

*Notes by Mr. Crawford on Chinese Immigration in the
Australian Colonies.*

No. 1.

Acting Consul Davenport to Lord Tenterden.

My Lord,

Shanghai, September 1, 1877.

IN accordance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, I have the honour to forward Part I of Mr. Crawford's Notes on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies. Part II, dealing especially with Cooktown, will follow by next mail.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR DAVENPORT.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Notes on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies.

PART I.

FREE Chinese emigration, rendered as free as possible by stringent regulations, has displayed during recent years a growth so vigorous as to attain at its height to a third of the extent of the annual emigration from Great Britain.

The main and apparently continuous stream of the migration is now directed to Singapore, to the neglect of San Francisco, whilst an independent movement of more fitful and possibly expiring force diverges to Australia. 173,809 emigrants, by the Registrar-General's Returns, left England during 1876; those bound for the Australian Colonies, 35,525, were slightly exceeded in numbers by the Chinese immigrants to Singapore during the same year, in spite of deductions for a steady return migration to Hong Kong. In Queensland the Chinese residents were estimated, at the close of the year 1876, to number less than 14,000; but on the Palmer River gold-field they were so largely reinforced in the spring of 1877 as to suggest the possibility of a local famine from over-population.

Notwithstanding this preference for Australia, apparently temporary, Singapore continues to be the great goal of Chinese emigrants; with a favourable monsoon, 10,000 will arrive from Hong Kong in a month, and the flight diverted from its continuance towards California is now auspiciously turned southwards to the more congenial tropical soil of the fertile Malay Peninsula.

The concentration of Chinese emigration upon one point constitutes one of its most marked characteristics. Java, California, Victoria, Queensland, and the Straits Settlements have all in turn been visited by "rushes," one to the exclusion of the others, at times encouraged by a bonus, at times discouraged by a poll-tax, which have established a numerous caste of traders in Dutch India, a mixed population of great usefulness and political influence in the Malay Peninsula, and nearly 200,000 merchants, miners, artisans, and adventurers scattered over California, Australia, and "the brood of islands, Polynesia." Direct trade is either the precursor or the inseparable accessory of extensive emigration. The bases or points of departure are few; Amoy displayed a brilliant period of action and then subsided; Foochow showed signs of distributive power along lines of tea trade. From the northern provinces enterprise has never set out in this direction; the densest ignorance there prevails amongst the masses as to the movements of the outer world, and Manchus are forbidden to leave the country. From three causes, over-population, internecine feuds, and an universal spirit of gambling, resulting in different degrees of slavery, crime, and debt, gold-hunting possesses every attraction for men of the south, providing means of escape, or food for excitement, with the final inducement that if they return they will return rich enough to compensate for past offences or misfortunes. The glowing accounts of successful diggers induce many country villagers either to form themselves into co-operative bands and emigrate in a clan, or individually to enter into unwritten bonds with a labour agent. A large number of workmen make a living by serving successive contracts of three or four years' duration in such places as Saigon, Manila, Queensland, or Singapore. Every emigrant on leaving makes a declaration that he emigrates of his own free will and under obligation to no man; and probably the majority of these apprentices believe themselves to be to all intents and purposes free. The centralization of British trade localized the traffic; the facilities of steam increased it. Operators, financiers, charterers, and crimps were all Cantonese under the old foreign contract system, and still are, under the improved system of undeclared native contracts. The field of operations is the same, and from the riverine districts of Canton the bulk of emigrants come, the districts of Swatow and Chao-chow-fu also showing a flourishing but subsidiary movement. What Macao was to the coolie traffic, but happily without its attendant horrors, Hong Kong has become for free Chinese emigration, the gathering point and port of shipment of cargoes drawn from the native population of the distant provincial districts under Chinese rule. This migration is almost entirely now directed towards British possessions, namely, the Straits Settlements and Queensland; to the former at the rate of 30,000 to 40,000 a year, whilst in the latter the whole number resident amount to perhaps 20,000.

Throughout the Australian colonies, amongst a population of over 2,000,000, the highest estimates give a total in round numbers of 50,000 Chinese, distributed in the following proportions:—

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|----|--------|
| Victoria .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16,000 |
| New South Wales.. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6,000 |
| Queensland | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20,000 |
| New Zealand | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6,000 |
| Other Colonies | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,000 |
| Unenumerated | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,000 |
| Total .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 50,000 |

Gold has been, from first to last, the almost sole cause of attraction; and on alluvial diggings four-fifths of the immigrants are still at work.

The remaining 10,000, the real nucleus of Asiatic colonization, have opened stores, divided the fisheries with Italians, and established a sort of monopoly in market-gardening. The daily increasing popularity of their stores for cheap necessaries is viewed with some disfavour by the retail trade; but agents for wholesale firms appreciate the custom engendered by distrust, which obliges the Chinese shopkeeper to pay for his goods on delivery in hard cash; and the public displays little national feeling in the purchase of groceries.

As fishermen, Chinese are widely known by the cheapness of their fish, by their destruction of sharks, and by recent objections raised to the employment of their nets, which are said literally to sweep the seas, being so close in the mesh that few things that swim can escape. Their perseverance and industry in market-gardening are universally acknowledged to have conferred an incalculable boon upon the public. Without entering into competition with the higher horticulture of nurserymen, they have made oases in deserts, supplied by steady hard work, heavy manuring, and irrigation, a want long felt, and reduced vegetables from an expensive luxury, often exotic, to being a cheap and universal article of diet. In many bizarre branches of trade Chinese are found, as butchers, bakers, hands on back-country stations, cooks on tripang boats, furniture makers, and sometimes as contract road labourers; but their employment by masters other than their own countrymen is quite inappreciable, and quite inappreciable their employment, even in tropical Queensland, in any domestic capacity. No Australian capitalist employs Chinese in any manufacture or in any agricultural industry.

The 40,000 gold-diggers, who form the bulk of the immigrants, being mostly drawn from the agricultural districts of one province, although divided in dialect and sympathies, represent the result of a system which has inspired all classes and all clans with one common enthusiasm—gold-seeking, an enthusiasm extending to the lowest ranks of Chinese helotry, to slaves as well as their masters, to bondsmen as well as their usurers. Every prize carried off by industry or good fortune, to be remitted to China or invested in a shop or market-garden, leaves poorer, by statistics of average, the luckless or thriftless, till on the older fields only diggers remain who are steadily working under agreement, or to whom the knowledge of mining acquired during apprenticeship has subsequently proved lucrative, and a certain number, besides, of unfortunate victims to opium. That there should still be gold enough grubbed from the ground to sustain these enervated debauchées, only increases the ghastliness of the picture of decay and waste which a Chinese camp presents to a casual observer.

The real working majority are distributed over creek and gully, washing and puddling for pennyweights of ore. The bees are afield; the drones conspicuously remain in possession. The rich reef-bearing main range abutting upon the east coast of Australia, and traversing the entire length of the continent, has been worked, tunnelled, puddled, and pulverized, quartz and sand, from the southernmost site of Bendigo to the base of the terminal horn at the extreme north of Queensland, its treasure crushed or coaxed into a hundred channels of national wealth; and at last, remotely in the future, its barrenness is prophesied.

Of quartz mining, with improved facilities and machinery, the decline may be so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, and mitigated by seasons of success and excitement; but alluvial gold-fields already show by Warden's Reports, a steady decrease of yield out of proportion to the fluctuation of workers, and it is only from alluvial gold-fields, from gold-fields abandoned by Australians, that the Chinese diggers derive their subsistence. For their subsistence the average yield is still ample, and has

been at the newest and most crowded "rush" until recently more than ample: but the distribution of profits being unequal, and the yield disproportionate to the continued inrush, serious distress is anticipated unless a fresh discovery produce a diversion.

Meanwhile, out of 50,000 Chinese in the Australian Colonies, 40,000 are digging or otherwise dependent upon alluvial gold-fields, and of these one half nearly are massed on a single field—the Palmer River in Queensland. On this new and famine-threatened Eldorado, where any spade-turn in the virgin soil may expose a treasure equal to the "cache" of Hissarlik, bondsmen and slaves, apprentices and freemen, alike feed on an excitement so intense as to approach to mania. The richness of the prize robs the most careful of prudence. Maddened by an insatiable thirst for gold that knows no hunger, these fatalists dig through days of drought till strength, and food, and water all fail together. Many succumb to privations resulting from their own recklessness or their masters' improvidence; but the first disappointment over, a quiet, business-like method contents the majority to collect enough gold-dust for their wants, and besides to fill from time to time a neat little packet of gold-dust for their mothers in China.

Whilst deaths from sheer starvation are unrecorded, a frequent cause of mortality is described by a periphrasis—"swelling of the legs, body, and head—fatal, attributed to excessive labour, without adequate sustenance."

In Victoria and New South Wales, where employment can be ordinarily obtained for the miner whose Pactolus has run dry, the transition from miner to artizan still proceeds, but slowly. In 1872 there were 14,000 diggers out of 17,000 Chinese in Victoria; in 1876 there were 11,000 diggers out of 16,000 Chinese, showing an increase of quasi-artizan Chinese from 3,000 to 5,000 in four years. For New South Wales a census of 1871 gave the Chinese population at 7,220. Estimates for 1876 rate the Chinese diggers at less than 4,000, and the artizan Chinese distributed through the country districts and the Riverina at about 1,500; the addition of 579 for those resident at Sydney bringing the total up to 6,000.

The following Table compares statistics of 1872 and 1876 regarding miners and mining profits in Victoria:—

MINING Population of Victoria.

| | | | | 1872. | 1876. | Decrease. |
|------------------|----|----|----|--------|--------|-----------|
| Quartz miners— | | | | | | |
| Australian | .. | .. | .. | 16,824 | 14,316 | } 2,372 |
| Chinese .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 106 | |
| Alluvial miners— | | | | | | |
| Australian | .. | .. | .. | 21,983 | 15,497 | 6,486 |
| Chinese .. | .. | .. | .. | 14,158 | 11,061 | 3,097 |
| Total .. | .. | .. | .. | 52,965 | 41,010 | 11,955 |

ESTIMATE of Average Earnings of Miners (Victoria).

| | | | | 1872. | 1876. | Decrease. |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Average earnings— | | | | £ | £ | £ |
| Alluvial miners, a-year | .. | .. | .. | 65 | 45 | 20 = 20 per cent. |
| Quartz | .. | .. | .. | 160 | 140 | 20 12½ .. |

Practically, the Chinese hardly gain an average of the sum stated, and the Australian miner on new alluvial diggings obtains a corresponding advantage from the custom prevalent of prohibiting Chinese from occupying unturned ground. The value of earnings varying inversely as the distance of a mine from a market; on the whole, 40*l.* would be more than ordinarily finds a Chinese digger in fair funds for the necessaries of life and ordinary indulgencies. He may live at a good inn at Cooktown, and have three meals of rice, with every adjunct of beans, dried fish, chicken, and white cabbage, for 10*s.* a week, board and lodging. A trader, on the other hand, has to pay 3*l.* a week. The poorest can support life on congee for 6*d.* a day, or even less, and the immigrants, whether diggers or shop-keepers, may be rated generally at 15*l.* to 20*l.* a year for food, tea, and tobacco, and 5*l.* for opium. A few remit money to China; many deposit their savings in a Colonial bank; usually a humble extravagance keeps pace with the income, an imperceptible bettering of dress and accessories, too often attended by increasing expenditure in play. An intelligent workman soon understands the advantages of English clothes, dresses much as his Australian neighbours do, in long boots, moleskin trousers and "jumper," and looks, when tanned, not unlike a Kanaka. If his earnings are not his own, his shoes remain of straw, his jacket of coarse blue cotton, and his luxuries continue to consist of pickled cabbage and jerked pork till his time is fulfilled.

His adaptability to change luxuries into necessaries, and the rapid advance which, in a bustling city, even a moderate increase of income produces in a Chinaman's mode of life, render his labour cheapest during his period of *insouciance* on first arrival, or isolation from temptations.

