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THE REPORT OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE, 1871:
With respect to some aspects of public opinion in Otago Province.

by
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Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Postgraduate Diploma in Arts at the University of Otago, 1974.
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INTRODUCTION.

The scope of this essay is limited. It is intended primarily as an analysis of the report of the Select Committee on Chinese Immigration of the New Zealand House of Representatives, 1871. My purpose is not to examine at length the whole question of Chinese immigration in New Zealand but to examine the evidence and conclusions of the committee, and to relate these to the context of public opinion in Otago Province, as evidenced in the pages of the Otago Daily Times in the years 1868 - 71 inclusive.

The ODT was chosen as the major primary source for a number of reasons. It provided coverage of a period which was traumatic and significant for the Chinese immigrant miners. It reflected all shades of opinion on the racial question and thus is valuable in any study of social history in the Province. I consider this one source flexible enough to demonstrate the validity - or otherwise - of the evidence presented at the hearings of the committee, allowing this long essay to expand its scope beyond the pages of the report without extending the research into the realms of a full thesis. The choice between the ODT and the Evening Star was arbitrary. Both were of similar format, and both were used as vehicles for liberal and conservative public opinion throughout the Province. Both could reasonably be expected to reflect educated opinion both in leading articles and letters, or more indirectly in reported articles. Both often quoted from each other, and indeed from many other papers as well. Both drew extensively on outside sources to give a Province-wide coverage of news. Bearing this in mind, one such source
only was necessary to demonstrate the general trends in opinion.

A far less balanced picture of the racial clash was presented by the goldfields papers. They have been used in the sixth chapter of this essay, but only as excerpts reprinted in the ODT. They were universally anti-Chinese, and employed a vicious polemic which added nothing to the literature of the time nor to historiographical sources of the period, beyond demonstrating a vehement dislike of the "heathen chinee." It suffices merely to be aware of the existence and tenor of these publications, for all of their arguments found more acceptable form either in the columns of the large urban papers, or in the minutes of the proceedings of the Report of the parliamentary committee itself.
2. "Ho A Mee, Pioneer."

The primary introduction of Chinese into Australia was not caused by gold. A need for labour dictated to the squatters that they must import workers: whether kanakas, white or Chinese depended solely on the wages they were prepared to take. The whites lost out.

The first Australian imports of Chinese labour came in the mid-1840's, and the system under which they came was the old colonial indentured servant kind of bond. The Chinese imported in this way - although small in numbers - were responding to a series of economic impulses within China. Almost all came from the southern provinces, mainly Kwangtung and Canton, areas in which the population imbalances of China were greatest. Even when crops were good in these areas, demographic pressure ensured that food was scarce. Peasant economies do not allow the populations much latitude in times of shortage, and thus is produced a very common result of this pressure: part of the population must find alternate means of support, even at the cost of leaving the homeland. The British had forced open the ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai, and Canton by 1842, and had gained control of Hong Kong, Macao, although Portuguese, was also an open port. Here was the opportunity for the Chinese in these areas gain contacts with the western nations; the possibilities of travel and intercourse were opened wide, and a valuable source of feedback from the west was activated. It was from this section of China that the influx to Australia
began, contemporaneously with the movement to America. The motives were purely economic, and in the case of Australia, the squatters could see benefit on both sides.

The introduction of another alien race into Australia provoked one of the most heated and prolonged controversies of the era. By the time that Chinese miners began to arrive in large numbers in the 1850's, the dispute had polarised. On one side were men who could see no wrong in their coming, and preached the need for labour and the industriousness of the Chinese as justification for their residence. The other side preached an equally effective economic argument for keeping them out, and commented—usually with the utmost vehemence—on the totally different character of the Chinese and the unassimilable nature of the race. All this was to reappear in a modified form in New Zealand, for two reasons: the two peoples were from common stock, and New Zealand inherited most of her miners from the depleted Australian goldfields. With these miners came their prejudices— and to their chagrin, the Chinese also!

Australia began her Chinese community by invitation, and for economic reasons. Otago began New Zealand's Chinese community in almost the same way.

The Otago goldfields were until 1865 exclusively whites only. But the character of the fields began to change in 1864. W. P. Morrell says this: "The transition from the enthusiasm of gold rush to the more sober outlook of a regular industry had occurred." The territorial expansion
of the goldfields was at an end.\(^1\) European miners relied upon large strikes and fast returns for little outlay. The end of the "fever" era heralded a depletion of goldfield populations; and the opening of the way for the plodding and patient Chinese miner. The numbers on the goldfield peaked in 1864, an exodus of miners occurring thereafter: for example, in one three-month period, seven thousand miners left the fields.\(^2\) The trend continued, and astute businessmen realised that their period of expansion was at an end — unless the miners could be replaced. The untapped reserves of Chinese miners presented an attractive picture.

In September 1865, the Otago Chamber of Commerce moved that "It is desirable that the immigration of Chinese into this province be encouraged."\(^3\) The members declared that the Chinese were a well-behaved class, producing large quantities of gold in their plodding way, and therefore were potentially large customers. Only one member, Bathgate by name, voiced objection. His grounds were basically those on which provincial and national objection to the Chinese would eventually be based. He believed that there was sufficient population in the colony to adequately supply all necessary labour; that the Chinese were essentially unassimilable and would introduce objectionable alien practices; that far from being spent in the colony, their gold would go directly to China; and that any introduction of numbers of Chinese would necessarily be accompanied by a general lowering of morality.\(^4\) A meeting of miners at Tuapeka immediately

2. Ibid.
clamoured against the Chinese, and the merchants. "Without the slightest consideration for the trade and prosperity of Otago, they have left it and those who have invested capital in it to fend for themselves..."5.

It would seem, however, that trade and prosperity were precisely what the chamber had in mind. The members who voted for the motion were merchants or shippers. E.P. Cargill, the President, was Dunedin's foremost shipping merchant, agent and owner. He was the first director of the Union Steam Ship Company and was to emerge as the main owner of those ships which carried the Chinese to Otago. W.H. Reynolds was also a shipping agent, brother-in-law to and at one time partner of James Macandrew, oftimes Superintendent of Otago province and Member of the House for Port Chalmers. Reynolds was the member for Dunedin city, and both were to appear as members of the Committee on Chinese Immigration. T. Dick, A. W. Morris, F. J. Moss and W. A. Tolme were connected with shipping, warehousing or were general merchants. All therefore had strong economic motives for desiring that the population of the province increase. But what effect would this body have on the government of Otago? We may simply note that Reynolds, Dick, Morris, Moss and Macandrew were all members of the Provincial Council.

The current Superintendent, John Harris, and the council itself had been responsible for a series of statements in favour of importing Chinese miners into the province. On 5 January 1865, for example, Harris stated in the council that "The government is of the opinion

6. He was not Superintendent at the time. A "financial indiscretion" with council funds had caused him to be dismissed from the post. He was later returned with large majorities as Superintendent and Member for Port Chalmers.
that several of the Otago goldfields appear to be especially suited to the mode of working of the Chinese miner, and therefore afford every prospect of success to a large number of that class. 7. He further stated that the full protection of the law would be given to the Chinese. He also intimated that the Otago government would consider extra protection if it were later deemed necessary.

A Victorian Chinese merchant quickly arrived in Dunedin to pursue the matter. As he later recalled, he received much help from the Otago Council, and named among others Vincent Pyke, then Inspector of Goldfields and something of a major influence in the mining administration, as being of special help. It was this merchant, Ho A Mee, who was responsible for bringing out the first dozen miners in 1865-6, and who later was to sponsor many more in direct shipments from China. His activities may be seen as one of the prime reasons for the establishment of the Committee on Chinese Immigration, for it was these direct shipments which created the most alarm amongst the anti-Chinese miners and prompted Haughton to call for an investigation.

The ODT shows that it was prepared to report on all sides of the question, for it carried personal letters which both denigrated and lauded the Chinese miners. It carried not only reports on the problem from America and Australia, but also serious accounts written by the paper's own reporters on the life-style of the Chinese. These accounts attempted to cover such details as Chinese food

8. ODT 8 June, 1971. See appendix II.
and its preparation; the construction of their dwellings; their gambling habits; what kind of customers they were; and other bits of miscellany.\(^9\) The public were informed about the Chinese indirectly, in the main; Warden's reports and mining reports from the goldfields, and other snippets from the goldfields papers often carried mention of the Chinese. These indirect mentions may be used to build up an elementary picture of the movements of the Chinese as well as their mining habits and their relative numbers. An analysis of the Warden's reports indicates that the Chinese were engaged solely in alluvial mining, generally using their portable "cradles" to sift low-yield dirt. Initially they concentrated in the Tuapeka, Dunstan and Mt. Ida areas, working old claims - although some charges of encroaching on European claims by "pegging-off" land around a valuable claim and thus saving themselves the trouble of having to look for good land themselves were laid at their door.\(^10\) By late 1869 more were moving overland into the lakes districts, to Lawrence, Queenstown, Switzers and the Arrow. At one stage in February 1871 the Chinese outnumbered European miners in the Queenstown district, and although this situation quickly changed with the onset of winter, Switzers and the Arrow retained high proportions of Chinese. The calls for restrictive legislation against the Chinese emanate from this district; and Haughton as the Member for Wakatip (sic) became the protagonist of restriction. By 1871, Customs returns and Warden's reports would indicate that the Chinese miners comprised about 40% of the mining population in these areas.\(^11\)

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9. See appendix I.
But while the goldfield areas were voicing their displeasure, others were defending the subjects of the Celestial Empire. Letters to the ODT indicated the depth of feeling in the province. One, by "Miner," called attention to the significance of the fact that the latest Chinese were arriving directly from China rather than through Australia or America. "While a few hundred Chinamen may be allowed, that is no reason why thousands of them should be permitted to assemble on our goldfields." He claimed that this was just the thin end of the wedge, and painted a picture of "thousands of the Chinese here successfully competing with Europeans in all branches of manual labour." As he progressed an hysterical note crept in: "The Chinese being numerically the greatest nation in the world, they could scatter their thousands over the face of the world and still make no appreciable effect upon the myriads of the Chinese empire." He concludes with a plea for government action in the form of either exclusion laws or poll-taxes. "Miner's" arguments are common, and although he moderates his demands by "wishing to do justice to the Chinese that are here," his fears are typical. 12.

