of the circumstances which caused the problem was thought to be the landlessness of dispossessed tribes, which forced Maori women to find shelter and employment outside their traditional communities. It was also claimed that the Labour Department had promised to provide a regulation which would help remedy the situation, a promise which was not kept.35

The perception was that impoverished and 'naive' Maori women were forced or induced to associate and work for Asians on market gardens. It was assumed that since it was not possible for Maori, as with Pakeha women, to be attracted to Chinese out of their own free will, some other external element must be responsible. Truth now urged a review of the situation in view of the fact nothing had been done. Andrew Ngawaka, a prominent North Island chief stated, "I have noticed that many of them - women - are living and commingling with Hindus and Chinese, and I have felt almost ashamed to acknowledge myself a Maori." Ngawaka belonged to the Akarana Association which claimed that the eighty percent increase of aliens over a period of five years was due to intermarriage. It

35 Ibid., 27 April, 1938. p.17.
was stated that although Chinese-European liaisons were actively abhorred and untolerated, Maori-Chinese relationships were overlooked, and Truth concluded: "...the increase of alien blood in New Zealand must be checked."

A week after this story an article entitled 'Revelations about the social menace of Maori-Chinese children' (see Appendix II) detailed concerns about the deterioration of the Maori race due to the supposed increase in the number of half-castes: "...a mongrel race of half Chinese and half Maori is springing up in New Zealand...if it increases in this manner there is no knowing what will be the end." The Secretary of the Akarana Maori Association, George Graham, was interviewed on his reaction to the previous article and stated, "There are at least eighty or ninety alliances existing today between Maori and Chinese in the Auckland district."

The tone of this article was extremely patronising towards Maori women and gave the impression that, whereas Pakeha women consorted with Chinese because they were immoral, Maori women did so because they were naive and stupid. A tale was then told of one such unfortunate woman: "She had come from a peaceful North Auckland Pah, attracted by the glamour of the city of Auckland...There she had fallen in with some Chinese elements of the city." Upon the death of this particular woman her whanau, "Their warm, sympathetic Maori hearts, wishing her a burial, sent relatives to attend to the last rites, so sacred to their race." Unfortunately the 'Chinese fiend' she was involved with refused to pay for such a funeral. George Graham claimed this was but one of many

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36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 4 May, 1938, p.12.
such pathetic stories.\textsuperscript{38}

One of the problems with Maori-Chinese intermarriage, it was claimed, was that the off-spring were largely ignored by both races. Even more crucial was the realisation that the Maori population rate was increasing which led many to fear that miscegenation would adversely affect an already weak and inferior race: ".if it increases in this manner there is no knowing what will be the end."\textsuperscript{39} Such relationships were also considered an affront to the mana of the Maori race and Graham stated that "These unthinking girls, under the influence of unscrupulous Chinese, are ruining the good name of the great majority of their fellow women."\textsuperscript{40} Concern was also focused upon Chinese exploitation of Maori women and the article claimed that women had to bid against each other for jobs, which meant Chinese got the cheapest bidder to work for them. Additionally, it was claimed these women were being forced to do men's work and that Chinese were canvassing pa looking for cheap labour. A representative for the White New Zealand League interviewed for this article called for government action to stop "This yellow peril in our midst."\textsuperscript{41}

These articles provoked an intense response from readers and one from Dunedin saw it necessary for government action to protect ".weak and foolish Maori and European girls alike.." from the Chinese. Images of a Chinese ability to 'bring down' European culture through supposedly immoral activities are inherent in this reader's comments: "Foreigners

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 4 May, 1938. p.12.
have decidedly inferior standards...Their conduct affects our own social behaviour."
He/she went on to praise Truth for its good work in bringing attention to the degradation of ",..our poor Maori women.." by 'Asiatics'. He/She accused the government of being more concerned about Samoan women and Chinese men, than European and Maori womanhood.42

'Shanghai' from Auckland, in defence of the Chinese, noted that "The Chinese have come in for a great deal of criticism lately, regarding their association with Maori women, and there has been an outcry about alleged contamination of the Maori race..." He/She considered it natural that Maori should associate with Chinese due to their natural affinity with each other, on the basis that they shared a similar skin colour: "They are a similar sort of colour, and the Celestial is more likely to find an affinity with a Maori than with a white person." The reader also showed concern about the negative images of the Chinese among Pakeha: "I fail to see why Europeans should look down so much on the Chinese; but then, Europeans have always shown themselves lamentably lacking in any ability to understand the standards of other races."43 Patriotic' from Christchurch objected to the above letter for "...sticking up for the Chinese.." and retorted that "..if he likes the Chinese so much he should keep on a rice diet." He admitted that some Chinese were excellent citizens but concluded that most were of the 'coolie' class and that a British country should not let its women be degraded and contaminated by Asiatics. It was argued that Asiatics were contaminating New Zealand womanhood and weak women should be protected: "...racial pride is at a low level since we have tolerated an

42 Ibid., 11 May, 1938, p.9.
43 Ibid., 18 April, 1938, p.13.
Asiatic stain in our race."44 'Aotearoa' from New Plymouth reiterated Maori and Pakeha fears by stating the seriousness of the problem would probably mean the Maori race would die out. The writer of this letter was probably Maori since s/he claimed that the law protected Pakeha but not Maori women, and that Maori Members of Parliament should pass laws protecting such women: "We want to keep the country New Zealand, not Shanghai".45

From the 1940s onwards the debate about Maori women and Chinese men died down and curiosity about Chinese and white women also subsided, especially during the 1950s. This was probably because by the mid 1940s media hysteria on the topic had died down and without the media enciting debates on the issue, the Chinese managed to keep a low profile. This was also probably due to the fact that the numbers of Chinese women in New Zealand were slowly increasing, so that Chinese men were no longer perceived as posing a threat towards the morality of white women. It could be concluded that negative images of Chinese in this respect were changing in that they were fading into obscurity.

Was there any truth to fears of an increase in Maori-Chinese offspring, or were such fears due to the misinterpretation of statistics? The Chinese as a race had a low rate of intermarriage, probably due to their own prejudices and reluctance to intermarry. Prior to there being a substantial female Chinese population in New Zealand, Chinese were more

44 Ibid., 25 May, 1938. p.11.
likely to start families with Pakeha, and indeed Maori women. No doubt they would have preferred, or felt obliged, to choose Chinese spouses if they had the option.

Table 1  Number of Chinese Women Per Hundred Chinese Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Chinese women per Hundred Chinese men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source 1961 Census, p.3.

Consequently during the 1950s, as the table shows, the unequal numbers of males and females began to balance out. This resulted in fewer Chinese men marrying outside their race and consequently the rate of miscegenation began to decrease as the next table and graph show:
Table 2  Number of Full Blood and Mixed Blood Chinese 1926-1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Chinese Fullbloods</th>
<th>Total Chinese Maori MB</th>
<th>Total Chinese/Pakeha MB</th>
<th>% of Total Chinese/ Pakeha MB to FB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3086</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>2580</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>4373</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>4832</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>6167</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>4465</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1926-1961 Census

The rate of Chinese-Pakeha miscegenation decreased from twelve percent in 1936 to eight percent in 1945, and stayed static until 1961.46

When one compares the total mixed bloods to total full blooded Chinese, the percentage decreases during the 1950s and early 1960s.

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46 Only the percentages for the Pakeha-Chinese mixed blood population have been worked out, due to the fluctuation of Maori-Chinese mixed blood statistics.
One problem with the statistics on mixed bloods in New Zealand was the definition of a mixed blood, which changed during the 1950s census.
In 1951 one can see a significant increase in the numbers of Chinese-Maori mixed bloods because prior to 1945 descendants of unions between Maori and Chinese, whatever the degree, were classed with Maori and not Chinese. This explains the low number of Maori-Chinese in 1936, because a Maori was defined as a person with half or more Maori blood.\footnote{New Zealand Census, 1951. p.8.} The 1945 Census noted that in 1916 and 1921 only half castes were distinguished but from 1926 onwards 'mixed blood' also included quarter and three quarter castes.

Significantly in the 1956 Census, Maori-Chinese mixed bloods with half or more Maori blood were defined as Maori again which accounts for the sudden decrease in the mixed
blood population for this year. The 1945 Census mentions that the number of mixed blood Chinese is probably understated.

Opium smoking has long been a part of Chinese culture and was used by the Chinese as a form of fun and relaxation. White New Zealanders viewed opium to be a dangerous immoral drug and grew alarmed when Chinese moved from the goldfields to urban areas. This put society into closer contact with opium. The association of Chinese with opium smoking, and Pakeha fears of it corrupting society, added to the negative image of Chinese.

The smoking of opium was illegal in New Zealand which meant Chinese broke the law in pursuit of their habit. Opium offences accounted for most of the crimes Chinese were convicted of and the Police Gazette lists the names of hundreds of Chinese. Chinese gambling and chance games were also made illegal under the 1908 Gambling Act: The Chinese games known as fantan, pakapoo, or any similar game are hereby declared to be games of chance. 48

Under the 1901 Opium Act Chinese could be photographed, fingerprinted and searched without a warrant by the police. The 1908 Opium Act identified Chinese as the main perpetrators of the crime of opium smoking and subsection 2(B) stated: "It shall not be lawful for any person to sell to any person of the Chinese race any preparation of opium which may be made suitable for smoking, except on the order in writing of a medical

practitioner.." Chinese were also banned from obtaining permits for the importation of opium into New Zealand under Section Three. The rule which was most discriminatory towards Chinese was Section Seven (3), adopted from British law, which stated that if a police constable suspected opium abuse on Chinese premises, he did not need a search warrant to enter and search the house, and seize and carry away any opium or appliances: "Provided that a search warrant shall not be required in the case of an entry on premises occupied by Chinese." It was seen to be absolutely necessary to curb opium smoking by discriminating directly against the Chinese in legislation.  

In 1927 the Opium Act was consolidated under the Dangerous Drugs Act and police constables were still able to search Chinese premises without a warrant. All other clauses which referred to the Chinese were amended.