The employment of Chinese by Australian colonists is limited to a very few instances. In quartz-mining Chinese seem successful in Tasmania, and also on a tribute claim at Haddon, near Ballarat, Victoria. In alluvial mining they have been used as sluicers in New Zealand, and being handy with long shovels, to remove the surface earth from claims, the miners not trusting them at work after reaching the "wash-dirt," or gold sand.

On Government works they have been unsuccessfully tried for the construction of jetties in Northern Queensland, a gang under a head man proving inefficient; successfully in New Zealand on the Pakuratahi contract railway, where, besides the limited authority of their head man, each working party is under the direct supervision of a ganger (European). They have given satisfaction, and are described as quiet, steady, and inoffensive.

For the cultivation of sugarcane in Queensland, an attempt was made to bring Chinese from Cooktown to the plantations.

Some of the immigrants came from the extensive sugar districts of Southern China, and on every plantation in Java Amoy men exclusively are employed in the special work requiring neatness of hand connected with the crushing of the cane between revolving cylinders.

For some unexplained reason the head man of the Chinese intended for sugar labour in Queensland failed to fulfil his contract; but in the future some plantations might be advantageously worked on the tribute system, giving the men an interest in the business. At present few sugargrowers have confidence in Chinese firms.

Chinese cheap labour, as such in relation to Australian labour, has no appreciable influence in Australia, except in comparison indirectly with California, and prospectively in the anticipations of trades' unions. Apprehensions of cheap labour in Australia have for some years, according to published prices, conserved wages at almost unvarying rates. Domestic servants and station hands obtain from 30*l.* to 50*l.* a year with

rations, skilled artisans from 2*l.* to 3*l.* a week without rations, and labourers 6*s.* to 7*s.* a day with rations. The higher rates usually obtain; but workmen protest that, whilst 2*l.* to 3*l.* fairly represent the earnings of a man at work, there may be still large numbers of unemployed, whom habit of labour-conservancy forbids to enter the market at a depreciative rate. The carpenters' and joiners' society in Victoria, for instance, fixes the rate at 10*s.* a day.

In comparison with America, putting out of sight a recent crisis, Australia pays a low price for skilled labour. For ordinary labour the rate is identical in both countries, a loss to the employer in America, by increased cost of rations being counterbalanced by a gain on depreciation of currency.

Whether Chinese labour has directly turned the scale by its spread to the pastoral districts of the Western States, where Mexican stockmen are also employed, or indirectly by setting free for other employment the American workmen whom the coolies replace, it is certain that American enterprise is making great strides in competition with Australia's chief staple (wool), and this competition comes from the Chinese-employing State, California.

In 1876 the yield of wool grown in California was 188,500 bales of 300 lbs. each, showing an increase of 30 per cent. over 1875, whilst the Australian "clip" for 1876, though much greater, showed an increase of only 10 per cent. over 1875—771,382 bales against 699,620. The import of wool into America fell in value from 10,662,834 dollars in 1875 to 6,843,670 dollars in 1876. In view of Australia becoming by increase of population and wealth every year more dependent upon commerce for prosperity, this competition with her chief staple deserves comparison with the rapid growth of American industries recently illustrated by the statistics of the preserved-meat trade. At the close of 1875 Australia held practically the monopoly of the preserved-meat trade, exporting to England 8,857 tons, valued at 593,054*l.*

In July 1876 America entered the market heavily. The value of the Australian branch of the trade still increased, and at the close of 1876 had advanced to 884,273*l.*; but the amount of equivalent tons (14,043) showed a fall in price from 67*l.* to 62*l.* a ton; and America was not only exporting preserved meat to a greater extent than Australia, but had raised the fresh-beef trade with England from 1,750 tons in 1875 to 8,536 tons in 1876, from 97,343*l.* to 462,947*l.* *In 1877 Australia fitted out Mort's frozen meat ship.

Two other staples may be instanced. The Sandwich Islands, with trade fostered by an advantageous Treaty with the United States, and with the import of Chinese labour, accelerated by a bonus of 25 dollars a-head from the Hawaiian Government, last year supplied the Californian market with the same amount of sugar that Queensland produces this year for Australia by aid of Polynesians, about 10,000 tons; and to place the two countries *vis-à-vis* in point of luxuries, the grain trade exhibits the seesaw of Australia exporting Australian wheat to California, and at the same time importing Californian wheaten flour. In spite of American competition, no change is observed in the steady progress of the trade of the Australian Colonies. With respect to Chinese colonization slight comparison can be instituted. Neither in Melbourne nor Sydney do the few blocks of houses occupied by Chinese, though situated in somewhat prominent positions in the centre of both cities, approach even potentially in possible extension or exclusive Oriental characteristics to the populous quarter occupied by Chinese in San Francisco. Offences against sanitary regulations require in Melbourne and Sydney an occasional word from the Inspector of Nuisances; breaches of the peace are limited to cross-actions

for assault with sailors. The crowded thousands of the Chinese quarter at San Francisco are policed at night by two constables armed; houses complained of on sanitary grounds receive a summary douching from a fire-engine, and the wood pavement of the numerous alleys and culs-de-sac is remarkable for its scrupulous cleanliness.

In the three occupations of bootmaking, clothes-washing, and domestic service, Chinese have obtained no footing in Australia; whilst in America their washermen are found in every western city; their servants are even more widely distributed, and their bootmakers have crossed the Continent to the Atlantic seaboard.

If Chinese domestic servants are employed in Australia out of the tropics, it will be owing to the unwillingness of fit persons to take service and the insufficiency of emigrants from England to supply demand. In the older Colonies, the proportion of the sexes being nearly equal, and the bulk of the rising population just adult, early marriages in the country districts release young women from service. This, and generally widespread education, added to equal distribution of comforts, tend to create a dearth of the class required. The younger Colonies, whose rising generations are still under age, depend upon constant relays of immigrants; a strong independent spirit ruling, analogous to that which first led the Californian partly to give way before imported labour, Chinese or other, but later to take advantage of the situation, to make use of the new G. becnites by a sub-lease of labour rather than do work traditionally termed menial. At present in Australia there are only a score or two of Chinese domestic servants, and possibly half-a-dozen washermen. The appearance of a single Chinamen in many districts will cause a popular disturbance, so powerful has been the exaggerated influence of a doubt as to the permanency of the white conquest. The aboriginal blacks have been to some extent reclaimed and domesticated without exciting unreasonable prejudice, Kanakas introduced for sugar-culture are classed as special labour immigrants, and to their employment on plantations his Excellency the Governor of Queensland has recently with justice applied an order of limitations. Murmurs are occasionally heard against the cheap labour of the natives of New Zealand; but their extensive employment on Government roads was accepted as an earnest of the successful mediatisation of the Maori Chieftains.

No artisan labour, Maori, Chinese, Kanaka, or aboriginal, has practically entered into competition with Australian.

The Chinese in Australia have great respect for the local authorities and fear of the constabulary: good order is completely undisturbed in spite of the rivalry of race between Hakka and Punti, and in spite of feuds maintained merely on the score of geographical position, chiefly between Cantonese and natives of Fuhkeen, these last carrying their animosities further to their own provincials, village against village; whilst the Cantonese form under one of the two great leagues of "yik," which represent a division, political and sectarian, as well as geographical.

These "yik," or boroughs, form two groups leagued together, one group of three "yik" against the other group of four "yik." The four "yik," Hsin-hui, Hsin-ning, Kai-ping, and E'n-ping, occupy a valley 150 miles long near the coast below the mouth of the [?] River, on latitude 22° 30'.

The upper delta of the [?] River and the districts of the provincial city of Canton form the country of the three "yik," Nanhai (Nam-hoi), Pan-yii, and Sunktak; and in somewhat indifference alliance with these are the two riverine counties lying immediately south on the lower delta, Tungkun and Heongsan; these five being characterized by their dependents as the five great places of Canton.

The Nam-hoi and Pan-yü burghers (Santak being comparatively unimportant), headmen of the guild of the three "yik," comprise the wealthiest members of the emigrant communities at the centres of trade in China, and in the various Chinese Colonies beyond sea; the capitalists, polished citizens, usurers, financiers, who, despising their poorer neighbours of Tungkun and the more turbulent natives of Heongsan, confident in the absolute hegemony of their Nam-pan league, affect a private contempt in their hatred for the rival league of the four "yik," which would appear presumptuous were it not to be fully reciprocated. Yet the undoubted superiority of these Nam-pan burghers, Canton citizens proper, to their provincial competitors in what both sides prize most, the refinement of life, the accessories of wealth, and the art of money-making, render almost excusable their ebullitions of political pride. A report has been circulated in California that the antagonism of the leagues has there ceased; and in Australia fear of the authorities and the natural assuagement of exile have reduced feelings of active hostility to a rivalry of sentiment only, not dangerous to the public peace. This improved state of affairs is attested to by the conspicuous absence from the police-sheets of claufrights and the extreme rarity of personal encounters.

At Ballarat, in the Colony of Victoria, on a rising ground overlooking the fallow landscape and scattered hovels of the Chinese mining camp, there stand side by side as witnesses how nearly rivalry may approach to union, two neat pine-built guild-houses, the one of the league of the three, the other the league of the four "yik." The interiors of both are adorned with appropriate aphorisms in praise of humanity and justice; those of the first containing covert allusions to the Manchu domination in the double use of "ta," progress, for Tartar, and of "ti," glorious, for the principal gate of the Imperial Palace at Peking. Both guilds assume titles of a semi-official character, but common to all guilds in China, Kung-so, and Hui-kuan.

The interiors were clean, but bare of ornamentation, with the exception of a few scrolls complimentary to visitors, ornamental pikes, certain religious paraphernalia, and a box of lottery tickets. Rows of panels inscribed with the names of members show the amount of contribution from each to consist of occasional donations of either 3s. or 5s; a statement of disbursements also pasted up enumerating items of a humble annual expenditure in joss-stick and lamp-oil. The attendants here and elsewhere wore the unmistakable ecstatic expression peculiar to those devoted to religious service. The priestly tonsure, however, is nowhere seen in Australia, and pictures take the place of images, except in the case of the fat popular god of gratification, the same whose massive idol ornaments the gardens of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Sandringham.

Kuanti, god of war, deified hero, and tutelary diety of the Manchu dynasty, is frequently seen represented in dedicatory pictures on the walls of shops; his best-known shrine being at Emerald Hill, near Melbourne, his most venerated temple at Tronbark Camp, near Sandhurst, Victoria, a village of pure Tartars, who once formed part of the old Manchu garrison of Canton. This village, which, in point of general appearance, may be considered representative, lies in the midst of a scene of tree-less desolation, relieved only by wretched collections of huts and pools of water, stagnant in abandoned gold-holes, its ruinous condition, wrecks of wooden cottages, and quaint old pigeon-houses, producing an effect not unpicturesque.

Two new-looking plank chapels attract the eye, one Methodist, the other Church of England, both diminutive. Only about 8 per cent. of Chinese immigrants embrace Christianity, and these generally on

account of unions with Christian women desirous of having their children baptized.

More conspicuous is a gaudy shrine to the *genius loci*; and there are two well-built houses, that of the Interpreter's Eurasian family and the central shop, the agency of a Melbourne firm and nucleus of the settlement.