By contrast, and in answer to "Miner," William Dalrymple was prepared to advocate the reverse of exclusion policies. In a voice far ahead of his age — and perhaps even ours — he preached living with and learning from the Chinese. But like many such men, in responding to an over-reacting prejudice, he himself over-reacted and lionised the Chinese people. "Not one of them for every 50 of other

12. ODT 5 April 1871, Letters Column.
countries has been in the hands of the police for drunkenness, &c. Nor is there one in the lunatic asylum in consequence of gluttonous habits. There is not one in any of our hospitals from any preventable diseases, nor have there been any applications from them to the government for pecuniary aid.”

In a more down to earth manner, a "Chinese Merchant" wrote in consequence of questions raised in the Provincial council about the Chinese. Systematically he refutes the arguments of the anti-Chinese groups. He suggests that such men should ask the European merchants "whether they would like to be without our ready-cash custom?" He then notes his own customs payments for the year, excluding any other Chinese merchant, totalled about £2000; and as well the harbour duties on the trading vessels were not insignificant. He mentions the opening of the fungus trade in the North Island as a valuable instance of Chinese initiative. The most salient point concluded his letter: "If you consult the customs returns you will find that most of the gold in the province is exported by the banks, who buy it from the miners. Therefore I cannot understand what difference there is if the Chinese miner exports his gold direct, or the European miner exports the same indirect through some bank; in both cases the gold, or its equivalent value is lost to the colony.”

An unacknowledged letter on the same day criticised Superintendent Macandrew’s proposals for assisted European immigration when "The Chinaman will pour in by thousands if they are only permitted, without our solicitations, and

14. ODT 5 July 1871.
bringing in water for the goldfields without Mr. Haughton's subsidies, and moreover make the [gold] escort as big as yore."  

Opinion was clearly polarised; and there now appeared more scurrilous letters. "Pine Hill" wrote of his visit to the temporary quarters of three hundred newly arrived immigrants that "after half-an-hour, I found the stench and other obnoxious vapours which arose from the places around about to be too great to stay any longer. I took my departure, thinking as I did so that unless some measures were adopted for the purpose of keeping it down and securing the health of the public, some disease might be engendered."  

"A.Z." quickly rebutted "Pine Hill" by noting sardonically that when he "took the liberty of walking in amongst them... on the whole they were not so bad - were decidedly better than a bevy of Irish similarly circumstanced would have been." Prejudice does not necessarily come in colours!

But the most interesting letter of all those written in 1871 was that of the original entrepreneur, the original ticket-creditor from Victoria and Hong Kong to New Zealand - the redoubtable Ho A Mee. The full text of the letter appears as appendix two, and is commended as an example of the other side of the story of the Chinese in Otago. There is given an interesting insight into the mechanics of the credit-ticket system under which most of the Chinese emigrated, whether to New Zealand, Australia, America, or as the evidence of the Committee on Chinese Immigration

15. Ibid.
16. ODT 2 Aug. 1871.
17. ODT 21 Aug. 1871.
heard, to the Pacific Islands. The system was basically a variation of the colonial Indentured-servant system. A merchant or relative either in China or outside would advance to a man enough money to emigrate to greener pastures and set himself up in whatever business he desired - in Australia and New Zealand this was almost invariably mining. The creditor then held a lien on the worker's earnings until he was repaid in full plus a suitable interest, whence the worker was then a free man again. A refinement of the system saw the freed workers importing their own laborers to work their claims. In Ho's case, he advanced £800 to various Chinese miners on the Victorian goldfields to enable them to come to New Zealand. He complains bitterly that the ungrateful wretches have not yet paid him back, even after so many years. It is ironic that Ho's denunciation of his own countrymen's honesty is more vehement in this respect than the general tone of the evidence given to the Committee on Chinese Immigration.

It may be imagined that Ho's glad tidings of more direct shipments of Chinese from Hong Kong were not welcome amongst a good many of the inhabitants of the province, the more so when the news is accompanied by a request for remuneration from the Provincial Council, a body "known to be generous and open-handed in giving towards what is just and right..." Oblivious to the furore that he had helped to create, Ho claimed responsibility for the current scheme, and for "bringing it to its present satisfactory state."19.

Ho's letter sums up the hopes of the Chinese, and

18. ODT 18 Sept. 1871 contains an excerpt from the Southland Times in which a Chinese from Orepuki, Kee Chang, is interviewed in suitably pidgeon english about the nature of his own efforts at engaging labour in this way. (Olla Podrida column.)
19. ODT 8 June 1871. See appendix II.
counterpoints the bitterness of many of the Otago miners. Both Chinese and European miners existed in a plane of perpetual optimism for their own futures, an existence in which each tried to exploit all available resources and to jealously guard their livelihoods. Ho represented the whole of the Chinese population in Otago when he signed his letter, simply and proudly,

"Ho A Mee,

PIONEER."
3. The Select Committee.

Charles Edward Haughton, Member of the House of Representatives for Wakatip, brought to the attention of the House the question of Chinese immigration in New Zealand in July, 1871. He asked if "the attention of the House [has] been directed towards the large influx of Chinese in the province of Otago and the probable results of such immigration upon the permanent settlement of the country." Fox, for the Government, replied with a simple negative. While aware that "not a very large number of Chinese" had arrived in Otago, no official confirmation had yet reached him on the matter. If any such did arrive, he offered to inform the house.

Haughton was at the time the chairman of the Goldfields committee, established to look into the general state of the goldfields and largely confining itself to technical and legal matters. One matter which often came up outside these terms of reference was the question of Chinese miners. Haughton eventually sent out telegrams to the wardens of the goldfields on the subject, receiving replies which later appeared in the second Interim Report of the Chinese Immigration Committee. As a man who had represented three goldfields electorates, he may be considered to have a wide knowledge in the field, more so since he had worked as mining agent in Queenstown. As editor of the Wakatip Mail he presumably had an eye for the newsworthy story. At any rate, qualified as he was, he emerged as the leader and protagonist of the anti-Chinese

speakers in the House. It seemed logical that he should be a prime mover in the debate over restriction of the Chinese.

His first attempt in this direction was a motion tabled on 29 August, 1871, in which he attempted to expand the terms of reference of the Goldfields Committee to include an examination of the problem. The parliamentary records show that by the time the motion was put, he had reconsidered, and learning that William Steward (Waitaki) had already prepared to amend the motion to create a new committee, he offered his original motion with the wish that Steward's amendment be carried. It was so done.

Steward now became the leader on the Chinese question. The minutes of the Chinese Immigration Committee show him to be an interested man asking pertinent and directed questions, although his choice of witnesses seems to have been governed by the idea contained in the preamble to Interim Report number one. "Your committee have examined a number of witnesses, whose attendance was procured without any expense to the colony..." (By contrast, a Canadian Commission in 1884-5 imported such dignitaries as the Mayor of San Francisco to testify.) At the time Steward was a back-bencher, in his first year as member for Waitaki. He was eventually to leave Parliament and buy the Waimate Times in 1879. He was the only member of the committee present throughout all its nine meetings, and was in fact the permanent chairman.

Originally composed of ten members, subsequently

2. P.C. Campbell, Chinese Coolie Immigration, Ch. 1.
expanded to thirteen, the committee consisted mainly of men who might conceivably have some knowledge of the chinese, either overseas or in New Zealand. Haughton and Steward we have noted already. Others representing the goldfields included William Harrison from the Grey electorate, the first editor of the Grey River Argus and later (1871) editor of the Wellington Independent. Macandrew we have met, as the popular Superintendent of Otago, representing in Parliament Port Chalmers. He had interests in shipping and of course the Otago Witness. He was married to the sister of William Reynolds, his one-time shipping partner and now co-member of the committee. Reynolds emigrated with Macandrew in 1851, and after dissolving his partnership with him graduated to acting editor of the Otago Witness. He was a prominent member of the Otago Council from 1853 until abolition in 1876, and retained some prominence in the House under Waterhouse and Fox, as member for Dunedin City. With Macandrew, he had voted for the introduction of the chinese in the Otago Chamber of Commerce vote of 1865. (See Ch. 2.)

Sir William Fox's fame in Parliament needs no elaboration. Suffice to say that the duties of the member from Rangitikei combined to keep him out of the committee for all but two sessions of the nine.

Sir William Fitzherbert's attendance was only one meeting better than Fox's. Although the member from the Hutt has been Colonial Treasurer in 1864-5, he now held no major government post. However, he was one of the men present at the last crucial vote of the committee.
Shephard was enjoying his first year in Parliament as member for Waimea. Like many on the committee, he had journalistic experience, editing the Colonist for many years. Thomson, White and Carrington were also in their first years of office, Carrington assuming some greater importance on the committee as member for both Grey and Bell, both mining districts.

Attendance was never great on the committee. Steward, Carrington, Reynolds, and Parker formed the bulk of the committee in most cases, while Thomson, White, Harrison, Macandrew and Shephard all have attendance records better than the man whose idea the investigation originally was - Haughton. In fairness, Haughton's other committee work probably precluded his attendance most times. But his was the only protesting voice at the conclusion of the report, and it was he who requested the members of the House to consider the evidence over the recess, presumably with a view to forcing an adverse vote in the next session in 1872. In the event, Haughton's appointment as Undersecretary for Immigration entailed his resignation from Parliament at the end of the 1871 session.

