

## **Tracking the Dragon Down Under: Chinese Cultural Connections in Gold Rush Australia and Aotearoa, New Zealand**

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THIS ARTICLE provides an overview of the movement of Chinese throughout Australasia during the second-half of the nineteenth century. It concentrates on the transmission of social custom and cultural practice via a series of case studies that highlight the cultural complexity of the Chinese experience on the Australian and Aotearoa, New Zealand goldfields.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1: Contemporary 1850s map of Australia and New Zealand during the Victorian goldrushes<sup>2</sup>

As is so often the case in pursuing the history of the Chinese gold miners, research has revealed other equally important questions. As a consequence, this article has three complementary objectives. Firstly, by the use of a number of case studies, I wish to explore continuities between the social experience and cultural life of the Chinese on the Australian and Aotearoa, New Zealand goldfields during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In particular, reference will be made to examples of Chinese and European interaction and cultural exchange that are a core theme of this article.<sup>4</sup> By continuities, I simply mean cultural continuity — a continuity typified by

the transmission across time or distance of a generally coherent set of ideas, experiences or social assumptions by people identifiable by their class, ethnic or racial background.

Secondly, I identify the similarity in the cultural landscapes created by the gold discoveries in central Victoria and the South Island of New Zealand, most notably the Central Otago diggings (see figures 2 and 3 below).<sup>5</sup> Recently, the New Zealand government has formally acknowledged the historical significance of the Chinese heritage of Central Otago.<sup>6</sup> Likewise the Chinese role in and around Castlemaine during the gold rushes is now regarded as a key historical point of reference in the recently created Mount Alexander Diggings National Heritage Park, the first Australian national park to gain classification for its cultural significance. The term cultural landscapes refers, in this article, to the remnants of the built environments created as a consequence of gold discoveries together with the collateral visual, oral and documentary material that assists in the interpretation of these environments.



Figure 2: Photograph of the Chinese Camp at Guildford, Central Victoria taken by the celebrated goldfields photographer Richard Daintree during the mid-1850s<sup>7</sup>



Figure 3: Gold diggings near Cromwell, Central Otago during the 1860s

Incorporating historical landscapes into an historical analysis is particularly appealing because of the scarce nature of contemporary Chinese archival sources. As in Australia, with the exception of contemporary newspaper accounts, the primary source material on the Chinese in New Zealand available to a cultural historian is diffuse and consists of remnant Chinese mining landscapes predominantly in Otago but also in Westland, Southland and Fjordland, oral history testimonies, family memory of Chinese-European descendants of the gold diggers, government records and missionary archives.

Thirdly and most importantly for the purposes of this article is the contention that the significance of these experiences transcends national historiography and underscores the need for greater collaboration in history and other fields of New Zealand and Australian scholarship. This transnational approach offers one way of considering the Chinese experience and Chinese-European encounters within a Pacific historiographical context rather than those of European settlement and colonisation or the Chinese Diaspora in South-east Asia and the South-west Pacific. In this respect, it engages with Denoon, Mein Smith and Wyndham's assertion that Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands are not a 'self evident region'.<sup>8</sup> Because of this it is sometimes difficult to culturally distinguish the emergence of distinctly regional or national identities from the overtly British social and economic structures that defined so many facets of settler colonies society during the second half of the nineteenth century. My argument is not to deny the significance of British colonialism, but instead to add an additional layer of complexity in highlighting the emergence of new constructions of identity,<sup>9</sup> particularly the emergent distinctions between "'sovereign" British born [missing word] and "currency native" born' that were conceived in Australia and New Zealand rather than in Great Britain.<sup>10</sup>

The field of Chinese diaspora history in Australia and New Zealand is a hotly contested area of historical enquiry, with constantly changing trends in scholarship and opinion.<sup>11</sup> This article is intended as a scoping piece rather than as a reworking of important well-known historical paradigms established by Australian and New Zealand social historians during the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, it argues that the prevalence of racism on the goldfields occurred in tandem with more cooperative forms of social interaction between Chinese and Europeans in ways that highlight the cultural complexity of gold seeking settler societies of the Pacific Rim.

A key methodological challenge of writing about the Chinese experience in Australia and New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century is the lack of archival material written by Chinese gold seekers. This absence of authentic Chinese primary sources often presents a conceptual quandary for current historical research into the field. The desire to provide an authentic Chinese historical voice or to confer agency on the Chinese gold seekers is regularly tempered by the nature of institutional (predominantly government) sources that are often technical in detail and official in their tone. Analysis of these written sources (the only ones available to historians) has understandably tended to result in Eurocentric methodological approaches and historical conclusions. This article, while acknowledging this problem, uses a series of case studies from particular locations and individuals in

order to highlight moments of complexity that occurred against a broader social backdrop of racism and mutual misunderstanding.<sup>12</sup>

Yet in the process of concentrating on the Chinese, another problem emerges—that of citing specific situations or individuals using a relativistic methodology in order to establish similarity of Chinese experience in Australia and New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century. In claiming too much of key individuals or discreet Chinese communities, they in turn risk becoming a metonym for the entire community. The result of this move, from particular case studies to general observations, presents a methodological impasse, one that is problematic, yet necessary in the absence of nineteenth century Chinese primary sources. The absence of gold rush-era Chinese voices in the present day does lead historians to certain archival sources that can privilege key individuals, and in turn lead to the writing of “top-down” history that emphasises the achievements of great men.



Figure 4: Chinese miners arriving in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne<sup>13</sup>

The majority of Chinese diggers who ventured to Australia during the gold rushes of the 1850s were from Canton (Guangzhou) in the Kwangtung (Guangdong) province. When the gold rushes occurred in Australia, particularly in Victoria, Northern Guangdong was experiencing the beginning of the Taiping Rebellion, which caused major social and economic upheaval in Southern China. The Taiping Rebellion was a precursor to other conflicts in Guangdong, such as the Red Ribbon Rebellion (1854-1856), ethnic rivalry between Poontei and Hakka and the Second Opium War (1856-60).<sup>14</sup>

The economic depression and political rivalry in southern China, particularly Guangdong, resulted in a systemic societal breakdown that compelled many to emigrate or escape due to political persecution. Most Chinese went to South-east Asia, but many followed the gold rushes in the neo-European societies in California, Australia, British Columbia and Otago (New Zealand). In the Chinese-speaking world, California was known as Gold Mountain, Victoria as New Gold Mountain,<sup>15</sup> and New Zealand as *Thin Thi Lund*.<sup>16</sup>