There was some argument in parliament about the discriminatory nature of this Act. Mr Sullivan, MP for Avon, questioned the extensive powers given to the police on the basis that it was "a limitation of the liberty and freedom of the people". He queried whether it was necessary in New Zealand to grant such extended powers on the grounds of a supposed drug menace. Mr Bartram, MP for Greymouth, agreed and pointed out that "the basis of suspicion is to be a matter of nationality" and he suggested that the word 'Chinese' be left out of the Bill: "...it seems to me that if a man is Chinese he is immediately suspected of being illegally in possession of opium. That is a very bad principle to introduce into our legislation." Mr Downie Stewart suggested that Section

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49 Consolidated New Zealand Statutes. vol 4, m-p, 1908.
51 Ibid., p.640, Col.1.
11 arose from the "enormous difficulty of catching Chinese opium smokers, owing to the
very careful system they adopt for forestalling a raid."\(^{52}\)

Mr Young dismissed the suggestion that "occupied by Chinese and" be struck out of the
Bill on the basis that opium smoking was an inherent feature of the Chinese community,
and since it had been the law for many years, what need was there to change it:

We in New Zealand have learnt from experience of the subtle
nature of the particular nationality concerned. The fact of opium
smoking being a vice largely peculiar to that race is the reason for
the proviso. In introducing legislation one does not like to
differentiate between races, but it has been the law of this country
for many years...I see no good reason for altering it at the
moment.\(^{53}\)

The law discriminated against Chinese in New Zealand until 1965 when it was amended
under the 1965 Narcotics Act. Parliamentary debate on the issue was minimal and only
noted that the clause permitting searches of Chinese premises was taken out.

During the 1930s raids on Chinese quarters were frequently recorded in the newspapers.
The law made it easier for police to check Chinese premises for white women, under the
pretence of searching for opium.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., p.642. Col.2.
\(^{53}\) Ibid., p.645. Col.1.
There were few stories solely about Chinese and opium crimes until the late 1930s, since most were angled towards the dangers Chinese and opium posed to Pakeha women. One typical article 'Sinister traffic to New Zealand' outlined the dangers of opium, not to the health of the Chinese, but to the morality of women. It claimed Pakeha women associating with Chinese were becoming opium addicts and dragging their friends down with them, which in turn could lead to the moral and social decline of white society. It stated that opium was entering New Zealand through a multitude of channels, and was 'rife' within the Chinese community. Police raids were now so monotonous "..they don't even make news and contribute little to the eradication of the habit." Only the suppression of smuggling, it was concluded, could save society. Obviously Chinese were seen to have an extremely high tolerance to the drug because it was claimed that "..a seasoned Chinese can smoke as much as would bowl over ten laborers."54

Society in general believed opium smoking led to the neglect of businesses and physical and material ruin, and it seems ironic that Chinese were perceived as drug abusers were also believed to work so hard that they were unfairly competitive. Obviously the effects of opium were not debilitating provided one was not totally addicted, since it is obvious that the New Zealand Chinese were hard workers and committed few crimes.

During my research spanning thirty years of Truth I read of only one complaint from a Chinese regarding the way they were treated in the media and the legal system. This was

probably due to the fact few Chinese read Truth anyway, since it mostly catered towards white, working class New Zealanders. A letter to the editor in July of 1935, entitled 'Persecution of Chinese,' was from an Auckland Chinese who complained about unfair treatment of the Chinese:

In New Zealand today there is the anomaly of Europeans flouting the gaming and licensing laws of the country, while Chinese, playing Pakapoo and smoking opium, are hounded down and pursued with an unrelenting vigor that for the peace of public mind could be better applied in the pursuit of the dangerous criminals....

He stated that police energy would be better directed towards dangerous criminals and, referring to popular perceptions of opium, pointed out that "The relaxation they indulge in may appear vicious, but it is no more so than the after hours drinking and gambling evils which flourish almost openly amongst Europeans." He concluded that Chinese were hardworking, with their own community life, and asked "...why don't the police give them a rest." Perhaps the negative perception of opium in New Zealand society was just another cultural misunderstanding.

From 1940 to 1950 the media continued to comment about the Chinese and opium, but not nearly as much and I only found two mentions of police opium raids, one in

\[56\] Ibid.
Christchurch and another in Auckland. In Christchurch, Sung Lee Wai Song, a market gardener, was charged with possession of opium, however, he claimed it was only used for medicinal purposes.\textsuperscript{57} In the Auckland raid, Kwong Tong, a fifty five year old market gardener, was fined for the preparation of opium. His friend, Gin Sow, a forty five year old laundryman, was found guilty of stealing money from Kwong Tong because he was supposed to use the money to bribe the police!\textsuperscript{58}

The number of arrests and raids reported in Truth during the period 1950-1955 was only four. An article proclaiming 'Opium Den Raided' in 1950 told of a dwelling in Wellington's Haining Street, the infamous Chinese quarter, which had been raided by police after they smelt opium wafting through the air. Seven Chinese were arrested and charged with being unlawfully on the premises for the purpose of smoking opium.\textsuperscript{59} In 1954, Way Yem, a fifty two year old Auckland market gardener, was convicted of letting his premises be used for the smoking of opium. It was noted at this time that ",there doesn't appear to be as much opium addiction as there used to be."\textsuperscript{60} In 1956 a fifty five year old Christchurch market gardener was convicted of opium possession. Apparently the man was a forty year addict and it was reported that he could not keep on giving evidence until he had a smoke and ",the jabbering of Chinese," plus the opium evidence gave the Christchurch court the appearance of an opium den."\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 26 December, 1945. p.4.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 18 December, 1946. p.6.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 26 April, 1950. p.18.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 20 February, 1954. p.12.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 22 May, 1956. p.20.
Most of the Chinese found possessing opium were usually in their forties and fifties and as their generation grew older the reported incidence of arrests seemed to decline. By the mid 1950s there were increasing numbers of younger Chinese in New Zealand. This led to better European-Chinese relations as younger Chinese began to learn English and were assimilated into New Zealand lifestyle. Consequently the number of elderly opium smoking Chinese started to decline as the next generation failed to continue the custom.

Apart from opium and sexual abuse, Truth reported few serious crimes committed by Chinese because they were generally law abiding. Certainly, if a serious crime had been committed it would have made headlines. As it was, all the media had to feed upon was opium, women and unfair competition themes. Considering the already precarious position of their image in New Zealand society, it was fortunate the Chinese committed few serious crimes. The only 'non miscellaneous' crime reported in Truth during the 1930s concerned Arthur Wong of Christchurch, who was charged with obtaining money under false pretexts.62 One reader from Petone did complain about the Chinese quarters in Wellington as consisting of "..brothels of vice and corruption and breeding ground for potential criminals."63

From 1953 onwards crimes committed by the Chinese, mostly opium offences, no longer made headlines and were modestly listed under 'Court Brevities' ( see Appendix III ) . The 'Court Brevities' covered court news in only a few brief sentences, compared to the full length stories which used to appear in Truth during the 1930s. Examples of these

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63 Ibid., 24 November, 1937. p.11.
cases included the following. In 1955 a Chinese fruiterer in Balclutha was charged with possession of indecent documents which showed photos of European women and Chinese men in "..perverted sexual orgies.."64 Yook Lim Wong of Blenheim was found guilty of selling contraceptives to boys under sixteen and his business partner, Low Tew, had previously been convicted of the same offence.65 In Hamilton, Yip Chong Ching, market gardener, was convicted of sending in false income tax returns.66

One positive image of the Chinese, ironically enough given the nature of the media's Chinese stories, was their reputation as law abiding citizens. In fact, having the lowest crime rate of any other minority race in New Zealand made them the 'ideal' immigrant. In 1935 an argument about money between two Chinese men who lived together in a whare at Manukau, Wun Sik Yung and Sue Mee, turned nasty when Yung hit Mee over the head. Mee was taken to hospital and Yung was charged with assault. Supreme Magistrate Mr Salmon concluded that he ".. did not think he (Yung) intended to hurt Mee very much, because as a race Chinese were law abiding people." Yung was convicted and ordered to pay Mee's medical expenses.67 In another case Justice Hay, who sentenced Chong Ge Lay, a fifty year old market gardener, for breaking and entering admonished him by stating "Your race has an enviable record in the history of this country for keeping free from crime. It is sad to see a member of your race before the court, and on such a serious crime."68 This was the only serious crime involving a Chinese that I came across in Truth.

68 Ibid., 26 April, 1950. p.5.
The conviction of Young Soon, a fifty-one year old market gardener from Levin, for indecent exposure also elicited the same response, this time from a policeman: "It was unusual for a Chinese to be charged with such an offence. They were usually law abiding citizens." Whenever a Chinese did step out of line it was certain to be reported by the media and one story entitled 'Behaviour of Chinese' concerned Louie Hong Song of Dunedin, who was convicted of offensive behaviour and fined three pounds for bothering a woman in the Octagon.

There were few reports of racially motivated violence against Chinese throughout this period which indicates that, overall, relationships between Chinese and Pakeha were not particularly strained. Of course, many incidents were probably not reported due to Chinese reluctance to 'rock the boat' and draw attention to themselves. During the 1930s I did come across two reported assaults. In 1936 Harry Fung Lum, aged thirty three, was found unconscious lying on a pavement in Auckland with serious head injuries. In 1938, 'Chinaman chased by man on crutches' told of two laborers who were charged with assaulting two Chinese in Wellington.

Things did seem to differ depending on where one lived however, and an elderly Chinese man Mr I, stated that racial incidents around Dunedin were not very violent, and mainly consisted of fruit shops being disturbed. This compared with a greater incidence of

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70 Ibid., 28 February, 1951, p.18.
71 Ibid., 30 December, 1936, p.7.
72 Ibid., 30 November, 1938, p.12.
violence in Wellington.  

When it came to pure justice Pakeha did not carry negative images of Chinese over from the public sphere into the courtroom. In 1936 a seventy five year old Chinese was knocked down by a car. The driver took the man to Otaki, left him there mortally wounded, and he eventually died. The judge questioned the man: "If it had been a white man would you have treated him the same?" The judge was obviously concerned about possible racist overtones. Concluding the case he stated, "I find it hard to credit that a Britisher should behave in such a heartless manner towards a foreigner, who was injured to the point of death."  

A few nasty incidents occurred during the 1950s. In September of 1950 a twenty-one year old man, Kenneth Charles Buckley, was convicted of assaulting a fifty-three year old Chinese, Joe Ting. According to Buckley, he was at a party in the apartment block where Ting lived when the landlady commented that she wanted Ting out of her building. He then went downstairs to Ting's apartment to beat him up. Racial assaults were by no means condoned by the courts and Judge McLachlan commented that it was "A dastardly assault on an old Chinese of 53...a very miserable performance."  