Several facts stand out in these reviews of the main members of the committee. In common with almost all of their generation, they are not native-born. They are immigrants themselves, usually of at least a decade's residence, and therefore still capable of remembering why they chose New Zealand as the site of their settlement.

and the hopes and aspirations they had once envisaged for the new colony. As immigrants they are therefore people who have have travelled widely in the world. The evidence of Parker, Haughton and Carrington, along with occasional comments from Steward would tend to suggest that a wide experience was extant in the committee. Haughton claimed extensive knowledge of goldfields in Otago and presumed to equate these fields with those in other countries. Parker claimed knowledge of Tahiti and Victoria. Carrington made a short statement concerning his experience in California, while Steward made references to a wide number of Pacific and Far Eastern spheres of influence. Taken with the fact that most had close connections with goldmining areas, it is fair to state that there existed the possibility, because of the homogeneous nature of the group, of a biased report being produced. A further aspect of similarity which tends to support this is the fact that most were, or had been, journalists. They should therefore be trained in the art of gauging public opinion, and be capable of delving into the evidence and separating the corn from the chaff.

In view of this, let us look at the pattern of voting. The final report (AJHR H-5B, 1871.) contains the record of voting of the committee. There were four controversial decisions, two on Steward's proposed report and the two last as additions to the report put by Haughton. The committee, including Haughton, agreed that the Chinese were industrious and frugal. But Haughton then forced divisions
on clauses two and three: that the Chinese were as orderly as Europeans, and that the morality and security of the country were not likely to be affected by their presence. Haughton's "No" stood alone in the committee. The rest of the proposed clauses, including an addition by Parker that the presence of the Chinese had not entailed any additional police expenditure, passed without comment or dispute. Surprisingly enough, clause nine, that no number of them are at any time likely to become permanent settlers in the country, was contested by no one. Haughton was well aware that the previous three months had seen the arrival in Otago of more than 1,700 Chinese landed direct from China and Hong Kong rather than through America or Australia. 4 Ho A Mee's promises of more Chinese miners could hardly have come at a more inopportune time. 5

Now, however, Haughton made a determined bid to negate the conclusion the committee was clearly reaching. His motion read: "That the presence of a large Chinese population upon the goldfields is detrimental to the interests of the European miners and highly distasteful to them, whilst the working out of the poorer ground by the Chinese miners is a wasteful expenditure of the future resources of the colony." 6 Haughton was joined surprisingly enough by Thomson, whose middle-of-the-road approach had earlier seemed to favour the Chinese. He had said, "Personally, I have no objection to the introduction of the Chinese, and should rather like to see them come to the country without let or hindrance." 7

The question of fiscal discouragement then came next, and again it fell to Haughton (who, perhaps mindful of the electorate, was fast assuming the role Reeves was later to occupy) to put a motion which would ensure that the Chinese paid more to the economy than at present. He proposed heavy duties on opium and rice, and a poll-tax as well. This time the vote was more evenly balanced, five voting for an amendment of Fitzherbert's, which negated Haughton's proposals, and four voting against. Haughton and Thomson were joined by Reynolds and Shephard. Reynolds' motives are not clear. His background, as we have seen, was clearly in favour of the Chinese for economic motives. During the investigation, it was he who had pointed out that one Chinese merchant "pays on certain articles more duty than all the other merchants in Dunedin..." and then further defended the Chinese character by noting that when the same merchant was forced in banco his fellows subscribed enough to allow payment of 20/- in the pound.8

Shephard's views were more clearly demarcated. His questioning, for example, David Mervyn was leading and revolved around the theme of Europeans being disadvantaged by Chinese immigrants.9

Perhaps in all fairness, Haughton's vehement motions may have been too extreme for Reynolds and Shephard to support outright, while Fitzherbert's amendment, asserting that "No sufficient case... has been made out to require the committee to propose that legislative action should

be taken..." could have been too much the other way. 10. While amending Haughton's motion was a neat means of ensuring the end of the debate, Fitzherbert introduced an element of polarisation which possibly upset what might have remained liberal support.

Earlier, a mention was made that the committee had the potential for bias, and the potential for investigation. The investigation suffered from being presented with evidence of a kind which, with the exception of some warden's reports and police figures, were almost entirely subjective. The potential for bias against the Chinese was evident in only one case, that of Haughton's. Of the others who attended the meetings of the committee, none displayed in their questions (or evidence in some cases) a clear-cut prejudice against the Chinese. Confronted with opinion violently against and totally in favour, from various sources, the did in fact vote much as a body. But their votes were on the side of the status quo. The last, controversial, decision may show more accurately the degree of polarisation when the issues were reduced to emotional terms.
4. The Evidence Against.

The Select Committee called before itself an impressive range of witnesses in a number of categories. A dozen men were called on, or volunteered as willing, to give oral testimony and to answer such questions as the committee might ask. These people represented a variety of present and past occupations, but all had in common a background of travel, particularly through the Pacific. They included men like Captain Bishop, a trader with many years experience in the Far East; John Ah Tong, the only Chinaman called to give evidence, a cabinetmaker in Wellington; Colonel Brett, a military officer of some considerable reputation from the Crimea and India; six members of the House of Representatives; one Doctor of Medicine; and just to add a final touch, a sessions clerk from the House.

The second category, written evidence, permitted no questions beyond those originally asked but probably was the most concise body of evidence presented. Here were reports from the wardens of the goldfields sent in answer to Steward's seven questions. Coupled with these were warden's replies to Haughton's questions from the Goldfields Committee, seconded from that committee by Haughton himself. Two further members of the House, Hunt and Bradshaw, were invited to submit answers to questions, and two pro-Chinese letters by J.E. Wright and "Yelia Boeg" and one other solicited letter from G.B. Barton constituted a third category of evidence. To complete the evidence there were telegraphic communications from three independent

1. Another Chinese was in fact present, but since Ah Tong did not consider that he could add anything new to the evidence, he did not testify.
medical authorities about the healthiness of the chinese, and some amount of Police evidence.

Few of the witnesses attempted to condemn outright and universally the chinese people, although Haughton and Maitland found it difficult to say much good about them. Maitland claimed that no other peoples were so utterly demoralised, and besides being dirty in their personal habits, they were mostly thieves. Even while admitting their frugality, he criticised it as providing grounds for greater taxation to make them contribute more to the economy. Advocating legislation to keep them in place, even he was forced to admit to the industriousness of the race.²

Haughton worked less from the overseas aspect, and alone of the oral witnesses concentrated on the New Zealand experience, in Otago. He detailed most of the reasons why the Otago miners harboured very bitter feelings against the chinese, and cited two cases where the aliens, through either deceit or judicial sympathy were acquitted of criminal charges that he personally believed were true. Rejecting the evidence pointing to economic benefit to the colony from the chinese, he declared that the reverse was the case. Dunedin merchants lost on the deal, for chinese competition monopolised the "celestial" market.³

Thomson, the Crown Commissioner of Lands in Otago, mounted a three-pronged attack of the chinese character based upon observations from Penag in particular. He called to notice the turbulence of the chinese when in great

² AJHR H-5, 1871. pp6-8.
numbers, and their consequent "immorality." They were given to rioting, gaming and robbery, and secret societies of fearsome aspect. He said they would remain an alien culture in New Zealand, depleting the colony of money while exploiting the advantages of strong government and laws. Finally, he claimed that the curse of leprosy ran in their blood, ready to break out at any time. He found himself compelled to declare himself against the Chinese. 4.

The question of morality (however this was defined) loomed large. John Ah Tong offered no spirited resistance against the allegations, but could only answer to questions that polygamy was, for the Chinese, a matter of individual conscience. Parker and Henderson both mentioned the difficulties of gambling, while Carrington claimed that they were possessed of very dirty habits when congregated in any number. The wardens were questioned about the rumoured habit of decoying young women and children for immoral purposes. Only one out of the ten, Borton from Roxburgh, actually returned a reply unfavorable to the Chinese. Simpson from Lawrence was neutral, and the others replied that there was no risk level above that of a European community. A wider question dealing with the effect on European adults was almost universally favorable. In general, the two communities did not mix. The Chinese were simply looked on as inferior and left alone. 5.

The fact they were an alien race seems to be the main reason for this "tolerance." The Chinese worked in

a co-operative manner, which generally yielded better results over a period of time than the more individualistic approach of the European miner. Culture, outlook, methods — all caused the miners to resent the economic success of the Chinese. Thomson declared that large numbers of the Chinese would deplete the colony of revenue. In particular, he held up the promise of a lowered standard of living for the European worker. David Kervyn elaborated this thesis by claiming that something of the kind had already happened. Far from working the poorer ground (as the wardens all agreed they did) they worked good ground to exhaustion. He believed that they were edging out and keeping out European miners, men who were all potential settlers and should normally be attracted by the lure of gold into colonisation and settlement. Haughton’s view supported this. Kervyn, Brett, and Bishop all claimed that in any case the Chinese were not adapted to, nor capable of, heavy labour, and were thus hardly good potential colonists.

Disease was also a moot point. A doctor, James Hector, was examined. He concluded that the Chinese were scrofulous and leprous. Parker commented that the opinions on the contagiousness of leprosy were divided, and as we shall see, the medical evidence of three other sources flatly contradicted Hector’s evidence.

Most of the above evidence was framed around one viewpoint, that of the Chinese conduct in places other than New Zealand. Haughton’s evidence from Otago may

have been sincere, but the doubt that it may have been politically motivated remains. We must then look at outside evidence concerned with New Zealand in order to complete the picture. The Committee provided this in the form of questions to the men most concerned with the daily details of the life of the Chinese in New Zealand, the wardens of the goldfields. Seven questions were asked of them all.