Most of the village idlers are drinking tea at a butcher's stall and watching the quartering of meat. A public house next door, with a bar and billiard-table, stands deserted; but the chink of money is heard from some den where dominoes are in full play, and a smell of opium exudes through the chinks of the least reputable hovels. At the north end of the village stands the temple of the god of war, Kuantimiao, of plain exterior and plank-built. The interior contains a good collection of votive tablets, with texts uniformly painted and gilt, deposited by emigrants of different "yik" and various clans, each district bearing a distinguishing motto. The most recent additions were from natives of Swatow and a Suntut gang. The majority of the Amoy men, whose camp lies almost in sight on "Jackass Flat," are not contributors. Members' red visiting cards pasted round the walls as an ornament to the wainscoting contain many influential names. The tablet designate of the village, occupying a conspicuous position in the temple, bears the legend, "Ti-tê Cwang-yün," "brought by Imperial favour from Canton," with the duplicate meaning of "The Imperial grace is broadly diffused." The god of war is depicted with his son and henchman in attendance. His charger, a wooden toy-horse, stands on the floor; the customary rice-filled pateras are arranged both before the picture and before the horse, and joss-stick is burning. These three heroes, Kuantimiao, his son, and henchman, together emblematic of loyal attachment, appear at Cooktown under the title of the "Priceless Triad," usually applied to the Buddhist Triratna; whilst in the same street figure the "Triad of Union," denoting the presence of the Sheathed Sword Society, and the Taoist Trinity painted in the attributes of the "Triad of Purity." Taoism reigns supreme in the apothecary's shop; his prescriptions are half-charms, his drugs half-compounded of "eye of newt and toe of frog," the ingredients of a witch's cauldron; and pills of immortality, panaceas, fairy pills, he sells for a mere song. His anti-opium pills are in great demand, and the virtue of his simples prevails against even the reputation of the faculty. In the case of a clerk suffering from a severe illness, his employers (Chinese) called in a Sydney physician, whose doses the clerk took at the times prescribed, taking meanwhile, during the intervals, the decoctions of a Chinese apothecary to make assurance doubly sure. That Chinese doctors have improved in their knowledge and practice, and indeed become for all ordinary purposes efficient, may be inferred from their employment, subject to examination and inspection, on board the emigrant steamers plying between Hong Kong and Cooktown. Of great colonial fame is a Chinese doctor Wang, of Sydney, whose magical spy-glass, according to his pretence and popular superstition, renders the human frame conveniently transparent. The doctor merely adjusts his glass, looks through his patient, and prescribes forthwith. His practice is extending to others besides his own countrymen.

Of Taoist deities, the most venerated in Australia is the god of wealth, and occasionally an inscription is dedicated to the god of the year. A pair of scrolls, dedicated to each of these deities—

"Lord of the seasons of the appointed year,
Noblest of honoured deities!"

"God of wealth, richest under heaven
Of all princes of starry influence!"

hang in the Cantonese house of entertainment at Cooktown, called the "Garden of Gold-Valleys." Here music is given every evening free of charge, and from dark to midnight a crowd of willing listeners are beguiled from harm's way to hear their well-known airs. On the night after the accidental drowning of three Chinese in the bay, lamps—little oil lamps—were placed on the ground in this house, and the whole village was quiet, though gamblers crept round as usual to and from the lottery bank. There was no sound of "jocund rebeck," or rattle of snake-skin drums, that night. The flower-fairies (*fasiën*) were abroad, who bear away the souls of the dead. About midnight, under a splendid moon shining over mangrove-swamp, and sea, and wooded hills, a *devote* of the "Sheathed Sword" Society went forth to cry the last lament; and no savage war-cry could surpass the weird unearthliness of those yells and intonations, which alone the ghosts can hear and understand. During the next day, in the miners' guildhall of "Perpetual Peace," a lamp was burning in broad daylight before a small shrine placed upon the ground and dedicated to the "tranquillization for [the dead] of the influences of Earth," with a dual inscription of invocation—

"May your influence on three sides through five earths radiate, the dragon influence of your honoured spirit."

"This tablet of generations, past and future, is your spirit's honoured throne."

The religious society of the "Sheathed Sword"* exercises a wide and wise influence over all classes of society. Its creed, founded on the correlation of heaven, earth, and man, and free from the idylls and idols of Buddhist and Taoist superstition, gives expression to a simple faith in a triple bond between man, the dead below, and the life above. Its observances, like those of an Italian "confraternità," resolve themselves chiefly into a public regard for the rites of burial and revenue for the dead; its buildings combining the objects of a Temple of Libitina with the advantages of a repository for the *lares familiares* of its members. The Tartar branch of the "Sheathed Sword" Society has erected a public building at Ironbark Camp, tripartite, a central hall, flanked by two wings, well-situated geomantically on the south side of the village,—at its entrance, in fact, and overlooking a small pond.

Over the central door four characters, arranged diamond-wise, dedicate the building to public worship; and hanging scrolls on the side-posts bear "words magic"—

"Light is rendered by sun and moon,

"Life reproduced by earth and heaven.

The hall may be considered as devoted to the observances due to man, viz., charity and fellowship; the left wing to the service of heaven, in ancestral worship; and the right, a mortuary chapel,† to the service of earth. No friendly organization such as the "Peace and Harmony" Society, *Hokwu*;‡ no clan-guild of *Sam-yik*‡ or *Si-yik*;‡ no tea company, *Yang-wu*, nor any of their ramifications, however much their members may be bound to them by debt, interest, or zeal, possesses the preponderating influence of this secret "mêng," or sworn fraternity of the "Sheathed Sword." Most of the branch meeting-houses, of which two at Cooktown bear the names—"the new guild" and "the Yüeh (Canton) guild,"—degenerate, as immigration wanes, into mere tea-shops; and the same may be said of the clan-clubs; but in every city or camp

* Its members call themselves *Hing Yung*, "Sheathed Sword" braves.

† More exactly, a room where the dead are washed.

‡ In California these are called companies.

one building will be set apart for ceremonies of solemnity, and of these the "Hall of Clouds' Rest,"* at Melbourne, is a remarkable specimen, being built of plain brick, but of unusual height for a Chinese building. The clubs (now tea-shops) where members of the same family or district meet after work to smoke tobacco and drink tea, soon lose the character of benevolent institutions.

The caterer sells opium; dormitories are added for smokers of the drug; and, finally, a fantan-table, or a lottery bank, makes its appearance in the principal room. Rooms built for the charitable lodging of the poor become converted to the accommodation of visitors, and crowded, during the busy season, with newly-arrived emigrants from the club districts, who sleep close-packed upon the floor for a night or two before taking the road to the diggings.

The head of the religious body at Sydney having retired to Melbourne on account of his wife's death, the community is for the present left leaderless, although a devotee is still resident there, who was formerly chief for some years, but resigned on account of disagreements between the clans, Hakka and Punti, as to the working of a public immigration scheme on the Californian principle, each new comer paying 1*l.* on landing to the "Sheathed Sword," and, of course, his debt by degrees; but the Chief showed such a decided partiality for introducing men from his own district that the scheme being co-operative, and on a small scale, was soon abandoned. The Punti, as usual, comprise the chief merchants and influential representatives of capital, against whom co-operation avails little, except for social discomfort.

Hakkas and Hoklos from Puhkeen combine with the numerous Cantonese Hakkas to make common cause against their former oppressors. A persecution of centuries, enforcing hegira after hegira, has reduced the unmassaired remnant of the race, who chiefly form the boat population of southern China, and easily emigrate, to a state of organized Jacquerie, still slow to retaliate, perhaps too poor, except under renewed exasperation.

With the fall of the Heavenly Prince and his besieged armies the last hope of Hakka domination was extinguished. Harried to a condition of helotry, the conquered were charged at once with excessive increase of population, and with the crime of female infanticide. Their name was made a by-word amongst the Punti for a liar and a thief. Time and misery had at last reduced them to oppose force by craft, and rapine by deceit. Under the free government of Australia their condition visibly improves; their shrewdness and industry have free scope, and their hatred of the Punti is softening into a mere jealousy felt by struggling men towards those whom they identify with wealth; yet all, whether rich or poor, reduce themselves at Sydney to a common level, in order to disarm public opposition, by adopting European clothes, keeping their pigtailed round their heads, avoiding ostentation, and dispensing with observances and manners and customs likely to attract attention.

General rules to this effect were issued and circulated some years ago, and the result of this artificial system is apparent in the unhappy air of constraint which characterizes the Chinese of Sydney, and distinguishes them from their free-mannered countrymen in Victoria. The discontent of the Chinese at Sydney finds vent in the repetition of stories in the tea-shops of Captain Stewart's cruelty at Tahiti in pistoling offenders and keeping his coolies on plantations for years after their contract's expiry — tales long ago refuted.

Other stories are rife of the official detention of 150 Chinese prisoners

* "Fok-ting-tong," a funeral guildhall, where the dead are laid in state.

(time-expired) for the last five years on the island of Ika, in New Caledonia, where they are still under strict surveillance, compelled to labour on sugar and corn plantations; and against the black mounted troopers of Queensland, who collect the fees for mining-licenses by the somewhat violent but necessary procedure of mustering the hundreds by *force majeure* in mobs, charges are laid of exacting not only the legal fee of 10s. a head for an annual license, but also of confiscating the gold dust which the digger may have meantime obtained without such license. Besides these charges, and the difficulty of inducing miners to give up the established custom of chasing Chinese from a "new rush," the Chinese have no substantial complaints to make. Wherever they have settled for any length of time in Australia, and become known, they are considerably treated; their judicial cases are conducted with especial care, and no greater proof of their general acknowledgment of the justice of English law could be given than the fact that they look to the Colonial Law Court as a Court of Appeal from the informal decisions of their district club or guild.

Petty as their disputes usually are, the arbitration of headmen may fail, and they are then referred to a general meeting of the particular organization to which the disputants belong, when advocates are heard on both sides, the evidence is freely canvassed, and a verdict given or compromised by acclamation. Fines vary from the payment of the evening's score to a substantial forced contribution; but any party aggrieved or dissatisfied carries his case into a Colonial Court. On the other hand, the guilds should be carefully watched to prevent a decision of the Colonial Court being in turn reversed or nullified by direct or covert pressure of the chiefs, although the independence of spirit, which Chinese soon acquire in the Colonies, operates largely against any act of petty tyranny.

The value of a Chinaman's oath, under the ceremony of blowing out a match, cutting off a cock's head, or breaking a plate, being constantly called in question in Australia, an opinion on this subject, recently expressed with freedom by the Mixed Court Magistrate, Chên, at Shanghai, may be here quoted:—

"On the Court re-assembling, the accused was brought up for examination by Mr. Robinson.

"Before proceeding to question him, Mr. Robinson asked the Assessor to impress upon the Chinese Magistrate the fact that the accused, before he gave evidence in the English Court, was cautioned in the usual way to speak the truth, and as a test that he would speak the truth he burnt a piece of paper. He would now like to know whether, in the Chinese Courts, it would be considered more binding on the accused to speak the truth if he went through the ceremony now?

"The Assessor: I don't think so.

"Mr. Robinson pressed for the opinion of the Magistrate on the point.

"The Magistrate said that in Chinese Courts they had not the practice of swearing witnesses at all—it was altogether a foreign custom. There was a Chinese proverb, 'Persons swear in the Temples but not in the Courts.'

"Mr. Robinson asked whether there was any objection to the accused being sworn.

"The Magistrate replied that there was no objection in the Chinese law against swearing any accused. But the fact of an accused being sworn would not attach more value to what he said than if he was not sworn; swearing would not validate his evidence in the least. It was not that the Chinese had any particular objection for not swearing witnesses, but it was simply a practice they did not follow.

“Mr. Robinson asked, if the prisoner was found to have said that which was not true, whether the fact of his having been sworn to speak the truth would make him liable to more punishment than if he were not sworn.

“The Magistrate replied that it would not make the slightest difference whether the prisoner was sworn or not; he was expected to speak the truth, and when he was found to be telling falsehoods he would be punished immediately he was so found out.

“The examination of the accused was then proceeded with.”

In the Supreme Court at Shanghai convictions for perjury are almost unknown. The first evidence of a Chinaman has been found the most satisfactory, and discrepancies in his evidence can generally be explained by some transparent reason for bias. Fear, or the anxiety to agree with the questioner, influences his answers under cross-examination.

All the ceremonial of burning paper or breaking plates is now abandoned for the simple procedure of administering an oath, written out on a slip of paper and placed in the hands of the Chinese witness, who is at the same time duly cautioned. The oath is simply worded and easily understood:—

“What I say is all true, I dare not speak falsely; if I speak falsely I may succeed in hoodwinking man, but not in hoodwinking Heaven, and may Heaven punish me to the uttermost.”

Whilst ordinary Chinese evidence is fairly trustworthy, dangerous organized collusion is more than suspected to be possible in cases where large interests are involved.