The Chinese miners, already a highly transient population as a result of the instability in Southern China, continued to be highly mobile during the gold rushes.<sup>17</sup> Many did not return to China or did so after having spent the bulk of their lives in the European settler colonies on the Pacific Rim. While it was uncommon for a Chinese miner to make a journey from Canton to San Francisco or Vancouver, to Australia and then New Zealand, such a passage was not unprecedented. In this respect, the Victorian goldfields constituted an important nodal point where the Chinese arrived in large numbers in 1854, and then ventured to Otago in the 1860s. These gold seekers came almost exclusively from the Pearl River delta region of southern China. Unlike Australia, New Zealand also received a sizeable number of Hakka from the Sanoan and Kueishan provinces.<sup>18</sup>

The idea of a sojourning Chinese community is a problematic concept when considering the Chinese diaspora and settlement patterns throughout the South-west Pacific. The sojourner thesis relies on a simple model of migration: out from China to the goldfields; back to China from the goldfields. Many of these people had a sojourning *mentalité*. The majority of Chinese who travelled to Australia and New Zealand as part of the peopling of Australasia during the gold rushes of the second-half of the nineteenth century returned to China. However, there were small numbers who remained and often formed enduring ethnic communities within their adopted gold mining areas. Many of these Chinese communities continued to develop long after the gold rush, and in Bendigo, Melbourne, Vancouver and San Francisco they continue to thrive today.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the Chinese experience in Australasia during the gold rushes can only be partially explained by the sojourning thesis because this model, on its own, is patently inadequate and masks a much more complex and influential process of migration than has previously been acknowledged.

During the 1850s and 1860s, the Chinese comprised between eight and ten percent of the Victorian population. What has become increasingly evident is that far from fading away and returning to China, this population provided the antipodean epicentre that supported subsequent migration to the Otago goldfields in New Zealand, to the Palmer River goldfields in Far North Queensland, to the tin and gold prospects in North-east Tasmania, as a well as to a host of subsidiary and fugitive gold settlements across Victoria and New South Wales. These are subordinate migrations that also provided the conduit for Chinese entry into rural and agricultural pursuits in South-eastern Australia. This refined pattern of migration can be further developed by incorporating the pathways of a number of Chinese gold seekers from China to the West Coast of North America and thence to the Mount Alexander diggings.

The history of the Chinese on the Australian goldfields, and their eventual arrival in New Zealand, is thus more complex than the sojourning article advocated by Eric Rolls. In order to explain the complexity of why some miners stayed and did not return to China, it is necessary to use different layers of interpretation.<sup>20</sup> This historiographical approach incorporates the sojourning argument, but also further expands upon it to consider the experiences of the small numbers who stayed in the host countries or moved throughout the various neo-European gold mining

settlements of North America, Australia and New Zealand. These intra and inter-country migrations left people of all races scattered far from where they had begun.<sup>21</sup>

Despite its dominance as a theme in histories of the Chinese on the Victorian and New Zealand goldfields, the desire to go home was not the only wish the Chinese had. Many of these men played an integral part in the formation of goldfields communities and the goldseeking experience that defines much of the nineteenth century historical experience of Victoria and Otago. This detail is often omitted from broader historical narratives, and instead, the Chinese are typically rendered as marginal, ephemeral participants in the goldseeking experience throughout the Pacific. Certainly many were sojourners, but some did not have the financial resources to return home, while others moved on to new fields as part of a fluid and mobile mining population.<sup>22</sup> Some chose to stay in their respective colonies, often for personal reasons, and as a result were drawn towards their adopted communities. This was certainly the case with prominent Mount Alexander figures Lee Hing Jacjung, Ham Hoyling and James Acoy, all of whom married European women and had extensive families (see figure 5).<sup>23</sup> Prominent wealthy men, such as Sew Hoy in Otago and Louey Amoy of Melbourne, frequently travelled back and forth between their adopted countries and China on personal and business-related matters.<sup>24</sup>



Figure 5: Lee Hing Jacjung and his wife Katherine (nee Hornick)<sup>25</sup>

The New Zealand Chinese experience needs to be considered in conjunction with the Victorian rushes, as the Mount Alexander Chinese and their move *en masse* to Otago

provide a useful case study for analysing the phenomenon of the Chinese movement throughout Australia and New Zealand as part of the mid-nineteenth century gold rushes. This transnational approach reveals historical emphases that provide new understandings regarding Chinese settlement patterns throughout Australasia during the gold rushes. Should it be considered within the broader patterns of migration that occurred during gold rushes in the two countries? Or, more broadly, should the New Zealand rush be considered a rush in its own right or given the close social, economic and cultural connections, as an integral part of the Australian rushes? The answers to these questions depend on the criteria used to assess the Chinese experience and the connections between Australian and New Zealand during the gold rushes of the 1860s.

The goldseeking experience provides a way of understanding and analysing these links. The Chinese experience on the Australasian goldfields enables an even closer examination of the cultural and historical connections between China, Australia and New Zealand. The settlement pattern determined by the gold rushes reinforced the social, cultural, political and economic connections between South-eastern Australia, particularly Melbourne, Launceston, Hobart and Sydney, and in New Zealand especially between Dunedin, Westland and Wellington. These similarities meant that during the second-half of the nineteenth century, Melbourne and Dunedin, or more broadly, Victoria and Otago, had more in common in terms of built environment, economic and social ties than Melbourne had with either Perth or Darwin, or Dunedin had with certain regions of the North Island of New Zealand. This was further reflected in contemporary attitudes where New Zealand and Australia were regarded as two areas that comprised a group of British colonies. The Melbourne *Argus* reflected this viewpoint in its reportage of the Otago rushes: 'We shall be the first to offer our congratulations to the people of that settlement on this new acquisition to their means of prosperity. Whatever directly enriches one number of the Australian group of colonies must indirectly enrich all.'<sup>26</sup>

The first reports of the gold rushes in Otago spoke of Victorians and foreigners arriving, the underlying implication being that Otago and Victoria shared the same regional identity. The mining landscapes in both countries are similar, especially the Otago and Victorian diggings, as are the architecture and built environments of cities that rose to prominence during this period, such as Melbourne, Launceston and Dunedin.