In Wellington, despite assaulting Chinese fruit shop attendant William Wong twice and breaking his glasses, ship's cook Rex Grey was found not guilty of assault. Grey alleged that when his sister returned a can of peas that she had been overcharged for, Wong  

73 N. Pawakapani, *The Chinese In Dunedin*, p.84.  
75 Ibid., 4 September, 1950, p.17.
called her an offensive name. Thinking Wong was about to hit her, he got in first. In the process of leaving the shop Grey pulled down a shelf of fruit. Wong admitted overcharging the woman and selling goods without a price order, but denied calling her an offensive name. The judge dismissed the charge of assault against Grey and added that Wong's regular overcharging of customers more than made up for the loss of his glasses. He intimated that he realised Grey and his friends were looking for a fight with Wong, but let them go with the justification that Wong was not using a price order.76

In April of 1953 an elderly Chinese man, Ching Dat Ching aged eighty four, was found face down in a pool of blood in Hobson Street, Auckland under suspicious circumstances. His nephew claimed he was robbed and murdered, but the coroner declared that he had simply fallen and knocked his head.77

A common image of the Chinese dating back to their early emigration to the goldfields of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, was the perception that they were filthy and riddled with disease, and were subsequently the ones responsible for outbreaks of smallpox and leprosy. Again, such images were probably due to the perception that Asians were uncivilized and consequently cared little about hygiene. Things had changed in twentieth century New Zealand, however, the image of the Chinese as possible disease carriers was still present to a certain extent.

76 Ibid. 22 August, 1951. p.7.
77 Ibid. 29 April, 1953. p.13.
An article in 1938 entitled 'Clean up auction markets' in Dunedin sprang from fears of an elderly Chinese man, supposedly suffering from leprosy (it was actually eczema), who was seen handling fruit at the markets. Truth claimed the man's eczema was contagious. The man was prohibited from attending the market but still went anyway. The system of openly displaying fruit and vegetables was criticised as unhygienic because Chinese, it was claimed, would, "..cluster round cases, maul fruit and spit on the floor." Asians were seen to have no sense of hygiene: "Unfortunately some of the Europeans are not on over-friendly terms with water, but the Orientals are the greatest offenders," and it was asserted that,

In the auction marts of the various centres, where there gather Hindus and Chinese, whose conception of personal cleanliness may not be exactly that of the European, it is absolutely essential that most hygienic conditions should prevail.78

Unfair competition was also alleged: "As it is at the moment, Celestials in the trade monopolise the business, ousting everyone else. Europeans, unless they are aggressive, get the earnings." 79

I did not find much evidence of the 'mad Chinaman' image, which associated Chinese with crazed and irrational anger, except in one article about a Chinese man who almost choked a policeman in Onehunga. The policeman was trying to stop him beating up his

78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., 2 March, 1938. p.16.
wife. The story was headlined, 'Excited Chinese Choker' and was written in a disturbingly amusing style given the fact the Chinese was trying to beat up his wife.\footnote{Ibid., 4 November, 1953. p.13.}

By 1930 the octopus image depicted by 'The Yellow Peril' cartoon still persisted. A cartoon entitled 'The Awakening' in The Observer depicts a sneering caricature of a Chinese with his multiple arms squeezing to death men representing various businesses (see Appendix III). The usual occupations seen to be under threat such as fruit shops, market gardening and laundries are listed, and lesser known areas of competition such as furniture, auctioneering and merchandise are also included. A 'New Zealand Citizen' sitting on a carpet of 'unemployment' is depicted staring in despair at the Chinese octopus, which is killing and holding his employment prospects out of reach. The yellow peril was now defined in terms of economic competition, which was seen to be depriving New Zealanders of employment. No doubt the increasing concern over unemployment was a result of the world wide depression, and the Chinese who were imagined to be doing very well for themselves, became scapegoats.

The Chinese were a hardworking people which led many white New Zealanders to begrudge such formidable competition. Whether the Chinese did constitute formidable competition is debatable, but the pervasive image was that they were hard working to the point of unfairness, and unfairly wealthy because they were greedy and frugal. Many newspaper articles attacked the way in which Chinese businesses were run; either the owners were accused of working too hard and being too frugal, or the hygiene of the
shop was questioned. The main problem seemed to be the perception that Chinese were
benefiting from taking money from New Zealanders and giving little back in return. This
was especially so prior to the outbreak of World War Two, when many Chinese intended
to return to China.

In 1937 two men invited Truth to inspect an Asian fruiterer's shop because it had been
reported that Asians were storing fruit in unhealthy conditions, and were "...forcing white
men out of the business through unfair competition." This was considered a scandal due
to the high levels of unemployment at the time, and supposedly white men were forced
into unemployment because "Asians live at a standard and on food which would soon
starve a European out of business." There had already been an outcry prior to this story
however Truth noted "...it would seem that conditions have improved. According to
prominent white fruiterers, this is not the case." Front window displays of vegetables
were again condemned as unhygienic because "The placid oriental invariably picked them
up and set them back on the shelf contaminated by the filth of the streets." 81

One story entitled 'onion supplies' claimed that white fruiterers were being denied
adequate supplies during the onion shortage, whereas Auckland Chinese fruiterers were
unfairly receiving more than their share. During the 1930s the Chinese were not yet
regarded as New Zealanders since legally they were still 'aliens' and could not be
naturalised. This seems to have manifested itself in the view that because they were not
ture New Zealanders, they should not get more than their fair share. 82 The Chinese were

81 Ibid., 3 November, 1937. p.18.
82 Ibid., 13 December, 1939. p.11.
also seen to be quite sly and a letter entitled 'Chinese tricks' from 'fair deal' of Wellington complained of a Chinese fruit shop supposedly duping its customers.\textsuperscript{83}

The Chinese were seen to live frugally mostly because few had wives and children in New Zealand to provide for, and they preferred to employ relatives. One article quoted G T Parvin of the Pukekohe White New Zealand League, whose remarks summed up prevalent attitudes:

These Chinese can live on a few pence a week, so how can we, with wives and children and a decent standard of living, hope to compete with them in the particular callings they have monopolised in many parts of New Zealand? \textsuperscript{84}

Such attitudes were not a significant departure from the images of unfair competition prior to the 1930s, and were influenced by the economic downturn of the early 1930s.

Whether anti-Chinese business articles were an effort to oust Chinese is hard to say. However, most Chinese seemed to make an adequate living from their respective market gardening and fruit shop businesses, which indicates these articles and their images had little impact upon the average Kiwi consumer. It seems more likely that such images were only shared by those who competed with Chinese in the fruit and vegetable market.

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 25 May, 1938. p.11.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 4 May, 1938. p.12.
Resentment was felt towards Chinese involved in the laundry business as well, and an article headed 'Unfair competition alleged' and 'Chinese and weekend laundering' claimed that Chinese working overtime during the weekends greatly disadvantaged European laundry businesses. It was complained that the Chinese "...open too much and work too hard..." and did not offer any opportunities for employment. Pakeha firms (or 'British' firms as they were referred to in Truth) who gave their laundry to Chinese to wash over the weekend led to complaints that British firms should support British launderettes. New Zealand, it was asserted, was an industrial utopia apart from "...the alien element in the laundry business."85

The accusations directed towards Chinese businesses completely faded during the 1940s and 1950s, possibly due to greater acceptance of the New Zealand Chinese, or the economic boom following World War Two. After World War Two, when New Zealand's soldiers began drifting back home, the Chinese again came under attack. Some soldiers considered the Chinese to have contributed nothing to the war effort, yet many New Zealanders did acknowledge Chinese contributions in the form of an increased output of fruit and vegetables. A small number, it is difficult to guess how many, of returned servicemen experiencing difficulty adjusting back to civilian life complained about a lack of businesses to come back to. One from Christchurch wrote to Truth in 1946 stating his rehabilitation back into society was difficult due to the scarcity of properties. He complained that Chinese were occupying all the good land "...with their houses and glasshouses..." because they were known to be rich, and landlords were eager for cash.

He suggested that the Act enabling Chinese to buy land be abolished until all returned servicemen graded 'A' had returned. He was also frustrated by the fact that, as he perceived it, "the Chinese will pay twice as much and make more money off a property than Europeans." 86

In summary, the Chinese were a popular topic of scandal during the 1930s. Images of the Chinese were generally negative and revolved around the 'immoral' Chinese who corrupted society's women, smoked dangerous drugs, and took business away from Pakeha. Ironically, the Chinese were still reknown to be law abiding citizens, despite prevalent images stating otherwise. The furore over Chinese-Maori miscegenation and interracial relationships disappeared completely during the 1940s and 1950s. The association of Chinese, opium smoking and unfair competition persisted into mid 1950s, but to a lesser extent. By the late 1950s almost no reference was made to the Chinese in connection with any of the images popular during the 1930s. The relationship between Chinese and New Zealanders had changed significantly during and after the war, which seemed to have allayed pre-existing fears. Chinese were no longer opium smoking 'aliens', intent on corrupting white women. Now they were former war allies and refugees, and fears associated with single Chinese were put to rest when wives and children were allowed into the country. In all respects, it seems that by this time Chinese were no longer perceived to pose a threat to white society, and the absence of negative references to them in the media reflects this attitude. There was, however, opposition to

86 Ibid., 11 September, 1946, p.18.
so-called Chinese 'business monopolies' and the expansion of the New Zealand Chinese population, as refugees continued to immigrate into the country.
Chapter Three

Aliens Go Bananas

Having focused on negative images of the Chinese in the media, it is time to look at positive images. There were positive human interest stories concerning the Chinese, however, they were few and far between, especially during the 1930s. During the 1940s and 1950s more was written about the Chinese which indicates there was an increasing interest in their history as New Zealanders. Generally, though, New Zealand seemed to be more concerned with China itself, and since the Chinese were a minority and generally kept a low profile, very little mention was made of them, particularly after the early 1950s.

Truth's only 'positive' story on the Chinese during the 1930s was a brief article about Ah Lee Chee (Charley) Young of Christchurch, who was the first Chinese to be granted the old age pension. The article included a photograph and was of a friendly informative tone. Under the 1908 Old Age Pension Act, Section 71 (D), "Chinese or other Asiatics and whether British subjects by birth or not, whether naturalised or not" were excluded from receiving pensions. This exclusion was a distinction not extended to any other minority group, and was sponsored by Richard Seddon. In 1936 this section was

2 Consolidated New Zealand Statutes, vol.4, m-p, 1908, p.468.
amended and Chinese were allowed to become 'burdens' upon the New Zealand taxpayer for the first time.\(^4\) This signified an acceptance of the Chinese presence in New Zealand for nearly seventy years and recognised that they now deserved to be supported by the state in their old age. Alternatively it was recognised that the law was discriminatory and needed to be changed! Chinese also automatically received unemployment and sickness benefits in 1938 following the introduction of the welfare state.