Pledged first to his country, then to his clan and guild, the immigrant rarely allows tribal feud or personal jealousy to rank him on the side of an Australian or Australian law, except in cases of personal interest, against his own countrymen. The payment of a Government salary, however, alters the matter. Like a free lance of mediæval Italy, the linguist may enter the Queen's service, or the thief become a tipstaff without prejudice, indeed, with much advantage to his credit and influence. The number of permanent interpreterships attached to the various courts of the wardens of the gold-fields was formerly much larger than at present. Even now the linguists, whose services are from time to time called for in mixed cases before a Magistrate, enjoy in the popular mind somewhat of the dignity and responsibility attaching to a *ti-pao*, or sheriff of a borough. If a fracas occur in a teashop, or a watch be missed from the pocket of an opium-sleeper, it is the interpreter to whom the Chinese community looks for the punishment of law breakers, and on his head falls the blame when a thief eludes the police. Totally unconnected as he is with the execution of the law, the interpreter is regarded by his compatriots not merely as the representative of Government, but of that particular form of Government, other than which they cannot imagine, the system of graduated responsibility. That suspicions should be occasionally bruited of favouritism shown by the interpreter to members of his clan or his club follows naturally from the bitter social animosities of the communities. As a class the interpreters are highly spoken of by their superiors. Though not literates, their attainments suffice to contend against a babel of dialects, and their zeal is conspicuous. Their reduction in numbers is due to the decadence of mining prosperity and to the commendable spread of the English language, spoken fluently and tolerably grammatically by many more Chinese colonists than are disposed to display their knowledge, and, to a limited extent, read by clerks educated in Cantonese schools or laboriously self-taught from their primers under the counter.

Official notices, done into Chinese, are only met with in the Colony of Victoria; one issued by the Government Department of Mines at Mel-

bourne being conspicuous, and another concerning land leases. Both are somewhat inelegantly worded, but seem to be popularly understood.

The title of Empress (Hwangti) instead of Queen in the first document has been indirectly sanctioned by the immigrants themselves, who style the Queen (in conversation with Englishmen) Hwangti (Empress), their own Emperor being by the Cantonese called "Wang," Prince or King. Her Majesty's title should appear in the mining notice at the top of a fresh line. In the second document the rendering of "land-leases" by "garden licenses" has produced a false impression in the minds of the Chinese that they are being unduly taxed. The intention of the writer was evidently good—to convey an idea of a "land-lease" to his readers through the medium of the only other fiscal precedent, "a mining-license."

In the lower walks of life the position of detective is much sought after. Sometimes this useful officer has to bear persecution for which his salary can hardly compensate: but, except after a raid upon gamblers or some such judicial disturbance, the detective's rôle is popular, and a recent vacancy attracted so many candidates that a special qualification-test became necessary for facility of recognition, choice eventually falling upon the candidate most deeply pitted with small-pox. In spite of this difficulty of identification, and the natural prevarication through fear or subterfuge through craft, of the race, the various police inspectors, by personal observation and through their agents, have generally collected, wherever the communities are not too scattered, tolerably accurate statistics as to the habits and outward aspect of the life of the Chinese within their districts.

The investigation of gambling occupies the constant attention of the force. Periodical raids are made upon the "hells," the lessee of the gaming-house, or, in default, the registered owner, being heavily mulcted whenever Australian youth has been led to participate in the vice. Local authorities, whilst determined to prevent injury to the morals of their own nationals, allow a certain laxity to the innate proclivities of their Asiatic colonists.

It is difficult to fully carry out the law in a town of yesterday like Cooktown, but "fantan" has there been successfully suppressed, and further improvement will follow with advancing civilization. To endeavour to suppress any national vice with a high hand might perhaps merely relegate it to more inaccessible purlieus, where it may be practised in secret; yet the removal of a dangerous temptation from before the eyes of young immigrants would at least assail the evils of mixed companionship, and the moral effect of strong measures would in time make itself felt.

As regards gambling, the common furniture of a club or tea-house throughout Australia consists of a high "fantan" table and a croupier's bench.

Fantan is played on a mat-covered board on trestles shoulder-high, to prevent the sleeves of the crowd from sweeping the table; the game has many variations, all depending upon the cast of a bowlful of brass cash and speculations upon their number and fall of obverse or reverse, Manchu side or Chinese. The stakes, from half-crowns to considerable sums in paper, are placed upon a diagram resembling that of "trente et quarante" chalked on the mat. The patrons of the game are chiefly well-to-do shopkeepers and successful gardeners, but an occasional digger, fresh from the find of a nugget, may be "lambled down," as Australians say, and shorn of his new-gotten wealth. Australians are rarely inveigled, and so determined has been the action of the police to prevent this that proprietors of fantan tables commonly paste notices upon their

walls warning players to cease if money is staked by an Australian. Amongst the poorer classes the game of dominoes is most in vogue, dominoes with double twelves, combining an innocent abstruseness of method with a concealed simplicity of speculation so effectually as to receive the sanction of the police in the most crowded dens of San Francisco. Immigrants from Fuhkeen prefer to tempt fortune with a teetotum. A Chinese teetotum is square, and marked with "Probity, activity, and talent" on three sides, and "Bribery and corruption" on the fourth.

According to its fall, a competition-wallah, represented by a counter travelling over a graduated board, is promoted or disgraced through every official rank of the Mandarinate, the winning-post being a Governor-Generalship. In camps card-playing is common enough; but of all speculative fancies indulged in by inhabitants of towns parasitical upon gold-fields, none is more popular than the well-known Cantonese lottery, "pigeon-catching." Its name implies the difficulty of success: the lottery tickets, three inches square, are inscribed with eighty characters or words forming the opening distichs of a book, Chinese nursery rhymes, commonly known as the "Thousand Character Classic."

With a single ticket costing 6*d.* it is possible to win 80*l.*; and at every quarter of an hour's relaxation the clerk will leave his abacus, the doctor his simples, and the passing digger loiter to an angle for the prize. All day long the excitement increases, till by night-fall two continual streams of men will be seen slinking under the shadows to and from the "pigeon" bank. The bank, owned by local shopkeepers, and established in some guild or apothecary's shop, nominally breaks on a run of 200*l.* Tickets are sold by hawkers in the street. In some places the sale is unceasing; and the bank is frequently broken, owing to the gamblers' practice of buying three tickets at a time, marking identical characters on each, and thus trebling the stakes if successful. Success of pigeon-catching depends upon the comparative correspondence of twenty characters pricked off on his ticket by the buyer with ten simultaneously issuing from the oracle at the bank. No Spanish or Italian peasant attaches more value to omens and presages than these superstitious gamblers in distichs.

Anything that attracts the eye, a jewel or a rainbow, any accident by sea or land, a chance visitor or a captured alligator, will be seized upon to determine the choice of a character or of a combination fated to be successful; and amongst the eighty characters there is ample scope for ambiguity in divination.

Opium-smoking, indulged in so ostentatiously as it is in Australia, is apt to convey an impression of larger consumption than the actual quantity of the drug imported would seem to warrant. The revenue returns exhibit the following:—

REVENUE derived from opium for the year ending 31st March.

| | 1876. | 1877. |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|
| | £ | £ |
| Victoria | 16,838 | 15,089 |
| New South Wales | 7,601 | 8,006 |

The Inspector of Police at Sydney returned 286 as addicted to opium smoking out of a total of 579. Such extended smoking would point to the conclusion that shop-keeping is more lucrative than gold digging. However much the increase of gambling must be deplored and opium smoking disgust, their enormity may be taken as indicative of financial

prosperity, if indulgence in luxuries be a sure dependent upon flourishing trade, for few luxuries (fewer pleasures) come within reach of the Chinese immigrant beyond the excitement of the gaming-house followed by the dull narcotic of the opium pipe. Books he has none, except a rare novel, a few theatrical songs, and the romance of a Canton Almanac; these in shops; the digger class can rarely read. The average of habitual opium-smokers at Sydney, one-half of the Chinese in the city, must be reduced to less than one-third in the various country districts. If 2,000 may be taken as the number of habitual smokers in New South Wales, the remaining 4,000 will, by occasional indulgence, consume say 2 lbs. a year each. The use of opium is universal. The imported opium, 16,000 lbs., would give 6,000 lbs. of ash capable of being re-smoked, and these figures give an habitual smoker an allowance of 7 lbs. of opium a-year, or an English ounce every three days. The drug is usually retailed in six-ounce (Chinese) tins, or in conveniently small quantities, a six-pennyworth to half-a-crown's worth. In mining camps the inferior quality of the opium sold provokes general complaint, but merchants reply that superior and more expensive kinds will not sell except at centres of trade. The chief importers being connected with the ring of traders who purchased the Hong Kong monopoly, opium of good touch can be obtained.

From Hong Kong, where raw opium of different qualities is "cooked" by being submitted to an elaborate process of boiling to a heavy unctuous black paste, the prepared mixture is shipped to Australia in chests containing 120 six-ounce tins. (These Chinese ounces, *li-ang*, are one-third larger than the English ounce avoirdupois.)

The following figures from New South Wales' statistics show the export and import of opium during 1875.

NEW SOUTH WALES. Import of opium, 1875.

| | | | | £ |
|--------------------------------|----|----|----|-------------|
| Great Britain (? medicinal) .. | .. | .. | .. | 757 |
| Victoria .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,914 |
| Queensland .. | .. | .. | .. | 590 |
| Point de Galle .. | .. | .. | .. | 24,550 |
| Hong Kong (6,210 lbs.) .. | .. | .. | .. | 13,384 |
| Singapore .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,300 |
| | | | | £42,495 |
| | | | | = |
| | | | | 19,394 lbs. |

NEW SOUTH WALES. Export of Opium, 1875.

| | Value. | | Amount. |
|---------------------------------|--------|----|---------|
| | £ | | Lbs. |
| Honolulu (import prohibited) .. | 1,490 | .. | 654 |
| Victoria .. | 5,480 | .. | 3,295 |
| New Zealand .. | 170 | .. | 97 |
| Queensland .. | 9,477 | .. | 4,096 |
| Fiji .. | 79 | .. | 38 |
| | | | 8,180 |
| Total .. | 16,696 | .. | |

The values here returned give the price of opium in bond at a fraction over 2*l.* a lb. The addition of 10*s.* a lb. duty raises the price to 50*s.* a lb., or 3*s.* 1½*d.* an ounce. A Chinese ounce would therefore cost 4*s.* 2*d.*,

and a 6-oz. tin 25s., according to the values returned, the market price being 16s. a tin up to 25s. perhaps for the highest touch. The inferior sorts are tolerably harmless, and half-a-dozen men will club together to buy a tin, discount being given on a large purchase if smoked in the shop so as to refund the whole of the valuable ash to the seller. With single individuals the principle is reversed on the established ground that a customer who can afford to buy so much opium at a time can afford to pay a higher price for it. The ordinary profits divided between dealers, brokers, and consigners, wholesale and retail, must make the Chinese immigrant pay dearly for his principal luxury.

Similarly with respect to food, a large margin is observable between the wholesale and retail prices of rice. Taking the quotations from a Sydney paper of the 7th April, rice varies according to quality between 16*l.* and 19*l.* per ton of 2,240 lbs., and flour between 13*l.* and 16*l.* per ton of 2,000 lbs., that is from 1.61*d.* to 2.04*d.* for rice per lb., and 1.05*d.* to 1.9*d.* per lb. for flour. The import duty on both is 3s. per cwt., about $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* a lb. The price of bread was then 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for the 2-lb. loaf, and the price of rice 3*d.* per lb. In the production of bread, setting dearness of labour against gain by weight of water, the bakers' expenses would be to no great extent exceeded by the possible deductions from the profits of the rice trade, which would consist of casualties in storage, loss by washing, and the ravages of weevil; yet, whilst the Australian pays 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for his 2-lb. loaf, the Chinese pays 6*d.* for his 2 lbs. of rice.

This dearness of their chief necessity tells most severely upon the poorest members of the community, and at Cooktown, in northern Queensland, at a time when anticipation of distress on the gold fields was a matter of public anxiety, quarantine prices were kept up, although a full cargo of rice was unloading, and the new immigrants paid 5*d.* a lb. for rice sold retail for 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* at the port from which they and it had come. A duty of 9*l.* a ton in Queensland adds 1*d.* a lb. to the cost, but the margin would still, after deducting freight at quarantine rates, 25s. a ton insurance, and all reasonable charges, leave a profit to the Chinese merchant of 2*d.* per lb.