It could be claimed that the similarities of experiences for the Chinese, coupled with broader historical connections between Victoria and Otago, mean that their histories in both regions were connected in such a way that they comprised a key part of the broader phenomenon of goldseeking in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>27</sup> In advocating a transnational approach, the assertion being made is that gold facilitated many cultural connections, as well as more familiar economic and political ones and that the encounter and engagement between the Chinese and British cultures in Australia and New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century ran deeper in a cultural sense than, until very recently, has been acknowledged.<sup>28</sup>

The Australian and New Zealand societies were well aware of each other and culturally this was reinforced by similar social practices, customs and political affiliations with Britain. For many the gold rushes strengthened these connections and the commensurate construction of Britishness in the Antipodes. Perhaps the

most revealing aspect of this *mentalité* is the absence in the historical narrative. The most glaring omissions from this worldview and its associated cultural attitudes that found expression on the Australian and New Zealand goldfields were Maori, Indigenous Australians and the Chinese. The presence of the Djarra Djarra Wurrung on the Mount Alexander diggings is only now being acknowledged and these diggings also boasted a Maori Gully and the biggest single settlement of Chinese on the Australian goldfields.<sup>29</sup> In Westland, the local Maori were pivotal in the discovery and development of gold diggings in the region. Although they were not complicit participants in the Empire project, each group was an important part of the transient mining population that made its way in large numbers from Australia to New Zealand during the 1860s and 1870s. They were also among those who returned to Australia when the Otago and Westland rushes had ended.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, the movement of the Chinese can be considered part of the gold migration of the era in tandem with European settler communities in the South-western Pacific. The Australian and New Zealand experiences were not only part of the same phenomenon, but in many instances the same people were involved.<sup>31</sup> Many of those who came to Otago and Westland were part of the itinerant mining population who had arrived via the Victorian or New South Wales goldfields. Some settled in other parts of New Zealand, while some returned to Victoria and others returned to China. This chain migration, whose destinations were determined by the gold discoveries throughout the Pacific Rim, was typical of all nationalities. It constituted an unremarkable pattern of movement and settlement and reminds historians to be wary of stereotyping the Chinese goldseekers as exotic exceptions rather than as a normal and integral part of the gold rush experience.<sup>32</sup> In this sense Victoria forms a nodal point of the continued movement and settlement of the Chinese throughout the South Pacific, most notably to Otago but also to Fiji and Polynesia.<sup>33</sup>

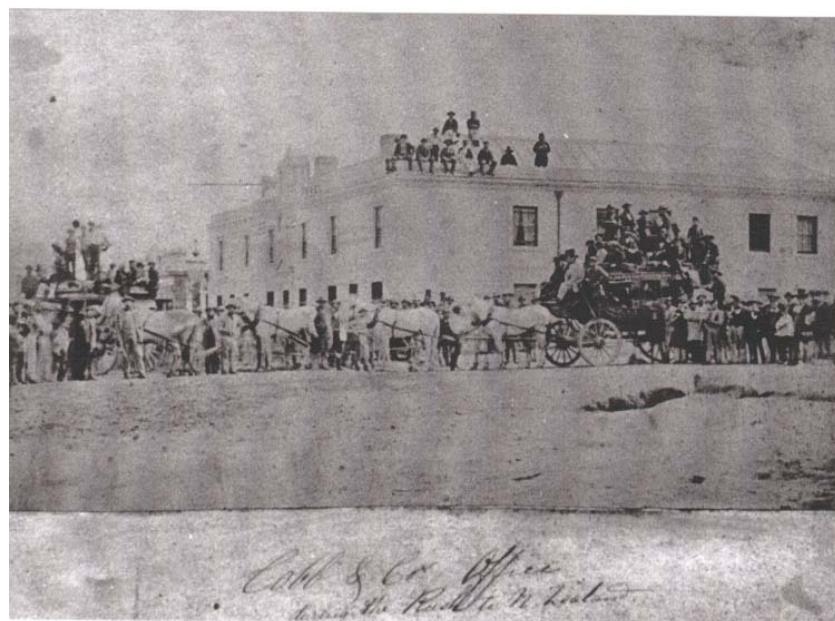


Figure 6: Chinese miners on horse drawn coach in Castlemaine. Photograph title reads 'Cobb & Co Office during the rush to New Zealand'<sup>34</sup>



The discovery of gold in Otago had dramatic implications for the population and economic wellbeing of the Mount Alexander district and the mass movement of many miners to the new gold field. Reports on the rushes were sceptical about Otago holding enough reserves to warrant its status as a new *El Dorado* in the South Pacific.<sup>35</sup> However, during August of 1867, the *Mount Alexander Mail* commented on the heavy traffic of Chinese catching the train to Melbourne *en route* to New Zealand.<sup>36</sup>

Chew Chong, the Castlemaine merchant and miner, was one who responded to the call and promptly made his way from Castlemaine to Otago in Aotearoa, New Zealand.<sup>37</sup> Chew Chong would probably have referred to Otago as *Nam Doo Kum Hunn* (literally South Island gold waterway), while he and his countrymen would have known the West Coast as *Nam Doo Kai Lee* (South Island grey river). In Castlemaine, he had been an associate of James Acoy and Lee Hing Jacjung who have been revealed in earlier articles as key figures, not only in the Chinese community, but also throughout Mount Alexander diggings society between the mid-1850s and the late 1870s.<sup>38</sup> Castlemaine City Council land files also indicate that it is possible that Acoy may have been Chong's landlord.<sup>39</sup>

Today, Chew Chong is regarded as a key figure in the establishment of the New Zealand dairying industry, having been reinscribed as a prominent historical figure by the pre-eminent Chinese New Zealand scholar, James Ng.<sup>40</sup> What is especially interesting about Chew Chong is that he was a pioneer in dairying in the non-mining area of Eltham in Taranaki.<sup>41</sup> His life had taken him from the Pearl River Delta to the Mount Alexander diggings in the central Victorian goldfields region, then to Otago and a period as a tinker, and finally farming in Taranaki where he pioneered dairy refrigeration.<sup>42</sup> During the same era, long-haul sea refrigeration was invented in Melbourne and the two developments had long-term implications for the export of perishable commodities to Great Britain in both countries.<sup>43</sup>

The trajectory of Chew Chong's life also provides a prominent, but by no means unique, example of an enduring Chinese presence in New Zealand. This idea of a small, enduring community is especially important as it belies the myths of cultural homogeneity that underpinned Australian and New Zealand administrative policy that prevailed well into the twentieth century. These people lived in their respective communities despite institutional and social racism of a kind that Nigel Murphy has termed a 'marginalisation or invisibility of Chinese in official records' that 'reflects their marginalisation in New Zealand society'.<sup>44</sup>

Another prominent historical figure who challenged contemporary attitudes towards the Chinese was Choie Sew Hoy, a successful gold miner and merchant. Charles Sew Hoy, as he was known to his European friends and acquaintances, developed the bucket-type dredge, a technological advance that was crucial in ushering a new era of activity on the Otago fields.<sup>45</sup> The transition from labour-intensive alluvial mining to dredging, which enabled the extraction of previously unobtainable alluvial gold, undoubtedly renewed mining activity and sustained the mining industry in the Nokomai Gorge area during the late nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Sew Hoy was also aware of Chew Chong, and James Ng has speculated that Sew Hoy may have become bilingual as a result of spending time on the Australian goldfields.<sup>47</sup> If so, Sew Hoy's movement throughout the Australasian goldfields represents an extraordinarily successful life. Yet his journey between China,

Australia and New Zealand is unremarkable when considered as part of the transient and highly mobile nature of all gold seekers who came to Australasia.