In 1938 Geoffrey Thomas and Rewi Alley wrote a glowing report, meant for Chinese audiences, of the Chinese in New Zealand. Particular effort was made to show that Chinese were well respected and participative members of white society, and it was mentioned that the funeral of one of the last Chinese goldminers, Wang Ah Ken, was attended by the Mayor and councillors of Queenstown. There was also a photograph of a Chinese who was head boy at his school and, it was claimed, half castes were not discriminated against in any way. Traditional Chinese medicine seemed to be accepted during this time as Alley noted that three Chinese herbalists were based in Christchurch and advertised regularly in The Press.\(^5\)

Geoffrey Thomas and Rewi Alley probably had to make things look good for the Chinese Government but why write such a glowing article? Did they do so because relations within New Zealand were generally good? On the outside New Zealanders did not want to acknowledge that the Chinese presence inside their country was occasionally resented.

\(^5\) GT. & R. Alley, "The Chinese in New Zealand," *China Journal*, p.78. I also noticed that one Chinese herbalist ran regular full page advertisements in *Truth* during the mid 1950s.
Society was proud of its melting pot, however New Zealanders still felt uncomfortable and insecure when they felt threatened by depression or miscegenation.

During the 1940s and 1950s stories about the Chinese were increasingly being reported without the negative comments common during the 1930s. Very little mention was made of the New Zealand Chinese in Truth during the war years, and there were no publications of the newspaper during the late 1940s due to paper shortages.

In the early 1940s an Otago Daily Times (ODT) article reported Dunedin's Chinese community observing the Chinese Republic's thirtieth anniversary with a 'quaint' national concert and a sports carnival. Pakeha also attended the concert, indicating there was obviously good relations between the two.°

Efforts were also made to dispel negative images and perhaps hysteria about the Chinese. Philip Matthews, an Auckland journalist, published a pamphlet on 'New Zealand's Chinese Minority' in 1946, apparently in an attempt to remove stereotypical assumptions about local Chinese. Obviously some were presuming that all Chinese were now Communist and Matthews emphasised that most Chinese supported the Kuomingtang more than the Communist Party, and in fact, "...have not the political consciousness of New Zealanders." New Zealanders were assured that their Chinese population was not about to rise up and assert their country of origin's Communist tendencies. Matthews went on to agree with Chinese immigration and condemned the current treatment of Chinese under temporary permits, "...who are classified as neither citizens or visitors".7

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° Otago Daily Times, 11 October, 1941.
The pamphlet also gave general information about Chinese participation in New Zealand life on a diplomatic and business level. By 1946 China was diplomatically represented by a consular general and two consuls, and there were four Chinese restaurants established in Auckland and one in Wellington.8

The number of Chinese restaurants and takeaways increased during the 1950s because the nature of the business suited Chinese immigrants, who did not have a lot of money but had family members who could help with the work. Finding employment elsewhere was difficult due to language problems and prejudice.9 The presence of these restaurants would also have served to increase contact and understanding between the two races.

The late 1940s and early 1950s were significant because it was during this time that Chinese began to put down permanent roots in New Zealand. Most Chinese did not support China's new Communist government which made returning home almost impossible. Increasingly they were no longer seen to be mere sojourners intent on draining New Zealand of its riches.

The media began to inform the wider community about the Chinese who lived amongst them. In October of 1950 it was reported that the Third New Zealand Annual Chinese Sports Tournament was to be held in Dunedin (the first tournament was held at

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8 Dunedin’s first Chinese restaurant was opened in the early 1950s.
Wellington in 1948.\textsuperscript{10} The Chinese also began to make their stay in New Zealand more comfortable and during the war years eight Chinese schools were established around New Zealand to teach children the Chinese language and culture. Teachers were permitted to enter the country under temporary permits, however, this was discontinued in 1949 under advice from the Minister of Customs. The Chinese Consul appealed to the government to overturn their decision in 1951, but the government refused on the basis that the presence of these schools would encourage 'cliques'.\textsuperscript{11} The Chinese could not really win: they were not allowed to intermarry nor retain their own culture. Adequate teachers could still be found though and the setting up of a Chinese school in Dunedin was reported by the \textit{ODT} in 1951.\textsuperscript{12} In 1952 \textit{The Evening Star} recorded, along with photos, the Chinese community in Dunedin celebrating a national occasion\textsuperscript{13} and in 1954 the city councils of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch gave their permission for Chinese films to be screened in the city theatres on Sunday nights.\textsuperscript{14}

By now the Chinese were feeling more secure, and since the nature of their stay in New Zealand was now permanent, they increasingly began to organise their surroundings and communities. New Zealand was also making an effort to accommodate them, and publicise their cultural uniqueness.

Generally there seems to have been an increasing effort to portray Chinese more as people, and less as 'aliens'. One story in the \textit{ODT} is about an Octogenarian's birthday banquet depicts photos showing both Chinese and Pakeha enjoying the festivities.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{ODT}, 6 October, 1950, p.3.
\textsuperscript{11} C. Sedgewick, "The Organisational Dynamics ...," p.55.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{ODT}, 6 February, 1951.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{The Evening Star}, 10 October, 1952, p.2.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{ODT}, 15 June, 1954, p.5.
Chinese cultural differences were remarked upon as interesting and unique, rather than threatening and foreign. In 1957 an almost full page article was run on the Anniversary of the Chinese Church in Otago. The article included photos of the church and provided a brief history of the Chinese in the Otago region. It was noted that by 1931 only one hundred and fifty Chinese remained in the area.\[^{16}\]

**FATE SHROUED IN DEATH OF BRILLIANT N.Z. CHINESE**

Actual headline from *New Zealand Truth*

*Truth, 14 March, 1951, p.9.*

In 1951 a story about the disappearance of a Chinese student, 'Fate shrouded in mystery death of brilliant New Zealand Chinese,' told of Ivor Ting, an accomplished Chinese who held an MA from Victoria University. This story was particularly positive because it was published in *Truth*, which did not often publish positive stories about the Chinese. Ting was also referred to as a *New Zealand* Chinese and his accomplishments were proudly listed, such as his fluency in French, and a stint as a Wellington representative hockey player. In 1946 he joined the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and was

\[^{15}\] *ODT*, 15 July, 1957, p.5.

awarded a French Bursary to go to Paris to carry on research on oil and fat materials in 1949. Apparently he had disappeared while on board a ship and "...it was alleged that he wasn't treated with the same camaraderie accorded European students." His death, it was claimed, remained a mystery.\(^\text{17}\)

Another article, in The Press, is also interesting since it identifies the Chinese population as New Zealanders, and depicts them to be a vital part of the country's history. 'Chinese descendants of goldseekers' gave a brief history of how the Chinese came to New Zealand, the strict immigration laws, as well as traditional Chinese immigrant occupations. The contribution of the Chinese during World War Two was acknowledged, as was the important part the Chinese played in the development of market gardening. The younger generation was also mentioned; "Scholastically, the young Chinese have been a credit to their country of adoption." One young Chinese, Ivan Lowe, was awarded a travelling scholarship in mathematics after the war, and went on to do research work on atomic power in England.\(^\text{18}\)

The scholastic ability of the Chinese was often positively remarked upon and during a parliamentary debate one Member of Parliament, Mr Hackett, mentioned that Chinese and Indian university students were "...a credit to themselves and to New Zealand's university system." He did not mention whether or not they were a credit to New Zealand itself!\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{17}\) Truth, 14 March, 1951, p.9.
\(^{18}\) The Press, 28 May, 1958, p.7.
Another informative pamphlet about the Chinese was published by the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union in 1951. Written from a Christian perspective it states that at the time there were five Chinese ministers throughout New Zealand, including three in Wellington. The pamphlet mentioned an improvement in the status of the Chinese in New Zealand since families were now permitted to be re-united, and the standard of English had increased, resulting in greater mutual understanding. 20

The ability to speak English was obviously a crucial factor which affected images of the Chinese. The presence of more youth and children resulting from less restricted immigration before and after World War Two meant increasing numbers of Chinese were learning the language, and older men and women might have felt more motivation to do so upon realising they would never go back to China. With more Chinese speaking English, positive contact with New Zealanders occurred.

From 1955 to 1960 little comment was made of the New Zealand Chinese in the media, indicating their presence was increasingly familiar and therefore not newsworthy enough to warrant media attention. Other distractions also directed the nation’s attention away from focusing upon the Chinese such as; economic recovery after the war, fighting the Communists overseas, enemy aliens and new immigrants. The mid to late 1950s were a period of economic prosperity in New Zealand and noticeably there were no further complaints about unfair competition after the initial furore in the early 1950s.

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How did the nature of the contact between Chinese and Pakeha affect the formation of images of the Chinese from 1930-1940? One would think it did play a significant part, since lack of contact between any race means one is ignorant of the other, and cultural misunderstandings give way to resentment and prejudice.

The Chinese have always maintained a separate identity dating back from the goldmining era. Prior to World War Two the Chinese government prized its overseas citizens and still requested their loyalties, which provided little encouragement for New Zealand's Chinese population to embrace New Zealand as a spiritual home.\(^{21}\) Most Chinese prior to the 1930s were self employed and did not have a lot of social contact with Pakeha.\(^{22}\) Did rural Chinese have a better relationship with their neighbours than their urban counterparts? Kue-Sum Ah-Chan, who owned a vineyard, employed impoverished people during the Depression and subsequently enjoyed good relations with Maori and Pakeha alike. She noted that she did not suffer any bad racist abuse, which was common to urban Chinese.\(^{23}\) Why was such abuse a common experience of urban Chinese? Perhaps because rural Chinese, since they did not have a lot of contact with other Chinese, were not viewed together as a racial group. Urban Chinese, on the other hand, were more likely to interact amongst themselves, and were often seen in their roles as greengrocers and laundry men, which aroused resentment. The 1930s saw an improvement in modern technology, and more efficient communication increased contact between Chinese and Pakeha. Generally, though, interactions between the two were

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\(^{22}\) N. Pawakapani, "The Chinese in Dunedin," p.56.

confined to one's occupation or working life.\textsuperscript{24}

World War Two marked an important turning point in changing the image of the Chinese in New Zealand. Two of the most significant events in changing perceptions were Chinese contributions towards the country's war effort and China's new status as an ally of New Zealand.

The Chinese pioneered market gardening in New Zealand and contributed to the war effort by increasing the production of fruit and vegetables, which enabled the feeding of American forces stationed in New Zealand at the time.\textsuperscript{25} This helped them to gain recognition within the community, and quashed the image that they only did things for their own benefit. Many readers in \textit{Truth} defended the Chinese on the basis of this support during the war.

