

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLOITATION OF THE AMOY LABOUR MARKET

While the colony was under-going these changes forces were at work in China which ensured that when the time was propitious the importation of Chinese labourers to the colony could proceed with little trouble. These forces, geographical, social, economic, historic, and political combined to produce a labour supply market in Southern China that was to be easily exploited by the "demanders" of labour in the Australian colonies.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the reasons why Amoy became the principle site of departure of Chinese indentured labourers not only for Australia, but also for Cuba, Peru and the British West Indian sugar plantations. To accomplish this, a brief overview of the history of Amoy as a port, for both Chinese and Western merchants is provided, and its further extension as the major "Coolie"¹ port of China. Included in this discussion is a description of the mechanisms that were undertaken within the aforementioned trade; and the "coolie" brokers involved. Throughout, the discussion will refer to the trade to the colony of New South Wales, and how events in China impacted upon the labour trade to New South Wales.

A: AMOY: "THE CHINESE PHOENICIA"²

The geographical focus of the labour supply side discussion within this thesis is the port of Amoy (Xiamen), in Fukien province, as it was from this port that the majority of contract labourers to Australia departed China. Figures 2 and 3 over the page show the province of Fukien and the city of Amoy and its districts from where the immigrants hailed. The majority of the emigrants that departed from ports other than Amoy did so from either Namao, a port to the south of Amoy in the province of Kwangtung which had been an opium station and was used as the resort of the coolie-brokers after the closing of the Amoy market, or in the case of the early shipments,

¹ This chapter presents only a very brief discussion of the Chinese coolie trade for more information refer to Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ch'ing Period*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1985; Robert Irick, *Ch'ing Policy Toward the Coolie Trade, 1847-1878*, San Francisco, Chinese Materials Centre, 1982; E. C. Arensmeyer, 'British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade', Ph. D Thesis, University Of Hawaii, 1979; P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, London, P. S. King, 1923; and D. Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

² Term used by Fred W. Drake, 'A Mid-Nineteenth Century Discovery of the Non-Chinese World', in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972, p. 212.

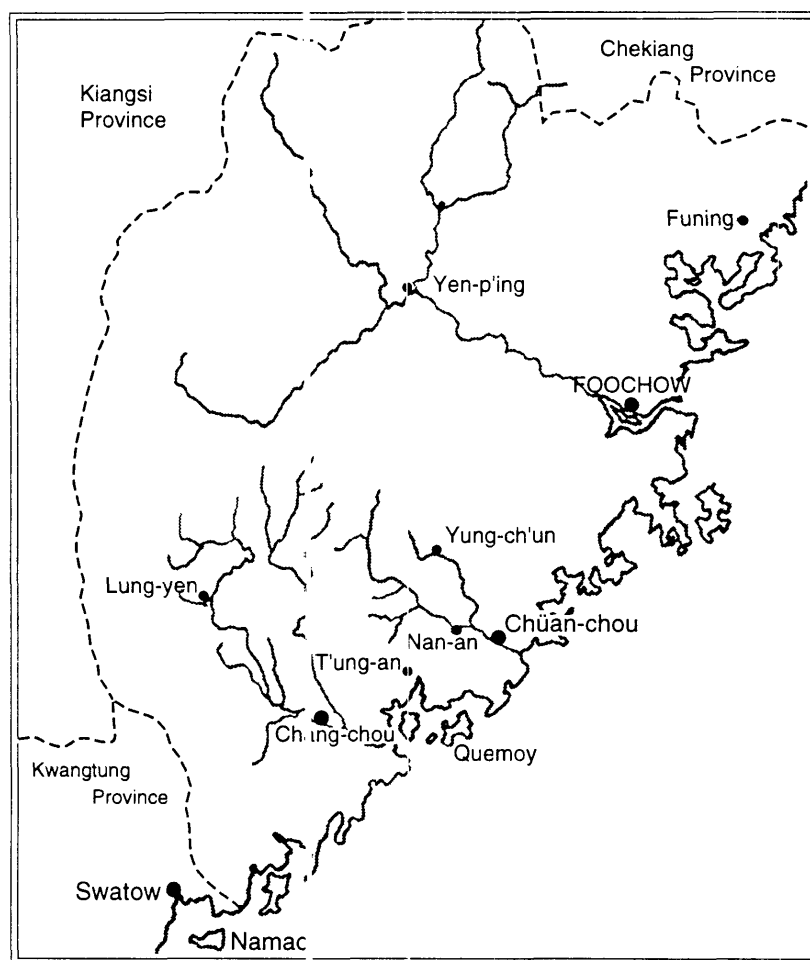


FIGURE 2
FUKIEN PROVINCE

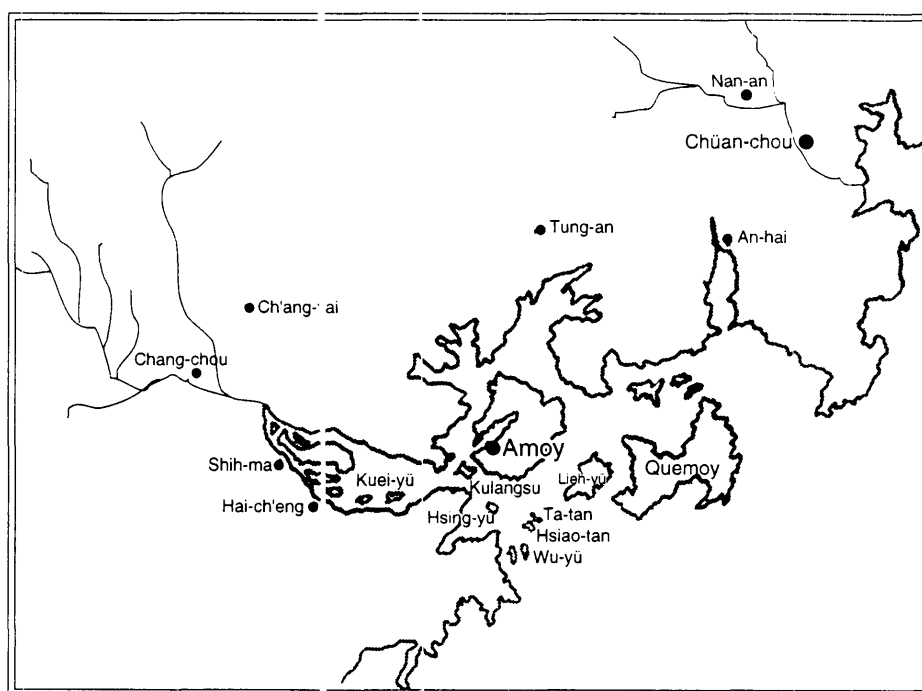


FIGURE 3
AMOY AND DISTRICT

Source: Ng, Chin-Keong, *Trade and Society on the China Coast, 1683-1735*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1983, pps. 7 & 43.

from Hong Kong.³ The port of Amoy, which is in fact an island,⁴ is situated within the southern portion of the province of Fukien, 118°E and 24°N, lying south of the port of Ch'üan-Chou, and directly opposite the island of Taiwan. The harbour of Amoy contains six islands of which Kúláng sú (also spelt in various works Koolangsoo) is the most important within the coolie trade as it housed the "coolie" depots or barracoons and the European population of the port of Amoy.⁵

The southern part of Fukien and eastern Kwangtung region, has few agricultural possibilities due to the mountainous nature of its interior. The only level agricultural land is found within the segmented alluvial plains along the seaboard, leading some observers to describe the Amoy, as "sterile" and "infertile",⁶ the only production of note being that of shoes and umbrellas.⁷ The trading possibilities of Amoy were intimately linked to this lack of agricultural possibilities the non-agrarian nature meant that as population increased the local populace increasingly made their living from the sea, and the multifarious employment's that it offered.⁸ The reliance upon the sea and trade for the survival and prosperity of the city was described in detail in the official Gazetteer of 1832:-

There is a shortage of rice fields on Amoy island. Near the mountains potatoes are grown; near the sea fishing usually supplements farming. There are about twice as many fishermen as there are farmers.....Merchants accumulate wealth by engaging in foreign trade, Their northward voyages extend to Ningpo, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Chin Chou. Going south, they make stops

3 Derived from the figures in Table 2 in Appendix 5 this predominance is clearly evident: of the 25 emigrant ships that have been identified, 14 departed for the colony from Amoy, carrying 2580 indentured labourers, or 85% of the total number of labourers known to have arrived between 1847 and 1853. The *Eleanor Lancaster* in 1852-3 contracted 263 labourers from Namao and 5 ships from Hong Kong brought 170 Chinese labourers to the colony between 1847-1849. The labourers brought to the colony from Hong Kong were also from Amoy, as until the trade was established in Amoy, Hong Kong was the departure point for many Amoy labourers.

4 The island of Amoy is approximately seven miles in length from east to west and eight miles from north to south. Administratively Amoy lies within the district of Shih Ming hsien, in Tung-an district of Ch'üan-chou prefecture. The outlying islands are Quemoy, Lieh-yü, Ta-tan, Hsing-yü, and Wu-yü. Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast, 1683-1735*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1983, p. 42.

5 H. Gribble, the first British Consul at Amoy had firstly established his offices within the city walls as a means of asserting his authority. Gribble was to soon move to Kulangsu and James Tait took over the house, which was owned by a merchant named Wu, paying \$400 a year rent. J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast. The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 213.

6 These two descriptions are drawn from, respectively, C. Gutzlaff, quoted by B. Lubbock, *The Opium Clippers*, Glasgow, Brown Son and Ferguson, 1933, pp. 224-5, and H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1910, pp. 362-3. Ng Chin-keong notes that although the Southern Fukienese had played a major role in the introduction of sugar-cane, sweet potatoes and cotton as cash-crops, and the adoption of agricultural innovations such as early ripening rice, terracing, double-cropping, the land-tenure system which favoured multiple ownership and created an unfavourable man-land ratio retarded the expansion of cash crops. Ng Chin-keong, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-11 & 19-20.

7 Drake, *op.cit.*, p. 213.

8 C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Southern Expansion of the Chinese People*, London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1972, p. 146.

at ports in East Kwangtung and thence across the sea to Taiwan (Formosa).Farther south they may go to Manila, the Sul. Archipelago, Singapore, or Batavia.....Those who make their living by the junk shipping trade can be counted by the thousands.⁹

The history of Southern China is one of continual unrest, through the expansion of population and the proliferation of lineage wars, secret societies and anti-dynastic revolts.¹⁰ The latter is of more importance after the fall of the Ming Dynasty and the succession of the Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty in 1644, and by the nineteenth century the three forces of disruption and dislocation listed above tend to merge. The effect of these forces was to "push" people out of the region and, as the hinterland offered little in the way of subsistence, the movement was primarily overseas.¹¹

The first notable exodus of the populace from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien occurred with the fall of the Southern Sung Dynasty in 1280 to the Yuan and the destruction, physical and economic, that the Mongols levied on the inhabitants of the southern provinces who would not accept Mongol rule. In order to escape the heavy economic imposts imposed by the Yuan Dynasty, and the insults levied by the officials under the *T'uan-she* system¹² many thousands of inhabitants fled to Southeast Asia and established themselves in trading communities.¹³ These communities were in constant contact with family and friends within the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung, and established trading and remittance networks in order to further the home and overseas communities' welfare.¹⁴

The first instance of Imperial edicts being issued in regard to the overseas Chinese came within four years of the fall of the Yuan, and the establishment of the Ming Dynasty in 1368. In 1371 the Hung-wu Emperor, in response to the threat of

9 Gazetteer of Amoy, 1832, quoted by Ta Chen, *Emigrant Communities in South China*, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 30-31.