Clearly, Sew Hoy moved comfortably in both the Chinese and European communities, and in this respect, is not a peripheral historical figure who lived on the margins of Otago society. The figure of Sew Hoy contradicts the tendency of contemporary Victorians and also many recent historians in promulgating an historically misleading stereotype to treat the Chinese as culturally inferior and subsequently unknowable.<sup>48</sup> Certainly the Chinese were a tightly knit, at times closed community, but many were an integral part of the broader communities in which they lived. Maintaining their distinct identity was also central to providing a sense of community on the diggings.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the separation of the Chinese was equally a result of how they were treated by Europeans and their desire to remain at a remove from European society. In Castlemaine and Campbell's Creek, Chinese and European diggers worked the same diggings until government policy decreed that there should be a separate Chinese Camp.<sup>50</sup> Because of the position of the camp, it was not a success. Instead, other unofficial settlements of Chinese grew up nearer to auriferous ground and commercial activity. Unfortunately, it is difficult to evaluate attitudes towards Europeans and goldfields communities from a Chinese perspective because few contemporary Chinese sources remain.

However, individual case studies suggest there were some Chinese men who were able to counter prejudice and achieve considerable success in both the Chinese and European sections of goldfields communities. Only recently, James Ng reintroduced Sew Hoy into the historical narrative of Otago and gave him an appropriate place as a pioneer of the region whose efforts benefited the broader community. The scale and success of Sew Hoy's activity was commented upon in the contemporary local press in a factual manner, but his role as a mining innovator and Otago founder was overlooked because of prejudice.<sup>51</sup> Part of the historical neglect of Sew Hoy's considerable mining and commercial achievements may have been due to the anti-Chinese sentiment that found expression on the goldfields, which remained unchallenged and later became part of the historiography of the region.

Sew Hoy does not stand alone among the prominent and active goldfields Chinese historical figures. Another was John Alloo, whose descendants have since become prominent members of Dunedin society.<sup>52</sup> John Alloo is best known in Australia as the first person to run a restaurant at Ballarat in central Victoria (see figure below).<sup>53</sup> Although known as Alloo's Chinese restaurant, it served European food to Chinese and European miners (see figure below). S.T. Gill's faithful images of the restaurant remain the most enduring memories of Alloo's time in Ballarat. As well as being a restaurateur, he was known as the 'Christian missionary of Ballarat' and was a key member of Ballarat society.<sup>54</sup> Alloo was also an interpreter and possibly a headman, a figure of authority in the Chinese community, who was formally acknowledged by colonial administrators for his work with the Otago police force.<sup>55</sup>

Another man who came to Otago from the Mount Alexander diggings was Alloo's associate, Vincent Pyke, a figure who also looms large in New Zealand politics. Originally from England, he rose to public prominence as a radical miner in Castlemaine, where he was returned as member to the Victorian Legislative Assembly, or lower house, and became part of the short-lived reformist Berry state

government.<sup>56</sup> Pyke was a vigorous advocate of male suffrage whose political consciousness was defined in the egalitarian environs of the Victorian diggings. During this period of his public life, he was sympathetic to the Chinese and their role on the goldfields. This initial support for the Chinese is consistent with other political radicals of the early of the early 1850s in colonial Victoria whose Chartist leanings led them to welcome the Chinese as equal members of the brotherhood of man.<sup>57</sup> In Victoria, Pyke was at first regarded as a supporter, or at least was tolerant, of the Chinese.<sup>58</sup>

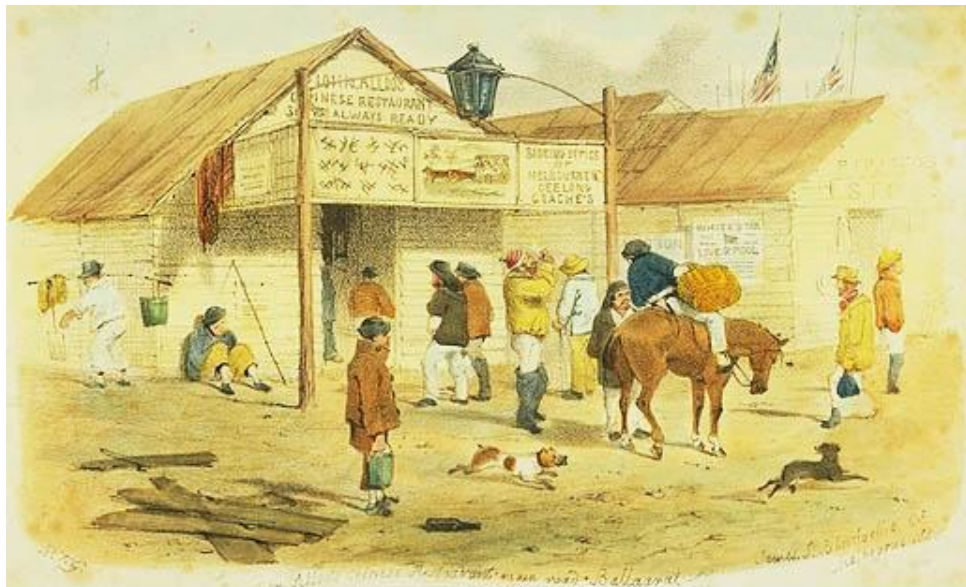


Figure 7: John Alloo's restaurant, Ballarat<sup>59</sup>

Following his departure from political office in Victoria, Pyke became a goldfields administrator and later a politician in New Zealand, where he represented a similar mining constituency to that in Castlemaine. In New Zealand, he is perhaps best known for his memoir of life on the Otago diggings.<sup>60</sup> In the 1871 *Report into Chinese Immigration* to the Otago provincial government, Pyke informed the committee that the Chinese had been useful in developing the goldfields and endorsed John Alloo, commenting that Alloo 'has an Irish wife, and they live together very happily, have a fine family of boys and girls, who are well educated, and speak and write English very well'.<sup>61</sup>