The first concerned the effect of the Chinese miners on the goldfields. Lowther Broad from Nelson, an area with few Chinese but the potential for attracting many more, commented that the opinion of the miners was divided, as with the residents. He personally believed that a Chinese presence would drive the European miners away. 10. Carew, from Blacks, bemoaned the loss to the colony of the gold revenue, 11. while Keddell from Coromandel (where there were no Chinese) commented unfavorably on the likely increased cost of governance because of the aliens on the fields. 12.

The second question concerned the effect of the Chinese upon the general conduct of the population. Universally the wardens replied that this was negligible. Lack of contact, the fact that the Chinese would not allow the Europeans to join in their gambling, the general sense of inferiority all combined to create a bridge between the two which was rarely crossed.13.

No damage to morality resulted, as we have seen. But opinion divided over the fourth question, which asked

for comment on what effect the Chinese had on development of the goldfields. Six gave unfavorable replies, claiming they exhausted the land. (Haughton had earlier used the term "devastation.") Broad from Nelson called them gleaners rather than developers. 14.

In respect of intermarriage opinion again split. there was no condemnation, but it was variously declared that the Chinese married only ignorant Irish women (Robinson, Naseby) 15 or that they did not marry girls of low character (Pyke, Clyde) 16 or that their marriages helped make prostitutes into good mothers! (Carew, Blacks.) 17 The question was not given any great importance by anybody.

It was the sixth question which became crucial: should the Chinese immigration be encouraged or checked? Six gave answers unfavorable to the Chinese, two were neutral, and two were favorable. None of the six considered the Chinese to be a suitable class of colonist to live beside the European. Even Vincent Pyke, hitherto in his answers very favorable to the Chinese 18 stated that "they have no religion, nor any sense of truth... their word is not to be relied on... they are uncleanly in their habits and herd together after the manner of swine." 19 Most came upon the idea of heavy poll-taxes. Lowther Broad did however note the extent of the terms of the Anglo-Chinese treaties, thereby correcting an oversight of the others. 20

The telegrams seconded from the Goldfields committee added little to the evidence. Only six replies,

all from the Otago district were received, and the general views correspond with the more detailed answers to Steward's questions. Borton and Carew again have little to say for the Chinese, while the two lakes district wardens, Beetham and Wood have the least to say against them. 21.

The police reports generally concentrate on the legal aspects. Where the writers move into speculation, their opinions are generally unfavorable. Pender from Christchurch, for example, did not consider them suitable immigrants at all; but his opinions were based on his experiences in Victoria. 22. Those who rely on their experience of the Chinese in New Zealand have little adverse criticism to make.

In summary we may note that the general feeling against the Chinese comes not from within New Zealand, nor is it based on the New Zealand experience. Those most vehemently against them claim to have seen unsavory aspects of their way of life in the Far East, or have seen them in California, or have witnessed an adverse European reaction in Victoria. Haughton, representing Wakatip, brings forward the view of a large and important mining area, but it is not a view supported by the wardens of that district. Wood from Switzers claims in the Goldfields correspondence that it was only recently, and at the instigation of the Arrow Anti-Chinese Party that much has been said on the matter. 23. The similar format of two petitions presented to the Committee from the

same district (one from 155 miners of Switzers, and the other from 2,400 miners on the goldfields.) tends to bear this out. The presence of an organised opposition is something hitherto unknown, and a powerful factor in the anti-Chinese agitation which prompted Haughton's request for an investigation into Chinese immigration.
5. The Evidence For.

With two significant exceptions, the evidence in favour of the Chinese presence and continued immigration was taken from the same sources as in the preceding chapter. These exceptions are the letters of J.F.G. Wright, and "Yelia Boeg" and the letters of Messrs. Hunt, Bradshaw and Barton.

The first two letters are from men who, as Wright put it, "confess to being [persons] who see numberless good qualities in this persevering race."¹ "Yelia Boeg's" letter is a rational document calculated to present a firm rebuttal of the arguments presented both in the hearings of the committee and the papers of the time. A satisfactory summary is not really possible without a detailed commentary of at least equal length. The writer presented and rebutted what he considered to be the four main arguments against the Chinese: abstract right, in which he disputes the European's claims to the land as being no more valid than that of the Chinese; religion, in which he paints a compelling picture of European hypocrisy and Chinese tolerance; morality, in which he admits only of the gambling propensities of the Chinese but considers this preferable to European drunkenness and consequent rowdyism; and finally, social and political economy and the effect which the Chinese are reputed to have, which he answers by listing the actual benefits the colony derives from them. He has prepared a humanitarian document which cuts through a great deal of racial prejudice.

¹AJHR H-5A, 1871, p3.
but yet failed to recognise the depth of prejudice in an uneducated class of colonist; that is to say that class which cannot look dispassionately at the situation simply because he is at the grass-roots level of involvement and is motivated by fears of competition for livelihood. Wright's letter is an addenda to that of "Yelia Boeg" intended to demonstrate that some solidarity of favorable opinion did exist in some quarters. Both men took their evidence from outside New Zealand, having been residents in China for some time. Wright extends his arguments to the Chinese market gardeners living at Ohiro, his neighborhood, and claims an excellent rapport for the district. Both advocate the suitability of the Chinese as colonists for New Zealand. 2

The questions asked of the wardens were, as we have seen, of a leading nature, allowing great scope for personal opinion. This is perhaps justified by the view that these were the men who had the most to do with the Chinese, and who were in a position to compare their own countrymen with the alien immigrants in a supposedly unbiased manner. It is for this reason that the evidence of the wardens (and of course the police) assumes major importance in the deliberations of the committee.

We have noted that all but two of the wardens were against further extensive immigrations of Chinese. These were Wood, from Switzers, and Beetham, from Queenstown. This area was in 1871 the most densely populated part of Otago with respect to the Chinese mining population.

2. Ibid., H-5, p7-8 (J. F. G. Wright), p8-12 ("Yelia Boeg.").
Beetham noted in his letter to the Goldfields Committee that the Chinese miners actually outnumbered the European miners,\(^3\) while the warden's reports for Switzers for 1871 actually indicate a consistent level of about two thirds Chinese miners.\(^4\) Why did these men in particular defend the Chinese? It was an ironic situation. Carew from Blacks claimed that few were in his area, but none were wanted.\(^5\) Broad from Nelson, again an area where there were few, was against more immigration.\(^6\) Keddell from Coromandel - where there were none - regarded them as unsuitable colonists.\(^7\) It is highly significant that the men who lived most among the Chinese were the least concerned at the prospect of greater numbers.

In mining terms, three wardens condemned outright the Chinese as mere scavengers who alienated much gold. Five claimed that they were "rather beneficial than the reverse."\(^8\) Wood claimed that they increased the gold yield by one quarter.\(^9\)

Not one warden claimed any bad influence by the Chinese. Most noted the fact that they were looked down upon by the Europeans, and that it was more likely to be the latter who caused disturbance rather than the former. Borton from Roxburgh opined that the Chinese could present a threat to the morality of the European women and children.\(^10\) Simpson from Lawrence thought the children might be harmed.\(^11\) They were alone in their opinions. Keddell commented on rumours which had been circulating, but had never seen or found any proof of the immoral

\(^3\) Ibid, H-5, p6.  
\(^4\) ODT 5 May, 1871; 1 Aug., 1871.  
\(^5\) AJHR H-5A, p5.  
\(^6\) Ibid, H-5, p15.  
\(^7\) Ibid, H-5, p20.  
\(^8\) Ibid, H-5, p16.  
\(^10\) Ibid, H-5, p15.  
decoying of women. Seven voices were clearly raised in favour of the Chinese.

In spite of these liberal leanings, when the final question was put - should the Chinese be encouraged or discouraged - Beetham and Wood again stood alone in favour of encouragement. The reasons were, in Beetham's case, economic. While only enough Chinese were allowed in to comfortably fill the goldfields, then they would continue to mine as the most lucrative occupation. If enough were to immigrate to saturate the mining industry, then they would be forced to offer themselves on the open labour market at vastly cheaper rates than Europeans. They would be a compliant and convenient source of cheap labour. Wood took more the laissez-faire line of "Yelia Boeg's" abstract right argument. They came at their own expense, and they should therefore be allowed to move and work at their own pleasure.

The police reports supported the wardens' views of the ordainliness of the Chinese miners. Commissioner Weldon's analysis of the Chinese population and crime rate is especially revealing. A total of 3,715 Chinese were in Otago, and in a twelve-month period only 29 were convicted of any offence. In other words, 0.78% of the Chinese population caused any disruption in the province. Bullen's report is unequivocal in praising the Chinese as industrious, frugal, orderly, entailing little if any extra police expense. He points out that their reputation for depravity probably stems more from a refusal to

15. Ibid, H-5, p23.
conceal their unsocial activities in the manner of Europeans rather than from any excesses in that direction. His complaint is that they are not permanent settlers. 

Sergeant McKlusky from Naseby was more reserved, but found little fault in the quiet strangers. He believed that any feelings against them would die away in time, as had happened in Victoria. Inspector Percy from Dunstan claimed they were much less likely to offend than the European populace. Inspector Pender struck the only discordant note. His testimony (see ch. 4.) is somewhat countered by that of Shearman, Commissioner for Canterbury. Looking to Victoria, like Pender, he was of the opinion "that Chinese make good domestic servants, excellent gold miners, and good gardeners - I may say most useful colonists, and are as well conducted as Europeans." 

The last of the written evidence was medical. Doctor Hector had certified that the Chinese were scrofulous and leprous and were likely to infect the rest of the colony. Four physicians in three telegrams refuted him emphatically. Hulme, from Dunedin Hospital, stated "There is proof in the Dunedin Hospital that leprosy is not contagious." 