10 Refer to Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Strangers at the Gate. Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966; Jean Chesneaux (ed.), *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-1950*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1977; and *Secret Societies in China in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Hong Kong, Heinemann Educational Books, 1971; and Liu, Kwang-Ching (ed.), *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990; C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Southern Expansion of the Chinese People*, London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1972; Harry J. Lamley, 'Lineage and Surname Feuds in Southern Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung Under the Ch'ing', in Kwang-Ching Liu, (ed.) *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, pp. 255-278.

11 Refer to Ng Chin-keong, 'A Study on the Peasant Society of South Fukien, 1506-1644', *Nanyang University Journal*, Vol. VI, 1972, pp. 189-212.

12 This system was an attempt by the Yuan officials to counteract resistance in the rural areas of the provinces by destroying the villages defences and graveyards- the latter being most insulting to Confucian principles which incorporate ancestor worship.

13 Yen Ching-hwang, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

14 Despite the anti-Yuan sentiment that was inherent in these overseas Chinese communities, no legal nor military action was taken by the Emperor in respect of them nor their contact with mainland Chinese.

Japanese pirates and that posed by Chang Shih-ch'eng and Fang Kuo-chen, both pretenders to the throne, issued a decree banning all coastal inhabitants from travelling overseas as private individuals, and threatened that '...those who sell human beings and arms overseas are to be hanged'.¹⁵ The incorporation of threats against the sellers of "human beings" within the 1371 edict indicates that the nineteenth century trade in Chinese labourers was not a new phenomenon, but rather was a centuries old commercial practice. A series of edicts from this time until the nineteenth century attempted to restrain the Southern Chinese from trading, emigrating and lending assistance to those of their compatriots that had already established themselves overseas.¹⁶ In an attempt to evade the edicts against foreign trade merchants moved from Ch'üan-chou, the prefectural capital, to Amoy which movement heralded the beginning of Amoy as a major foreign trade port. The ban on overseas trade impacted severely on the population of Fukien, leading many to resort to piracy in order to survive.¹⁷ In order to prevent the depredation's of the pirates and deny them food and provisions the administration took the exceptional step of evacuating all the population within the coastal strips of Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung except those housed in armed garrisons.¹⁸ The suppression of piracy along the coast that resulted from the action of clearing the coastline, and the fortunes to be made out of the illegal trade, pressured the Lung-ch'ing Emperor (1567-72), into relaxing the ban on foreign trade in 1567.¹⁹

With the lifting of the prohibition on foreign trade the Ming government issued licenses to traders, with 137 being issued in 1597, a quarter of these going to

15 This decree was reaffirmed and extended in 1381 and 1397. Yen Ching-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

16 Restrictions were imposed against private foreign trade in 1394 and 1404, resulting in the state gaining a monopoly in the trade in foreign goods. Depredation's by Wo-k'ou pirates along the coast of Fukien and Kwangtung forced the administration during the Chia-ching reign (1522-66) to take the exceptional step of evacuating all the population along the coastal strips, except those housed in armed garrisons, in order to deny the pirates food and provisions. In 1522, the ports of Ningpo and Ch'uanchow were closed and all foreign trade was relegated to the port of Canton. C. P. Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, p.108; Harry J. Lamley, 'Lineage and Surname Feuds in Southern Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung Under the Ch'ing', in Kwang-Ching Liu, (ed.) *op.cit.*, p. 263.

17 Ng Chin-keong, 'The Fukienese Maritime Trade in the Second Half of the Ming Period- Government Policy and Elite Groups' Attitudes', *Nanyang University Journal*, Vol. V, 1971, p. 96. For the most detailed exposition of the movement of trade from Ch'üan-chou and the growth of Amoy as a major port refer to Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society*, *op.cit.*, Chapter 2, pp. 42-94.

18 The Fukienese had been joined in the depredation's by the Wo k'ou pirates from Japan. Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

19 Yen Ch'ing-hwang, *op.cit.*, p.13. Further stimulus to the Lung-ch'ing administration in adopting this measure was the increasing influence of western merchants, notably the Dutch and the Portuguese. In 1557 the Portuguese had been given permission to trade in Macao, and in 1567 Yüenkang, near Amoy was designated as a foreign trade port as a concession to the people of Fukien who '...had taken to piracy and armed uprisings.' Ray Huang, 'The Lung-ch'ing and Wan-li reigns, 1567-1620', in Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds.) *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 7, The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 1., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.559. These armed uprisings were the result of the increasing size and rebelliousness of lineages within Fukien and eastern Kwangtung, which impacted upon the rate of migration, and later official edicts on the subject of foreign trade and emigration. Harry J. Lamley, 'Lineage and Surname Feuds in Southern Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung Under the Ch'ing', in Kwang-Ching Liu, *op.cit.*, p.263-4.

merchants trading with Luzon in the Philippines, which during the course of the sixteenth century became known as the "second home town of the Fukienese".²⁰ The junks to Manila averaged about 30 per year, and carried between 77 and 492 passengers, so that by 1606 the total number of Chinese voyagers to the port of Manila within that year was 6,533, and the estimated Chinese population was 30,000.²¹ With the assistance of the Chinese, the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of Manila as the centre of trade for the Asian/American markets, supplying the American market with Asian textiles paid for with American silver from the Spanish American colonies.²² The islands of Java and Sumatra were also target regions of trade and emigration for the Southern Chinese, with the first recorded settlements occurring in the early fourteenth century, which increased dramatically after 1594 when the prohibition on trade was lifted.²³

These settlements were constantly boosted and replenished numerically as factors within Fukien pushed population to the limits of survival, or the expansion of overseas plantations enticed labourers to emigrate from the region, despite the continuing ban on emigration. Migration overseas had been made illegal during the Ming Dynasty and was perceived as a traitorous act, leading to the concept of the overseas Chinese as traitors to the Han race, *Han-chien*.²⁴ This ban became more

20 T'ien Ju-K'ang, 'The Chinese Junk Trade: Merchants, Entrepreneurs and Coolies, 1650-1850', in Klaus Friedland (ed.), *Maritime Aspects of Migration*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag Köln Wein, 1989, p. 381. By 1745 the number of Chinese stores in Manila was 859, which covered 33 separate handicrafts and were dominated by emigrants from four townships within the Chinchiang district of Fukien province. *ibid.*, p. 382.

21 T'ien Ju-K'ang, *op.cit.*, p.381. Although the Ming government had licensed these traders it accepted no responsibility for any Chinese citizens living beyond the bounds of the Empire, as emigration continued to be illegal. The official response to the massacre by the Spanish, of the majority of the 20,000 Chinese settled in the Philippines in 1603 was that: *They were scum, ungrateful to China, their homeland, their parents and ancestors, for they failed to return to China for the New Year. Such people were to be deemed of little worth...*. Memorial of Hsu Hsueh-Chu, Governor of Fukien, quoted in Yen Ching-hwang, *op.cit.*, p. 19. A further massacre by the Spanish in 1639 of approximately 22,000 of the 33,000 Chinese inhabitants of the Philippines drew no official response at all from the Chinese government, nor its officials within the provinces from where the majority of those slaughtered had emigrated.

22 W. E. Cheong, 'Canton and Manila in the Eighteenth Century', in Jerome Ch'en and Nicholas Tarling, *Studies in the Social History of China and South-East Asia: Essays in Memory of Victor Purcell*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 228. One argument suggests that the Ming Court's lifting of the ban on foreign trade in 1567 '...constituted official recognition of an established fact...' that foreign silver was integral to the Chinese economy, and that the '...country's economic and political problems were intimately connected with silver and maritime trade.' William S. Atwell, 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy, circa 1530-1650', *Past and Present*, No. 95, pp. 68-90.

23 The dangerous seas between Fukien and Batavia restricted the growth of trade between these two areas, only 5 junks arrived in Batavia each year, carrying only about 1,000 new immigrants each season, in comparison to the 30 ships trading with Manila. T'ien Ju-K'ang, *op.cit.*, pp. 382-383.

24 As to why the Ming court became more insular, and in the case of the Yung-lo Emperor, simultaneous to initiating and supporting the voyages of Cheng Ho, there is no clear nor singular reason. The Ming Dynasty witnessed a return to and strengthening of Confucian values which determined the mechanics of Chinese life and society, possibly as a response to the previous usurpation of the Peacock Throne by the Mongol "Barbarians". Uppermost within these values is filial piety and ancestor worship, which both require, and possibly demand, a family members presence to be fulfilled, therefore precluding migration, especially overseas. Although internal migration within

restrictive and prohibitive during the Ch'ing Dynasty with all emigration being prohibited in 1718 and all Chinese abroad being recalled. In 1728 this was further strengthened by banishing all those Chinese citizens who had not returned since the issuing of the 1718 edict, and Chinese that had not returned by this date were presumed to have committed a capital offence.²⁵ The Ch'ing edicts which imposed strict rules regarding foreign trade, were issued as an attempt to reduce the impact and support of Ch'eng Cheng-Kung, aka Koxinga²⁶ who utilised the overseas Chinese and their opposition to the Ching government, for financial and strategic support, especially in the case of naval power.²⁷ The reaffirmation of this law in 1661 and the increased pressure of Ch'ing troops on Ch'eng's base in Amoy drove Ch'eng and his followers to Taiwan, where they promptly expelled the Dutch, and Ch'eng, and his heirs were installed as sovereign.²⁸

The expulsion of Ch'eng from Amoy, and his subsequent installation in Taiwan impacted upon both the direction and extent of foreign trade in China. The expulsion of the Dutch left them without a trading base in China, which explains their willingness to co-operate with the imperial forces in completing the removal of Ch'eng's followers from Amoy.²⁹ The other notable change in the status of foreign trade that occurred with the expulsion of Ch'eng to Taiwan was the eventual loss of the British East India Company's trade opening at Amoy.

China was common, it was overseas migration which caused the authorities concern in this case as it was perceived that those Chinese resident overseas would have difficulty in fulfilling their familial duty and return at Spring festival in order to pay homage to their ancestors. Merchants were perceived as destroying the rural economy and perpetuating '...unorthodox and frivolous life-styles' where '...artisans made useless artefacts, while peasants grew indolent and abandoned their holdings.' Harry J. Lamley, 'Hsi-h-Tou: The Pathology of Violence in Southeastern China', *Ch'ing-shih wen-i'i*, Vol. 3, No. 5, 1976, p. 28. Refer to C. P. Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-98 for a discussion of Cheng Ho's voyages and their impact on Chinese trade and emigration.

25 Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. 1, Statistics, New York, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1969, pp. 149-150.

26 Cheng Cheng-kung was the son of the Prince of Tang's major adviser and supporter, Zheng Zhilong, who, after the defeat of the Prince and his father moved his followers to Nan'ao in Kwangtung and then to Amoy (Xiamen) in Fukien province, where his band of followers grew to number '...scores of thousands...'. Bai Shouyi (ed.) *An Outline History of China*, Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1982, p. 379.

27 This law, imposed in 1656, stipulated the death penalty for traders, collaborators, and officials who failed in their duty to expose the offences, such stiff penalties resulting in a near complete cessation of all foreign trade with Southeast Asia. Yen Ching-hwang, 'Ch'ing Changing Images of the Overseas Chinese (1644-1912)', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1981, p. 261.

28 The Dutch arrived in Taiwan (Formosa) in 1624, after being refused permission to trade at Macao. Taiwan had been a prefecture of Fukien province, and populated by the Fukienese since the Sui and Tang Dynasties, (circa 7th century) but the disbandment of the Chinese navy after the death of the Yung Lo Emperor had the effect that control over Taiwan and its inhabitants became only nominal. By the time the Dutch arrived in Taiwan it was little more than a refuge for pirates and smugglers, a result of the collapse of the Ming Empire. Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110.