Yet, during his later career in New Zealand (marred by frequent allegations of drunkenness that had also dogged him during his career in Castlemaine), Pyke became anti-Chinese in order to court the popular sentiment of the day.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps he was pandering to the vehement anti-Chinese sentiment that became increasingly pronounced as the second-half of the nineteenth century unfolded in both countries. Recently, Julia Bradshaw has observed that Richard Seddon (another prominent New Zealand politician from Australia), who represented a mining electorate that had experienced an influx of Chinese, was also a virulent opponent to the Chinese miners.<sup>63</sup>

Vincent Pyke and John Alloo could be construed as alabaster Victorian figures whose lives seem anachronistic to historians writing more inclusive histories of the two regions. This article recognises these limitations and argues that emphasis of

preceding histories of the two regions, coupled with the minimal amount of conventional primary sources, necessitates their inclusion in this piece. Furthermore, these men provide clear links between Australia and New Zealand that enable historians to pick up the trail of movement by telling individual stories. The fact that these stories are of individuals who are successful businessmen is not a result of authorial bias, but instead is a testament to information available in written sources.

James Acoy, like his countryman Choie Sew Hoy, anglicised his name in response to his circumstances.<sup>64</sup> This could be construed as both men appropriating signifiers of their Chineseness in order to belong. Given Acoy's occupation as court interpreter, businessman, landlord and head man in the Chinese community, it is likely he would have adapted his name using a number of spellings, including the Anglicised one that was used most frequently. The semiotic implications regarding Acoy's use of different versions of his name is further complicated by the fact that his children abbreviated the surname to Coy while he was still using the name Acoy. Following his death, his widow proceeded to use the name Coy in preference to Acoy, A'Coy or Ah Coy.<sup>65</sup>

Antipathy towards the Chinese arrival in New Zealand was not restricted to prominent politicians, but was widespread and apparent throughout the diggings communities. The pre-emptive petition against the Chinese arrival in Westland, signed by residents of the West Canterbury diggings of Stafford Town, Scandinavian Hill, Pipers Flat and Ballarat Hill, was blunt in its demands to William Sefton Moorhouse, the superintendent of Canterbury Province.<sup>66</sup> The Petitioners, many of who had been on the Victorian goldfields, commented: 'hearing that the arrival of the large number of chinese [sic.] is likely to be made to the West Coast in a few weeks and your Petitioners having in their own experience seen the pernicious and infurious [sic.] result arising from the influx of a chinese [sic.] population.'<sup>67</sup>

The petition reveals that the reactionary attitudes amongst Europeans towards the Chinese were disseminated not only from Victoria to New Zealand, but also from Westland to Canterbury. A petition by inhabitants of a West Canterbury town spoke of 'A very antagonistic feeling is felt by the miners of the West Coast towards the chinese [sic.] because of their known uselessness to Europeans and on account of their thievish predilections.'<sup>68</sup>

This well-documented tendency to typecast the Chinese as immoral criminals in Australia is also apparent in Ng's observation about European attitudes towards Chinese in Otago, where they were regarded as 'either as sub-human objects of derision or superhuman spectres of competition'.<sup>69</sup> Given the difficulty in reaching Canterbury from Westland, the aggressive and pre-emptive manner of the Cantabrian was extreme in the least. Perhaps, in this instance, the hostility towards the Chinese was premised upon racial fear rather than concerns about the Chinese congesting unpayable gold diggings.

Perhaps shifting attitudes of Pyke and the Canterbury diggers reflected the paradoxical situation that many European diggers had encountered on the Mount Alexander diggings. On one hand, they demanded equality and miners rights, particularly no taxation without representation, and spoke in a rhetoric that emphasised egalitarian values.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, they were disinclined to confer the right of equality before the law upon the Chinese.<sup>71</sup> This situation had come to a

head in Castlemaine during the imposition of the poll-tax and the march on the Government Camp by 1500 Chinese diggers.<sup>72</sup>

However, situations like these were assuaged in Otago, as the Chinese had been formally invited to the diggings by the Provincial legislature.<sup>73</sup> It seems that the rationale of the Otago Provincial Government was more to do with economic considerations than any benevolent egalitarianism.<sup>74</sup> It was concerned that many Europeans were departing to Westland or back to Australia, and in order to stem this trend they invited the Chinese to the diggings at the behest of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce. The initial overture to the Chinese was successful and, receiving certain assurances in regard to their safety, large numbers soon followed the Chinese from Victoria.<sup>75</sup> The response by the predominantly European community was mixed, especially on the diggings where the Chinese were regarded as competitors for increasingly scarce gold deposits.

Pyke, Chew Chong, Sew Hoy and Alloo were all part of shared historical circumstance, whose experiences demonstrate the complexity of the social relations on the New Zealand and Australian goldfields, as well the similarities of social relations that occurred in both regions. For Pyke and Chew Chong, this would have been even more pronounced, as they were both intimately connected with the Mount Alexander and Central Otago diggings. Pyke and Alloo were so well acquainted that Pyke vouched for Alloo's family before the Committee into the Chinese on the goldfields, as mentioned above.<sup>76</sup>

The similarities of Chinese experience and cross-cultural exchange are also apparent in the oral histories of both regions. One way of analysing this connection is to compare Arrowtown and the southern regions of the Mount Alexander diggings by analysing twentieth century oral recollections of local residents.<sup>77</sup> Both indicate there was more interaction, acceptance and cooperation on both an individual and community level than broader administrative or societal racism would or could acknowledge, that there was both cooperation and hostility towards the Chinese and that this situation occurred simultaneously in mining communities. The nature of this cultural complexity reveals a web of sophisticated social relations and customs that were similar to those experienced on the Mount Alexander diggings.<sup>78</sup> It is the complexity of this historical circumstance in New Zealand that not only facilitates a much deeper historical account of the Otago and Westland diggings, but also of the Victorian rushes.

Furthermore, because of the similar historical circumstances surrounding the formation of Australia and New Zealand, and also the similar nature of Chinese experience in both countries, this approach enables a new consideration of European fears of Asians or of Asian immigration, particularly the Chinese during the second-half of the nineteenth century. These fears include questions of national identity and ethnic relations between Europeans and Chinese during a period of British cultural hegemony.<sup>79</sup> Yet these cultural encounters, similar in both regions, were paradoxical. Given the complexity of cultural relations outlined here and elsewhere in the article, this paradox is unsurprising. What is especially revealing about considering the New Zealand and Australian mining communities together is the fluidity and transferral of ideas throughout Australasia during the gold rushes. These ideas were so similar in their application that general observations about cultural complexity are often borne out in close readings of the primary source texts in both countries.