On their principal article of food, therefore, the poorest orders were paying to the Government a duty of nearly cost price, and to the merchant a profit of over 70 per cent.

This is an extreme case; the price of rice in mining camps generally may be taken at from 3*d.* to 4*d.* per lb., and 5*d.* on the Palmer River only. Economy may be made by eking out a small quantity in "congee" (rice gruel), with the result that instead of a pound of pure rice, the pauper sustains life upon half a pound boiled into a soup with water and any available relish or fruit. In many places the dearness of rice obliges the Chinese to adopt a beef diet, and more meat is consumed in their camps than appears from the diminutiveness of their "plats."

On the Palmer River the slaughter of cattle in the spring of 1877 was stated at a weekly average of 10 lbs. per head for the Chinese, after deducting 20 lbs. per head for the consumption and waste of the Australian miners. Under this change of diet the stamina of the Chinese visibly improves, but they complain that nothing but rice really suits them, and to that they return when prices are lowered. Their preference for pork, even when it costs 6*d.* a lb., bears evidence to their almost ineradicable adherence to their national diet. The shops, which form the mainsprings of mining activity, fatten pigs in their back yards for distribution amongst clients and dependants, and import from Canton soy, sauces, preserves, and beans, black, white, red, and green, white cabbage, giuger, and all kinds of spices.

Their *cuisine* is increased by the native produce of tripang from the

Great Barrier Reef and the coral seas of Polynesia, and tree-fungus from the forests of Australia and New Zealand.

The tripang, holothurion, or bêche-da-mer is a valuable article of export from Sydney and the ports of Queensland. The boats engaged in the fishery are generally manned by Polynesians with an Australian captain and a Chinese cook or supercargo. In Fiji and the Solomon Islands Chinese themselves own craft, and, in exchange for blankets and rifles, buy shore-land from the natives on which to dry and stack their fish. Before the legislation of Fiji devolved upon Her Majesty's Government, the Chinese were not unfrequently burnt out, speared and stabbed by the natives, and some few disappeared. Dried fish of various kinds, catfish, flounders, &c., are much eaten with rice by Chinese, and the enterprise of the fishermen, registered under the Sunkok-hong of Brisbane, has established stations on parts of the coast of Queensland, where the blacks have been known even to swim out to a boat at anchor with arms by night to murder the crew for food. Bêche-da-mer fetch 70*l.* a ton at Sydney up to 90*l.* for superior "tit-fish," which sell at 120*l.* at Canton, being esteemed a great delicacy throughout China.

The tree-fungus is eaten as maigre on fast days after three hours' boiling, served up with prawns, white cabbage, and raisins. It is to some extent exported from New Zealand and New South Wales, its value varying according to quality and redness of colour from 10*s.* a cwt. at Dunedin to 2*l.* a cwt. at Sydney; and its names varying also according to the country of its growth. "Wood-ear," its genuine name, changes into "streams'-ear," "gold-ear," and "cloud-ear," in the case of fungus obtained from the Chinese provinces of Szechuen (four *streams*) and Yün Nan (south of the *clouds*), or from the country of *Gold hills*, Australia. Australia is distinguished from California (*Kum-san*) by the prefix of *Sin* ("new")—*Sin Kum-san* ("New Gold Hills"); the names of the various Colonies being simply represented phonetically by the nearest approachable sounds in Chinese; but owing to the increased knowledge of the English language and the ramifications of Chinese trade, correspondence from China is usually addressed in English on the covering envelopes by Canton head-offices to their corresponding firms in Australia, whose agencies at port or mining-camp perform the duties of a postal service and distribute the Chinese notes inclosed amongst the miners or artisans designated. The bulk of the Chinese business in Australia, independent or vicarious, is in the hands of two or three great houses, whose representatives, under changeable names, are found at every focus of immigration. Through them immigrants forward letters to their homes, and diggers bound for Hong Kong are delegated to carry a parcel of gold-dust. On examination at the Custom-house these parcels are found to contain a quantity of smaller packets of gold-dust, addressed by different diggers to their relatives in China. The average amount so exported hardly exceeds 1*l.* a-head annually, that is to say, about 50,000*l.* a-year passes through the whole Australian Customs as shipped to Hong Kong by diggers on the gold fields; but a great deal more of their earnings would be conveyed away secretly, neither Australians nor Chinese being willing to let the fact be paraded at the Custom-house that they carry treasure on their persons or in their baggage.

The profits of the Chinese trade, apparently so large, become reduced to an ordinary Chinese business per-centage by being spread over a number of agents, consignees, retailers, and brokers. The merchant buys from his hong brother rather than from a stranger in the cheapest market; and often sells at a loss when mining prospects are gloomy; and a certain amount of credit has to be given to members of his district club, dependents unwilling to work, and captains of mining guilds in which he

may be interested. If he individually embarks in the importation of bonded labour for mining, his workmen not unfrequently, under the influence of Australian institutions and the attraction of high wages without debt, grow so careless of consequences and independent of custom, as to desert, however much their families in China may have to pay in compensation. A good workman soon clears off the debt of say 20*l.* which he may owe the capitalist, and once free from the burden of interest, he can demand his own terms; so that whilst the domestic slaves of a hong-merchant will serve him with a feudal devotion approaching to affection in chamber and garden, his hired labourers will persistently harass him with fresh demands on his purse, unless they be of his own kin. In shops a co-operative system obtains, and clerks are bound to their employers as often by ties of kindred as by self-interest.

Under this organization few masters are better served than the Chinese merchant. The largest Chinese capitalist in Australia employs none about him but family relations. Mr. Kong-mêng, by birthplace and marriage English, lives in quite European style at a bungalow just out of Melbourne. He takes great pride and pleasure in his orchard and gardens, which supply a suburb with fruit and vegetables, and judging from his conversation with his gardeners, they appear to suffer from the same difficulties that other gardeners have to contend against.

The theory that by shallow furrows the Chinese gain the advantage of a hard untouched subsoil, on which water may rest, seems almost untenable in Australia, where lightly-turned sandy loam turns to dust after a short drought; but the Chinese are clever at irrigation, they manure their fields heavily, and understand the advantage of unceasing assiduousness with shovel and hoe. In mining matters the merchant finds it more lucrative, rather than be himself the labour-master, to act as banker for mining-captains, as registrar of mining guilds, and charterer of immigrant ships, or camp purveyor through his agencies, leaving the arrangement of work to head-men of co-operative gangs and experienced mining captains, entrusted with bonded labourers and slaves, to work their claims.

It is remarkable that Beechwood, the largest Chinese camp in Victoria, and the Palmer gold field, the largest in Queensland, are both so isolated in position that it would be almost impossible for a deserter to escape detection; but the lower orders of Chinese in the Colonies are decidedly contented, cheerful, and if they have a too irksome bond, they soon clear themselves by honest labour. Some of the merchants are colonists of from fourteen to twenty years standing, who have returned to Canton once or twice during that period. Junior partners and clerks of the new school have generally left China four or five years. Their houses, of which there are very few worth remarking upon, present little outward sign, as regards structure, of being Chinese. At Melbourne and Sydney, as well as in country towns, wherever space allows, they are built with a courtyard in the centre, in the style of old English inns. In this yard during the summer a table is set out, where the whole "hong" take their rice together, from the head to his humblest dependent, a cup of rice wine, or a plate of duck for the master making, perhaps, the only difference in the democratic simplicity of the fare. On the counter two teapots and tobacco-trays stand all day for anybody to help himself, but there is a noticeable difference between this tea and the tea of the finest flavour reserved for partners. From the dark, business-like, unpretentious shop on the ground floor to the merchant's private house on the next story, the transition is complete. The change in the merchant's air is equally remarkable. Downstairs he acts the part of a cautious trader, suspicious of intruders, and accustomed to abuse; above he is amongst his children and at home. His surroundings differ little from what he has been accustomed to at

Canton or Hong Kong—from the text of some Confucian commentary by Chutze hung with proverbs and mottoes on the walls, the mirrors and clocks, coral branches and antique porcelain and bronzes, to the straight-backed ample ivory-seated arm-chairs, covered *en carré*, and little hand-tables set out with tea-cups and shining brass “narghileis.”

A little serving-maid brings in the children beautifully dressed, and as bright and intelligent and petted as Chinese children of rich families always are. The father is quite at the mercy of his little ones. His wife amuses herself with embroider and the zittar, and, if Eurasian, at the piano. In her boudoir, furnished with sofas and settees, hang scroll pictures of birds and butterflies amongst flowers, and portraits in oils of herself and of her husband in full dress, wearing his blue-buttoned or crystal-buttoned hat and his mandarin’s robes. Beyond, more private still, some pretty nook will show signs of a tasteful hand, a bower of wistaria, mat-hidden from the world, in the middle of the crowded city, or a miniature fountain and gold-fish pond covered with lotus, and surrounded by rare exotic dwarf trees of jasmine and crape-myrtle, pomegranate, balsam, oleander, and moutan.

(Signed)

J. DUNDAS CRAWFORD.

Shanghae, September 1, 1877.

No. 2.

Acting Consul Davenport to Lord Tenterden.

My Lord,

Shanghae, September 15, 1877.

IN accordance with the instructions of Her Majesty’s Chargé d’Affaires at Peking, I have the honour to inclose Part 2 of Mr. Crawford’s notes in continuation of those forwarded in my despatch No. 9 of the 1st instant, on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR DAVENPORT.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Notes on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies.

PART II.

COOKTOWN has none of the luxuries and graceful refinements which are found in the houses of the merchants of Sydney and Melbourne. The east coast of tropical Queensland is intersected by numbers of small rivers of strong current but short course owing to the near approach of the sea to the mountain-range. At or near their mouths settlements have been formed, and roads made to the inland mines or plantations; jetties run out across their shallow sandy harbours; mangrove swamps destroyed; and regular lines of steamers established to connect with Brisbane and the south.

The largest of these little settlements and the most northerly has a district population of 3,500—2,000 voters and 1,500 Chinese—and has been named Cooktown in remembrance of the fact that on its site Captain Cook beached his vessel for repairs in 1770.

Cooktown owed its establishment to the discovery of gold on the Palmer River in the autumn of 1873. The prosperity accruing from a continued rush of miners from the south to the new gold-field received a temporary check from disastrous floods, the result of tropical showers, for which the miners were then unprepared; but the Queensland Government came to the rescue, and a great number of the sufferers received free passages to their former homes. Meanwhile exaggerated rumours of the wealth of the new gold-field reached China. During 1874 and the spring of 1875 immigrants from Hong Kong continued to arrive, and in the spring of 1876 the discovery by James V. Mulligan, Warner, and McLeod, of a perfect network of auriferous reefs in the valley of a neighbouring river, the Hodgkinson, drew away the bulk of the Australian miners from the Palmer and left the Chinese there in possession. In the autumn of 1876 and the spring of 1877, each successive Torres Straits' mail steamer and many rival immigrant vessels chartered by a coalition firm, *Hopkee*, arrived crowded with excited emigrants from Hong Kong. On the 14th of April the "Queenslander" newspaper reported that "telegrams have been received by the Minister of Mines from Mr. Selheim, warden at Maytown, urging the Government to take immediate steps to check the increasing immigration of Chinese to the Palmer gold-field. He states that a spell of dry weather would thrust large numbers out of employment, and very serious consequences are to be apprehended even though no further augmentation of the present Chinese population on the field should take place The Chinese on the Palmer on the 31st December last were officially estimated at 11,000, against 1,500 Europeans all told, and large numbers have arrived during the current year. The Chinese population on the field at the present date must be 12,000 to 14,000, who derive their subsistence entirely by alluvial gold-mining and the occupations dependent upon it. Having now a plentiful supply of water, they are able to work the back claims, but with this advantage the average earnings per man are not large, and are steadily, but surely, diminishing. Under these circumstances, even though the warden had not raised a warning voice, it requires no prophet to foresee that two or three months' dry weather, such as may not unreasonably be expected at the present season of the year, must occasion widespread destitution, sickness, and possibly, in addition to these calamities, disturbances of a serious nature. Apart therefore from considerations of race, it is incumbent upon the Government, in the interests of common humanity, to avert, or if that be impossible, to mitigate the threatened danger"

The average yield was quite sufficient at the close of 1876 for the population then at work—giving every digger nearly 70*l.* a-year, according to the official estimate of 185,000 oz., and the official census of 11,000 Chinese—but, whilst the yield showed a decrease of one-fifth in a year, the immigrants appeared shortly afterwards to have nearly doubled during six months. The discovery of a new gold field would be the means of setting all anxiety at rest, but the Chinese are afraid to prospect, and the Australian prospectors preserve a sportsmanlike secrecy as to the direction of their beat. Up to April 1876, when the Hodgkinson rush broke out, the Oakey, Stony, and Sandy Creeks, containing the best alluvial on the Palmer gold-field, were forbidden to the Chinese, until the miners abandoned their claims for the new rush. Later, many miners returned to the Palmer, disappointed with the Hodgkinson, to find their old claims, their "fall-back" claims, legally occupied, or "jumped" by Chinese, and their resentment was loudly expressed.