I also came across evidence that some Chinese did in fact fight for New Zealand during World War One and Two. An article by Geoffrey Thomas and Rewi Alley noted that the town clerk of Rangiora was friends with a Chinese man who had fought beside him in World War One.\textsuperscript{26} A story in \textit{The Press} in 1958, 'Chinese Descendants of Goldseekers,' claimed that quite a number of Chinese served with the New Zealand forces overseas during World War Two\textsuperscript{27}, and a letter in \textit{Truth} mentioned that Chinese served in the home defence troops. Why did some Chinese chose to fight for New Zealand? During

\textsuperscript{24} N. Pawakapani, "The Chinese in Dunedin," p.64.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{The Press}, 28 May, 1958, p.7.
\textsuperscript{26} G.T. & R. Alley, "The Chinese in New Zealand," p.78.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{The Press}, 28 May, 1958, p.7.
World War Two, like World War One, there was considerable public pressure for all aliens to be interned. Naturalisation was also halted, except for those aliens who were willing to serve with the armed forces.²⁸ Many Chinese could have seen that serving in the New Zealand Armed Forces, and being naturalised, was a good opportunity to improve their positions and secure the future of their families. Others could have been spurred on by an increasing attachment to their adopted country, or perhaps were eager for the chance to fight a common enemy.

Despite the fact New Zealand and China were war allies, the Chinese were still officially 'aliens' and subject to the Alien Emergency Regulation Act of 1940. Under this Act aliens, or non naturalised immigrants, were required by law to notify changes of address regardless of whether they were 'friendly' or 'enemy' aliens, and in 1942, a forty eight year old market gardener from Thames was fined one pound for failing to do so!²⁹

Things did begin to get better for the New Zealand Chinese. The approach of World War Two meant that restrictions placed upon Chinese immigration were relaxed. and the late 1930s heralded increased immigration into New Zealand after the Japanese attack on South China in 1938. The wives and children of the five hundred plus Chinese residents in New Zealand were allowed into the country as refugees, and 299 wives and 244 children came into the country this way in 1939. They were permitted to stay for no longer than two years and had to pay a bond of two hundred pounds.³⁰

³⁰ M. Ip, Home Away from Home, p.179.
The sex imbalance still remained from 1948 to 1949 but improved during the 1950s, and consequently the Chinese population became more youthful. Those who had been without their wives for a long time, or those who were single, could now settle into a normal family life. The situation in China also meant few families could send their children back to China to be educated, which meant more Chinese became assimilated into white society.\(^31\)

Resentment to increased numbers of Chinese immigrants surfaced early in 1940 and, once again, the image of the Chinese as unfairly competitive surfaced. A letter to the editor of *Truth*, from E.E.L of Wanganui, complained that "too many Chinese were getting the pickings to the downfall of the white man" and that they were 'cornering everything'. He/She also wanted to know how many Chinese were contributing to the collection which had been organised for the refugees in China.\(^32\)

Immigration restrictions were relaxed further in 1944 when Sir Walter Nash lifted the limit on the number of Chinese per ships tonnage. The poll tax was abolished and most of the other anti-Chinese laws were appealed.\(^33\) In 1947 wives and children who arrived in New Zealand as war refugees in 1939 and children born to those women were granted permanent residence, as were Chinese temporary residents and students in the country for over 5 years. It was in this way that 1323 Chinese gained permanent residence and in 1949 fifty families who had resided in the country for over 20 years were permitted to reunite family members.\(^34\)

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\(^{32}\) *Truth*, 20 March, 1940, p.15.

However, it was not until the early 1950s that all 'official' discrimination was removed. By 1952 Chinese were allowed to become New Zealand citizens and yellow peril fears were transferred from China to Japan.\textsuperscript{35}

Reaction to the new influx of refugees manifested itself in articles and letters to \textit{Truth}. A prominent article in \textit{Truth} argued that the 'Tides of Chinese migrants' were suitable cause for alarm, and were having "...ruinous effects upon European traders."\textsuperscript{36} Attention was drawn to the 'flood' of increased Chinese immigration over the past three years, and the 'disastrous' effects Chinese competition had on European-run fruiterer and laundry businesses was re-emphasised. The complaints remained the same; the Chinese did not intend to stay, they did not work limited hours, and their living standards were too low. It was also claimed they were preferred by merchants and auctioneers because they paid higher prices. There was a fear of white fruiterers being replaced by Asiatics, not a new fear of course, since the Fruit Marketing Board obviously took the threat seriously enough in 1937, when it launched a committee of enquiry to investigate the numbers of Chinese men and women who were arriving and departing from New Zealand.\textsuperscript{37}

The post war period marked a transition stage as New Zealanders came to terms with a permanent Chinese population, and a small outbreak of the old yellow peril argument occurred in reaction to increased immigration and fears of Communist China. The low

\textsuperscript{34} M. Ip, \textit{Home Away From Home}, p.179.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Truth}, 27 March, 1940, p.11.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
numbers of Chinese immigration during the war and the subsequent increase during the 1950s led to a new panic and fear of China's, now Communist, teeming millions. McCarthyism imported from the United States of America (USA) served to fuel these fears.

The increase in the number of Chinese immigrating to New Zealand during the early 1950s sparked another reaction in *Truth*. Early in 1950 it ran an article about Chinese immigration which alerted its readers to an increase in the numbers of non permanent Chinese from 1949-1950. According to the article, it marked the largest number of Chinese (474) to immigrate to New Zealand since 1929, when 531 arrived in the country.38

The teeming millions imagery, Communism and unfair competition surfaced to justify the unhappiness of some New Zealanders. *Truth*'s initial article encouraged one reader, 'Keep them out' of Palmerston North, to suggest that European settlers with fruit and vegetable managing skills should be encouraged to settle in New Zealand rather than the Chinese, who should be repatriated back to China. The reader admitted that the Chinese were peaceful and law abiding, but only because they "..had a good wicket." He/she also seemed to view the Chinese and Japanese as one and the same, concluding that, "China and Japan will reunite then God help us".39 Four readers wrote to agree with 'Keep them out' and three disagreed. 'New Zealander' of Wellington sided with 'Keep them out' and admitted that it was a view many New Zealanders shared, but did not like to openly

express: "'Keep them out' has started something that many of us have thought, but did not like to express."\textsuperscript{40}

These letters show that the issue of Chinese immigration (some viewed it as 'Chinese infiltration') featured high in the public consciousness at the time. The main complaint was that the Chinese had shouldered little responsibility for the country's running or safety, but were nevertheless doing very well for themselves.\textsuperscript{41} Another letter decried the "..infiltration of the Chinese.." and the apparent insolence of Chinese youths. S/he stated that Chinese businesses monopolised urban areas but refused to deliver! Additionally it was claimed that Chinese were entitled to more rice, fruit and vegetables during the war, and were therefore reaping the benefits of living in New Zealand with none of the usual obligations. S/he concluded that it was impossible to know how many were Communist and that s/he 'strongly resented the Chinese'.\textsuperscript{42}

Chinese were perceived to be gaining access to things only true New Zealanders should be entitled to. In January of 1950 \textbf{Truth} ran a story about a twenty four year old fruiterer Hong Kwei Young and his family, who were allocated a two bedroom state house. Apparently readers had asked \textbf{Truth} to investigate, and complained that since the family was wealthy, they were not entitled to urgent priority status on a house. That all Chinese were wealthy was a common assumption amongst New Zealanders, particularly since Chinese were generally known to be hard working and frugal. Readers claimed that Mr Young had at least some accommodation at the rear of his shop, and other families had a

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid.}, 15 February, 1950, p.19.  
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ibid.}  
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.}, 22 February, 1950, p.19.
more urgent need for accommodation. This story demonstrates that in some ways, depending on the situation, Chinese were still 'foreigners' seen to be taking what 'bona fide' New Zealanders deserved and should have first option on. One cartoon, Crimes of the Times, takes a light hearted look at this attitude. During the onion shortage in 1950 it was claimed that Chinese green grocers were given more onion supplies than their Pakeha counterparts.

'Crimes of the Times'


One story in *Truth* about the Korean war is also indicative of this perception, since the article claimed that New Zealand's Chinese were apathetic with respect to the threat to relatives in China, and should have answered appeals for replacements in K force: "Many

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43 Ibid., 11 January, 1950, p.3.
Chinese are doing all right for themselves in this country but are they prepared to help keep this country safe?". Many readers asked why New Zealand was not letting more Europeans and less Asians into the country (even though they were): "We're turning away good white settlers." It was also suggested that the Chinese should be segregated and numbers limited, and that the 'alien races entrenched infiltration must stop'.

Those who disagreed with the above views countered that the Chinese had contributed to the war effort by serving in the home defence force and army, and that generally speaking they were not all Communists. Further replies stated that China had been an ally in the last war, and besides, few Asians had actually been admitted to New Zealand and they had been here before the war anyway.

In July the debate continued and seems to have been sparked by the decision to allow more Chinese women into New Zealand. One complained about the Chinese Consul General advocating the unrestricted entry of Chinese women into New Zealand, and stated that no New Zealander in their right mind should permit such a thing. Such a comment was backed up by the fervent anti communism of the time, as well as the 'teeming millions' argument, since the reader assumed that judging by world affairs, it would not be long before New Zealand was overwhelmed by the "..Asiatic tidal wave..." It was also claimed that more Chinese in New Zealand would also sabotage Australia's defence security! The "..continuous trickle of Asians into New Zealand..." was considered
dangerous and it was suggested that the government, "...should veto dangerous immigration."\(^{50}\) Another writer complained that if the Chinese missed their wives so much they should "go back to China." S/he stated that each Chinese should be investigated as to where their sympathies lay, and the number of children should be limited. Besides, New Zealand's British ancestors would certainly have said no to such a melting pot!\(^{51}\) Another reader was troubled by the "...hoards of Chinese..." who were Communist.\(^{52}\)

One Wellington reader reiterated the usual fearful image of the Chinese, or as he put it "...the danger confronting this dominion...", and mentioned that twelve hundred acres had been bought by Chinese in Hawkes Bay. Whites, therefore, were being ousted by the "Asiatic stranglehold" on the fruit and vegetable trade. New Zealand with its small population had no chance against Asia "...with its teeming millions, and the menace of Red China." The reader concluded that the government should restrain Asiatics in the accumulation of property and their stranglehold on the fruit and vegetable trade.\(^{53}\) Three more letters followed affirming this view. One stated that "New Zealanders are blind to the dangers of our living conditions being so attractive...by the teeming millions of Red China." Such danger would result in New Zealand becoming "...flooded by millions of the coolie class."\(^{54}\)

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 30 August, 1950, p.19.  
\(^{51}\) Ibid., 13 December, 1950, p.19.  
\(^{52}\) Ibid., 28 March, 1951, p.19.  
\(^{53}\) Ibid., 18 April, 1951, p.19.  
\(^{54}\) Ibid., 18 April, 1951, p.19.
The victory of the communists and establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 sparked off an interesting reaction from the New Zealand public, and had an impact on images of the Chinese. The political climate in New Zealand during the 1950s, with respect to Communist China and the Soviet Union, was tense due to the National government's perception that New Zealand was on the fringes of the cold war. New Zealand was naturally anti-Communist and increased ties with the USA meant New Zealand followed its lead, and refused to recognise the People's Republic of China. This made it more difficult for authorities to refuse entry to relatives of Chinese already residing in the country. During the late 1940s and early 1950s Truth had a regular column of news and ideas from the United States of America and Truth's articles reflected these views.