29 The Dutch had hoped that co-operation in suppressing the mainland activities would assist them in achieving trading rights as only two years after the assistance had been rendered an embassy under Pieter van Hoorn was sent to Peking. The result was much less than the Dutch expected, the embassy only received the right to '...secure the enrolment of their nation among the tributaries of the Great Emperor, but not to obtain a grant of privileges.' H. B. Morse, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

The East India Company had established a factory at Amoy in 1667 which, being under the control of Cheng, was cut off from imperial administration and the trade routes. The lack of administrative control led to the imposition of heavy duties and annoying obstructions by the Chinese, forcing many of the English merchants out of Amoy prior to the forced cessation of foreign trade in 1683.³⁰ Once order was restored, and all ports were opened to foreign trade in 1685 the Amoy merchants and officials utilised various means to tempt the East India merchants back to their port. A movement which occurred spontaneously in 1715 as the latter merchants became more hampered in their dealings by the imposition of restrictions by the Canton brokerage system.³¹ Despite financial enticements and the lack of administrative restrictions at Amoy the merchants slowly filed back to Canton as the East India Company resolved to conduct all trade through Canton. A move that was later reinforced by the 1757 edict of the Chien-lung emperor which restricted all foreign trade to Canton.³²

In establishing their early trading networks in China the Europeans had locked into and utilised the existing junk trade between China and Southeast Asian ports. A desire on the part of the English, especially the Manchester cotton merchants for greater access to the Chinese market was to lead to the Opium Wars.³³ At the cessation of the Opium Wars the treaty ports that were to be ceded by China to the Western nations were carefully chosen as '...points of entrance into the existing Chinese

³⁰ H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, Vol. I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. 48, 134 & 147; W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833-1860*, (Reprint), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967, pp. 2-3. The removal of the coastal population Fukien in 1661 in order to suppress support for Cheng also stifled trade at Amoy, and increased pressure on the population, as many had lost their livelihoods as well as their homes, and inducing further lineage feuds. Lamley 'Lineage and Surname Feuds in Southern Fukien and Eastern Kwangtung Under the Ch'ing', in Kwang-Ching Liu, *op.cit.*, pp. 264-266 and Hsieh Kuo Ching, 'Removal of Coastal Populations in Early Tsing Period', *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1931, p. 583.

³¹ Austin Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842. Prelude to Hong Kong*, Honk Kong, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 40-41. In 1723 and 1724 enticements, such as halved port charges were offered to the British supercargoes to undertake their trade at Amoy. Morse, *Chronicles*, *op.cit.*, pp. 176-180. The Canton System is the term applied to the system of foreign trade which was controlled in Canton by the Co-Hong, a monopolistic grouping of merchants which had been given legal permission to trade in the staple articles of Nankeens, tea and silk. For an excellent exposition of the development and problems of the Canton system refer to Fairbank, *op.cit.*, chapters 3 & 4.

³² Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East*, New York, Russell & Russell, 1970, p. 328. In comparison to Amoy, trade at Canton was well organised and dependable, with vast quantities of native capital available to facilitate large purchases. Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 58. With the movement of trade to Canton many of the Amoy merchants involved with foreign trade also moved. W. E. Cheong, 'Canton and Manila in the Eighteenth Century', in Jerome Chen and Nicholas Tarling, *Studies in the Social History of China and South-East Asia- Essays in Memory of Victor Purcell*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 229. By 1730 the Southern Fukienese (Ch'üan-Cheng) merchants in Canton numbered over 1,000, and also formed the major group of native merchants in Macao. Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society*, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

³³ It is not possible within the limits of this thesis to discuss the origin or outcomes of the Opium War therefore a degree of prior knowledge has been assumed on this point. The literature on this subject is vast and beyond citing in full therefore for more information refer to the bibliography, especially the works by Fairbank, Fay, Greenberg, Wakeman, Morse, Wilbur and the Cambridge History of China.

maritime trade.³⁴ As Amoy had rivalled and at times surpassed Canton as the point of trade with Southeast Asia, particularly Manila and the Malay Archipelago,³⁵ this port was naturally chosen as one of those to be opened to Western trade under the terms of the Treaty of Nanking.³⁶ A decision which was reinforced as :

*Its excellent harbour has made it from time immemorial one of the greatest emporiums of the Empire and one of the most important markets of Asia. Vessels can sail close up to the houses, load and unload with the greatest facility, have shelter from all winds and in entering or leaving the port experience no danger of getting ashore.*³⁷

B: NEW USES FOR AN OLD TRADE

After the opening of Amoy the trade in Chinese labourers was exploited in the same manner that European trade had earlier been '...grafted onto the junk trade...'.³⁸ The existence of a labour trade at Amoy prior to the intervention of Europeans providing labour to the Chinese settlements throughout Southeast Asia produces the same conclusion that as with the African slave trade, Europeans did not initiate the contracting of labourers from Amoy, they merely diverted '...a well established and old institution to new ends...'.³⁹

The "push" factors that had forced people overseas earlier continued into the nineteenth century and increased in intensity providing foreigners with an expanded market to exploit. In 1787 the population of Fukien was recorded as 12,020,000; 16,759,653 in 1820; and 19,987,000 by 1850; an increase of 65.8% in 62 years.⁴⁰

³⁴ Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

³⁵ In 1818 the listing of countries with which Amoy traded included Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, Ligor, Mindanao, Johore, Trengganu and the Philippines. Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

³⁶ Prior to the opening of Amoy as a Treaty Port in 1844 with the arrival of Henry Gribble as British consul, Spain had been the only country to retain access to Amoy for purposes of trade. Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth Century China. The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism*, Berkeley, University Of California Press, 1986, p. 15. However, the prohibition on non-Spanish traders was circumvented by various private British traders operating under the Spanish flag in order to avoid the increasing impositions of the Canton system e. g. Beale Magniac and Co. had ventured to Amoy in 1806 to sell Bengal cotton; James Matheson operated part of his opium trade out of Amoy from 1822, a trade which received a massive boost in 1830 when the Amoy authorities accepted \$10 per chest of opium to allow the trade to continue. (Fairbank, *op.cit.*, pp. 66-70.)

³⁷ Charles Gutzlaff, the author of this description was a Protestant missionary who distributed Bibles from one side of an opium clipper, while the drug was being sold from the other. Charles Gutzlaff, quoted by Basil Lubbock, *op.cit.*, pp. 224-5.

³⁸ Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 36. By 1847 most of the Straits trade with Amoy was carried in non-Chinese vessels, and extremely high freight charges were imposed by the British, *ibid.*, p. 313; and Wang Gungwu, 'Merchants without Empire: The Hokkien sojourning communities', in James D. Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 409-10.

³⁹ Herbert Lüthy, 'Colonization and the Making of Mankind', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1961, p. 490.

⁴⁰ Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959, pp. 54-56.

With this increase in population the amount of land per head decreased from 3.86 mou (1 mou equals approximately one-sixth of an acre) in 1753; to 2.19 mou in 1812; and 1.86 mou in 1833; 4 mou per head being regarded as necessary to maintain a minimum standard of living.⁴¹ The pressures of population increase are also evident within the increased prevalence of lineage wars with some regions experiencing *Hsieh-tou* (armed clan feuds) outbreaks daily which led to at least one death.⁴² Abundant labour supply and the consequent low wages on offer to unskilled labourers, about 3-4d. per dien., and 6d. for skilled artisans,⁴³ allowed foreign agents to easily and effectively exploit this labour market.

Apart from offering to those interested in the labour trade a populace that was accustomed to migration for survival, Amoy was preferred over Canton in particular for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Amoy was not an administrative seat the number and strength of Chinese authorities that could exert control over any migration of Chinese was reduced, especially in comparison to Canton.⁴⁴ Secondly, after the cessation of the Opium War anti-foreigner sentiment was extreme within Canton therefore, any attempt to undertake what was an illegal trade by assisting the migration of labourers, would have exacerbated the already tenuous situation.⁴⁵ Thirdly, the citizenry of Amoy was held to be superior to that of Canton, especially in regard to their labouring capabilities. George William Rusden⁴⁶ in communicating with Charles Nicholson⁴⁷ on the subject of Chinese emigration to New South Wales wrote that:

The labouring population at Amoy is of a much more industrious and less unruly disposition than is met with amongst men of the same grade in Canton: in fact, the former have the

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- 41 Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, p. 33. Another estimate is that by 1812 the average acreage in Fukien had fallen to as low as 0.93 mou per head. Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society*, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-16.
- 42 Lamley, '*Hsieh-tou*: The Pathology of Violence in Southeastern China', *op.cit.*, p. 22.
- 43 Charles Winchester to Dr Bowring, 26th August, 1852, Inclosure 3 in No. 8, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 25th September, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 11.
- 44 Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, p. 41.
- 45 John J. Nolde, 'Xenophobia in Canton, 1842-1849', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1975, pp. 1-22, & F. Wakeman, *Strangers at the Gate*, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-85.
- 46 Rusden (1819-1903) migrated to New South Wales in 1834 on the *James Harris*, during which voyage he met Nicholson, becoming Nicholson's property manager until 1847 when he travelled to China with the intention of making his fortune. Despite finding work with his cousin Ellis Gillman in Canton and then his brother Alfred in Shanghai the riches did not eventuate. Rusden, after writing these letters to Nicholson returned to the colony in 1849 and was instrumental in the establishment of the National Schools Board and with his brother T. G. Rusden owned "Shannon Vale" in the New England pastoral district. *ADB*, Vol. 6, p. 72-3.
- 47 Nicholson (1808-1903) a medical graduate of the University of Edinburgh, had arrived in the colony of New South Wales in 1834 and soon inherited his uncle's, Captain James Ascough, extensive estate in the Hawkesbury and Hunter districts. Nicholson was a leading squatter; a member of the Legislative Council; speaker of the House (1846-56); member of the Pastoral Association, the Coolie Association and the "Australian Club" and a leading promoter with Wentworth of schemes to import Chinese labourers. *ADB* Vol. 2, pp. 283-285.

*reputation of being the best, the latter of being the worst of their class in the Empire i.e. of those whom foreigners have had opportunities of observing.*⁴⁸

Emigration from Amoy continued despite the law due to the '...connivance of the Chinese government...which may be induced to wink at a practice, by which a part of its excess is thrown off into other countries.'⁴⁹ Despite all edicts regarding migration the position of the Chinese authorities was basically one of having to turn a blind eye to the migrations. Enforcing the law would have increased the already delicate balance that existed between population and resources in Fukien and '...any attemptto stop the flood of 50,000 hungry, able-bodied men,....., would, probably, lead to an insurrection'.⁵⁰ The reaction of the Tao-t'ai of Amoy, Heng-ch'ang, to the question of migration from his region was that:

*I cannot talk about emigration, for when that word is pronounced, my head assumes a very awkward position, and might chance to tumble off.*⁵¹

British interest in the recruitment of Chinese labour for the English plantations can be found prior to the abolition of slavery in 1807, as discussed in Chapter Two, with an increase in interest naturally occurring after emancipation in 1833. After a number of reports had been compiled on the viability of Chinese labour, an East Indiaman arrived in Trinidad in 1806 carrying 192 Chinese labourers.⁵² The next foray of Europeans into the transshipment of Chinese labourers occurred in 1810 when the Portuguese imported several hundred Chinese tea farmers to the Brazilian tea plantations with the blessing of the Portuguese Prime Minister.⁵³ This was not true "coolie" emigration as these labourers were skilled tea planters, and were hired as

48 Letters from G. W. Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848, (ML A4304), pp. 403-408. These letters have been reproduced in Appendix 4. This attitude regarding the relative merits of labourers from Amoy and Canton is also found in General Remarks on Chinese Emigration by Harry Parkes, Inclosure in No. 10, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 1st October, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 27.

49 R. T. Farquhar, *Suggestions Arising from the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, for Supplying the Demands of the West India Colonies with Agricultural Labourers*, London, John Stockdale, 1807, p. 10.

50 Charles A. Winchester to Lord Malmesbury, 26th August 1852, Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, *BPP*, 1852-53, (1627).