This article has examined the complex nature of Chinese-European cultural exchange in Australia during the Victorian era. The *raison d'être* of this article has been to challenge the historical neglect of the role of the Chinese in diggings society. This has been done by analysing the overarching narratives of Australian and New Zealand goldfields history and the historiographical orthodoxies that support these narratives, while at the same time redressing inaccuracies of local histories of the region.<sup>80</sup> It has also utilised existing historical methodologies in new ways in order to provide a greater depth of meaning to understandings of the cultural history of the region. The primary focus of this study has been the Chinese gold seekers, who comprised the largest non-British group that ventured to the Southwest Pacific, attracted by the promise of alluvial gold.<sup>81</sup> They are a people who have been neglected in the local histories of the region, in the grand narratives of Australian and New Zealand history and in subsequent historiographical debates.<sup>82</sup>

In essence, gold was the initial catalyst for attracting the movement of people, it was a conduit and an enabler rather than democratic mineral. The chain patterns developed in response to the demands available on the goldfields. In this respect, the dynamics of pull factors migration were as similar for the Chinese as they were for the Welsh or any other minority communities that ventured to the Mount Alexander diggings. As Chan and Goodman have both argued when discussing the migration experience in gold mining communities, it is unusual for people to leave for somewhere else.<sup>83</sup> It is the pathways and chain migratory patterns that facilitate such movements. For the Chinese who came to Australia, these migration patterns were based on regional associations, particularly in the localities of Toi Shan, Sze Yup, Sam Yup of Guangdong in Southern China.<sup>84</sup> These regional associations were in turn reinforced by labour recruiting mechanisms. It was these migratory patterns that led Chinese not only to Mount Alexander, but also other regions of the Pacific region.<sup>85</sup>

Furthermore, the process of migration involves more than a consideration of the single destination where people migrate. In this respect, Australia and New Zealand, or more precisely, Victoria and Otago, represent key points of Chinese settlement in a broader pattern of movement throughout the Pacific Rim. However, considering the movement of the Chinese throughout Australia, and in turn the goldfields societies of the Pacific Rim, requires a dynamic notion of movement. Likewise, the complex associations that people form with the countries they live in cannot be explained by a static notion of national belonging. People belonged to different communities in different countries during the course of their lives.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge the research and generosity of Dr James Ng and Julia Bradshaw, whose research in this area has assisted the writing of this article. This article is dedicated to Philip Ross May who was unable to complete his groundbreaking research into the goldseeking experience on the Pacific Rim.

<sup>2</sup> Source: Department of Sustainability and Environment, Victoria, Australia.

<sup>3</sup> More specifically the Mount Alexander diggings in Victoria and the Otago and Westland goldfields in New Zealand during the second-half of the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this article the area of Westland is defined as 'the strip of country along the western side of the South Island from the Karamea River to South Westland', see J Henderson, 'Gold in New Zealand', *The New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology*, XII (1930), p.155.

<sup>4</sup> This theme was previously discussed in Keir Reeves, 'A Songster, a Sketcher and the Chinese on Central Victoria's Mount Alexander Diggings: Case Studies in Cultural Complexity During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol.6, no. 1 (2004), pp.176-7.

<sup>5</sup> James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Allen Lane, Penguin Press, Auckland, 1996, pp.69-70. See also the introduction in Michael Pearson, Jane Lennon, and Duncan Marshall, 'Heritage Action Plan Castlemaine Diggings National Heritage Park', Parks Victoria, Castlemaine, 2002; Keir Reeves, 'Historical Neglect of an Enduring Chinese Community', *Traffic* 3 (2003), pp. 70-1.

<sup>6</sup> Hank Schouten, 'Chinese Get \$5m Poll Tax Package', *Dominion Post*, online, 12 February 2004, available at <http://www.stuff.co.nz/hlc/1,,54419~2811709a11~.00.html> (12 February 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Source: La Trobe Library Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

<sup>8</sup> Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, The Blackwell History of the World*, Blackwell Pub., Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass., 2000, pp.30-1.

<sup>9</sup> For an earlier discussion, see Reeves, 'A Songster, a Sketcher and the Chinese...'

<sup>10</sup> Denoon, Mein Smith, and Wyndham, pp.31-2.

<sup>11</sup> Recent collections include Sophie Couchman, John Fitzgerald, and Paul Macgregor, *After the Rush: Regulation, Participation, and Chinese Communities in Australia: 1860-1940*, *Otherland Literary Journal*; No. 9, Otherland, Kingsbury, Victoria, 2004; Ann Curthoys et al., *The Overseas Chinese in Australasia: History, Settlement and Interactions: Proceedings*, Interdisciplinary Group for Australasian Studies (IGAS) and Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, Taipei, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> It also introduces the idea of mining landscapes as cultural landscapes that are inscribed with historical meaning, and briefly discusses how key Chinese settlement sites can be interpreted to provide new insights in the absence of more conventional archival sources. By 'peopling' these landscapes and providing a cultural perspective, the aim is to redress the historical imbalance that has previously occurred as a result of privileging institutional archival sources.

<sup>13</sup> Source: La Trobe Library Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

<sup>14</sup> James Ng, 'The Sojourner Experience: The Cantonese Goldseekers in New Zealand, 1865-1901', in Manying Ip (ed.), *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity the Chinese in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2003, p.5.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*; C F Yong, *The New Gold Mountain the Chinese in Australia 1901-1921*, Raphael Arts, Adelaide, 1977. See also Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1963.

<sup>16</sup> James Ng, personal correspondence, 22 January 2003.

<sup>17</sup> 'The Chinese Exodus', *Mount Alexander Mail*, 14 October 1863; 'Chinese Exodus Home and New Zealand', *Mount Alexander Mail*, 10 June 1867; 'Chinese Leaving by Train for Melbourne En Route New Zealand', *Mount Alexander Mail*, 10 August 1867.

<sup>18</sup> Ng, 'The Sojourner Experience...', pp.5-7.

<sup>19</sup> Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001, pp.4-11.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Rolls, *Sojourners Flowers and the Wide Sea*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1992, pp.507-8.

<sup>21</sup> See the introduction to David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994.

<sup>22</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1963, pp.84-9.