'Yellow Octopus'

The usual fears of communism manifested themselves in images of China as this Yellow Octopus caricature published in the New Zealand Herald in 1950 shows. It is interesting that China is portrayed as an octopus, just as it was in 1907 and 1930. This time the threat is not perceived domestically but internationally. The yellow peril has now turned into an international one which is embodied in the form of communism, and China's many arms are seen engulfing its Asian neighbours.\textsuperscript{55} Fears of Chinese military might also appeared, as Next Speakers shows, and China was now seen as something to be feared both militarily and ideologically (see Appendix V).\textsuperscript{56}

China being communist did not, by itself, negatively affect the image of the New Zealand Chinese. Those who were anti-Chinese did use the communist image as further justification for opposing Chinese 'monopolies' and immigration. To what extent did the average New Zealander perceive the 'communist threat', and did they associate Chinese in New Zealand as an extension of this threat? It is evident by these letters in Truth that they did perceive Chinese immigrants as a threat.

Some New Zealanders felt a sense of betrayal when the People's Republic of China was created in 1949, since China had once been an ally. A letter to The Listener from 'deceived', declared that China was not a democracy but a 'bog' for communism.\textsuperscript{57} In The Listener there were just as many tolerant letters as intolerant ones. Many criticised the government for its anti-Communist propaganda, and others thought that because China

\textsuperscript{55} New Zealand Herald, 7 November
\textsuperscript{57} The Listener, 6 May, 1949, p.5.
was a poor and bewildered country, it was more susceptible to communism. Stalin was see to be the one who was responsible for forcing the communism alternative. Only one reader in the Otago Daily Times thought China becoming communist would have serious repercussions in New Zealand, since it would mean that a "Pacific nation of less than 400,000 people will becomesubservient to Moscow communist terror."58

Rickshaw Boy also depicts the Chinese as the lackeys of Stalin and suggests that the widespread poverty in Asia was mostly responsible for the success of communism in these regions.59

59 R. Waite, Waite Up To Date 1951, p.29.
To a certain extent, Chinese were viewed with distrust and suspicion. James Bertram, in his book *Capes of China Slide Away*, claims that expressing one's radical views was increasingly risky. A planned visit to China in 1956 resulted in three of the participants being unable to go since External Affairs banned Sir Howard Kippenberger from attending, and Victoria University refused to grant leave to Bertram and Buchanan.\(^6^0\)

There was some distrust of Chinese themselves, mostly amongst government departments and Ken Chunyu, who quit her job as a librarian at the DSIR when her father died, was refused reinstatement because she was Chinese.\(^6^1\)

After the initial communist scare of the early fifties there were few attacks aimed directly at the Chinese, indicating that the New Zealand public on the whole did not really associate the New Zealand Chinese with their communist relatives. Chinese anti-Communist unions were set up throughout New Zealand, however, possibly because Chinese felt pressure to prove they were not supporters of the communist regime. Obviously it would be in their own best interests to publicise their anti-Communist stance to the New Zealand public. An article in the *Otago Daily Times* entitled 'City Chinese "Solely" Business Men' quoted the President of the Wellington Chinese Anti Communist Union, JC Kunn, as saying it was "...heartbreaking to watch Chinese here aiding and abetting the Communists." The reporter approached several Chinese businessman who pleaded, wisely, non political opinions since they were 'solely businessman'.\(^6^2\) It could be

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\(^{62}\) *ODT*, 13 June 1956, p.2.
assumed that many Chinese were willing to do anything they could against a regime that
had killed relatives or seized their lands.

Some readers defended the Chinese by stating that many people were satisfied by the
service they received from Chinese business people. As can be seen, those who were
disgruntled with the Chinese held onto the same images.

Truth continued to keep the issue alive with an article about 'New Zealand's Alien
Groups' where it stated Chinese topped the alien list, with 2841 of the 10425 aliens listed
as Chinese. In August, F.L.A. Gotz, MP for Otahuhu, declared that more Chinese were
needed in New Zealand. His statement drew a response from one reader that New
Zealand was "..a white man's country.." and hundreds of European market gardeners
struggling for a living would be better off without Chinese competition, and would
subsequently be able to earn decent wages. MP Gotz, it was complained, was a 'Chinese
lover'. Another reader responded: "..the previous reader seems to be prejudiced against
Chinese.." and noted that

There is fast coming and inevitable the day when the Dominion must take
a stand in relation to the vast millions of Asiatics...that day will come
when we have to accept peaceably our due proportion of those people.

63 Truth, 2 May, 1951, p.19.
64 Ibid., 27 June, 1951, p.17.
65 Ibid., 7 November, 1951, p.19.
66 Ibid., 5 December, 1951, p.19.
He/She then went on to agree with F.L.A Gotz.

In March of 1952 another article drew attention to the number of 'aliens' in New Zealand. Information was derived from the Minister of Immigration, W Sullivan, and the exact numbers of full and mixed blooded Chinese were given in detail. The figures corresponded exactly to the numbers of mixed and full blooded Chinese in the 1945 Census.\(^{67}\)

After the war New Zealand faced a labour shortage and began to encourage immigration. However New Zealand's assisted immigration scheme still favoured British entry to the point of virtual exclusion of all others. If South Africans, Canadians and Australians were counted as British, then only two percent of all immigrants born outside New Zealand in 1961 were 'aliens', and of that two percent more than a third were Dutch.\(^{68}\) Mr Hackett, a Member of Parliament (MP) stated the government's position in 1951: "We want English people out here - that is our first and foremost desire."\(^{69}\) Another MP stated: "If we cannot get migrants from Britain, we should endeavour to get them from Northern European countries."\(^{70}\)

The aim was not so much to discriminate against Asians, but to attract people who were more likely to 'fit into' white New Zealand, both physically and culturally. British immigrants were favoured above other nationalities because, being the same colour and

\(^{67}\) Ibid., 12 March, 1952, p.3.

\(^{68}\) A. Ballera, Proud to be White, p.156.


\(^{70}\) Ibid., p.326, col.2.
speaking the same language, it was assumed they would assimilate into New Zealand life quickly and easily.

Mr Chapman, MP for Wellington Central commented: "Immigrants should be of a type which can reasonably be expected to adopt the way of life favoured by New Zealanders. Obviously, immigrants from Great Britain are more likely to do that more or less easily than immigrants from other countries." One MP added that the Chinese would never be assimilated, which seemingly justified the suggestion that numbers should be limited to stop them forming cliques. Naturalised Chinese bringing back brides from overseas were also seen to be a problem and the Minister of Internal Affairs Mr Bodkin stated:

If that policy is allowed to continue indefinitely it will...tend to build up colonies of aliens within our country. That tendency must be discouraged. Asiatic immigrants who are allowed into this country - and I believe we have to accept a certain proportion - must have impressed upon them that they are expected, as far as possible, to adapt themselves to our way of life and to become New Zealand citizens, not only in name but in fact.

So how easily did the Chinese fit into New Zealand ways of life? Could it be said they were hard to assimilate? It would seem that the assimilation of a minority race into the majority one would improve the image of that race, and when it is defined in terms of intermarriage, then the Chinese were certainly becoming assimilated prior to the

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71 Ibid., p.321, col.2.
72 Ibid., p.329, col.1.
73 Ibid., p.333, col.1.
introduction of more Chinese women to New Zealand. Many Chinese chose to marry white women in the absence of Chinese ones. But this was not what the Government had in mind, nor wanted. The problem was, this definition of assimilation meant miscegenation with a non-white race. Many New Zealanders felt uncomfortable with this, and in this respect the Chinese were hard to 'assimilate' Instead the government preferred them to be 'culturally' assimilated, by forgetting their own culture and adopting New Zealand ways.\(^4\)

In many respects the Chinese felt the same way about intermarriage and miscegenation. Most Chinese preferred to marry within their own race if possible, and had very low rates of intermarriage compared to other minorities in New Zealand at the time. The influx of women during the 1950s seems to have made an impact on the numbers of mixed blooded children. Despite the increase in full blooded Chinese, the total population of mixed bloods was the same in 1956 as it was in 1945, keeping in mind that in 1951 the definition of mixed blood was changed which accounts for the dramatic increase. The government aimed to stop ethnic 'cliques' by cultural assimilation and restricting the number of immigrants, but to a certain extent this policy was complicated by more Chinese marrying their own kind, and perpetuating their culture and race.

New Zealand's image of China's teeming millions played a significant part in the formation of Governmental policies on immigration, communism and Asian poverty. A 1945 editorial on China in the New Zealand Herald, while admitting that China was an ally, stated New Zealand's fear of being overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of Chinese:

China is an ally, and the tenor of her history indicates that she will return peacefully to her ancient rank, but it is natural that the scanty inhabitants of empty lands should look askance at the movement of an alien race 400,000 strong.\(^\text{75}\)

The 'teeming millions' imagery was used whenever the question of China and Chinese immigration arose, particularly in parliamentary debates: "The only solution is to lift these teeming masses of people out of the lives they have lived for so long, and are still living - lives of misery and abject poverty."\(^\text{76}\) In 1950 Sir Walter Nash reiterated old fears when he stated: "What I am concerned about is the danger to Australia and New Zealand with millions of acres of productive land under our control, with surplus food productivity, and those millions of hungry people in Asia.\(^\text{77}\)

Another consideration which led the New Zealand government to allow a certain amount of Asian immigration was the fear that if New Zealanders did not do it voluntarily and on a controlled basis, it would happen of its own accord: "If we do not populate this country ourselves, somebody else is likely to populate it for us."\(^\text{78}\) Again, this was based on the 'teeming millions' image.