51 The *Tao-t'ai* was an officer in charge of a circuit (Tao)- Amoy was under the jurisdiction of the Hsing-Ch'uan-Yung Tao-t'ai. T. H. Latton to Viscount Palmerston, 17th July, 1848, Despatches Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, *BPP*, Vol. XXXVIII, (593). By condoning this breach of Imperial law, even though the act constituted the difference between civil peace and prosperity and civil unrest, the mandarins were effectively signing their own death order.

52 It is obvious from its title that Farquhar's pamphlet (*op.cit.*) had been inspired by the need to find a new labour supply with the imminent abolition of slavery. This experiment in Trinidad was not successful leading to the suspension of future importations. S. Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977, p. 107. Farquhar provides evidence of earlier attempts when in 1804 the Dutch had imported two shiploads of Chinese labourers for Bencoolen (Farquhar, *op.cit.*, p. 11) and previous to this Captain Meares had acquired Chinese labourers for the Nootka Sound settlement, *ibid.*, Note to p. 11.

53 R. Irick, *op.cit.*, p.7.

such in order to establish tea plantations in the Portuguese colony of Brazil. In an attempt to replenish the plantations labouring population after emancipation the planters of Trinidad, British Guiana and Jamaica were issued with licenses to import 2,850 Chinese.⁵⁴ However, these licenses were not required as legislation in 1842 and 1844 relaxed the 1839 regulations regarding the employment of Indians outside of the "Territories under the Government of the East India Company" which allowed the planters access to Indian labourers.⁵⁵ West Indian interests were to return to the China labour market in 1852, an action which changed the market irrevocably.⁵⁶

The first movement of labourers organised within China by British interests was of 430 individuals to Havana per the *Duke of Argyle*, in March 1847, which had been organised by Mr James Tait, of Tait and Company.⁵⁷ This shipment to Havana in combination with the fact that it had been organised by British expatriate was to cause a great deal of contention later in the year between T. H. Layton⁵⁸ and F. D. Syme,⁵⁹

54 Yen Ch'ing Hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, p. 85, and Crawford Campbell, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

55 Acts XV of 1842 and XXI of 1844 permitted emigration to Mauritius, Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad. This act led many in the Australian colonies to hope that the same allowance would be given to them, although this was not the case, resulting in the Australian colonists complaining and requesting confirmation on the legal status of Indians in relation to the Empire. S. H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1964, p. 339. For more detail on the exploitation of the Indian labour market after emancipation see H. Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974.

56 For a detailed exposition of the changes apparent in the "types" of indentured labour sought and employed refer to D. Northrup, *op.cit.*, chapters 2 and 3; and Crawford Campbell, *op.cit.*.

57 James Tait had, prior to arriving in Amoy in 1846, been involved in shipping operations from Manila since the early 1830's, eventually becoming a senior partner in the firm of Baretto and Company and the Manila agent of Jardine Matheson. Little is known of the origins of Tait or of Tait and Co., although there is evidence that Tait had, prior to establishing in Amoy set up in Shanghai about 1843 the strong competition there led to the company's bankruptcy. Despite this early financial set-back Tait & Co. thrived, lasting until 1907, outlasting some of the larger firms. After arriving in Amoy Tait leased the old Consul's quarters, and from these premises he immediately locked into the Chinese junk trade that carried goods to the various ports of the archipelago, and particularly Manila. In 1846 Tait became the Spanish consul for the port of Amoy which provided him not only with official status but also a degree of immunity from British law when it was required. Tait's list of consulships increased over time, becoming Vice-Consul of the Netherlands in 1851 and Portuguese consul in 1852. Tait also had the French and American consuls working for him. The name of the former is unknown, the latter was Charles Bradley; E. C. Arensmeyer, 'The Chinese Coolie Trade and the Philippines: An Inquiry', *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 28, 1980, p. 193; E. C. Arensmeyer, 'British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Trade, 1850-1874', Ph. D Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1979, pp. 83-86; Yen Ching-hwang, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

58 Temple Hillyard Layton was the British Consul for Amoy at the time. Scholar of Corpus Christie College, and then tea inspector in the East India Company's factory in Canton (circa 1832) earning £500 p. a. at first rising to £2400 p. a. Returned to England in 1839 an independently wealthy man, again leaving for China in 1844 with his family when he was appointed vice-consul at Ningpo. Became British consul at Amoy in 1846 after the death of G. T. Lay in November 1846. Layton was himself to fall victim to what was called "Kulangsoo Fever" in 1850; during the decade 1844-1854, five members of the Consulate became ill with this disease, 3 others were to die. Fairbank, *op.cit.*, pp. 163 & 168.

59 Francis Darby Syme of Syme Muir and Co., was to rival Tait in the labour carrying trade, after beginning his business in Singapore. Syme specialised in the West Indies, Cuba and Peru trade. Despite his early involvement in the colonial trade, being the recipient of Adam Bogue's letters which are discussed in Chapter Five, Syme took no part in the Chinese labour trade to New South Wales. There is no clear reason to explain this, unless the grouping of Larkins and Tait who had earlier dealings in Manila on behalf of Jardine Matheson precluded Syme's further involvement, which may have carried through to when Robert Towns took over the trade. Syme's greatest claim to

when the subject of importation of Chinese labourers to the Australian colonies was publicised. After a very bitter and public argument, Layton could only watch and report on the movements of Chinese out of the port of Amoy.

As discussed in the two previous chapters, colonial interests had, prior to the Opium War recognised and made moves to exploit the Chinese labour trade to the Straits as indicated by Davidson's 1837 advertisements, and King's attempt in 1839.⁶⁰ Once Amoy was opened, long standing connections primarily based on kin, made it quite easy for the colonials to exploit the Amoy labour market and acquire Chinese labourers.⁶¹

The colonials were actually at the forefront of the Chinese labour trade, entering and then abandoning the trade before demand increased and most of the abuses which gave the trade its infamous character predominated. This early pre-dominance of the trade is explicit within the following emigration figures. Between 1845 and August 1852 it was estimated that 6,255 Chinese left Amoy under contract: 990 to Havana; 469 to Demerara; 380 to Isle Bourbon; 380 to Hawaii; 600 to the Philippines; 350 to California; 420 to Peru; and 2,566 to Australia.⁶² That is, over a third of the Chinese labourers leaving Amoy under contract to Western interests (in contrast to labourers contracted to Chinese interests for Siam, Borneo and Malaya) during this period went to the colony of New South Wales, an early dominance that has not previously been acknowledged. The yearly breakdown of the total 1848-53 figures and the numbers departing for New South Wales during these years are presented in the table over the page, reinforcing this argument

infamy is that it was his involvement in the coolie trade and his disrespect for the Chinese authorities and Chinese law which sparked the 1852 riots in Amoy.

⁶⁰ Chinese emigration to Singapore increased dramatically over time with 7,000 arriving in 1843; 1,600 in 1844; 10,475 in 1848; 10,928 in 1850 and 11,434 in 1852-53. W. F. Willcox, *op.cit.*, p. 153. For a discussion of the Chinese labour trade to Singapore see Wong Lin Ken, 'The Trade of Singapore with China' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malaysian Branch*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, 1960, pp. 106-133.

⁶¹ For example the Campbell's; the Leslie's whose uncle W. S. Davidson had provided the eldest son with a position in his old house of Dent & Co.; Richard "China" Jones; G. F. Davidson; G. W. Rusden; Captain Thomas Collins, an agent of Robert Brooks; Captain Thomas Larkins who had dealt with Tait over many years as a shipper working the China-Manila-Penang run; and Robert Towns who was responsible for the majority of shipments of Chinese labourers to the colony was well known in China even before settling in the colony.

⁶² Dr Winchester, 26th August, 1852, Inclosure 3 in No. 8, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 25th September, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, pp. 9-10.

TABLE 4a
Chinese Labourers Departing China for NSW
1848-1853

YEAR	TOTAL No.	No. to NSW
1848	120	120
1849	280	150
1850	1,000	406
1851	2,066	1,478
1852	5,691	1,177
1853	3,197	354

SOURCE: C. W. Bradley, to H. Marshall, 25th March, 1853, in J. Davids (ed.), *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China*, Vol. 17, 'The Coolie Trade and Chinese Emigration', Delaware, Scholarly Resources Inc., (n.d), pp. 180 & 182-3.

Although Syme was the first person in Amoy approached on the subject of importing Chinese into New South Wales it was James Tait that eventually handled all of the consignments that left Amoy bound for the colony.⁶³ Tait organised the shipment of 120 labourers that left Amoy for the colony on board the *Nimrod* in July 1848, an action that earned him the wrath of Layton. Problems arose with the consigning of the *Nimrod* as one of Tait's coolie brokers had been arrested by the Chinese authorities for crimping, an illegal act.⁶⁴ Also, Layton found himself in trouble for allowing W. R. Gingell the consular interpreter, to witness the signing of the contracts, an act which he was told not to repeat nor countenance.⁶⁵ Tait's participation was described as a '...hateful topic amongst the Chinese of Amoy,...' and was perceived by the populace as the "buying of men". The troubles arising from the passage of the *Nimrod* led the British consul at Amoy, Temple Hillyard Layton, to request that the British Government put a stop to any further shipments, as he could '...conceive a state of circumstances which might bring upon myself and the English residing at Amoy a measure of popular wrath, not only detrimental to our national and commercial interests, but even hazardous to our personal safety.'⁶⁶

⁶³ Of the 25 ships registered in Amoy on 14th September 1851, Tait was the agent listed for 20 of them. This number of ships included 4 for Sydney: the *Amazon*, *Arabia*, *Ganges* and the *General Palmer*. *SMH*, 2nd January, 1852.

⁶⁴ The broker, Vincente a Chinese that had converted to Catholicism, was only released after Layton was made to admit by the Taotai that British subjects were involved in and responsible for the illegal coolie trade. After this admission Layton appears to have believed that on the basis of Tait's written confession that he could prevent any further shipments of labourers- a belief that was not to eventuate as Tait denied that there was any evidence relating to himself. Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

⁶⁵ J. G. Bonham to Viscount Palmerston, 10th October, 1848, Inclosure 1 in No. 13, Earl Grey to Governor-General Fitzroy, 27th February, 1849, Despatches relating to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, *BPP*, 1849, (593), Vol. XXXVIII.

⁶⁶ It is interesting that Layton was more concerned with the damage that the emigration trade could do to the commercial interests of England than his or other residents personal safety. T. H. Layton to J. G. Bonham, 17th July, 1848, Despatches Relating to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, *BPP*, (593) Vol. XXXVIII.

The British authorities in rapping Layton's knuckles over Gingell's involvement were intending to distance themselves from the trade, and from any appearance that the British Government condoned the trade in labourers. Although the British Government would later argue that it had never condoned the trade it must be realised that the government, along with the Chinese authorities, did at least connive at such a trade. This connivance is found in the fact that Tait before he could accept the Spanish consulship had to receive permission from the British Government, which permission Palmerston readily gave⁶⁷ and the Government made no attempt to prevent further immigration taking place.

C: LABOUR ACQUISITION METHODS

The majority of crimping⁶⁸ was undertaken by the Chinese themselves, with at least two layers of coolie brokers involved in the process. At the top, yet below the foreign agent who employed them, were the principals who could speak English, and had returned to Amoy from the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Malacca and Penang.⁶⁹ These principal brokers were paid on average \$3 per head for every labourer accepted by the consigning agent for shipment to New South Wales.⁷⁰ The labourers were actually acquired by subordinate brokers who were given a quota to fill by a certain date by the principal brokers and were paid a capitation fee by the latter. At the beginning of the labour trade in Amoy the subordinate brokers would place placards in the agricultural districts surrounding Amoy informing the inhabitants of the chance of emigration and the wages that were on offer. The level of response to these placards was determined primarily by the success or otherwise of the harvest:

67 Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 213, and Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, p. 44. At the time of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade, it was common for private British traders to assume consular status of other countries in order to protect themselves from the East India Company and removal from China. W. S. Davidson had acquired Portuguese citizenship through the offices of his uncle Sir Walter Farquhar, in order to protect himself and his commercial interests in China; James Tait of Tait and Company, the leading "coolie" merchant of Amoy, '...was protected by extraterritoriality as a British subject' and also gained immunity from the monopoly of the East India Company, and influence in commercial spheres through acquiring the honorary consular representation of both Holland and Spain. Morse, *Chronicles*, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5; Vol. III, p. 348; Vol. IV, pp. 76 & 148-63.