- <sup>23</sup> Reeves, 'Historical Neglect...', p.58.
- <sup>24</sup> James Ng, 'Choie Sew Hoy', unpublished manuscript, undated, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, New Zealand, pp.3-4.
- <sup>25</sup> Source: Private collection of Mrs J Lister.
- <sup>26</sup> 'Otago,' *The Argus*, 9 September 1861.
- <sup>27</sup> Philip Ross May, 'Gold Rush: Mining Frontiers of the Pacific Borderlands, 1848-1868: A Documentary Essay', Philip Ross May Papers, Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- <sup>28</sup> William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*, London, Harper Collins, 2002. See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 1983; David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, London, Allen Lane, 2001; Kerry Carrell and Cliff Cumming, eds., *A World Turned Upside Down: Cultural Change on Australia's Goldfields, 1851-2001*, Canberra, Humanities Research Centre Monograph No. 14 Humanities Research Centre, ANU, 2001. Notable historical absences include the key New Zealand history that only briefly discusses the Chinese experience during the nineteenth century; Janine Graham, 'Settler Society,' in W. H. Oliver, B. R. Williams and Geoffrey Rice, eds, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993, p.114. This is understandable to the extent that New Zealand history has emphasised Maori and Pakeha relations whereas recent trends in Australian history have concentrated upon debates about multiculturalism.
- <sup>29</sup> Ian D Clark and Fred A Cahir, *Tanderrum 'Freedom of the Bush': The Djadjawurrung Presence on the Goldfields of Central Victoria*, Friends of Mount Alexander Diggings, Castlemaine, 2004, pp.11-23.
- <sup>30</sup> Blainey, *Rush to Be Rich*, publisher?, year?, p.18.
- <sup>31</sup> 'Chinese Exodus Home and New Zealand'; 'MAM'; 'Otago; or a Rush to the New Gold-Fields of New Zealand,' in *The Leisure Hour* 1862; Charles Robert Thatcher, 'Rush to Okitiki,' Charles Robert Thatcher New Zealand Ballads, MS 5004, La Trobe Library Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, Box 141/1 (b).
- <sup>32</sup> Dorinda Outram, 'Europe's Mirror? The Enlightenment and the Exotic,' in Dorinda Outram, ed., *The Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, pp.79-80.
- <sup>33</sup> Yong, *New Gold Mountain*, pp.11-22 and 49.
- <sup>34</sup> Source: Newstead Historical Society Collection, Newstead, Victoria, Australia.
- <sup>35</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.90. See also Serle, *Golden Age*, passim don't use 'passim', use an alternative form..
- <sup>36</sup> *Mount Alexander Mail*, 10 August 1867.
- <sup>37</sup> James Ng, 'Choie Sew Hoy', unpublished manuscript, undated, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, New Zealand, p.2.
- <sup>38</sup> D.A. Drabble, *The Life and Times of Chew Chong*, D.A. Drabble, Eltham Taranaki, 1996, chapter one.
- <sup>39</sup> Later Castlemaine rate books when considered in conjunction with the town map indicate that Acoy's extensive landholdings were in the same proximity as Chew Chong's store. Castlemaine City Council, 'Rate Assessment Record Sheet,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1869; Castlemaine City Council, 'Rate Assessment Record Sheet,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1879; Castlemaine City Council, 'Rate Assessment Record Sheet,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1881.
- <sup>40</sup> James Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past How the Cantonese Goldseekers and Their Heirs Settled in New Zealand* Dunedin, Otago Heritage Books, 1993, p.8.
- <sup>41</sup> James Ng, 'Chew Chong', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB), Vol. Two, 1870-1900*, Wellington, 1990, pp.86-7.
- <sup>42</sup> Drabble, pp.1-15.
- <sup>43</sup> Long haul sea refrigeration was pioneered in Melbourne in 1887 around the time Chew Chong was developing dairy refrigeration in Eltham, Taranaki in northern New Zealand.
- <sup>44</sup> Nigel Murphy, 'Researching Chinese New Zealand Individuals and Their Families: Some Guidelines and Sources', paper presented at the Chinese in Australasia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change. Conference for the Study of Overseas Chinese., University of Otago, Dunedin, 20-21 November 1998. See also Nigel Murphy, *The Poll-Tax in New Zealand*, 2nd ed. Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 2002. Murphy conference proceedings p.225.?????
- <sup>45</sup> Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, 'Introduction'.
- <sup>46</sup> James Ng, 'Choie Sew Hoy', unpublished manuscript, undated, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, New Zealand, pp.1-3.