\(^{75}\) New Zealand Herald, 8 September, 1945, p.6.
\(^{76}\) New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, vol.292, 1950, p.3939, col.2. A small country's obsession over a large country is evident in these statements: "...by what means can these peoples in the countries of Asia, peoples numbering from one thousand million to twelve hundred million..." (p.3950 col 2), "Millions and millions of people..." (p.3954 col 2), "Let us look at China with her four hundred and seventy million people, completely overrun by the communists". (p.3955 col 1)
\(^{77}\) Ibid., p.3947, col.2.
Opposition to New Zealand's policies came from those trying to find homes for Asian refugees. In 1956 a Hong Kong minister, the Reverend P Jansen, reported to his council that: "...the New Zealand immigration laws seemed to imply that Asians were a breed apart and of less dignity than Europeans."\textsuperscript{79} Reverend FW Winton claimed that New Zealand was a closed country: "It is most frustrating trying to get Asians into New Zealand...there seems to be no reason for refusal".\textsuperscript{80}

Admitting a certain number of Chinese refugees into the country was considered a necessary part of New Zealand's duty as a well off nation and, as MP Gotz commented, "We have a duty to take from over-populated countries as many as we can into this land of ours."\textsuperscript{81} Gotz admitted that Chinese immigration was still being restricted and considered this to be wrong considering the high cost of vegetables! He proposed letting more Chinese settle in New Zealand and envisaged more Chinese meant more market gardening. He stressed it was necessary for equal numbers of men and women to be admitted at the same time, due to the dangers of miscegenation with Maori:

\begin{quote}
We have seen too much intermarriage or cohabitation between Maoris and Chinese. We have quite a number of children of half caste Chinese and half caste Maori, who, however laudable and however good workers they may be, do not tend to give us the stability of population which we should have.\textsuperscript{82}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{79} A. Ballera, \textit{Proud to be White}, p.156.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{New Zealand Parliamentary Debates}, vol.295, 1951, p.323, col.2.
Gotz also proposed that Chinese women beyond child bearing age be admitted into New Zealand to act as nannies for upper class families, to encourage such families to have more children: "These very desirable people are restricting the number of their children because they cannot get help in their homes". This proposal was rejected on the basis that these women would end up becoming burdens on the state. Gotz justified Chinese immigration on the basis they were needed in a servile capacity.

I look to the government to examine the question of extension of nationalities who can be brought here, the increasing of the number of Chinese in our market gardens, with a view to reducing the fantastic prices of vegetables, and also the giving of some assistance to those badly and sadly in need of domestic help.

The general fear was that too many Asians would spoil New Zealand as 'God's Own'. To protect the country from the starving hoards, New Zealand had to provide more aid and food to stop them immigrating:

"...unless we find a way of using our surplus productivity to lift the standards of those people in the Northern area, there is a grave and menacing future for our children. It is not a case of Christianity or humanitarianism...it means we are lost if we imagine we can put a barrier

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82 Ibid., p.324, col.1.
83 Ibid., p.324, col.2.
84 Ibid.
around New Zealand and its resources with a view to reserving them exclusively for two million people.\textsuperscript{85}

From the portrayal and depiction of China in newspaper articles and political cartoons it is possible to discover what kind of image the New Zealand media had of China and the Chinese overseas. Did these images affect how the Chinese in New Zealand were perceived? To a large extent they did.

The New Zealand public was kept well in touch with international events and Japanese atrocities in China, especially following Japan's invasion of North East China in 1931. One cartoon, \textit{A Collector of old China} (See Appendix VI), gives the impression that New Zealanders perceived China to be a big, helpless giant who was gradually, if reluctantly, being taken over by the Japanese.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{86} Truth, 28 July, 1937, p.16.
In the same year the recognition that China was being victimised by Japanese imperial designs is evident in Beware those Shadows. China is seen to be a vast country under the ominous shadow of Japan.\textsuperscript{87} Scraps of Paper, again demonstrates that New Zealanders were well aware of international events concerning China, and China is shown being pursued by a militant Japan.\textsuperscript{88}

In January of 1935 the first reports concerning the Japanese occupation of Manchuria began to reach New Zealand and headlines such as 'Wolfish Dogs Devour Corpses' told

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 20 October, 1937, p.23.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 10 November, 1937, p.10.
of the terrible slaughter in China.\textsuperscript{89} This in turn served to create sympathy for the Chinese both within New Zealand and internationally.

The ten year period from 1940 to 1950 was extremely important to the change in perception of the Chinese in New Zealand, due to the attention of the media becoming more focused upon international events rather than the domestic situation. The media focus changed from a fascination with the Chinese, to the status of enemy aliens such as Germans and Japanese within New Zealand, and the exploits of Chiang Kaishek and Japan.

It has been previously mentioned that the New Zealand public were kept well informed of events concerning China by the media, especially the Kuomintang versus communist conflict during China's civil war. The exploits of General Chiang Kaishek were well documented in \textit{Truth} and the praise given to Chiang Kaishek in the USA was reiterated in the New Zealand press.

\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Ibid.}, 2 January, 1935, p.8.
The Chinese Cat Looked Easy to Kill

*Truth*, 1 June, 1938, p.16.

The Chinese Cat looks Easy to Kill portrays Chinese nationalist efforts to fend off the Japanese invasion. In 1938 China was portrayed as a small, but wily, battered cat fighting a human sized Japanese, however, *The Sino-Jap See-Saw* shows the conflict on more equal terms, since both opponents are the same size and China is shown to have the upper hand.
The ravages of war were taking their toll on China and New Zealanders were kept up to date with the famines sweeping the country. The beginning of China's famine in 1946 created, or rather confirmed, the image of China and the Chinese as a poor, harmless (apart from their massive population), and starving people. The media fostered this perception by running various articles documenting the suffering, such as 'China Starves' which reported that the unprecedented famine in Shanghai was getting worse and threatening 30 000 000 peasants in the war stricken interior.90 Shocking photographs of starving and dying children were published.91 In 1947 it was reported that an international relief committee, including twenty two New Zealanders, was being sent to China to distribute relief supplies for two years. It was headed by the Dominion

90 Ibid., 5 June, 1946, p.1.
91 'Where millions starve and die,' Ibid., 17 July, 1946, p.15.
Secretary Treasurer of CORSO, Collin Morrison and relief supplies were being sent from Britain, Canada, USA and New Zealand. Rescue missions were sent by New Zealand to help with food distribution and in 1950 Corso again advertised for monetary donations to help the 'starving in China' (see Appendix VII).

In this respect, China's image had changed little in comparison to the early 1900s when it was seen to be a poor overpopulated country. Now China was in need of New Zealand's pity and aid. Conversely, the other emerging image of China resulted from the formation of the People's Republic of China. An image of Communist China as a country to be feared emerged, however, the victory of communism was not blamed on the Chinese themselves, but was seen to be the work of the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin.

'At the Pacific Theatre'

*New Zealand Herald, 12 May, 1956, p.8.*
This is evident in the caricature of Stalin in *At The Pacific Theatre*, since the Chinese man has the face of Stalin and this shows Stalin to be the main force behind Communist China.\(^94\)

![Cartoon Image]

'Beware! Take Care Of The Red Eyed Dragon With The Fourteen Flails'

*Ian F. Grant, The Unauthorised Version*, p.163.

This cartoon, published in 1949 in *The Observer*, emphasises China's strength of population and geographical land mass. The bloodied sickle the dragon is wielding emphasises the view that Stalin and the USSR were responsible for China turning communist.\(^95\) *Communist China Already Has Seat* again portrays China to be a 'child' of Stalin (see Appendix VIII).\(^96\)

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\(^94\) *New Zealand Herald*, 12 May, 1956, p.8.

\(^95\) I. F Grant, *The Unauthorised Version*, p.163.

A small article and a series of photographs entitled *Communist Justice* depicted alleged communists executing landlords (see Appendix IX). It is obviously a negative article decrying the barbarity of communism and portrays China as a country out of control. Interestingly a reader wrote in to claim that the soldiers portrayed were not communist soldiers but nationalist ones!

There was a greater recognition during the 1940s and 50s, thanks to the media, of the different races that the term Asians encompassed. The knowledge that Chinese and Japanese were enemies emerged during the late 1930s and led to the separation of the term Asians as a meaningless generality. The 1950s saw the perception and take-over of the Japanese as the new yellow peril.

As life in New Zealand returned to normal after the disruptions of World War Two, New Zealanders once again had time to focus on domestic issues. In the early 1950s images of the Chinese had not really changed that much. Eventually though, as the Chinese slowly integrated into New Zealand lifestyle, the media paid less attention to what there were up to. Thus their 'newsworthiness' had declined, which meant that they were starting to be perceived, not so much as outsiders anymore, but as a distinctive and normal part of New Zealand society.

Images of China did in turn influence New Zealander's perceptions towards their own Chinese population. Was there a distinct element of dislike towards the Chinese? Apart from the Lionel Terry incident in 1905, there was not, especially when compared to other
countries. In Australia Chinese had to live in segregated housing quarters, and in Britain a special committee was set up to look into the problem of white-Chinese miscegenation and in the United States there were laws banning cheap Chinese labour. There seemed to be a dislike of increasing amounts of Chinese immigrating to New Zealand, but once they were here most New Zealanders seemed to like and respect them.

By this stage nothing could really be held against the Chinese apart from their race. They were model citizens requiring little governmental help and they basically kept to themselves. Opium smoking was also declining, because the number of elderly Chinese had also declined. On the other hand it could be that the police were more tolerant of the practise, since the hysteria of white women and opium smoking had long since died down.

From the late 1930s up until the late 1940s there was an awareness of the international political situation involving China, and a build up of sympathy for a country and people who were now a war ally. The media was full of images of a China ravaged by famine and the Japanese, and the saviour of China was embodied in the person of General Chiang Kaishek. There was also an increase during the 1940s and 1950s in the amount of positive literature about Chinese, which showed them to be an active part of New Zealand life and history.

Although the 'immoral' image of the Chinese had changed, Pakeha fears of the 'yellow peril's' teeming millions overwhelming New Zealand economically and numerically still

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L. Pan, Sons of the Yellow Emperor, London: Mandarin Paperbacks Reprint, p.95.
remained. Individually the Chinese were not a problem, however the perception of China's starving millions meant the green pastures of New Zealand were seen to be under threat.
Conclusion

The Chinese were initially welcomed into New Zealand in 1865 to serve the specific purpose of boosting the Otago economy. However once the Chinese were perceived to be gaining more from New Zealand than they were giving, Pakeha feelings of jealousy and competitiveness gave way to resentment. The Chinese began to get bad press and their presence in New Zealand was seen to pose a danger to white society both economically and morally.