68 Crimping is the term applied to the devious methods including deceit and indebtedness, used by agents to procure soldiers, sailors and in this case labourers to fulfill a contract.

69 The principal brokers employed by Tait and Syme who have been identified were Ch'en Ch'ing-hsi (Tan King Hee), his brother Ch'en Ch'ing-hsing (Tan King Sing); Loo Kwang-hung and Loo Chang-piao (either brothers or uncle and nephew) from Canton; Wang Wei-chang; Lin Kin-toan; Lew Shih-new; Le Tsai and Lin Hwan. Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31 & 39. Restrictions on the movements of foreigners outside of the ports imposed under the terms of the Treaty of Nanking dictated that Chinese crimps had to be used to fill the demand for labourers.

70 Evidence of Robert Jackson, 14th December, 1852, Inclosure 8 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 53.

*Thus many villages now talk of twenty, thirty, or forty crop, or a nobody crop- meaning the crop is such that twenty, thirty or forty of their clan will have to emigrate, or the crop is so good that all the clan can, if they like, stay at home.*⁷¹

As the trade expanded and the demand for labourers increased, the subordinate brokers utilised more underhand techniques to fill their quotas: kidnapping; indebting through gambling; the purchase of men captured in lineage feuds; fraud; and deception as to what actually awaited them once in Amoy.⁷² Most of the increased demand in 1852 can be linked to the entry of the West Indies planters⁷³ which led to the appointment of James T. White as Emigration officer whose task was to oversee the conduct of the trade in Chinese labourers to British ports, or on British ships. White after arriving in October 1852, made contact with the agents of '...Hyde, Hodge & Co. with whom the Commissioners [had] made arrangements for procuring and conveying emigrants to the West Indies...' who in turn engaged Tait and Co. to fulfil the orders.⁷⁴

After arriving in Amoy the labourers were forced into barracoons, '...nearly naked, very filthy, and room only sufficient to lie; the space 120 by 24 feet, with a bamboo floor near the roof; the number in all about 500.'⁷⁵ While in the barracoons the labourers were subjected to a health check which was performed by the recruiting ship's doctor or captain. The number finally accepted determined the amount paid to the crimp. From New South Wales experience, the health checks on the labourers became more cursory over time with the greater incidence of death and disease aboard ship evidence of a breakdown in the system through excess demand. This increase in

71 C. T. Gardner, 'Amoy Emigration to the Straits', *China Review*, Vol. XXII, 1896-97, pp. 623-24.

72 Wang Sing-wu, *The Organization of Chinese Emigration, 1848-1888, with Special Reference to Chinese Emigration to Australia*, San Francisco, Chinese Materials Centre, 1978, p. 56. For instances of these practices refer to the evidence given 15th December, 1852, Inclosure 8 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, pp. 60-64.

73 By August 1852 nine vessels had arrived in Amoy for the purpose of shipping Chinese labourers to the West Indies, carrying 8,000 men to Havana and 2,000 to Demerara. Adam W. Elmslie, to Dr Bowring, 25th August, 1852, Inclosure 1 in No. 8, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 25th September, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 8.

74 James T. White to S. Walcott, 15th October, 1852, Sub-Enclosure to Enclosure 3 in No. 10, Duke of Newcastle to Governor-General Fitzroy, 5th February, 1853, *BPP*, 1852-53 (1627), Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, p. 99. As White resided in Hong Kong he had little chance of actually overseeing the operation of the trade. The riots of November 1852, and emerging evidence of abuses within the trade despite his presence and official position, combined with his too-close involvement with Tait compromised White's position and led to his dismissal in mid-1853. (E. C. Arensmeyer, 'British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850-1874, *op.cit.*, p. 90-91.) The action of White in procuring female children was perceived by Lord Clarendon as little different from the slave-trade, and led Clarendon to discharge White from his position. K. Whinnom, 'The Intercontinental Movement of Labour in the 19th Century', *Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*, Vol. 1, Feb. 1854, p. 83.

75 Inclosure No. 11, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 26th November, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, pp. 28-29. Tait used his ship the *Emigrant* as a depot or receiving station for the labourers brought in by the brokers.

the rates of death and disease amongst the labourers brought to New South Wales was to eventually impact upon demand within the colony and the willingness of shipping agents to continue in the trade.

The increased use of deception and deceit by the brokers and expanding knowledge as to the conditions within the barracoons and the receiving ships aroused the populace of Amoy to riot against the trade, the foreign agents involved in the trade, notably Syme, and the '...evil-disposed and traitorous natives...' employed as brokers.⁷⁶ Emotions were such that a proclamation warned the populace against the "ungovernable barbarians" and threatened that '...if any persons transact business with the Te-ki and Ho-ki hong (Tait and Co. and Syme, Muir and Co.), they shall be put to death, their property seized, and their houses destroyed without mercy.'⁷⁷

The Chinese labour trade to New South Wales was only partially effected by firstly the increased demand for labourers in Amoy and secondly, by the November riots. By the time the West Indian planters entered the market the majority of ships bound for New South Wales had already departed Amoy. Only three more colonial ships were to arrive in Amoy in search of indentured labourers after this date: the *Eleanor Lancaster*, (1852-53); the *Royal Saxon*; and the *Spartan* (1852-53).⁷⁸ The *Eleanor Lancaster* moved down the coast to Namao to load, being disappointed with the labourers on offer at Amoy and therefore avoided the riots; the *Royal Saxon* although in port at the height of the riots was not affected by the dissension amongst the populace of Amoy towards emigration and foreigners, recording no deaths during the voyage. The *Spartan* however, was to experience the full force of the riots and the result of the underhand techniques used by the coolie brokers to fill the *Spartan's* quota of labourers. The mutiny on board this ship received a great deal of publicity within the colony, and turned many within the colony against a continuance of the trade and the employment of the labourers aboard the ship.

76 'Proclamation issued by the Scholars and Merchants of Amoy', Appendix A, Inclosure 8 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 71. The riots which occurred 21st-24th November, 1852, had been caused in part by the increasing depredations by the coolie-brokers but also equally by the actions of Syme in removing Lin Hwan, one of his brokers, from the local Police Station, and the disrespect for the authorities and Chinese law that he exhibited in this action. Marines from the *Salamander*, a ship of the Royal Navy, had to intervene when Syme and his clerk were attacked, an action which left about 12 Chinese injured or killed increasing the anti-foreign feelings that had erupted. Mr Harvey to Dr Bowring, 22nd December, 1852, Inclosure 7 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, pp. 39-44. Also Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-51.

77 'Proclamation by the Inhabitants of the Eighteen Wards', Appendix B, Inclosure 8 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 72.

78 Refer to Table 2 in Appendix 5. The voyages of these vessels to the colony are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Apart from impacting on the colonial trade in this manner the riots of November 1852 effectively spelt the end of the coolie-trade in Amoy as the ill-feeling exhibited towards foreigners and the coolie-brokers did not dissipate with the suppression of the riots and the commissioning of an inquiry into the cause of the riots.⁷⁹ Tait moved the *Emigrant* to Namao, where he was to load Chinese labourers onto the *Eleanor Lancaster*, paying the local mandarins '...one tael, 6s. 8d., per head for every coolie shipped'⁸⁰ which was to remain the centre of the trade until 1855 when increasing resentment in the port led to the expulsion of the agents and their brokers, who then moved their business onto Macao.⁸¹

Those agents that remained in Amoy after the riots including Robert Jackson, the consignee for the *Spartan* (1852-53), had to adopt different methods of filling the demand for labourers for which they had contracted. In order to acquire labourers for the *Spartan* Jackson distributed notices throughout Amoy and the surrounding districts. These notices, one of which is reproduced below,⁸² were a definite attempt on the part of Jackson to diffuse any antagonism directed towards him over his entry into the hated trade.

79 The continuing animosity directed by the inhabitants of Amoy towards foreigners and anybody expected to be a coolie-broker led to the issuing of two further proclamations '...with a view to the restoration of quiet...'. 'Proclamation' Inclosure 13 in No. 14, and 'Further Proclamation', Inclosure 14 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, pp. 80-81. Amoy remained in a state of ferment with the port being attacked and captured in May 1853 by members of the Dagger Society, a Triad Society introduced by Tan Keng-chin an employee of Jardine Matheson and Tait and Co. This attack was not directed towards foreigners but the Chinese authorities. The suppression of the revolt led to the murder of thousands of members and collaborators of the Society in November 1853. George Hughes, 'The Small Knife Rebels- An Unpublished Chapter of Amoy History', *The China Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 244-248.

80 Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 10th January, 1853, No. 18, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 95. This act on the part of Tait was illegal as Namao was not a Treaty Port, and therefore was not open to foreign trade, although Namao had long been a receiving station for those involved in the opium trade. Fairbank, *op.cit.*, p. 135 & 239-40 and Dr Bowring to Acting-Consul Backhouse, 18th January, 1853, Inclosure 3 in No. 19, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 18th January, 1853, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 98.

81 This port had the advantage of being under Portuguese government control which '...treated the trade strictly as business and [was] only interested in the profit to be gained.' Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins*, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

82 Appendix D, Inclosure 8 in No. 14, Dr Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, 27th December, 1852, *BPP*, Vol. LXVIII, 1852-53, p. 93.

APPENDIX (D).

Notice.

JACKSON is desirous of temporarily engaging the services of coolies to go to foreign lands, as labourers on wages, verily higher than any obtainable at Amoy; the firm is however not plotting to realize profits to the injury of well-disposed people; they harbour no such intention. Any indigent persons in the neighbourhood, who have no relations dependent upon or connected with them, may come forward and offer their services. Should any become the victims of abduction, a word spoken to Jackson at the time of telling off, and payment of all expenses, will secure their being returned * to their homes; this promise may be depended upon. A notice for general information.

Heenfung, 2nd year, -- month, -- day.

(, 1852)

True translation,
(Signed) W. H. MEDHURST,
Chinese Secretary.

There is no single explanation that can be offered to explain why the importers of Chinese labour to New South Wales did not follow the coolie agents to Namao and then Macao. The range of explanations available revolve around the changing socio-political environment of the colony and are discussed as this thesis progresses and the colonial trade is analysed. It was earlier changes within this environment which allowed those colonials, the squatters, seeking indentured labourers to successfully tap into the Chinese labour market, the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

1842-47:

A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION AND PREPARATION

The cessation of the Opium War in 1842 and the opening of the Treaty Ports provided an entree into a labour market that was controlled by neither the British Government nor the East India Company; a market that had been the subject of colonial attention for many years. However, it was not till 1847, that any substantial moves were made in the direction of China, a five year period that was essential for the squatters to consolidate their position within the colony, economically and legally. Once this was achieved through the exploitation of political power, the groundwork of ensuring that the importations could be physically accomplished was being undertaken.

This chapter covers the period 1842-57 during which time the squatters consolidated their position within the colony and analyses how this power was utilised to ensure the efficient and legal importation of indentured Chinese labourers. The last section of the chapter presents the recommendations arising from reconnaissance missions to China that were undertaken to assess the viability and possibility of entering the Amoy labour market.