Doctor Douglas from Queenstown cheerfully remarked "Chinese in Wakatipu District are remarkably healthy. No infectious diseases have come under my notice." Drs. Stewart and Haley from Lawrence told of twelve cases of infectious scabies, but discounted any special risks: "We do not think that they are more likely to propagate more disease than the usual class of immigrants." A clean bill of Health.

The rest of the oral evidence followed the same pattern as detailed in chapter 4. It was highly opinionated, and generally dealt with the Chinese in a context outside the New Zealand experience. Haughton was alone in his total condemnation, for most managed to insert a good word into their diatribes. Thomson urged the committee "not to ignore the fact that excellent men are to be found amongst them; such as would be an honour to any country." 24. John Ah Tong was understandably defensive with respect to Chinese morality, but in a manner to which no one could take offence. 25. Most admitted the industriousness and frugality of the Chinese workers, and Captain Bishop paused from describing the Chinese seamen as immoral and lazy to admit that his opinion was seventeen or eighteen years out of date, and that it was possible the Chinese may have changed. He also admitted that many of the higher class (domestics, etc.) workers were exceedingly well-behaved and "bore excellent characters." 26.

Webster's evidence was almost totally favorable to the Chinese character. Excellent laborers, they were more trustworthy than not. He made the point that immigrant laborers were the lower class of Chinese, and that the upper classes were entirely more civilized. He claimed that they all were more amenable to law than the corresponding classes of Europeans, and that as far as paternal/filial relationships were concerned, he agreed with Steward in saying that the lower Chinese classes had a greater sense of civilization than the European. 27.

Parker occupied himself with extolling the virtues of cheap Chinese labour in many fields. He noted that in a plantation in Tahiti, the Chinese actually spent £7 per head over and above keep. He recommended them as adjuncts to a healthy economy. 28. Carrington pursued much the same line of cheap labour and also noted a satisfactory pattern of behavior. 29.

Colonel Brett reinforced these arguments of good morals, orderliness and industriousness, emphasizing their freedom from prejudice against other races. 30. His sentiments are somewhat suspect in view of the unequal treaties and the methods the British used to have them adopted.

Three remaining pieces of evidence remain. All were private letters solicited by the committee from men who had some reputation as travellers and being acquainted with the Chinese in New Zealand. Messrs. Hunt, Bradshaw and Barton presented for consideration three independent letters containing the same conclusions. Each is a reasoned commentary of the situation unhindered by political considerations. Here we may find listed their considered opinions of the Chinese character (law-abiding, generally industrious) and standing in the community (despised as inferiors, often envied, not permanent settlers). Hunt and Bradshaw admit of no need for restriction or taxation. 31. Barton would see no taxation, but restriction on the grounds that the Chinese are coming to New Zealand under false promises. They are told of the mild climate, easy employment, high wages and cheap food. "If it were

29. Ibid., H-5, p14.
31. Ibid., H-5, p26; H-5, p27 respectively.
made known to them that the facts are just the reverse, their emigrating tendency would probably be checked at once."32.

These are three documents which agree so thoroughly with the conclusions of the report that one is inclined to think their unpretentiousness belies their significance and impact. They may be fairly read as balanced assessments of the situation, disinterested and accurate.

6. The Wider Scene.

The discussions in the Otago Daily Times on the chinese occurred in at least five sections of the paper: in the Personal Letters column; in mentions from various Correspondents around the province; in excerpts from other papers; in articles specifically dealing with the chinese, including Editorials; and in passing mention in the "Olla Podrida" columns. While the editorial position may best be described as neutral, these columns and articles ensured that no one view would prevail, either favorable or unfavorable to the chinese. Whereas the excerpts from other papers were not often favorable, the correspondents usually were. The articles on the chinese overseas were both for and against, and the personal letters were equally weighed on both sides.

The substance of the discussions and articles may conveniently be divided into five groups: relations with europeans; the character of the chinese; their mode of living; their mode of working; and their commercial and economic significance to the colony. These divisions also follow the broad outline of the evidence given to the committee, and when analysed in such a manner we are in a position to compare and contrast the evidence directly.

The preceding two chapters indicate that the bulk of the oral evidence at the committee hearings was concerned with the character of the chinese. Only two witnesses, Haughton and Thomson, dealt at any length with the relations between the chinese and europeans, Thomson claiming that the introduction of an immoral race would contaminate
the European colonists. Haughton simply noted the fact that the relationship of European and Chinese miners was strained, and then declared that he had investigated the reasons for this situation and found the European miner's dislike justified. He was the only witness to refer to the Chinese as "barbarians."

Written evidence from the wardens of the goldfields did not concentrate on the subject of relations with Europeans, but Beetham from Queenstown considered the Chinese were looked on as a great evil by the miners. Broad from Nelson believed that the miners' bad opinion of their competitor was simply a case of giving a dog a bad name and then hanging him. Others noted that the Europeans regarded the Chinese as inferiors and did not bother with them at all.

The Correspondents of the ODT (reporters living in various places around the province who filed intermittent reports of activities for publication) provided a valuable means of assessing the relationships between the races where it counted on the goldfields. The Dunstan correspondent was almost ecstatic in 1868. He declared that the Provincial Council had no need to proclaim the rights of the Chinese in his district. They were looked on as a "great favour here," and their numbers "might be increased by thousands without harm." He further indicated that the feeling was that the Chinese would become a large and important element in Otago. The Queenstown correspondent described them as "a jolly

1. AJHR, H-5, 1871, p4. 6. ODT 20 Feb., 1868. 2. Ibid, H-5, p8. 7. Ibid, 21 May, 1868. 3. Ibid, H-5, p15. 4. Ibid, H-5, p15. 5. This followed a proclamation from Macandrew, ODT 3 Feb, 1868, after an assault on a Chinaman at Tuapeka. A hiatus ensued over why the assailants were never arrested.
lot," noting that their patient labours paid off where europeans starved. 8 Dunstan was to remain popular with the chinese. Relationships were strained elsewhere by the influx of new immigrants directly from the chinese ports. One area where friction occurred was in the Lakes district, as Haughton had already pointed out to the committee. In October 1871 the Switzers correspondent noted the ill-feeling, and told of the petitions circulating in the district against the chinese. He appeared to be more amused at the reactions of the europeans than angry at the chinese influx. 9

Few correspondents mentioned much about the chinese character. This aspect had to be inferred from other mention in the paper, as we shall see. The Lawrence correspondent ventured to say that they were excellent cash customers, and exceedingly honest. The same article gives an account of chinese life in a Tuapeka campsite, and attempts to detail day-to-day life, from the manner of cooking, of playing, of recreation, and even to the extent of their attempts to understand the european culture. 10 It is a significant attempt by the ODT to explain away some of the misapprehensions which surrounded the chinese. They were pictured as sociable and polite. The englishmen were offered refreshments, and not only survived the alien food and sweetmeats, but actually seemed to enjoy it. A pastrycook's labours were described, and afterwards the reporters ventured into those most famously

10. The full text of the article appears as appendix I.
iniquitous of all Chinese imports, the gambling and
opium dens. Both were limited to Chinese players only,
it was pointed out. Finally, a visit to a Chinese store,
seemingly like so many European shops, was recounted.
Clearly, the heathen Chinee was no ogre in this
correspondent's eyes. 11.

As befitted goldfields writers these correspondents
carried themselves with the successes and mode of
working of the Chinese. A record of the movements of
the Chinese - although incomplete - is given by
these reports. The Chinese seemed to move to the
Molyneux and Arrow rivers in the winter, sluicing the
river banks in parties, or cradling alone. With the
onset of spring, these marginal areas were vacated
in favour of the inland sites, like Mount Ida and
St. Bathans. Most at some stage mention the Chinese
methods of box-sluicing and cradling, both suited to
working low-yield soils. Only the St. Bathans correspondent
makes mention of the Chinese working rich claims,
purchased for £40-50. 12. The Dunstan correspondent
claimed they worked only old ground and occupied
gullies the European did not want. 13.

In terms of economic significance all mention
in these reports is favorable. In Dunstan, jubilant
businessmen rejoiced at the influx of cash customers,
whatever their colour. 14. At St. Bathans, before the
Chinese left for other areas for the winter, they
waited on all the businessmen and paid all their

11. ODT 8 July, 1868.
13. Ibid, 16 April, 1868.
14. Ibid.
debts. The writer pointed this out as an example worthy of imitation by Europeans.\footnote{Ibid, 25 June, 1868.}

The "Olla Podrida" column of the paper was a conglomerate of gossip and interesting or contentious items of news which generally reflected the editorial policy of the paper, albeit in a veiled manner. The Chinese "difficulty" was often mentioned whenever a full article was not warranted. It noted, for example that in the eyes of the Chinese, Dunedin enjoyed the reputation of being the place where money was most easily made.\footnote{Ibid, 1 Oct., 1869.} When the issue gained prominence in 1871 it was this column which gently reminded the readers of the treaty obligations with China, and suggested that the whole question, as in New South Wales and Victoria, was not economic but social.\footnote{Ibid, 4 Aug., 1871.}

Without comment, the column noted that in Melbourne, when a murderer named Quin was sentenced to hang for killing a Chinese, a petition was organised to plead on his behalf for clemency, on the grounds that a white man should not hang for killing a yellow.\footnote{Ibid, 27 Oct., 1871.}

Those who watched the shipping columns were able to note the rate of entry of Chinese into Port Chalmers. Those who did not read Olla Podrida, and were frequently given up to date information analyses on arrivals. The column pointed out that there had arrived at the port within a period of slightly over three weeks 1126 Chinese, and conveniently broke this down to show that an average forty-five Chinese arrived daily.\footnote{Ibid, 15 Aug., 1871.}
A typically dry comment was along these lines:
"The miners at MacRaes are very wroth with the chinese there, because they go out prospecting for gold or hunting for wild pigs on Sunday. Sad to say, those who are thus mindful of the fourth commandment are reported to have broken the third very frequently while denouncing the conduct of the heathen." 20.