During the 1930s New Zealand was still concerned about the 'Chinese threat' to white civilisation and images formed on the goldfields still persisted at this time. However, the shift of Pakeha and Chinese from rural to urban centres meant the two races were in closer contact. Fears of the 'contamination' of white society by the 'immoral' Chinese increased, and the media became preoccupied with stories about opium and Chinese-Pakeha / Chinese-Maori miscegenation, as well as Chinese working too hard and being unfairly competitive. Despite these overwhelmingly negative perceptions there were positive images of the Chinese throughout this period and they were always acknowledged to be an industrious, scholastic, and law abiding people.

The late 1930s marked a turning point in how New Zealanders perceived the Chinese as the country became more concerned with fighting World War Two. New Zealand
became less concerned with its Chinese population because a larger and more tangible threat was perceived to be coming from Germany and Japan.

The war changed how the Chinese were perceived and during the post war period they were increasingly seen less as 'aliens' and more as Chinese New Zealanders. This was mostly due to the changed nature of the Chinese presence in New Zealand and the arrival of more women and children lessened fears amongst Pakeha of miscegenation and sexual competition. Chinese contributions to New Zealand society during the war helped to foster good relations and allay the image that the Chinese were only out to benefit themselves. By the early 1950s the negative images associated with the Chinese as 'sojourners' were now redundant since the newly formed Communist government of China made many reluctant to return home. New Zealand was embraced by many Chinese as a permanent home and Pakeha could no longer hold their status as 'alien birds of passage' against them. Attitudes towards the Chinese changed and manifested themselves in an increasing number of positive media articles which occasionally referred to Chinese as 'New Zealand Chinese'. An interviewee, Ed, in The Overseas Chinese in New Zealand, claimed that although he had not personally encountered a lot of prejudice, he noticed that the incidence of it decreased considerably after World War Two.\(^1\) GT and Rewi Alley also stated that Chinese businesses which had been unable to set up in Rangiora due to 'local hoodlums', found that such opposition had faded by the 1950s.\(^2\)

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In the early 1950s attention was briefly focused upon increased numbers of Chinese allowed into the country, however, by the mid and late 1950s, new immigrants began to cause resentment amongst New Zealanders who grew alarmed that "God's own" could not continue to be so with such a increase in population, no matter the race. In 1954 it was the Dutch who went through the same type of negative publicity that the Chinese went through in the 1930s, and the Chinese 'problem' was now an old one which had largely faded from the public's consciousness.

On the national level, however, the 'teeming' imagery which had led to Chinese immigration restrictions in the early 1900s still persisted. By 1960 the New Zealand Government, despite feeling obligated to allow a certain number of Chinese refugees into the country, preferred to admit greater numbers of European, particularly British, immigrants. Little had changed and it seems that only circumstance made it impossible for the Government to refuse to allow more Chinese immigration into the country. New Zealand at this time did not want too much 'yellow' in its melting pot, on the basis that Chinese were not easily assimilated into society. That society was a predominantly white one, and the preferred immigrants were British and European, makes it clear that one's ability to assimilate was related to race.

By the end of my research period the image of the Chinese had undergone major changes. New Zealand no longer perceived Chinese to be immoral and a threat to white society. This was now an outdated view, considering the increasing youthfulness and family orientation of the Chinese population, compared to the large number of single
Chinese in the post war period. World War Two played an important part in this image transition since it gave New Zealanders and Chinese a common enemy and cause. The Japanese invasion of China helped to foster sympathy for China internationally and resulted in the Government allowing the women and children of Chinese residents into the country.

For the Chinese in New Zealand who had now made their adopted country a permanent home, things had changed a lot since the 1930s. They, too, were coming to terms with being unable to return home to China. New Zealand now had an officially permanent Chinese population who were increasingly regarded, not as aliens anymore, but Chinese New Zealanders, or as the Chinese call themselves, bananas!¹

¹ A Chinese reference to Chinese who have assimilated to Pakeha culture: a banana is yellow on the outside, but white on the inside.
WHITE GIRL AND CHINAMÁN

Grave Sexual Offence Alleged Against Middle-aged Chinese

"KNOCKED HIM FLYING ON FLOOR"

(From "N.Z. Truth's" Special Auckland Representative.)

"He did not speak to me. He came into the kitchen, and he pulled me into the room. I knocked him flying on the floor. I screamed out, but my mother did not hear me. After a long resistance—" Her voice growing in intensity and fighting hard to control her emotions, a young white girl—pitifully young to be a mother—told an amazing story of alleged assaults upon her by a middle-aged Chinaman, Chang Jack Kow, at Onehunga.

Charged with carnal knowledge of the girl, she then being fifteen years of age, Kow pleaded not guilty and was committed for trial.

Source Truth, 5 February 1931, p.3.
Revelations About Social Menace

MAORI-CHINESE CHILDREN

Over 30 Born In Auckland Area Last Year

EXPLOITATION OF Women

(From "N.Z. Truth" Auckland Representative.)

"There are at least 50 or 90 alliances existing to-day between Maori and Chinese in the Auckland district," declared Mr. George Cribbin, secretary of the Auckland Maori Association, when asked by "Truth" to comment on last week's article referring to Maori women associating with Asians.

Source Truth, 4 May, 1938, p.12.
A WOULD-BE confidence man approached a group of men in a Wellington hotel bar for change. By expert manipulation he nearly made a handsome profit on the deal. Unfortunately, however, he was dealing with an Auckland constable, N. Barrell, whose astuteness foiled the effort. The group accosted by the individual was a party of Auckland policemen returning to their city after Royal Tour duties.

ADDICTS

"It does appear that there is not so much opium addiction as there used to be and, maybe, as addicts move on, the practice will cease," said Mr. M. C. Astley, S.M., in Auckland Court, when Wah Yen, 52, market gardener, pleaded guilty to permitting the basement of 31 Grey's Avenue to be used for opium smoking and being in possession of prepared opium. Wah was fined £100 on the first charge and £75 on the second.

MIX-UP

Seating organisation at the Brown-Dreyer Empire title fight last Friday night was chaotic. Ushers, although supplied with plans of the seats, were like babes in the wood. One patron with a £2 seat asked four ushers where his berth was and received a different answer each time. Another man arrived at 9.30 p.m., paid £1.2.5 and finished up in the ringside—for which he should have paid £2.15s. Unless fight fans receive a better deal at future contests at the Basin Reserve, the Wellington Boxing Association may notice a sharp decline in gates.

TOOK GLASSES

"You behaved very stupidly and you probably realise it now. It is hardly worth while being branded a convicted thief for the sake of a few glasses for which you could have afforded to pay," said Mr. F. F. Reid, S.M., in Christchurch Court, when Raymond John Condon, 31, labourer, was charged with stealing four drinking glasses, of a total value of 2/6 the property of the Crown Crystal Glass Co. Condon was employed by the company, which suspected the theft among members of the staff, said Detective-Sergeant G. C. Urquhart. A snap check was taken when workers were leaving the premises and the glasses were found in his possession. Condon was fined £3.

STOLE FROM LETTERS

Admitting that he had stolen 22 letters from mail, addressed to charitable institutions and taken a total of £88/5s.9d. from the envelopes, Martin Karipa, a 20-year-old telegraph cadet, was admitted to two years' probation by Mr. J. B. Thomson, S.M., in Wellington Court. Senior-Detective W. S. Craigie said Karipa had become engaged a month before the first of the offences was committed and the money he had taken was spent on household linen.

BAD CHOICE

A WOULD-BE confidence man approached a group of men in a Wellington hotel bar for change. By expert manipulation he nearly made a handsome profit on the deal. Unfortunately, however, he was dealing with an Auckland constable, N. Barrell, whose astuteness foiled the effort. The group accosted by the individual was a party of Auckland policemen returning to their city after Royal Tour duties.
Source Ian F Grant, The Unauthorised Version, p.129
'Next Speakers'.

A COLLECTOR OF OLD CHINA

I CAN GET AWAY WITH IT PIECE BY PIECE & I'M NOT DISTURBED.

Source Truth, 28 July, 1937, p.16.
Where Millions Starve & Die

Source Truth, 17 July, 1946, p.15
Just a little food **NOW** will save millions from death by starvation.

To die of hunger is a horrible death. Yet a little food at the right time can save a man, a woman, a child from death.

Today, because of famine through drought and flood and war in China, that little must be multiplied many times, for millions in China now are faced with death unless the outside world helps them.

This is something we can do, and must do quickly. Even a shilling may save a life.

**How many lives can YOU save?**

Please give **NOW** to **CORSO's APPEAL for the People of CHINA**

CORSO already has been of New Zealanders in China who can watch the distribution of rations and safeguard the expenditure of funds. Through CORSO, in addition, can ensure fast practical assistance in China by making use of internationally recognized organizations working now in China—Mariano Roda’s China Welfare Fund, the Catholic Welfare Committee, and Rewi Alley and Bishop Hall, through the Chinese Industrial Co-operative organization. Each shilling, every pound you give will be well spent. Your help will get through to China swiftly. YOUR help NOW will save lives.

CORSO = The Council of Organizations for Relief Service Overseas

Communist China Already Has Seat.

A disillusionsed ex-Communist emerged out of China the
day of official Communist record of "land reform" trials in
Kiangsi province. The trials and executions took place last July, but it was only recently that
photographs reached the outside world.

No. 1 shows Huang Chien-chi, on
his knees in front of the judge
his one-time neighbors and
friends. He was accused of "ex-
ploring peasants by gun, rope
and scythe." In other words,
he owned two-thirds of an acre.
Huang was executed as he knelt
off a roughly sandy slope, while a
Machine gun put a rifle bullet
through his back (1).

The "people's tribunal" then
turned to the mass trial of 30
other prisoners. Black demonstra-
tions by their fellow-villagers fol-
lowed, all were found guilty and
their possessions were confiscated.
Twenty were found less "stub-
born" than some, but their "de-
laying" led to a death March down
the sun-baked streets of Fuking
town (2) guarded by militiamen
with drawn pistols. On a river
bank their ordeal ended. (3) The
woman in the foreground was
still bound to the man at her
right. Before they were burned
their farm implements were dis-
tributed to the villagers.

IX

Communist "Justice"
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