A: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SECURITY

The depression of the 1840s bankrupted and impoverished '...many, if not most, of the principal proprietors of land and stock, and also of the mercantile firms...'.¹ The crash of the Bank of Australia in 1843 pushed nearly half the colonial merchants into insolvency, a position from which it took a number of years to recover.² The lack of mercantile capital impacted upon the ability of those interested in importing indentured labourers to bring their plans to fruition, with the acquisition and transportation of labourers requiring a substantial amount of capital and international credit. Requirements which the majority of merchants lacked until the latter years of

1 Extracts of a Letter from Deputy - Commissary-General Miller, 4th June, 1844, Fifth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, *BPP*, 1845, Vol. XXVII (617), p. 32. Discussions of the origins and effects of the depression can be found in Barrie Dyster, 'The 1840s Depression Revisited', *Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 25, No. 101, Oct. 1993, pp. 589-607; and Philip McMichael, 'Crisis in Pastoral Capital Accumulation: A Re-Interpretation of the 1840s Depression in Colonial Australia', in E. L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism*, Vol. IV, Sydney, 1980, pp. 17-40.

2 For a comprehensive treatment of the effects of the depression on the mercantile community refer to Barrie Dyster, 'Prosperity, Prostration, Prudence: Business and Investment in Sydney, 1838-1851', in Alan Birch and David S. Macmillan (eds), *Wealth and Progress- Studies in Australian Business History*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1967, pp. 51-76.

the 1840s.³ Some of the newly arrived squatters were also affected by the combination of high interest rates, falling wool prices and drought resulted in the price of sheep falling from 60s to 1s.⁴ In order to bring to fulfilment the previously stated intentions of Davidson, King and their predecessors, a degree of economic stability was required by those members of colonial society intent on introducing Chinese labourers.

Part of the economic recovery of the squatters is linked to the introduction of boiling down flocks for tallow. It is estimated that between four and five million sheep and a quarter million head of cattle were boiled down between 1843-51, providing the stock holders with an income from stock which had no live market value.⁵ By boiling down worthless stock the squatters were able to realise about 6d. per head, a process which also increased the value of the remaining stock by culling out old and diseased sheep or sheep with the coarsest wool, leading to an overall improvement in wool quality.⁶

Two Acts passed by the Legislative Council in 1842-43 provided the squatters and merchants with a measure of legal economic security. The "Insolvent Debtors Act" of 1841, which came to be known as "Burton's Purge", protected debtors, and allowed for the announcement of voluntary bankruptcy. In combination with the Solvent Debtors' Act, which allowed a debtor to retain property if there was no doubt of ultimate payment, the Insolvency Act allowed '...a beneficent purge...'.⁷

3 For example, A. B. Spark who was to become involved with the *General Palmer* did not clear his debts until the late 1840s: Robert Towns, the major importer of Chinese labourers was on his way to the colony to assume the agency Robert Brooks from Ranulph Dacre whose bankruptcy was described as the colony's worst: Campbell and Co., who in the person of Robert Tertius Campbell was to join Towns in the importations, took until the end of the decade to clear all debts incurred during the depression.

4 The result of the crash for one New England squatter was the sale of his station including 4,680 sheep and 207 cattle for £505 with the wool being given in. R. B. Walker, *Old New England*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1966, p. 193.

5 K. L. Fry, 'Boiling Down in the 1840s: A Grimy Means to a Solvent End', *Labour History*, No. 25, 1973, p. 1. The impact of boiling down on sheep numbers in the Northern Districts can be seen in the following percentage increases 1843-45 and 1844-47 respectively: Clarence River, 25% & 46%; Darling Downs, 58% & 188%; Moreton Bay, 22% & 193%; New England 24% & 34%. Figures are derived from Table 3a in Chapter Three.

6 The 1843 legislative measures which made scab and catarrh notifiable diseases also acted to "clean up" the colonial sheep flocks. Fry, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-5 and p. 11.

7 S. H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia, 1835-1847*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1935, p. 248. The reform of the Insolvency law had begun in 1837 when Mr Justice Burton submitted a draft law, a draft which caused a great deal of contention within the colony. After a number of alterations Burton's Bill was accepted and passed in December, 1841 as 5 Vic. No. 17. This act was further refined after a Select Committee report in 1842 found a number of amendments were required. The major amendment was the removal of the provision for imprisonment for debt. The amended act was passed into law in December 1843 as 7 Vic. No. 19. J. M. Bennett, *A History of the Supreme Court of New South Wales*, Sydney, The Law Book Company, 1974, pp. 114-118. The title "Burton's Purge" was applied as the Act was perceived as favouring debtors over creditors, allowing the "dishonest and improvident" to successfully cheat their creditors. S. J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, 1788-1851*, (reprint) Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1968, p. 323.

A second legislative measure was the passing of the "Preferable Lien on Wool and Stock Mortgages Bill",⁸ which had been introduced into the Legislative Council by Wentworth. Liens allowed a squatter to purchase goods and supplies on credit on the promise of delivering the year's wool-clip to the creditor; stock-mortgages which permitted the raising of loans against flocks and herds. This Act was a legal formalisation and extension of a system of financing the squattages that was already in operation, yet which had no precedent in British law.⁹ As the squatters held no mortgagable property and banks were wary of accepting settler's bills, the raising of funds for this section of society was difficult if not impossible. The provisions of this Act for the squatters:

*...brought them unexpected relief. It invested their flocks with a new species of value- a value which enabled them to raise money upon the carcass or fleece, not only without sacrifice but without even parting with the property.*¹⁰

Both Acts were designed to bolster the economic position of the squatters, and were readily recognised as providing the squatters with a degree of legal economic security which was not available to many others:

*But when hoofs and horns came down in price, his purse got rather raw,
And he had to seek protection from our New Insolvent Law;
Which put him all to rights- sent the bailiffs from his door,
And made his worship worthy of the title that he bore,
Like a fine old Squatter Gentleman.*¹¹

For some of the early settlers and merchants who had taken advantage of the Insolvency Act, continued economic viability was achieved by moving north and establishing themselves in the Northern Districts as merchants and/or squatters. Within this grouping were Richard Jones¹² and Henry Buckley;¹³ both participants in

⁸ 7 Vic No. 3.

⁹ T. A. Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia: From the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901*, Vol. 1, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1969, pp. 488-493; Philip McMichael, *Settlers and the Agrarian Question: Capitalism in Colonial Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 195-196; The Colonial Office in London regarded the Preferable Liens as '...a dangerous innovation which should only be regarded as temporary and which should be repealed by 1846', a repeal that did not eventuate. Fry, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰ Butlin, *op.cit.*, p. 343.

¹¹ "The Old Squatter Gentleman" by Pick-up. *P.A.* 1st September, 1849.

¹² Jones was declared insolvent in November 1843 and all of his estates and ships were sold. Having already become enamoured of the pastoral life, Jones moved to north of Brisbane where he settled in the Burnett district on "Mandut", becoming a leader in the squatters push for indentured labour, separation. Became the member for the Stanley Boroughs in 1851. *ADB*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

¹³ Buckley (1813-1888) had lost his Monaro district property in 1844 as a result of the depression, moving to Sydney where he was a partner in a wine and spirit business, as well as managing the Asian Steam Navigation Company until 1849 when he moved to Brisbane. Buckley was the member for Stanley County in the NSW Legislative Council, August 1856- February 1858, and then for East Brisbane, May-September 1860. *ADB*, Vol. 3, p. 289; D. B. Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1972.

the Chinese labour trade. From these districts, these bankrupts and many other squatters and merchants began to assert themselves socially and politically once economic stability had been achieved in order to consolidate their still relatively tenuous position.

A(i): POLITICAL STRENGTH AND SECURITY

The ability of the squatting clique to provide themselves with legal economic security through the enactment of these Bills was intimately linked to their achievement of political power. Wentworth, the "political patriarch" of the squatters¹⁴ had been able to have the Preferable Liens Act passed by the Council, as from the beginning of 1843 the Council was effectively under the control of the squatting clique.¹⁵ The Australian Constitutions Act, 1842 which was weighted towards the rural interest and its restrictive property franchise, brought the squatting interest to the forefront of colonial politics.¹⁶ Fifteen squatters were amongst the 24 elected representatives, and of the fifteen non-elective members were at least three, Richard Jones, Edward Hamilton and Robert Lowe,¹⁷ who were intimately interested in the squatting interest:¹⁸

...the council was a squatting strong-hold- a veritable garrison held by them against the government...[seizing]...every opportunity to harass the administration and thrust forward their own class interests.¹⁹

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- 14 Term used by H. S. Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, Sydney, Turner and Henderson, 1888, p. 386.
 - 15 The Australian Courts Act, 1828, (9 Geo. IV) had increased the number of nominees in the council from ten to fifteen, yet did not provide for any representative members. Alex C. Castles, *An Australian legal History*, Sydney, The Law Book Company, 1982, p. 166. For a listing of the nominee members appointed in 1843 refer to *New South Wales Parliamentary Record, 1824-1956*, Vol. 1, 19th edition, Sydney, A. H. Pettifer, 1957, pp. 10-12.
 - 16 5 & 6 Vic. The franchise was restricted to males, those with freehold property within the Nineteen Counties to the value of £200 or householders paying annual rent of £20 or more. Roberts, *Squatting Age*, *op.cit.*, p. 264. The electoral franchise produced the situation where Sydney which contained more voters than eleven other districts had only two representatives in the Council. The other eleven districts electing 16 members to the council. A. G. V. Melbourne, *Early Constitutional Development in Australia*, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1963, pp. 305-307.
 - 17 Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke. (1811-1892) barrister, arrived in the colony in 1842 and was afforded Governor Gipps patronage, Gipps appointing him a non-elective member of the Legislative Council in 1843. From this position Lowe fought for the squatting interest against Gipps and his 1844 squatting regulations, joined the Pastoral Association, then vacated his seat in 1844, launching the *Atlas* which publicly argued for responsible government and therefore colonial control of the Crown lands. Elected member for the City of Sydney in 1848 and led the fight against the resumption of transportation. returned to England in 1850, where he entered parliament for the borough of Kidderminster in 1852, fighting against the squatting interest over the Australian Constitution Bill in 1855. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 134-137; and Roberts, *Squatting Age*, *op.cit.*, pp. 278 *et. seq.*
 - 18 Those members linked to the Northern Districts and the importation of Chinese labour are W. Bowman, W. Dumaesq, W. Lawson, H. H. Macarthur C. Nicholson and Wentworth. *New South Wales Parliamentary Record, 1824-1956*, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-16.
 - 19 S. H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement, 1788-1920*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1924, pp's. 220 and 222.

The 1842 act provided only representative, not responsible government,²⁰ the latter would have allowed the Legislature to control the dispersal of colony's crown lands and therefore the revenue accrued from its sale or lease. When Gipps published his squatting regulations in 1844, the fight for responsible government began in earnest, as by only having control over the dispersal of the crown lands and the land revenue could the squatters fortify their position; hence their cry of 'No Taxation without representation'.²¹ Part of the fortification process was the establishment of the Pastoral Association in 1844, of which sixteen members were from the Legislative Council, to fight for responsible government and against Gipps regulations.²² The association was assisted in its fight by the *Atlas*,²³ and by a coalition of interested parties in England which took the squatters fight to the British parliament.²⁴ This power within both the colonial and British governments' permitted the council to vote against renewing the Squatting Act in 1846, which would have meant the acceptance of Gipps squatting regulations.

The squatting core of Wentworth, Nicholson, H. H. Macarthur,²⁵ Bowman and others in the council was supplemented in 1848-49 by the arrival of S. A.