The column was not above ethno-centric terminology, and nor was the paper as a whole. References to "John Chinaman" abound, and two mentions of new chinese immigrants begin respectively "Still they come!" and "The chinese invasion continues." 21. Nevertheless, the general tone is not unfavorable.

Olla Podrida was also the location of another group of references to the chinese, excerpts culled from other newspapers. Dunedin people were thus given the chance to hear of such antics as were reported in the Wakouaiti Herald in 1868. When fifteen chinese moved from Dunstan to Mount Ida, they asked the residents where they should pitch their tents. Directed to a spot opposite the local police station, they began to make camp. A group of miners collected a crowd by organising a sham fight amongst themselves, and then stirred the would-be spectators against the newcomers. Threats of violence forced the chinese to agree to leave the town by the next day. The local police, however, managed to calm the chinese somewhat and to dispel some of their fears. The danger seemed to pass. 22.

22. Ibid, 10 Jan., 1868.
As an example of mob pressure on the Chinese, the incident ranks only second to one already mentioned when Europeans attacked a Chinese at Tuapeka. The incident involved a group of miners attacking a lone Chinese. After cutting off his queue, they sealed him inside a barrel and rolled him around the town. When he finally escaped his tormentors after the barrel burst, he was aided by more humanitarian Europeans. The man was by now described as near-demented, and almost died when he tried to hide on the plains after running away from his helpers. It was the subject of a police investigation, and caused Macandrew to promulgate stern warnings about such an assault. Unfortunately, no person was ever arrested. The investigating constable commented "The Chinaman was a great liar."  

The ODT printed extracts which showed the depth of anti-Chinese feeling on the goldfields, including those which tell of the petitions against the Chinese which circulated and were eventually presented to the Committee on Chinese Immigration. However, The Arrow Observer claimed that most respectable people would remain aloof from these petitions. The Arrow Advocate pinpointed the Arrow Miners' Association as the instigators of the petitions. The similar texts of the petitions presented to Parliament certainly points to one group, or co-operating groups behind the agitation. The Evening Post article of August, 1871, commends the whole difficulty

23. Ibid, 3 Feb., 1868. Correspondence from Evening Star.  
to the attention of the assembly, pre-empting the setting-up of the select committee by only a few weeks. A novel justification of restrictive legislation was presented: the Chinese practised discrimination in China, so why not the New Zealanders in New Zealand? 26.

An excerpt from the Arrow Observer suggested that the European miner, rather than physically attack the Chinese, should use the Chinese weapons against them. Efficient combination of labour was the way to force the Chinese out, by beating them at their own game. The writer was realistic: "We would gladly turn out the Chinese tomorrow, but it cannot be done." Chauvinistic it seemed, but the article actually twitted the European miner rather than the Chinese. 27.

From mid-1871 onwards, the excerpts generally detailed the racial clash. The Wakatip Mail (Haughton's own paper) recorded the arrival of many Chinese into an area already having the highest proportion of Chinese miners in Otago. Although talk was tough, the authorities found no evidence for any conspiracy to move against the Chinese with force. Perhaps with some relief, the paper noted the formation of the select committee in Wellington. 28. An article in the Bruce Herald claimed that Lawrence did not agree with the up-country parties who proclaimed their prejudice at every opportunity. Indeed, the feeling was the reverse of prejudicial and it was to be hoped that the agitation would expend itself in smoke. 29. The Arrow Observer

27. Ibid, 4 Aug., 1871.
29. Ibid, 1 Sept., 1871.
sounded a despairing note when it compared the situation of the European to a chained malefactor in a dungeon, about to be eaten by rats. The Europeans were leaving the field to the enemy, and the paper expressed no hope that the government would help. Significantly, even under these circumstances no collision was expected. 30. The Blue Spur correspondent of the *Tuapeka Times* noted with amusement two petitions, which, if successful, meant no Chinese and no Provincial Council. "The opinion is," the article notes, "that one is as good as the other." 31.

The *Shotover News* claimed that from an economic viewpoint, the "selfishness" of the Europeans in trying to keep out the Chinese was justified. Arguing that equal opportunity might have fatal results, the article asked "Have the colonists no right to oppose the invasion of foreigners who will undermine the very foundations of society by making the maintainence of many laborers' families an impossible task?" 32. The *Cromwell Argus* also warned against the "swamping of the goldfields by the Mongolian hordes." 33.

Criminal cases were reported upon merely because of their infrequency - at least in Dunedin. There are only three such articles in the four years under survey, and all were in 1868. 34.

The economic question was most often treated in articles from overseas, usually America. An 1870 article, "Chinese Laborers in America," was a laudatory exposition of the ideas of one section of the community.

32. Ibid, 5 Aug., 1871.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, 10 Jan., 1868.
in America for providing cheap labour. Here was the first real mention of the Chinese used in public works, like railroads. Mervyn told the committee that the Chinese were not adapted to heavy work. Colonel Brett declared flatly that they were not equal to Europeans as agricultural laborers because the work was too hard. Carrington emerged as the only one to opine that they would be satisfactory in public works, an opinion gleaned from America. Clearly there was a lot of speculative information being given to the committee.

A large article from 1869 noted passim that the reputation of the Chinese in New Zealand was that of a cash-spender, and therefore important to the colony and the merchant. An editorial of 1870 declared that while the working men of the colony would probably object, large public works should be begun using the cheap source of labour from China. The nett effect would be a reduction in public expenditure, a rise in the wages of Europeans who proved intelligent enough to be employed as supervisors, and the expulsion from the colony of the loafers. Obviously a radical policy not designed to calm the fears of the working man.

An article in 1871 noted the continuing discussion about the Chinese, and enumerated three reasons for the public antipathy, where it existed. The first was the basest of reasons, race. The second, that the Chinese

35. Ibid, 11 Apr., 1870.
37. Ibid, H-5A, p.3.
39. ODT, 17 Sept., 1871.
were not permanent settlers. The third, and most important, reason was that they were successful miners. Had any restrictions been imposed on transient Europeans, the cry of "Liberty of the British People" would have been raised. Since it is only the Chinese, the same liberated British people will condone discriminatory legislation.\(^{41}\)

The problem of the economic effect of the Chinese was clearly important, not so much as it affected miners but as it affected the wider labouring class of the colony. The articles on the Chinese in America raised the spectre of a highly mobile and adaptable class of laborers swamping the market. Europeans with memories of crowded labour markets in Britain, Ireland, and Europe were hardly likely to be impressed with the idea of unrestricted immigration. Mention is often made of fears of Chinese miners forcing out the European miners, but the phraseology remains the same - the "fear" never quite becomes a reality. But myth feeds on fear, and the myth was strongly ingrained in the goldfields. It was not a fear of those already there, but of the millions still in China. Ho A Mee's letters promising many more miners over the next few years must have dismayed many miners in Otago.

Notwithstanding this attitude, the two editorials which deal with the subject are generally balanced. The first, in 1870, maintained that the Chinese, although persecuted initially, were now looked upon

\(^{41}\) Ibid, 3 Aug., 1871.
as a boon to the goldfields generally.42. The second, in 1871, dealt with the mode of working of the Chinese and concluded that it was the European tendency to confess to weakness in the face of Chinese combined labour and efficiency that was the main reason for the ill-will between the races. While granting that the Chinese immigration bore hardest on the miners, it was up to the miners themselves to beat the Chinaman with his own weapons.43.

An article from Queensland talked of the Chinese as essentially aliens.44. Other articles from America indicated the Chinese love of societies, often regarded as secret and evil.45. But in general, John Chinaman was reported in the ODT as industrious and frugal. He almost never wound up in court on other than mining charges. While never losing his national identity he made an attempt at adapting, often successfully, to the European society. He was successful in the fields he chose to work in, mining, gardening and merchandising. He was no threat at the moment, but the possibility of a swamped labour market was always in the future.

The ODT made no attempt to push the "celestials" into the limelight: two editorials in two years when something as controversial as the census results could occupy eight editorials does not constitute overexposure. Articles of interest were written to give the reader an insight into the Chinese way of life, and the effect of the Chinese on the colony and

42. Ibid, 15 Aug., 1870.
43. Ibid, 12 Aug., 1871.
44. Ibid, 31 Aug., 1870.
overseas. Low-keyed, often abusing the European racist in a back-handed way, the ODT was a tolerant reporter of the Chinese in Otago.
7. Conclusions.

The main body of evidence taken at the hearing of the Select Committee on Chinese Immigration was based on the overseas experience of the witnesses of the Chinese. It was concerned mainly with their methods of organisation and of their lifestyle. The Chinese morality was seriously questioned and the likely effect upon the New Zealand colonist was considered from moral and economic points of view. A smaller section of written evidence, more concise than the verbal, was probably more important because it came from within the colony and was the considered opinions of men who were in intimate contact with the alien immigrants. These men provided the evidence which the committee considered most carefully, for they had been tacitly asked to sit in judgement on the yellow-skinned, plodding race which had excited the imaginations of so many.

The written evidence made a number of things quite clear. Questions concerning the morals of the Chinese were convincingly answered in favour of the Chinese. They had no bad influence on the European—in fact they had no perceptible influence at all. The police gave them a "clean sheet," with the exception of Inspector Pender from Christchurch, who declared his opposition to them on the basis of his Victorian goldfield experiences.