The prospectors, complaining that if they struck alluvial gold in a favourable spot, the next morning saw hundreds of Chinese encamped on

the ground, gave up prospecting for alluvial gold, and confined their adventurous excursions to a search for gold-bearing reefs, in the interests of quartz-mining, which the Chinese on the Palmer do not pursue. The Chinese on their part, even if any have the requisite knowledge, geological and metallurgical, for prospecting, are afraid to venture far from the beaten track up the valley of the Palmer, on account of their treatment by the blacks. The aborigines here are a savage warlike race, hideously tattooed, and possessed of no arts except a rude sort of painting with clays, and a cunning skill for making spears ten feet long, cruelly barbed with human or kangaroo bone, and poisoned in war with a poison believed to be deadly, by steeping the spear-point in the wounds of a festering corpse. With these weapons they may transfix a foe at forty yards, and hunger drives them to hover round the settlements spearing horses and cattle, and occasionally some human victim. Every miner carries a revolver, and a heavy one, for it is necessary to shoot at sight, and, to destroy the enemy's dying aim, to knock the savage fairly over.

The Palmer diggings, where the Chinese congregate, lie on rather low ground, often flooded, roughly speaking 100 miles west inland from Cooktown; and the Hodgkinson quartz mines, in a fine, healthy upland situation 100 miles south of the Palmer. At intervals, a gold-escort of black mounted constables, under command of an inspector of police, makes a round, visiting the principal centres—Bverstown, Maytown, and Thornborough—to bring down the collected gold-dust to the shipping port of Cooktown.

The road is patrolled by similar parties of a dozen constables, and so keen is their search after the murderers, in case of suspicious traces being found, that few outrages are reported, except in the most unfrequented spots, such as the scene of the barbarous murder of the brothers Macquarrie, where Douglas Track passes between two enormous isolated boulders at the very summit of the dividing range. The chasm is named "Hell's Gates." The number of saddles found in hiding-places would lead to the supposition that many more stragglers have been picked off than their mates surmise, and many friendless wanderers whom missing no one has missed.

If Australian miners have fallen by scores, Chinese must have fallen by hundreds. They travel either singly or in gangs of ten or twelve, but never better armed than with a rusty gingal, usually thrown away on the first alarm of danger. Sometimes men have been simply lassoed in passing through a defile, and drawn up over the rocks above the heads of their scared companions.

An Australian miner thus graphically described the swift, silent, and sure flight of one of the dreaded long spears. He was going west, breasting a slope, with the setting sun in his eyes, a Chinaman following, and his mates some way behind. He noticed that, as he passed a certain tree, the lower edge of the sun just touched the hill. His mates arrived at that tree with the last gleam of red still shining full in their eyes, but they found the Chinaman there lying dead, transfixing with a ten-foot spear.

The preference manifested by the blacks for Chinese flesh soon became very marked. The Chinaman's fear of the blacks increased with the blacks' fear of the miners. Mongolian, Negrito, and Aryan had met. The miners described the situation by a grim metaphor derived from pool-billiards: "Black on yellow; player white in hand." The Chinese, on their part, circulated reports at Swatow that Australians secretly wished them to come to Queensland to become vicariously food for the cannibal blacks. Emboldened by success, the blacks even commenced to attack Chinese mining-camps in force, and the police would gallop up in time

only to find the remains of victims rudely quartered with the blades of their own spades, and some portions already roasted and devoured.

The horrors of cannibalism were even surpassed by the privations Chinese endured about the first year after the foundation of Cooktown. The dray-road which now connects Cooktown with the chief camps of the Palmer diggings—Normanby, Byerstown, and Maytown—and extends to Thornborough, the capital *in petto* of the Hodgkinson, was then unconstructed.

The splendid teams of eight or ten couple of draft-oxen, which now load for the camps at rates varying from 11*l.* a ton to Byerstown, to 50*l.* a ton to Thornborough, were then unknown.

The roads were mere bridle-tracks, strings of pack-horses carried the provisions in sacks, and packing, at best, was difficult, dangerous, and dear. The wretched Chinese slaves and bondsmen, therefore, were used by their Chinese masters or owners as cheap pack-animals for the conveyance of rice; and each immigrant was burdened with a full sack to carry on his back over a lilly, desolate, and almost shelterless country.

The trials of that journey for man and beast can only adequately be expressed by the experience of miners pursuing the same route, who found at every fresh turn a new horror, either a dead horse or a dead Chinaman. The men lay unburied where they sank down exhausted, their loads untouched, their bodies uncared for, and utterly unheeded by their passing companions, who perhaps regarded death as a happy release from a life-time spent in bestial drudgery. It required all the efforts of the police to force the Chinese to bury their dead; it required a pistol at their heads to make them scoop out a shallow grave for their own countrymen, and their apparently national inhumanity has left its mark in the memories of the Australian miners. The cause of death was believed by the Chinese to be "ankle-vapours," which, mounting to the trunk and head, usually prove fatal. These ankle-vapours are not yet unknown in the mining camps of the Palmer, although the horrors of human packing have never been repeated.

The faculty ascribe a similar swelling of the limbs and head to spinal affection, and the distances which many diggers have to traverse between their claims and a stream would be enough often to account for such symptoms. The "wash dirt," or sand from which the gold is extracted by washing, has to be carried in baskets or cradles to the water, and in time of drought a digger may have to "hump his load" several miles. Ankle vapours are by the Chinese ascribed to certain geomantic "wind and water" influences, "infectious vapours from damp ground mingling with miasmatic hill-mists."

"The first symptoms," says a Cooktown apothecary's advertisement, are heaviness of the feet, and a painful swelling. Sometimes the feet are not swollen, sometimes not painful, but gradually the humours rise; loss of appetite is followed by depression of spirits; the complexion turns to a dull leaden hue; and in a few days the case is hopeless. To prevent this attack upon the system the advertiser prescribes certain pills," [the ingredients of the pills are not stated, but they are to be] "washed down with saline and a decoction of simples, varied as follows:—

"1. In case of painless swelling—

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|---------|
| "Clay from the locality stirred up | .. | .. | 2 mace. |
| Atractylodes, lancea | .. | .. | 1½ " |
| " rubra | .. | .. | 1 " |
| Liquid amber root | .. | .. | 2 " |
| Yunnan root | .. | .. | 4 " |
| Chincheu yeast | .. | .. | 3 " |
| Marsh ooze | .. | .. | 1½ " |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|---------------|
| Cassia twigs | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 candareens. |
| Dogwood.. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 " |
| Pterscarpus flavus bark | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 " |

" 2. In case of painful swelling—

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|---------------|
| " Clay from the locality stirred up | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 mace. |
| Atractylodes, lancea | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 " |
| " rubra | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 " |
| Yünnan root | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 " |
| Chinchew yeast | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 " |
| Marsh ooze | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1½ " |
| Cassia twigs | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 candareens. |
| Dogwood.. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 " |
| Liquid amber root (lit. pig. root) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 mace. |
| Achyranthes | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1½ " |

" 3. In a case unaccompanied by pain or swelling—

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|---------------|
| " Clay from the locality stirred up | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 mace. |
| Atractylodes, lancea | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 " |
| " rubra | .. | .. | .. | .. | Nil. |
| Bamboo shoots | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 mace. |
| Yünnan root | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 " |
| Chinchew yeast | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 " |
| Euphorbia | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 " |
| Achyranthes | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1½ " |
| Papaya | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1½ " |
| Dogwood.. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 candareens. |
| Cassia twigs | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 " |

" Add to the above 3 mace of pounded black sesamum as a purgative, or for a diuretic, 3 mace of stealite (soapstone), and a mace and a-half of earthworms to clear the veins; if the feet are chilled, 1 to 3 mace of fresh aconite seeds. Two doses a-day are necessary in grave cases, and the clay from the locality must never be omitted. The sale of the advertiser's pills extends to Japan, and every confidence may be placed in his prescriptions," &c.

The conditions of things have fortunately now changed. Chinese employers have no excuse for working their coolies to death, and the incursions of the blacks have been suppressed by the vigilance of the police. In every mining-camp a certain number of beggars are found, as they are in every village in China. Even leprosy has made its appearance, but rarely, and the few lepers found in Victoria have been detained in hospital near Ballarat. Though the common form of the disease is not contagious, its ravages produce effects better unseen by the public. The ill-fed, half-naked, vacant-eyed coolies who at Cooktown throng their patrons' doors, selling baskets of cut grass at 4*d.*, or pieces of sugar-cane for chewing, may excite passing sympathy, but they are really, in spite of their appearance, as well off as they ever were; and Cooktown presents no exception to the general rule in Australia that the lower classes of Chinese are fairly contented and cheerful *among themselves*. Sixty pounds a-year on the Palmer does not go as far probably as 40*l.* on a Victoria gold-field; but dear carriage causes the difference. The Chinese on the Palmer pay 6*d.* for a lb. of rice; the Australian miners on the Hodgkinson, 8*d.* for a lb. of flour. In spite of first disappointment, recklessness of life, and hardships on the road, the coolies, after a few months of fixed residence and steady work on a claim, learn how to gain more rice and more opium than they would for the same labour in China, and their spirits are buoyant besides with the constant hope of some day being fated to become, in their own eyes, rich. The leaders of mining enterprise, naturally sanguine,

choose companions, or bondsmen, or slaves, of their own temperament, and thus anticipations of success extend to every class.

South from Cooktown the settlements visited by steamers occur at regular intervals along the coast; Cairns, in Trinity Bay, with its new township Smithfield, growing up in rivalry to Cooktown; whilst Townsville, in Cleveland Bay (latitude $19^{\circ} 10' 10''$ S., longitude $146^{\circ} 57' 56''$ E.), has its rival Bowen farther south, each claiming to be the future capital of the rising populations of tropical Queensland, who look forward somewhat keenly to the speedy development of their country's resources, and its elevation into a separate independent Colony.

Other settlements, such as those of the cedar-fellers of the Daintree, and the sugar-growers of the Herbert River, and Mourilyan Harbour, are as yet unvisited by the main coastal line of steamers, but the impetus reciprocated by trade to increased facilities of communication throughout the territory will soon be felt, owing to the advantage its ports have of not merely being advanced outposts of enterprise, but stations on the highway of commerce between Australia and Java, Singapore and China. Cooktown's double rival, Cairns-Smithfield, being advantageously situated as regards proximity to the Hodgkinson gold-field, is still barred from successfully tapping the field by a perfect wall of slippery rock over which a bridle-path has with difficulty been maintained. One gold escort has, however, successfully performed the journey from Thornborough, and although the escorts will still continue for some time to come to bring the Hodgkinson gold by the longer route to the port of Cooktown, the projection of a dray-road from Smithfield should eventually divide the trade, that of the Hodgkinson going to the port of Cairns, and that of the Palmer gold-field to the port of Cooktown. This dray-road is already in progress, workmen being available at 30s. a-week, owing to the number of white-armed clerks and enthusiasts unfit for rough work who were brought to the diggings with the rush for gold.