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- 20 Section 29 of the act removed from the legislature the ability to frame laws that would '...interfere with the alienation of the Crown Lands or with the revenue derived from them.' Melbourne, *op.cit.*, p. 270.
- 21 B. Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History, 1834-1939*, (2nd edition), Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1949, p. 80.
- 22 The Pastoral Association was formed on 9th April, 1844, only a week after Gipps published his occupation and purchase regulations. The committee of the Pastoral Association was Wentworth, Dr Bland, B. Boyd, C. Cowper, Dr Nicholson, T. Walker, J. P. Robinson, Dr Dobie, F. Taaffe, R. Graham, O. Bloxsome, W. Foster, M. C. O'Connell, J. Blaxland, W. Dumaresq, G. McLeay and R. Gore. Appendix, Report of the Select committee on Crown Lands Grievance, *NSWLC V&P*, 1844, Vol. II.
- 23 The *Atlas*, *Sydney Weekly, Journal of Politics, Commerce, and Literature*, was registered to D. L. Welch and edited by R. Thompson, but financed by Wentworth, B. Boyd, Richard Windeyer and Dr Nicholson was published from November 1844 to December, 1844. In 1845 Lowe assumed the editorship for a short period, then James Martin became the new editor. Before Lowe severed his links with the *Atlas* the paper had started expressing anti-squatter attitudes, the increasing vehemence of which would lead to its closure in 1848 through a decline in subscriptions. R. B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1976, pp. 37-39.
- 24 The Hon. R. Scott accepted the position of Parliamentary Agent from the squatter dominated Legislative Council and was joined in the English end of the fight by Archibald Boyd. Headed by Lord Polwarth, a meeting of merchants, bankers and others interested in the position of the squatters resolved to petition Lord Stanley to give the squatters twenty-one year leases. Stanley supported Gipps in his regulations, however, Gladstone and Peel were for the squatters, which assisted the squatting interest when Gladstone replaced Stanley at the Colonial Office. Roberts, *Squatting Age*, *op.cit.*, pp. 308-314.
- 25 Hannibal Hawkins Macarthur, (1788-1861) was the nephew of John Macarthur and had accompanied his uncle to NSW in 1805. When returning to England in 1808 Macarthur was placed in charge of the failed attempt to establish the Quadrangular Trade Scheme. Returning to the colony in 1812, Macarthur assisted Elizabeth Macarthur in the care of the Macarthur flocks until settling on land near Parramatta. Married to Anna the daughter of P. P. King, Macarthur continued to extend his pastoral interests; was a director of the Bank of Australia; appointed to the Legislative Council in 1829; member of the Australian Club; and supporter of Gipps over the squatting regulations. Suffered severely during the depression 1841-43 and the collapse of the Bank of Australia, taking refuge in the Insolvency court in 1848. In the same year Macarthur resigned from the Council and retired to the Darling Downs, returning to England in 1853. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 147-149. In his position of police magistrate on the Ipswich Bench Macarthur caused a furore when he judged that contracts transferred

Donaldson,²⁶ Robert Fitzgerald²⁷ and Donald McIntyre.²⁸ After the squatters had achieved security of tenure, calls were made for those outside of the Nineteen Counties to have representation in the Legislative Council; a wish that was granted with the Australian Colonies Government Act, 1850.²⁹ Matthew Marsh,³⁰ John Lamb, George Leslie³¹ and Francis Bigge³² increasing the squatting presence in the Council as a result of this act, and providing the Northern squatters with their own political voice.

B: SECURITY OF TENURE

The combination of boing-down and legislation assisted in the economic revival of the pastoral industry by cleaning-up the sheep flocks and providing the squatters with ready cash and access to credit. Having achieved a measure of economic security and stability the squatters turned their attentions to acquiring legal

by means of a signature on the back of the contract were illegal and therefore did not come within the range of the Master and Servant Act. "Original Correspondence", *MBC*, 5th and 12th June, 1852.

- 26 Member for the County of Durham, 1848-53, vacated this seat in 1853 for Sydney Hamlets which he held until the dissolution of parliament in 1856 and the instigating of representative government. Donaldson became New South Wales' first premier, if only for seven months, treasurer, then railway commissioner in 1857. *ADB*, Vol. 4, pp. 84-86.
- 27 Fitzgerald, (1807-1865) was one of the largest land-holders in the colony with 19,814 acres in the County of Bligh, and 256,000 acres in the Gwydir pastoral district. Was elected to the Legislative Council for the seat of Cumberland in 1849, which he held at the 1851 elections and vacated at the dissolution in 1856. Appointed to the new Legislative Council and made a member for life in 1861. *ADB*, Vol. 4, pp. 177-178.
- 28 The brother of Peter McIntyre and holder of "Falconer", "Byron Plains", "Guyra", and "Waterloo" in the New England district, became the member for the Counties of Hunter, Brisbane and Bligh in 1848, until the dissolution of parliament in 1851. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 168-169.
- 29 13 & 14 Vic. This act also provided for the separation of the Port Phillip district as a colony (sec. 1) and for an extension of the franchise to those who were men, owned £100 of freehold property or paid rent of £10 per annum, and the holders of depasturing licenses. Melbourne, *op.cit.*, pp. 376-77.
- 30 Marsh, was elected member of the pastoral district of New England and Macleay, until 1855 when he vacated the seat and returned to England, where, in 1857 he was elected to the seat of Salisbury. From this position he led the fight for separation of the Northern Districts, arguing for any new colony to include New England. Returned to Australia in 1865 and was feted in the new colony of Queensland for his efforts in achieving separation. *ADB*, Vol. 5, p. 213.
- 31 George Farquhar Leslie was the brother of Patrick Leslie the first squatter on the Darling Downs. With another brother Walter, George took over Patrick's share of "Canning Downs" in 1844, which they sold to Gilbert Davidson, their cousin and the son of W. S. Davidson in 1854 for £50,000. In 1855 George vacated his seat for the United Pastoral District of Clarence and Darling Downs, having departed for England in 1852, where he was to assist Marsh and Boyd in their agitations for separation. Within the new assembly the seat was filled by Clark Irving and then Arthur Hodgson, a partner with Gilbert Davidson in "Eton Vale". Hodgson became general manager of the AACo. (1856-61), then stood for the seat for Newcastle, before returning to England in 1861. Returned to the colony in 1867, winning the seat of Warrego; and then in 1870 Hodgson retired to Stratford-on-Avon. French, *A Pastoral Romance: The Tribulation and Triumph of Squatterdom*, Toowoomba, USQ Press, 1990, p. 81, 122, and 211.
- 32 Bigge, the elected member for the pastoral district of Moreton, Wide Bay, Burnett and Maranoa, never assumed his seat, resigning in December, 1852 and returning to England where he was to join Marsh and Boyd in their agitations for separation of the Northern Districts. M. French, *op.cit.*, pp's, 123 and 131. The seat for the United Pastoral Districts of Moreton, Wide Bay, Burnett and Maranoa in the new Legislative Assembly was held in turn by, Gordon Sandemann, Patrick Leslie and W. B. Tooth. Sandemann (c.1810-1897) was to become MLA for Leichhardt in the Queensland Parliament from 1863-1886, he returned to England in 1880 after financial difficulties, dying there in 1887. Waterson, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

security over the land that they had alienated. The acts of 1836 and 1839 only gave squatters the right to depasture stock on Crown Lands, providing no security of tenure.³³ The squatters and would-be squatters had rejoiced at the actions of Bourke in recognising squatting in 1836, however, the changes to the Squatting Act proposed by Governor Gipps in 1844 altered the balance of opinion. The introduction, by Governor Gipps of the Occupation and Purchase Regulations in 1844³⁴ was an attempt to change the system of squatting on Crown Lands; eradicate the worst of its abuses;³⁵ and raise revenue to assist immigration. The publication of these regulations signalled the beginning of a long and acrimonious fight between Gipps, the squatters and the latter's representatives in the Legislative Council. A fight which continued unabated, until Gipps left the colony in 1848.

The major point of contention at first was over the Occupation Regulations which came into force in July 1845, although in a diluted form.³⁶ The focus of the squatters and the Pastoral Association then changed to the Purchase Regulations, with the fight carrying across to England, with Archibald Boyd in the lead. Within the colony the fight was led by the Pastoral Association, Robert Lowe in the press and the squatter dominated Legislative Council.³⁷ A Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances appointed in 1844 focussed on the Occupation Regulations, recommending that control of the land revenue should be given to the Legislative Council; the licence fee abolished; and that '...squatters should be given fixity of tenure and pre-emptive rights.'³⁸ An unsurprising report from a committee whose

33 The Act of 1836 (7 Wm. IV, No. 4) recognised the squatters by granting licenses to depasture beyond the bounds of settlement, with the 1839 Act (2 Vic. No. 27) imposing an annual license fee of £10 in addition to an assessment of the stock, sheep and cattle, run on the holding. However, these licenses conferred no security of tenure nor title to the land. Therefore, any improvements made to the property by the holders of the license were legally the property of the Crown.

34 The Occupation Regulations of 2nd April, 1844 proscribed that each licence could only cover one run which could not exceed 20 square miles or 12,800 acres nor carry more than 4,000 sheep. The Purchase Regulations, 3rd April, 1844, enabled a squatter to purchase part of his run, 320 acres at an upset price of £1 per acre, after five years residence; and undisturbed possession of the remainder for the next eight years, when he could purchase another 320 acres, '...and so on indefinitely.' Roberts, *Land Settlement*, *op.cit.*, p. 181

35 The 1839 act in not regulating the area that could be alienated under one licence had produced a situation in 1844 where the 56 largest squatters occupied 7,750,640 acres, whereas the 56 smallest squatters had occupied 433,460 acres, yet all paid only £10 per annum for their licence to depasture. Coghlan, *op.cit.*, p. 386.

36 The changes increased the revenue from licence fees for land beyond the bounds from £20,000 in 1844 to £32,000 in 1845. K. Buckley, 'Gipps and the Graziers of New South Wales, 1841-1846', Part I, J. J. Eastwood and F. B. Smith (comp.) *Historical Studies- Selected Articles*, Series 1, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967, p. 62.

37 The squatters consternation at the regulations is understandable from their previous cheap occupation of the land as the combination of the Occupation Regulations and the £1 upset price would have increased substantially the annual cost to the large squatters; it has been estimated that B. Boyd would have been liable for £19,200 over the eight years of the lease, or £2,400 per year to purchase the homesteads on his sixty squatting runs. K. Buckley, 'Gipps and the Graziers of New South Wales, 1841-1846', Part II, J. J. Eastwood and F. B. Smith (comp.) *Historical Studies- Selected Articles*, Series 1, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967, p. 92.

38 Melbourne, *op.cit.*, pp. 299-300.

members were all members of the Pastoral Association³⁹ By late 1845 the council had partially accepted that they would have to pay for their homesteads, the London lobby group however, continued to fight against compulsory purchase and suggested 21 year squatting leases in a memorial to Lord Stanley.⁴⁰ The result of negotiations, discussions and agitation was the passing of the Australian Lands Act of 1846, and then the Order in Council of 9 h March, 1847; providing established squatters with leases for eight to fourteen years at £10 per annum, with limits and proportionate payments affixed to carrying capacity.⁴¹

These conditions gave the squatters *de jure* recognition of the Crown Land they held *de facto*, and ensured that the squatters '...could no longer be turned out of their huts, or eaten out of their runs by intruders.'⁴² No longer were the squatters '...oppressed pioneers...', they now constituted a class of privileged occupants whose interests were bound up with those of the Executive...'.⁴³

The increasing strength of the squattocracy and merchants within the colonial parliament and economy allowed the squatters to not only effectively fight Governor Gipps over the squatting regulations but to also have an input into the formulation of bills that would effect them, notably the Master and Servants Act.