Where references were unfavorable throughout this section of evidence, they were almost exclusively based on overseas experience. With this in mind, one sentence of the Final Report becomes significant: "Your committee have forwarded... to the governments of the neighboring colonies of Victoria and New South
Wales, requests for the furnishing of information as to the effect of Chinese immigration in these colonies; but replies being not yet to hand, your committee are unable to include in this report the official data which it was hoped would be received from these sources. 1. In view of the restrictive legislation enacted in these colonies (though much was by then repealed) the balance of the evidence could have been very different. In the event the committee accepted and noted in the Final Report the evidence of George Webster and J.B. Bradshaw, both of whom were generally very favorable to the Chinese. 2.

No part of the evidence given either orally or in writing presents a fully rational argument for excluding the Chinese. The economic argument was the one remaining rock upon which the Chinese ship might founder, for the moral arguments were shown to be patently emotive and prejudiced. It has been remarked that the basis of racial prejudice in New Zealand (at least as it concerns foreigners) is substantially economic. 3. Insecure job tenure and an unstable labour market raise ugly spectres to any worker, and the prospect of both following an influx of cheap labour helped to create a myth in the next decade which was to lead to radical changes in New Zealand's Asian immigration policies. The 1871 committee did not consider that the time for action had yet come, and thereby ignored the economic rock that was to wreck Asiatic-European coexistence in New Zealand.

Why? Because the Chinese invariably returned to China.

1. AJHR H-5B, 1871, p4.
2. Ibid, H-5, pp10-13. (Webster) p22. (Bradshaw)
3. See Fyfe's Thesis, ch.2 for an exposition of this argument.
Clauses 8 and 9 of the Final Report indicate this clearly, expressing the view that "no considerable number of them are at any time likely to become permanent settlers in the country." It was this view alone that saved the Chinese from immediate exclusion. Had the committee drawn up its report in the face of the resentment brought about by the Messrs. Brøgden's contract to import Chinese labour to build a railroad, in 1872, then the economic arguments would have seemed more valid. The conclusions might have been very different.

The committee showed in its conclusions a general tolerance that reflected the attitudes of either Humanitarians, or men who buried their heads in the sand, as Haughton apparently thought. He registered a protest that the committee's majority report and conclusions were "inconsistent with the evidence taken, and the facts of the case." The close final vote, five to four, indicated that while the members had this time voted in favour of the Chinese, little would be needed to reverse the decision. The potential for exclusion was always strong, and it was to take only a stronger and more vociferous opposition to create a wider resentment against the Chinese. While papers like the ODT continued to act in a reasonably disinterested manner, then some justice would be afforded to the Chinese. A mass campaign and all that this implies was to come in the next decades, and Asiatic immigration was to receive a severe curtailment.

In 1871, however, no such mass movement existed, although the seeds had already germinated and were taking root. While events were low-keyed and relations generally remained cordial, a Parliamentary committee could present a report such as this. The report claimed that the balance of the evidence was such that there was no justification for restriction of immigration. The desire for "sufficient justification" is the most attractive feature of the report. Perhaps an inbuilt conservative desire to change nothing until sufficient reason is given, to maintain the status quo as long as practicable, is the real reason for the final conclusions of the report.

However the committee voted, and for whatever reasons, the Final report did not alter the events of the next years. Stronger forces were to work to change the status quo. The report was to fade from memory as these forces gathered strength.
Appendix I.

From the Lawrence Correspondent of the Otago Daily Times.
Printed 8 July 1868.

Lawrence.

I paid a visit today to the Chinese camp, which is situated conveniently enough at Tuapeka flat. It consists of a double row of houses built parallel to the government road, and the Chinese there have subscribed, of themselves, £20 for the formation of the main street and two side-tracks connecting it with that thoroughfare. Their dwellings are sufficiently comfortable, and are fitted up in a creditable manner. In one of them I noticed a complete set of drawers for holding various smaller commodities, and constructed neatly by themselves from the wood of the boxes and cases in which their cases come to them.

In the first place I entered, there was a very intelligent looking man, who is teaching himself - I fancy with but little assistance - to write English. I was rather surprised, considering their well-known aptitude for imitation, that he did not make a better fist of it, especially as to the formation of the characters. The writing was, however, perfectly legible.

There was a small vessel, of a form I have not noticed before in a considerable experience of Chinese utensils, containing sugar-candy, of which he politely asked me and my companion to partake. In another store we also saw another man engaged in writing and he got on a good deal better; but he seemed to be puzzled with the two syllables in some of the words, as in "eight-ty," pronouncing them separately as well as writing them in that manner.

We afterwards visited a cook's shop, where we saw a man engaged in making a very thin paste. It was wound around two rollers, and seemed almost as tenacious as a roll of some textile fabric, and nearly as thin. He also used a third smaller roller, with which he finished it, and he appeared to take a pride in making it exactly of the same breadth all over its length.
We were told that they make it into small puffs, enclosing a morsel of meat or fat, which puffs are immersed in their soups. They also gave us a sweet cake, in appearance very much like the maccaroons of our pastrycooks, which also contain morsels of fat; they are slightly sweetened and are not unpalatable.

We then visited their gaming house, which was nearly unfurnished, but for two large frames, not unlike wool-sorter's tables, but the centre is a small flat disc, something like a slate; the instruments of their play lay on this, and were not unlike a pair of dominoes, but that some of the pips were coloured differently. Against the wall is placed the croupier's seat and at his left the clerk, or markers. There was no play going on while we were there, but I am informed that they become so perfectly absorbed in the game that they can take notice of anything; and also that they steadily refuse to allow any European to engage in their play, and that if money or notes are thrown by any stranger on the table, they invariably decline to accept it.

We afterwards visited the store of He Tie and Co., where we were hospitably entertained. Several persons were sitting there, a few sitting around the stove, it being a bitter cold day. Most of them spoke English more or less and on my asking one of them if he felt ill, he replied at once "No fear!" showing acquaintance with the language to the extent of colonial slang...

Further down the flat are a great many miners' houses, which vary very much in their appearance of comfort, some of them looking wretched enough, and others are provided with "breakwinds" of manuka or korokio, and are of quite a superior description. The floods, however, as I wrote in a former letter, have caused them considerable loss, and money is not so plentiful as it was with them; but they are exceedingly honest, generally paying ready money for anything they buy.
APPENDIX II: Letter from HO A MEE.
Printed in Otago Daily Times 8 June 1871.

THE PIONEER CHINAMAN ON THE OTAGO GOLDFIELDS.

We have received the following letter, which we print as it was written:

Registrar General's Office,
Hong Kong, 4th April, 1871.

Sir—Knowing the interest yet my countrymen take in all matters concerning our countrymen (the Chinese) throughout the goldfields of your province, I am emboldened to ask the favour of your insertion of the following lines:

Some time in the month of November, 1865, being an enterprising and enterprising young man, and the hopfulness of youth, and more especially animated by a spirit of speculating, I started from Melbourne for your city in one of the Company's steamers. Of course, after a few days' travel over the blue waters, I arrived at your beautiful and picturesque city accordingly. My object was, for obtaining reliable information, and making necessary preparations previous to the introduction of Chinese labour into your goldfields. As from what I then could make out of my prospect in the way of future, the goldfields in New Zealand would be quite as good a field for my exertions; but being not a miner myself, my view therefore was to first secure the introduction of labour; then, with a hope to reap the harvest by having the full command of the provisioning business, should the scheme prove successful.

However, before any attempts would be made by our countrymen in leaving Victoria for your gold mines, it was thought advisable that reliable assurances and promises from your Government for the protection of their lives and property should first be obtained, because, previous to the Grey River diggings were broken out, expressions of threats against Chinese lives, should they tread upon the soil, had been freely used by the European diggers. Hence, it was for the due protection of Chinese generally that I first set foot upon the shores of Dunedin.

After a few weeks' sojourn, and having obtained what I wanted from your Government, (viz., protection to Chinese Mr D.C., and all their belongings), and also information readily afforded me by the many good citizens, especially by Mr Vincent Fyfe, the then Inspector-General of Goldfields, I returned to Melbourne by the steamer Taranaki. However, before I could say good-bye to the many friends with whom I had already made acquaintance since my short stay, I assured them that, for the joint benefit of our country and our countrymen, I would use my best endeavours to secure an introduction of Chinese labour into your country at the earliest opportunity in my power, and that I hoped that their expectations would very soon be gratified.

On my arrival in Melbourne, I need hardly tell you that I was not slow in taking prompt measures, such as placarding notices up to the different parts of the goldfields, and sending the same to my friends, notifying them my trip over to your city, the object of so doing, of course, the information obtained in regard to the alluvial condition of the goldfields, through the well-behaviour, and to the dispose of the people, and, above all, the willing promise afforded by your Government for the protection of Chinese lives and their possessions.

Having read thus spread the news, I calculated that there would be no difficulty in inducing a start of some, if not of a rush at once. Here, however, came a shadow of a failure, as for weeks and weeks after the posting of the placards above alluded to, though enquiries were incessantly made, yet no signs of actual movement were seen afooting. This was only a sign that they were still in doubt as to the real state of my representations; therefore they feared to risk what little they possessed, or ancestral, or any other, lead, for which I was very anxious about.

Desiring not, however, to be discouraged by the shaken confidence in me of the Chinese, I set about the idea of frustrating the hopes of those friends of your city, under whose hospitable roofs I had the opportunity of enjoying many a pleasant hour during my visit; and much less did I like to see a failure in any scheme I undertook. I commenced it once with undivided attention and rigorous methods, and as much diligence as I could. After a few weeks, I succeeded in inducing a small party of twelve practical miners to join me, whom I took over with me on my second and last trip to your city, these twelve being the first explorers that I started for your goldfields. But, I must remind you, that by their offering to leave Victoria as explorers, I had to advance to each of them the sum of £20 (as they were all penniless) towards to pay their passage money and to provide all the necessary accompaniments which they absolutely required for the mines.