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- <sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, pp.5 and 9.
- <sup>48</sup> Anderson, p.130; Cannadine, p.7.; Dalrymple, p.xlviii; Outram, p.78.
- <sup>49</sup> Jane Lydon, *'Many Inventions': The Chinese in the Rocks, Sydney 1890 - 1930, Monash Publications in History*; 28. Clayton, Vic., Monash University, Dept. of History, 1999, p.28.
- <sup>50</sup> Frederick Charles Standish, 'Diary of Frederick Charles Standish,' MS11208, La Trobe Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, Box 1659/6 1857.
- <sup>51</sup> James Ng, 'Choie Sew Hoy', unpublished manuscript, undated, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, New Zealand, p.1.
- <sup>52</sup> Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, 1885, p.206.
- <sup>53</sup> Jennifer Alloo, 'The Alloo Family from Ballarat Australia to the Otago Goldfields and Settling in New Zealand,' manuscript in private collection of Mr and Mrs Peter and Jenny Alloo, Dunedin, New Zealand; Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose, and Association of American Geographers. Meeting, *Constructions of Race, Place, and Nation*, UCL Press, London, 1993; Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*; Rolls, pp.104, 121 and 145; Serle, *Golden Age*, pp.320-35.
- <sup>54</sup> Alloo, 'The Alloo Family from Ballarat Australia to the Otago Goldfields and Settling in New Zealand', manuscript in private collection of Mr and Mrs Peter and Jenny Alloo, Dunedin, New Zealand
- <sup>55</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>56</sup> Vincent Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, Dunedin, 1887, p.60. Like Brough Smythe in Victoria Pyke's politics were formed by his experience of the gold-digging life.
- <sup>57</sup> Paul Pickering, 'Ripe for a Republic': British Radical Responses to the Eureka Stockade,' *Australian Historical Studies* 34, no. 121 (2003), pp.87-9. See also the *Peoples Advocate* newspaper between 1849-1851 for further examples.
- <sup>58</sup> Pyke, p.54. Pyke is qualified in his support of the reactionary element of diggers who claimed the right to prospect for gold because of the Anglo-Saxon lineage.
- <sup>59</sup> Source: La Trobe Library Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
- <sup>60</sup> Pyke, pp.60-80.
- <sup>61</sup> Otago Provincial Council, *Ad Interim Report (No. 1.) of the Chinese Immigration Committee Dunedin*, 1871.
- <sup>62</sup> Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, p.121.
- <sup>63</sup> Julia Bradshaw, (is this a book? an article? use appropriate style) 'No 'Ordinary' Miners. Chinese on the West Coast of New Zealand: A Preliminary Account.,' Westport, Shantytown, 2001, p.???
- <sup>64</sup> Acoy signed his name this way on his wedding certificate and numerous legal documents. See James Acoy, 'Last Will and Testament of James Acoy,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1879; James Acoy,
- <sup>65</sup> James Acoy, 'Last Will and Testament of James Acoy,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1879; James Acoy, 'Marriage Certificate of James Acoy and Caroline Fischer,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1855; James Acoy, 'Naturalisation Record,' in *VCMHS Castlemaine*, 1859.
- <sup>66</sup> 'Inhabitants of Staffortown Etc, West Canterbury, Petition for a Poll Tax to Discourage Chinese Immigration May 1867,' in Philip Ross May Papers, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- <sup>67</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>69</sup> James Ng, 'Choie Sew Hoy', unpublished manuscript, undated, Lakes District Museum, Arrowtown, New Zealand, p.1.
- <sup>70</sup> Raffaello Carboni, *The Eureka Stockade: The Consequence of Some Pirates Wanting on Quarter-Deck a Rebellion*, Melbourne, 1855, pp.1-5 and 40-1; Pickering, , pp.72-5; R. S. Ross, *Eureka: Freedom's Fight of '54*, Fraser & Jenkinson, Melbourne, 1914, 'Chapter 28'; R. D. Walshe, *The Eureka Stockade, 1854-1954*, Current Book Distributors, Sydney, 1954, pp.16-31; R.D Walshe, 'The Significance of Eureka in Australian History,' *Historical Studies* (1954) , pp.103-7.
- <sup>71</sup> Reeves, 'A Songster...', pp.175-7. For a related discussion, see Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties Chinese in Early Victoria*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1982, pp.98-101; Ann Curthoys, 'Men of All Nations, except Chinamen': Europeans and Chinese on the Goldfields of New South Wales,' in Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves, eds, *Gold Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2001, p.118; Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus, *Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Working Class in Australia*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978, 'Introduction'; Raymond Markey, 'Race and Organized Labor in Australia, 1850-1901,' *The Historian* 58,

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no. 2 (1996), pp.343-6; Andrew Markus, *Fear & Hatred Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1979, pp.19-20.

<sup>72</sup> 'The Chinese Agitation,' *Mount Alexander Mail*, May 25 1859; 'The Chinese and the Residence Ticket,' *Mount Alexander Mail*, 4 June 1859; *Testimonial of the Castlemaine Chinese*, Melbourne, Victorian Government, John Ferres, 1859.

<sup>73</sup> *Otago Witness*, 30 September 1865. Ng points out that the original correspondence has not been sighted. For further discussion, see note 22 of Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, p.162.

<sup>74</sup> Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, pp.124-5.

<sup>75</sup> Kirkby Gaynor, *Passenger Lists - Victoria, Australia Outwards to New Zealand 1862 Onwards: Part Three 1866-1870*, New Zealand Society of Genealogists, Auckland, 1996, p.???

<sup>76</sup> 'Ad Interim Report (No. 1.) of the Chinese Immigration Committee', p.17.

<sup>77</sup> During the Second World War, the New Zealand government stationed conscripts in Arrowtown and provided them with recording equipment. One unintended result was an oral history collection that captured the memories of local citizens some of whom still remembered people who had been involved in the gold rushes on the Clutha river. It is housed in the Lakes and District Museum in Arrowtown.

<sup>78</sup> Murphy, *The Poll-Tax in New Zealand*, p.2.

<sup>79</sup> Donald Denoon and Division of Pacific and Asian History, Australian National University, *Emerging from Empire? Decolonisation in the Pacific: Proceedings of a Workshop at the Australian National University, December 1996*, Division of Pacific and Asian History Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies Australian National University, Canberra, 1997; Denoon, Mein Smith, and Wyndham, pp.29-32. See also David Day, *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia*, Harper Collins Publishers, Sydney, 2001, pp.133-49.

<sup>80</sup> W E Adcock, *The Gold Rushes of the Fifties*, Poppet Head Press, Glen Waverley, 1977; Robyn Annear, *Nothing but Gold the Diggers of 1852*, Text, Melbourne, 1999; Weston Bate, 'Victorian Gold Rushes', Macphee Gribble, 1988, pp.62-6; Blainey, *Rush to Be Rich*; Raymond A. Bradfield, *Castlemaine, a Golden Harvest*, Lowden, Kilmore, 1972; Cannadine; Howard Carr, *Barkers Creek: Birthplace of the Mount Alexander Goldfields*, H. Carr, Barker's Creek, Vic., 1999; Charles Clacy and Patricia Thompson, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852-53: Written on the Spot*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1963; Keith Cole, *The Anglican Mission to the Chinese in Bendigo and Central Victoria 1854 -1918*, Keith Cole Publications, Bendigo, 1994; Cronin; Curthoys and Markus; Day; Brian Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History, 1834-1939*, 2nd, rev. and abridged ed. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1949; James Flett, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, The Poppet Head Press, Melbourne, 2001; Goodman; Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, 'Family and Community in Nineteenth Century Castlemaine,' *Australia* 1888 1, no. 9 (1982); Geoff Hocking, *Castlemaine: From Camp to City 1835-1900, a Pictorial History of Forest Creek & the Mount Alexander Goldfields*, Five Mile Press, Knoxfield, Vic., 1994; Robert A Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies 1830-1910*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1976; Macintyre; Markus; Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves, *Gold Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2001; Geoffrey Serle, 'The Gold Generation,' *Victorian Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1970); and Serle, *Golden Age*.

<sup>81</sup> Cronin, pp.38-41.

<sup>82</sup> Curthoys, p.118.

<sup>83</sup> Anthony Chan, *Gold Mountain Chinese in the New World*, New Star Books, Vancouver, 1983, pp.37-46; Goodman, p.27.

<sup>84</sup> Goodman, pp.25-6; Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, p.109; G. A. Oddie, *The Chinese in Victoria, 1870-1890*, Honours thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1959, pp.15-30; Lynn Pan, *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*, Archipelago Press, Singapore, 1998, pp.274 and 286-7; Yong, pp.11-5.

<sup>85</sup> Philip Ross May, 'Gold Rush: Mining Frontiers of the Pacific Borderlands, 1848-1868: A Documentary Assay', Philip Ross May Papers, Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.