The completion of the undertaking will leave Cooktown mainly dependent for the present upon Chinese mining and Chinese trade. At the close of 1876 the Australian quartz-miners on the Palmer gold-field were officially estimated at 1,500, and the yield of gold from quartz-mining at 15,000 oz.; while the Chinese alluvial gold-miners were roughly computed at 11,000, private estimates adding 2,000 or 3,000 more, and the yield of alluvial gold at 185,000 oz. The actual amount of gold exported from Cooktown through the Customs, publicly declared, and derived from both the Hodgkinson and Palmer gold-fields, has in two years and a-half exceeded 1,500,000*l.* sterling, increasing in 1875 as compared with 1874, and remaining constant in 1876.

| | | | | | Oz. | Value. |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|---------|-----------|
| | | | | | | £ |
| 1874 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 121,481 | 487,058 |
| 1875 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 162,964 | 651,287 |
| 1876 (to June 30) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 78,832 | 315,367 |
| Total .. | | | | | 363,277 | 1,453,712 |

The amount of gold exported, but not declared at the Customs, can be best estimated by the fact that the gold declared has fallen far short of the yield from the Palmer alone, without counting the yield from the Hodgkinson.

The Customs Revenue shows a more than corresponding advance, having at least trebled in value in two years.

CUSTOMS REVENUE.

| | | | | | | | £ |
|------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|
| 1874 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 22,951 |
| 1875 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 49,521 |
| 1876 (to September 30) | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 50,018 |

The imports developed in consistent proportions being four times the value of the duties collected.

| | | | | | | | £ |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|---------|
| 1874 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 75,382 |
| 1875 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 219,324 |
| 1876 (to June 30) | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 112,305 |

The exports other than gold were inconsiderable.

The local taxation thus bears indirectly to the value of the imports the high ratio of 25 per cent., and on the single and necessary article of rice it is more than 50 per cent.

Cooktown lies in longitude 145° 45' E. and 15° 27' 20" south latitude.

Fifteen degrees south of the line suggests a situation inhospitable to emigrants from temperate climes unaccustomed to heat, miasma, and tropical showers; but Cooktown lies too near the line to be subject to severe gales; the rainfall is heavy at its season, but the air seems singularly clear and bracing; and in spite of mangrove-swamp fevers are rarely prevalent. The heat of the sun is sufficient to prevent the employment with pecuniary advantage of any labour except Polynesian, aboriginal, or Chinese upon sugar plantations (the last as yet only tentatively) further south; and gardening on the road to the Palmer is confined to Chinese, who, behind a high inclosing wattled fence, raise Indian corn, Barbadoes millet (*holcus sorghum*), sugar-cane, many sorts of beans, taro, and ginger.

One endeavoured to cultivate rice by irrigating a small paddyfield on the foreshore of Cooktown, but a zealous constable destroyed the miniature dam with one thrust of a shovel, and the industry, discouraged perhaps by importers, has not been revived. There are large tracts of land on the lower Palmer available for paddy, and certain "black-soil ridges" are spoken of as generally suitable for agriculture. On the uplands of the Hodgkinson the first evidence of an important movement has appeared in the establishment by Australian miners of small cattle farms and permanent homesteads, scattered over pleasant downs 2,000 feet above the sea.

The subdivision of the pastoral districts into small holdings, wherever water is accessible or easily stored, may thus precede and possibly survive the occupation of the low-lying land by large capitalists employing the imported labour of an inferior race. The supposed oligarchical future of northern Queensland would then be subjected to a hill-force purely democratic.

Meanwhile the Chinese immigrants have been arriving in force; and assuming from the auriferous character of the whole country that fresh discoveries of gold will follow in succession, there will always be a certain tendency, as in the older colonies, to agriculture, which would be better directed towards large undertakings of use to the State than towards the cultivation of small patches barely sufficient in the absence of a market to keep the cultivators from want.

Increased reciprocity between Australian and Chinese capitalists may suggest the means, and the Chinese, though cautious, will not be found unenterprising. Even now a scheme is on foot to import Australian wool direct to Hong Kong, where by means of cheap labour it is suggested that

a sufficient quantity of suitable woollen stuffs might be manufactured to compete with England in supplying the Chinese market. Such a manufacture might, under direction and favourable conditions, assume colossal proportions.

Chance has brought the immigrants to Cooktown at certain times *en masse*. Three thousand landed during one week in December 1876, and more than 2,000 were starting for the Palmer at once in May 1877. The landing-place is distant about a mile from the clearing on the other side of the town, which the new immigrants use as their first camping-ground. They pass through the town in batches of six to ten, in single file, but never singly; each coolie carrying his own bamboo-pole brought from China, on which are slung baskets of clothes, a roll of matting, a few humble necessaries, and perhaps a box of tea or preserved eggs to barter. Men walking with apparent nonchalance on the footpath act as guides, and the different files, never expressing surprise or any other emotion, never mixing together, and never stopping, carry their loads straight to the place assigned them: most to the camping-ground beyond the town, where the greatest regularity is observed in the disposition of the tents; a select few to the various accommodation-houses representing branches of the "Sheathed Sword Society," or other organizations.

In these houses the coolies sleep upon the floors of the rooms and in the yards, so packed together as to appear like a small regiment of blouses lying prostrate in their ranks. In the tents they are scarcely less crowded, a strip of canvas laid upon the ground and a corresponding strip stretched three feet above, inclosing as many human forms as their superficies can possibly cover.

Cooktown consists mainly of one continuous street of mud or sand, worn into deep ruts by heavy cattle-drays and tropical showers, which, cleared from an intercepting swamp of mangrove, rounds the shore of an arm of the sea under steep, wooded hills, up which private residences climb. The business houses are simple wooden frame-buildings, forming a somewhat broken double line of shops, hotels, and bars, about half-a-mile long. From the landing-place, where the sea washes a precipitous outburst shoulder of the hills, leaving deep water all round, the road passes the police-camp, court-house, Custom-house, and that part of the town unoccupied by Chinese, the leading hotels and the leading store, till on either side appear Chinese shop-signs, and the street forks into a settlement exclusively Chinese. The roadway of "Chinatown" is neither better nor worse than that of Cooktown generally, and the same may be said of the drainage. The shops are clean, high, and airy; the wooden barn-like structures of houses being divided into a front shop, fitted with shelves and counters, and a back store-room filled with sacks of rice.

Shopmen sleep upon counters or in alcoves, and all take their meals together, clerks being debited by the house with a fixed sum for "mess" expenses. Many of the traders speak English well, one having been in the employ of a shipping firm at Shanghai, another long resident at Hong Kong, and a third interpreter on board Californian immigrant vessels.

Their courtesy to visitors receives small encouragement, but in spite of an illiberal antagonism their native politeness is rarely disturbed, and only the very young or the old men of the prejudiced anti-foreign school indulge sometimes in a rude gesture, such as a significant tap on the shoe, implying a desire for a personal encounter. Their compliments were lately extended to the popular magistrate of Cooktown, who was surprised and gratified to receive at the Chinese new year, according to complimentary usage, a string of small presents from oranges to a roast pig; and the donors were doubtless equally surprised when, in ignorance of Chinese etiquette, the magistrate accepted every one. In case of possible litigation

or of popular interest, the six or seven leading Chinese firms act in concert. Their managers waited upon the Customs officer in a body to request pratique for the "Shales," a vessel laden with rice in quarantine; and again, after the drowning of three coolies in the bay, the same united corporation visited a leading lawyer to inquire whether the passage-money of the men was not recoverable from the steamer agents, on the plea that their failure to land the drowned passengers constituted a breach of contract. The shop-signs at Cooktown almost always imply the sense of coalition, combination, co-operation: "New Public Profit," "New Co-operative Profit," "Great Public Combination," "Union begets Union:" all these are names of different firms, but the harmony is not complete, and "Consequent Profit" seems at variance with the rest, either from tribal difference or too keen a rivalry in business.

The day after the landing of "pigs," as new immigrants are called, all Chinatown is in a bustle; the shops are thronged with coolies chaffering for spades and cans and kettles, unable to understand the absence of "cheapening," and the system of fixed prices adopted by Chinese stores in Australia. Ahkow vows 3s. is a monstrous sum for a coat, Ahwang is in despair about a cooking-pan, sullen murmurs are heard in camp against the price of rice. The mining captains, having experience and authority, move about with a business-like air, cashing bills and directing the choice of implements.

The stock in trade of a gang, divided amongst its members, comprises some or all of the following articles of American manufacture:—

PRICE AT COOKTOWN.

| | s. | d. |
|--|--------|-----|
| Spades or shovels, 4 feet (with long curved handles) | .. | 4 6 |
| Axes or tomahawks | .. | 4 0 |
| Pannikins or cans (for rice) | 1s. to | 2 0 |
| Tin dishes (for gold-washing) | .. | 4 9 |
| Pickaxes | .. | 6 6 |
| Large iron gypsy kettle or cooking-pot | .. | 6 0 |

Other technical properties have to be bought, such as delicate balances, quicksilver, &c. If the men have not brought canvas with them from Hong Kong, a low 6 ft. by 4 ft. tent is necessary, costing 16s., and in this country of long marches, over waterless ridges, every man carries a canvas bag which he replenishes where possible, now at a stream, now at a stagnant water-hole.

In many of the coolies' baskets lie curious earthenware jars labelled "superior rice wind"—similar jars attracted a few years ago the attention of the Victorian Customs, a large consignment being discovered to contain opium.

The systematic attempts made to smuggle cigars from Hong Kong into the Australian ports render it not improbable that efforts should be also directed to opium-running. No suspicion, however, need attach to legitimate traders, whose interests are generally opposed to smuggling. Cradles, wooden-boxes with open slits through which the gold-digger sifts the earth he is at work upon, are roughly made in many local carpenters' shops, and the price set upon these cradles inspires some of the gangs to procure a plank and a few saws and manfully set to work at what is evidently their first essay in carpentering.

The scene in camp is a busy one: some men sawing, some cooking congee, some washing—for the southern Chinese are cleanly in their persons—others are already on the march, passing with their loads under the shadeless forest trees, through water and swamp mud, and disappearing at last beyond the farthest glimpse of white tents between the slender

tree-trunks. Their way will be rocky enough before long—pretty, romantic, but very stony.

Round the blacksmith's forge a merry knot collect to talk of nuggets found and fortunes made, and in the cool of the evening, all the congee being finished by sunset, an attractive moonlight leaves the well-ordered serried ranks of tents deserted and persuades their occupants to crowd to the barbaric music of the "Garden of Gold Valleys," or listen to some vagrant's stories of cannibalism, drought, drowning in rivers, and slow starvation.

Some treat the stories with incredulity, others view their prospects with all seriousness, and many appealing eyes are turned to the vagrant's for mercy in exaggeration. One boy is in tears; he is a slave. A lad sold for export to a country thus described as fatal, old enough to feel the degradation of slavery, and sold, too, by his own mother, cannot rate highly his stake in existence; but in hard times his chances are fully equal to those of a bondsman, and under a prosperous master, both are better off than men of the same class in China. Except under circumstances suggesting ignorance and cruel blundering, as in the mortality amongst human pack-animals, the slave is fed and cared for according to his good behaviour and the work required of him. He represents interest on an outlay of capital, and should drought or other misfortune compass his master's failure, he will probably receive food longer than the bondsman receive credit. If a sub-lease of labour offers, it is to the master's interest to advance his slave, whilst it is to the employer's interest to prevent his bondsman from too soon repaying the principal instead of the heavy interest of the small debt which at first binds them to his service.

Chinese slavery has its redeeming characteristics—no Chinese can be born a slave, nor sold by his parents after puberty against his will. The slaves bear a small proportion to the number of Chinese immigrants in Australia, and they complain not so much of their condition as of their master's improvidence in casting their lot where so little return is apparently to be gained for so great risks. Their voluntary servitude usually confers a small pension upon their parents, which would be forfeited by their manumission. The subject is a difficult and delicate one for the attention of the Cooktown authorities, as introducing slavery's companion, vice; but a few years will probably see the gradual extinction of both, if not both stamped out.