This little party, including myself, you might remember, left Dunedin city in the month of January or February, 1866, and two days after their landing (imagine the gale now upon the new Celestials!) under advice from Mr Vincent Fyke and others, they set out for Tuapeka, of which the outskirt they reached the 21, 2, 66, where they met Mr D. Campbell—a well-known gentleman of that town. Under that gentleman's advice, they camped for the night. Next morning they entered the ownership of Tuapeka with Mr D. Campbell with Mr D. Campbell, and I was well at their head. I then learned that they were well received by all classes with quite an enthusiasm. They, however, now I must beg to express my deepest sense of gratitude, as from what I subsequently learnt, great credit was due to him for the past of his forbearance without creating any undue disturbances among a people in whose hearts, at one time, had cherished a dead hatred against Chinese. Besides before I left Melbourne for China, I had also constantly heard that he always manifested great interest in Chinese affairs. No doubt, our countrymen must have owed Mr D. C. a heavy debt, which they perhaps, never could in this life. And my only desire would be, that all and every one of them would have this kindness riveted in their memories for ever.

The second batch of explorers started by me under the same arrangements as the first (I cannot now remember the number, as I have not the memo, with me) arrived a day or two later. They were despatched to the goldfields of the country. I do not recollect the names of the precise locality to which this party was destined; but suffice it to say, they were much more successful in obtaining the necessary protection. The reasons of this latter party were advised for a different direction was because that it was thought...
necessary to give the explorers a fair test of the payable character of the different Goldfields, that they might judge for themselves, and give their own opinion and report upon the same, as much course was deemed more beneficial.

So far as I can recollect I started in all about thirty men. The aggregate sum, including a xenus incurred by myself in the two trips over, was £1500 out of which sum, I may here remark, that from only up to the present time received back £140. I should have furnished you an exact and accurate account of the amount laid out by me in the whole undertaking, but, connecting with which all the books and papers were entrusted in the hands of a gentleman who is now in your city. I am, therefore, deprived of the power in so satisfying you.

The second time I visited your city, you might remember, I remained much longer. My object in so doing was to wait until I got some favourable reports from the explorers before again leaving for Melbourne; so that, armed with which, I might find it much easier in creating a stir amongst those of our countryman who had already had a great desire of trying their luck on your goldfields.

It was fortunate that I did stay much longer this time, as, while I was there, a spurious gold manufacturer (one of our class of masked) arrived in one of the steamers; with an evident desire that, as his ingenuity of counterfeit profession was no longer passable in Victoria without raising much laughter to himself, that he thought it safe to try the new field which was just opened to his countrymen and that wherein he might defeat justice and reap an easy harvest without detection. This inauspicious speculator however had come to grief, as at my request, and from the information furnished by me to the police authorities, he was searched. Apparatus adapted for the manufacturing of the spurious precious metal, as also a parcel of already manufactured gold, were found in one of his baskets. He was, of course, apprehended, and at my request he was again transported to the place whence he came, under my vigilant escort at my expense. Thus, the object of his villainy was out short without spreading any injury to the country.

After the above event, I was waiting for works without news of any kind from the explorers. I thought it advisable not to incur any more expenses, so I left the two small houses which I had rented, for the convenience and accommodation of the future comers, in charge of the gentleman I have alluded to. I then took leave of your city for the last time, as since I have not again visited it, notwithstanding requests had been made to me to do so by our countrymen.

For months after my return to Melbourne still no news of any importance were coming from your side. I certainly felt the lack of the delay, and naturally became more impatient for disappointment. While I was thus allowing my patience taxed and tormented for good news, the Interpretership at Ballarat (Victoria) was, for some reasons vacated. I thought it a good chance to jump at it, at least for a time, therefore I applied for and got it with no trouble. In accepting this appointment, as you are aware, I had to give up the entire management of shipping Chinese emigrants and passenger.

Three months after I joined the Ballarat service, news of some considerable importance reached me, which were to the effect that some of the explorers had made splendid returns, and remarkable yields from their washings. This news soon spread in Victoria, and the sequence was, large numbers of dog-eared miners round themselves, and were for by washing and stakes for your goldfields. Every steamer leaving Hobson's Bay Railway Pier took cards in numbers from thirty and upwards. Although this was considered a time for me to reap some returns, and it was equally thought desirable that I should be over there to look after my own interests, thinking still, however, that "Prudence was the best policy," I remained from resigning the office which I then held.

As I anticipated this news was not a durable one, for very shortly afterwards unfavourable news again returned, and again the migration of our countrymen from Melbourne resumed its old state of dulness, but not before a thousand or so had already been added to your census.

When at this juncture, your Government, through Mr Bannigan, the Superintendent of Police, kindly offered me the appointment of Interpreter for the Goldfields, which was declined by me, because I knew I might be required to travel in the rigid winter of your country, which I was fully aware that I could not stand. In fact, my first aim was not at Government service, but at having business dealings with you amongst our people.

Finding that the Ballarat situation did not afford me an opportunity of surplus saving, but more living; as, also, being tired of waiting for returns from these ingrateful creatures whom I started for your gold mines, as they did not seem likely to send me any, I came to the conclusion that the best plan for me was to follow the advice which was then strongly urged upon me to try my luck once more in my fatherland. Therefore, making up my mind for China, I resign the Ballarat office.

In 1859, at the latter part of the year, I left the Hobson's Bay Railway Pier with my family, after 10 years' residence in Melbourne. We had prevailed on the many friends who now off. We left in one of the steamers for Sydney, where we joined the good ship Golden Horn for this port. Here, thanks to Providence, we arrived some time in December, after experiencing a pleasant passage of forty-nine days.

Three weeks after my arrival here, I went up to Canton, where I joined the M. Customs Service. Six months afterwards I threw it up with disgust. I then again prevailed to cast my lot to Melbourne, with intention from whence to proceed to your city, wherein to look after those pets of mine to whom I had lent my yellow boys, and from whom I might get last something with which I might be enabled to start life anew.

While I was down here with wife and child waiting for the mail steamer which was intended to take our passage for Australia, the Government here offered me the office I am now holding, as Clerk and Interpreter. This I have held since 1 August, 1869. It is a little more remunerative than the one at Canton, but it may be designated the same, a mere living. Notwithstanding it exactly to my liking. Still, taking into consideration the untoward circumstances and hard trials which I had already experienced through the many years of my life, I surmised a bit here would not be amiss, as it was a step up from self-debt and
standing by time. Besides, whilst here I will not fail in hearing anything fresh that may be turned up at any time in the district in which I am more or less interested. This latter advantage I have ever since watched with keen interest.

Some time in October last, I was somewhat enlightened in being consulted as to the advisability of chartering vessels for your port, for the conveyance of passengers, as large numbers were desirous of having their passage book straight on to your port instead of the Melbourne. Under my advice the Whirlwind was accordingly chartered. She sailed from here some time before the close of last year, with over 350 passengers, all of whom, with the exception of a few for Melbourne, were for your city. Again in January, this year, the North Star left with another 140 odd for Port Chalmers. There is at present also another ship called the Golden Sea on the berth for your port. Besides this direct shipment from this port, I have been from time to time advised by friends from both your city and Melbourne, that Chinese immigrants from Victoria to your province, are still daily on the increase. This, of course, affords me the more pleasure in realizing a hope for which I had at first staked my time, and the last remnant of my means.

Now, I may be proud to remark that the attempt which prompted me to introduce the Chinese labour into your colony, and which was at one time considered so futile, has, at last, turned the right side up. It may not be considered as having already been crowned with success, but it is an indicative of a sound prospect, and time alone is wanting to prove the result. I now only hope that Chinese immigrants from here, as well as from other quarters, will keep on flowing into your colony, and that their labours will increase in material use to the benefit of the same. Notwithstanding that the undertaking had reduced me to the present position, and had cost me time and money, I can only say, I have never expressed my regret; on the contrary, I am always thankful, and glad to say that I have conferred a boon upon our countrymen, and perhaps upon your country also, as by opening this route, direct trade and shipping have already begun between his port and that of yours.

I have no hesitation in expecting that the ample privileges and protection enjoyed by British subjects are equally enjoyed by the Chinese, and that they must hereafter fully appreciate the many liberties given them, such as for the celebration of their own festivities, and for worshipping in their own way, according to the dictates of their own conscience and the customs of their country. But I wonder they have not ever cast a reflection in thought of the man who had sparing no pains, anxiety, and risk of life and money, laid the foundation stones for their now seemingly happiness.

Having thus far detailed to you an account of my career, as also the difficulties with which I had to encounter before I succeeded in introducing the Chinese labour into your country, I now crave space in the medium of your valuable paper for the ventilation of the same, with a view that your Government, which is known to be generous and open-handed, in giving towards what is just and right, might take my straitened condition into its favourable consideration, and award me some remuneration, if not for the pecuniary loss, perhaps for the time and pains with which I had spared in carrying out the scheme, and bringing it into its present satisfactory and healthy state. I apply to you whether in the eyes of justice, I am not entitled to some consideration, as to reward or compensation. If not, I pray you will kindly consign this into the flames. But I have not the least doubt, before doing, you will give it your best and mature consideration. On the other hand, should this invite the attention of the Government to render me the helping hand, any communications touching my interest will find me in the above address.

In conclusion, I beg to convey to you my best wishes for the success and prosperity of your widespread paper; and for the trespassing (should you allow the insertion), I pray you will excuse me more especially for the grammatical style and manner in which it is written.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

H. M. P. S.—Further I heard that the Fiji Islands are likely going to be an extensive field for the employment of Chinese labourers. Should any of your well-to-do companies desire to embark their surplus capital in speculating upon Chinese labour for that quarter, perhaps you will not fail in recommending me to the post of agency for the procurers of the labour, should such an agency be deeded advisable.

H. M.
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