The most prominent building of Chinatown is the "Garden of Gold Valleys," an inn and public music-hall, kept by Nampan citizens. From 10 to 12 at night its doors are thronged with orderly silent crowds. Five or six zittars and drums give theatrical music gratis. Next to this merry meeting-house, round the corner facing south, is the Fokting-tong, or Funeral Associations' Hall, which here takes the title of the "Triad of Union," from the Sheathed Sword Society. The Fokting-tong has shown little zeal regarding funerals at Cooktown. Usually these have been left to be arranged by the local hospital, and the expenses defrayed by the coroner or the police, on the representation that deceased had no estate. Throughout Australia the Chinese too frequently receive a pauper burial. At Melbourne the Funeral Association has changed its character. "We are young," said the immigrants, "and death comes rarely." The large building of the Fokting-tong was converted to the use of the living, and re-named the Hall, not of "Clouds' Rest," the title it commonly bears, but of "Glad Sound."

The title of the Cooktown inn, "Garden of Gold Valleys," gave rise to a popular belief in its connection with the great Chinese firm in Australia, whose branches everywhere adopt similar signs, "Gold

Streams," "Gold Profit," &c. The word "gold" in each case being elliptical for "Gold Hills," Kwo-sau, Australia.

This firm, the Australian *hong par excellence*, was credited with the vast design of conducting the entire immigration to Northern Queensland, of thus working the monopoly of a gold-field producing 750,000*l.* sterling a-year, and of peopling at the same time a new country with grateful fellow-countrymen and customers. Mr. Kony-meng, however, the head of the firm, repudiates the establishment of his business agencies farther north than Townsville, in Queensland, although their ramifications from Melbourne extend as far west as Perth, in Western Australia, and as far east as Dunedin and Wellington, in New Zealand. The next two most influential *hongs* preserve throughout, in the names of their agencies, the words "Hwa" (flowery), *i.e.* "flowery land, China," and Kwang (broad), elliptical for the "broadlands" of Canton (Kwang-tung) and Kwangse.

The "coalition" firm of Hopkee so largely depends upon the Cooktown trade and the support of Chinese capitalists in Australia, that it matters little to what extent the Hong-Kong opium-guild and Jungkee, the Canton coal firm, are interested with emigration agencies, or how the China Merchants' Company is, as alleged, accessory.

The "pigs" brought to Cooktown are chiefly collected in the Heongsan district of the Canton province from the agricultural class, those arriving by the Torres Straits' mail-mail steamers being of a comparatively superior class to those brought by the opposition Chinese line. The mining captains are generally natives of Macao, having either Victorian or Californian experience. The "Brisbane" mail-steamer, in which his Excellency Sir Arthur Kennedy was a passenger, carried at least 200 picked men out of about 500, organized in barches of ten or twelve, one employer having a gang of thirty-eight, including slaves. The average age of the immigrants varies approximately, according to the following scale, having regard to the dates of greatest influx:—

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|----|
| In Queensland, between .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | and | 25 |
| New Zealand, between .. | .. | .. | .. | 25 | | 30 |
| New South Wales, between .. | .. | .. | .. | 25 | | 40 |
| Victoria, between .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 | | 40 |

There are perhaps a score—no more—of Chinese women in Australia, wives and maid-servants, all of good repute, and it is only too evident from this scarcity of women that the hardly perceptible stream to which the present gold immigration to the Colonies within the temperate zone has dwindled alone retards the partial extinction of the Asiatic element in one generation and the gradual absorption of Eurasians in the general mass.

The alliances formed by Chinese with the Irish in Victoria and New South Wales have been variously criticized. The women are often of bad character, but their Chinese husbands are uxorious and attentive. These alliances usually Christianize the father, but always Medize the children, so that the Eurasian element, though Australian as regards religion, will remain Chinese in sympathy, dress, and the badge of the pigtail.*

In Queensland sugar culture requires a constant supply of labour, whether aboriginal, Kanaka, or Chinese. The employment of the two first is provisional, the last problematical. The aborigines are rapidly dying out before advancing civilization, and the Kanakas, on whom the planters mainly depend, come and go, accepting contract after contract, but never settling; whilst the scarcity of women in the Polynesian Islands

* This refers to boys, girls being dressed by their mothers.

prevents the migration of families. The Queensland plantations have in many instances, owing to the failure of their former speculative owners, fallen into the hands of business men, whose foresight suggests the advantage to be derived from the permanent colonization of a race capable of spending their lives in work, and of educating their children to work. Polynesia's future seems hopeless; Java's 14 000,000 take long to overflow, and both races have been beaten out of the field on their own ground by Chinese, as regards usefulness for sugar-labour.

The planters want an unfailing progressive supply of labour, and this want, it is suggested, the Chinese capitalists could in many places supply under contract, tribute, or other arrangement, if they would introduce not men but lives, families, generations.

"When the plantation grows to strength," wrote Lord St. Albans, "then it is time to plant with women as well as with men, that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever placed from without."

The Chinese coolie is rarely in a position when he emigrates to obtain a passage for his wife, and after he has served his time and saved a competency, it is difficult to persuade his family to part with his wife, and thus break the chain which binds him and the money he may make to his ancestral home.

The shopkeepers of better birth, but perhaps equally home-bound, complain that the inability of their delicate wives to undertake the discomforts of a sea-voyage, and the trials of colonial life, precludes them from becoming *bonâ fide* colonists in Queensland.

An alien cannot there be naturalized after five years' residence unless he has a wife also resident, and without being naturalized he cannot sell landed property.

The Chinese evade this stricture in part by holding title-deeds through and in the name of their Australian bankers, but their doubtful security of tenure obliges many to cast eyes on the northern territory of south Australia, where they would be free from vexatious disabilities.

Their hold upon the soil of the first port in tropical Queensland naturally excites local jealousy, but the petty modes of expressing their antagonism, adopted for a time by the present population of Cooktown (2,000), merely harassed their neighbours of "China-town."

The 4,000 miners of the Hodgkinson, the largest collective mining body in Queensland, by a stretch of generosity, lately permitted the Chinese to enter their gold-field as gardeners, and the alluvial field there, though very poor and patchy, will eventually support a large number of Chinese diggers.

Other camps resented their intrusion with some show of force and bravado, according to recent intelligence, but the attitude of the miners is by themselves described as one of simple self-defence. "As long as we can bluff them off," they say, "we will," and the Chinese are "bluffed off," half in joke, half in earnest, by armed demonstrations, by threatening placards posted at the fords of rivers, or by dark allusions to the tragedy of Lamming Flat. A characteristic scene ensued on the first access of Chinese immigration to Cairns.

It was known that an attempt would be made by the populace to prevent the Chinese from landing. A few troopers landed as an advanced guard, unarmed except with staves, a boat-load of Chinese following. The crowd on shore used no weapons or stones. They stood shoulder to shoulder, and pressed down upon the landing party. The troopers, unable to wield their staves in the crush, were hustled into the shallow water, the Chinese made back for their ship, and Cairns had the victory.

Not long afterwards a second landing was effected. The troopers were

reinforced, the authorities appeared in earnest, and the crowd sullenly watched the landing without making any resistance. The authorities have not always made head against a decided opposition, but respectable people and vigilance committees maintain good order against "hoodlums," and no scene of actual riot, resulting in bloodshed, has occurred since the famous tragedy of many years ago far south. An Australian miner had some dispute with a gang of Chinese at work on a claim. In exasperation they beat him down with their spades. His mates rushed to the rescue, the camp was roused, or rather the field, for all were at work, reinforcements arrived on both sides, and a deadly struggle ensued with pickaxes, long-handled shovels, and mining tools. The fearful earnestness of such a battle, its terrible incidents and vengeance, and the ghastly nature of the wounds inflicted by crashing pickaxes and battering spades, have attached a peculiar significance to the memory of Lammings Flat.

No disturbance need be anticipated in Queensland so long as measures are taken to relieve distress on the Palmer, and as distress would arise from two or three months' drought, continued warning would be given of the necessity to consider a remedy.

Thieving is cruelly punished by the Chinese camps, culprits having been found tied to stakes in a rising river, but any case of highway robbery from the person of an Australian might be visited by the miners with not only summary, but perhaps sweeping vengeance, and the position of the Chinese would be critical if famine drove them to rob or murder. One young Macaenese, no desperado, but simply despairing in face of the prospects reported of the diggings, exclaimed, at a camp meeting, "if we cannot get rice, then ———," and he touched the handle of his knife.

North from Cooktown the main range breaks into a medley of lower hills, whose general contour appears smoothly rounded from the action of the water, and the rivers run free, east, west, and north.

Sheltered from heavy seas by the encircling Barrier Reef, the shores of tropical Queensland are densely wooded to the water's edge. From end to end of Australia the character of the bush differs only in degree. Cypresses and pensile-leaved gum-trees and she-oaks are supplemented in the north by graceful lace-oaks, broad cedars replace tall pines, Tasmanian blue-gums give way to palms and tree-ferns, tulip trees make May resplendent, the dingy foliage grows greener, fresher, and Queensland adorns her woods with antler-ferns and her lakes with native water-lilies.

Westwards to the border-land of the Colony of South Australia, the broken plateau shelving from the main north and south range is described as a "pastoral country, well grassed, and intersected by fine sheets of water on the Burke, Everard (Diamantina), Mulligan, Herbert, and Warburton Rivers."

If gold is to be found, prospectors will penetrate where none but nomadic tribes of savages roam; and after mining follows agriculture.

On the northern shores of Australia, Port Darwin, stationed on a pretty headland east of the Gulf of Carpentaria, alone receives the tribute of the soil, and the Cape York pearl fishery that of the sea.* Between Port Darwin and Cooktown extends an almost unknown country, whose reported deserts are discovered to have no existence in fact, whose vast possibilities of cultivation would support millions of human beings, whose destiny is disposable by scarcely 500 souls, the whole population of the northern territory of South Australia, and one-third of them are Chinese.

* In the spring of 1877 the Netherlands Indian Steam Navigation Company established a line of magnificent steamers between Java (Batavia and Sourabaya), Port Darwin, Cape York, Cooktown, and Sydney.

The Government of South Australia takes great interest in the advancement of its northern territory, and Chinese were by the Government introduced from Singapore under agreement. Two hundred were brought over, and few accepted a return passage.

As artisans they have proved themselves invaluable; one clever carpenter has become a stone-mason, builder, and architect. As miners they have developed a knowledge of "reefing" elsewhere unknown.

Elsewhere deep-reefing is their abhorrence. They "love not to moile under ground." In Victoria they work only one quartz-mine, and in New South Wales no labour could be obtained for a coal-pit; but in the northern territory one Ping-kwei has become a small king of quartz-mines, and the envy of capitalists in the south. One and all the residents take most favourable views of Chinese immigration, and express opinions for which in other Colonies they would earn from the ignorant the accusation of being "bribed with Chinese gold."

Chinese unable to obtain naturalization in Queensland would be glad to settle in the northern territory, if agriculture could be made payable; and this re-migration would lessen the anticipations of danger to the integrity of British soil, foreshadowed by the growth of the Chinese settlement at Cooktown.

The force of gold speculation will lead the advanced guard always onward. "Give me British protection," said a Chinese capitalist, "and I will people Papua (New Guinea) with gold-diggers." An agricultural immigration will be a new phase; and considering the waning value of alluvial gold-fields, and the widespread distress in China, it is possible that emigration agents may crimp in inland provinces, that in a country where residents are favourable and blacks friendly, where breadfruit is indigenous, and Barbadoes millet grows admirably, agricultural immigration may pay as well as gold has done, and that before long the beautiful twin bays of Port Darwin will receive their thousands of Chinese colonists for the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

This, however, is purely conjectural. The one object of past Chinese immigration to Australia has been—"gold." The motive brought 50,000 industrious agriculturists to the Colonies; one-third of them to Queensland, where the whole history of a rush was enacted in so short a time from rush to climax and from climax downwards, that, without care, its sequel may yet prove tragical. In the future, Chinese immigration will, perhaps, play an ill-important part in rendering possible the execution of that most beneficial project brought forward some years ago in South Australia, and by no means popularly considered chimerical, to construct a grand trunk railway, spanning the continent from north to south, with branches extending eastwards, through rich pastoral districts, to the principal maritime centres of trade and population. What a single Colony has hesitated to undertake may yet be performed by United Australia.

(Signed) J. DUNDAS CRAWFORD.

Shanghai, September 15, 1877.