C: LABOUR REGULATION: THE SECURITY OF CONTRACTS

The Master and Servants Act was introduced into the colony in 1828, in an attempt to maintain control and discipline over the burgeoning free labouring population. The same degree of control and discipline that employers had been able to exert over the convict population.⁴⁴ This act was fully revised and re-written in 1840 as the previous act was regarded as insufficient in its scope to be effective in the colony.⁴⁵ One major innovation within the 1840 legislation was the addition of the specific labouring term of shepherd as falling within the gamut of the act. Another change was the extension of the act to cover those regions outside of the Bounds of Settlement taking in the newly settled and recognised pastoral districts, thereby allowing the squatters in these areas legal control over their non-convict employees.

39 Roberts, *Squatting Age*, *op.cit.*, p. 308.

40 K. Buckley, 'Gipps and the Grazers of New South Wales, 1841-1846', Part II. *op.cit.*, p. 99.

41 *loc.cit.*

42 S. H. Roberts, *The History of Australian Land Settlement*, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

43 *ibid.*, p. 186.

44 9 Geo. IV. 17th July, 1828, "An Act for the better Regulation of Servants Laborers and Work People".

45 4 Vic. XXIII, 20th October, 1840, "An Act to ensure the fulfilment of engagements, and to provide for the adjustment of dispute between Masters and Servants in New South Wales and its Dependencies".

This act was lenient in comparison to its predecessors, reducing the term of imprisonment of employees convicted of absconding or misconduct to a maximum of three months; a reaction to the prevailing labour shortage.⁴⁶

By 1845 the existing law was considered a "dead letter", as Magistrates were found to not have the power under the act to convict summarily; a Select Committee was therefore formed to '...enquire into, and report upon...' the act.⁴⁷ The amended act which arose from the deliberations of a Select Committee corrected the problem of jurisdiction;⁴⁸ incorporated the 1840 provisions on absconding;⁴⁹ strengthened the provisions regarding loss or destruction of property;⁵⁰ introduced the concept of discharge certificates;⁵¹ and removed the two magistrate requirement in cases of fraudulent breach.⁵² The resulting act further reduced the power of the labourer in relation to the employer in the labour market by constraining their movements through the discharge system; their behaviour through increased fines; and by ignoring the truck system which proliferated throughout the interior of the colony. A subject which the Select Committee reported was not '...a fit subject for legislation', an attitude that allowed employees to be drawn into debt through purchases of goods at inflated prices, against unearned income from station stores.⁵³

Although section 19 of the 1845 act provided for the imposition of fines on '...any person or persons who shall employ retain harbour or conceal...' any servant engaged in the United Kingdom, British colonies, the British East India possessions or foreign countries, the act did not specifically cover contracts signed outside of the

⁴⁶ M. Quinlan, *Keeping Colonial Workers in their Place: State Regulation of Labour in Australia, 1828-1860*, Paper Presented to the Foundations of Arbitration Conference, University Of Melbourne, 1987, p. 18. I would like to thank Professor Quinlan for forwarding me a copy of this paper.

⁴⁷ Report of the Select Committee on the Master and Servants Act, 5th September, 1845, *NSWLC V&P*, 1845, p. 1. Doubts on the jurisdiction of magistrates were raised in 1844 with a court case convincing many magistrates to decline '...to adjudicate in Master and Servants cases. Adrian Merritt, *The Development and Application of Master and Servants Legislation in New South Wales, 1845-1930*, Ph. D Thesis, Australian National University, 1981, p. 76.

⁴⁸ 4 Vic. No. 27, sec's 16 and 17. Section 28 however removed the right of magistrates to adjudicate in cases involving their own servants.

⁴⁹ 4 Vic. No. 23, sec 3 provided for a penalty of up to three months imprisonment with hard labour for failure to appear, which was termed fraudulent breach of contract. Absconding after commencing work, which was covered by sec. 2, attracted a lesser punishment of loss of wages a fine and imprisonment if the fine was not paid.

⁵⁰ 4 Vic. No. 27 sec. 4 provides for imprisonment for three months with the option of hard labour for '...any servant [who] wilfully or negligently spoil or destroy...or negligently lose any cattle, sheep horses or other property belonging to or in charge of his employer...'

⁵¹ 9 Vic. No. 27 sec's. 13 and 14, required that employees had to obtain a certificate of discharge, which they had to produce before they could be legally re-hired, and penalties for the forgery of discharges. Section 15 provided for a fine of £20 for anybody harbouring servants already engaged.

⁵² 4 Vic. No. 27, sec. 16.

⁵³ Report of the Select Committee on the Master and Servants Act, 5th September, 1845, *NSWLC V&P*, 1845, p. 2. The impact of the lack of any legislation approaching the British Truck Act on labourers, and in particular Chinese labourers is discussed in Chapter 10.

colony.⁵⁴ The 1845 Select Committee had broached this subject⁵⁵ yet had not legislated to ensure that contracts signed outside of the colony were covered by the act. An oversight in the eyes of those desirous of importing Chinese labourers under contract which was to be corrected by amendments to the act in 1847.

The amended act⁵⁶ concentrated on the operation of the law with respect to contracts signed outside of the colony, yet in a way that was contrary to the desires of its initiator, T. A. Murray.⁵⁷ The act extended the breadth of summary jurisdiction to incorporate the whole of the 1845 Act and the 1847 amendments, including expanded provisions against the harbouring or re-hiring of indentured servants.⁵⁸ The third section that was eventually enacted was, in its effect, diametrically opposed to the intent of Murray when initiating the Bill which was to prevent the importation of any Asiatic or South Sea Island labourers.⁵⁹ A vote taken to expunge the '...words British East India Possessions, and in foreign countries...' from the clause was won by ten votes to eight. This action effectively excluding agreements made with Chinese, Indian or other non-European labourers from the operation of the act.⁶⁰ When the Bill was re-introduced into the house Wentworth '...moved that the third clause be re-committed..... and that a proviso should be added, which should admit natives of

54 4 Vic. No. 27, sec. 19. This problem was brought to the attention of squatters in the Northern Districts in a case advertised in the *Moreton Bay Courier* where labourers imported from Van Diemen's Land had absconded. When brought before the magistrates, the court found that the employer had no formal legal redress as the men's contracts having been signed elsewhere, were invalid in New South Wales. *MEC*, 12th September, 1846. 4 Vic. No. 27 sec. 20 did however remove the need for contracts signed outside of the colony to be attested to by witnesses of the signing, and the '...need to prove the handwriting of any such subscribing or attesting witness...'.
 55 J. Martin, a Sydney solicitor, in answering the question 'Are you aware that agreements entered into with servants in other countries or New South Wales, are not binding here?', answered, 'Yes, except in the case of the Australian Agricultural Company's Act'. Evidence of J. Martin, Select Committee on Master and Servant Act, 25th August, 1845, *NSWLC V&P*, 1845, p. 29. It is possible that T. A. Murray, as the Chairman of the Committee, stifled any further consideration of contracts signed overseas, especially in light of his action in 1847 to effectively remove any contracts signed with Asiatic or South Sea Island labourers from the operation of the act.

56 'An Act to Amend an Act intituled "An act to amend and consolidate the Laws between Masters and Servants in NSW", 11 Vic. No. 9, 16 August, 1847.
 57 Murray (1810-1873), arrived in the colony in 1827 and was presented with a land grant and was to agitate for the importation of Indian labourers in 1841. Married the daughter of Colonel Gibbes, entered the Council in 1843 as the member for the Counties of Murray, King and Georgiana and argued against the 20s. upset price. A member of the Australian Club, Murray gave up squatting in 1846. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 274-277.
 58 11 Vic. No. 9, sec. 7. Provided for summary adjudication in harbouring cases which involve '...servants hired by indenture or other written agreement...' outside of the colony.

59 The impetus for Murray's action in introducing the Bill can be found in John Foster's attempted amendment to the brief of the Immigration Committee. The amendment was for the inclusion of an instruction for the Committee to enquire into whether it would be desirable to import Asiatic or South Sea Island labour and whether or not '...a tax should be imposed on all employers to raise funds for that purpose....'. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 18 noes to 7 ayes. Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, No. 10, Votes, No. 7, Tuesday, 18th May, 1847, *NSWLC V&P*, 1847, Vol. II, p. 270. Foster (1818-1900) was a squatter within the Port Phillip district, which he represented in the Legislative Council 1846-1850. After a brief return to Ireland he re-emerged in the colony of Victoria as Colonial Secretary. *ADB*, Vol. 4, pp. 205-6.
 60 Weekly Report of Divisions, 15th June, 1847, No. 1, *NSWLC V&P*, 1847, Vol. II, p. 599. The same

India and China to come within the provisions of the Act, provided it was proved that they understood the nature of their agreements'.⁶¹ Some degree of backroom haggling must have taken place between this debate and the previous, as the response of E. D. Thompson to the motion of Wentworth, was to move an amendment on the proviso so that no "savages" could be introduced under the Bill.⁶²

In a Parliamentary debate in 1851, this sudden re-inclusion of Indian and Chinese natives in the Bill brought the response that '...on the third reading of the Bill, by some *hocus pocus* which he...did not understand, the House had undone what they had done; and now contracts with Chinese were equally as binding as those with British subjects.'⁶³ It is interesting that Murray was not present in the house on the third reading of the Bill when this "hocus-pocus" was perpetrated, and the re-committal of the Bill after it had been read for the third time demanded that an amendment of the day be passed so that the Bill could be changed. The third clause brought under the act all contracts signed outside of the colony,⁶⁴ therefore the '...providential readings and tact of Mr Wentworth...'⁶⁵ and possibly the absence of Murray provided the squatters with the legal power to constrain and retain any

61 NSW Legislative Council Report, (14th July, 1847), *SMH*, 14th July, 1847. The explanation for Thompson's wish to exclude "savages" from the Act is undoubtedly related to the troubles encountered after Benjamin Boyd introduced South Sea Islanders to the colony with disastrous consequences. Later in 1847, Boyd complained that the failure of the South Sea Islanders as pastoral employees was due to the fifteenth clause within the Master and Servants Act that exempted agreements made with '...any native of any savage or uncivilized tribe inhabiting any Island or Country in the South Pacific or elsewhere...' (11 Vic. No. 9, 1847) from the operation of the Act. Public opinion at the time was aligned with the South Sea Islanders, and Boyd's statement that he would appeal to the British Parliament for compensation brought only derisive comments that 'He ought to be satisfied with having afforded a fruitful source of merriment to the colonists, and not render himself a laughing-stock for the British community also.' *MM*, 10th November, 1847.

62 This proviso became section 15, which stated '...that nothing in this or the said recited Act contained shall be deemed or construed to apply to any native of any savages or uncivilized tribe...'. NSW Legislative Council Report, (13th July, 1847), *SMH*, Wednesday, 14th July, 1847. An interesting aspect of the debate over the inclusion of Chinese and savages is that unlike the majority of parliamentary debates, the debate itself was not reported in the papers, nor were the names of the ayes and noes included in the reporting on the Bill. In fact more newspaper space was devoted to reporting the debates relating to the Sydney Cemeteries Bill that was being read at the same time.

63 Speech of the Attorney-General Mr John Hubert Plunkett, NSW Legislative Council Report, (21st November, 1851), *Empire*, November 24, 1851.

64 The third clause reads: And whereas it was recited by the said Act among other things that "servants in the United Kingdom in British Colonies in the "British East India Possessions and in Foreign Countries occasionally "contract by indenture or other written agreement with persons "about to proceed to or actually resident in New South Wales" And whereas doubts have arisen whether such contracts by indenture or other written agreement are subject to the summary jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace and it is expedient to remove the said doubts Be it therefore declared and enacted That all such contracts by indenture or other written agreement shall be of the like force and effect within the said colony of New South Wales as if they had actually been made and executed by the respective parties thereto within the same and shall subject every such party for any breach thereof upon summary conviction by or before any two or more Justices to the like fines penalties and punishments as in and by the said recited Act are provided for any wilful violation of the provisions of any indenture or other written agreement actually made or executed within the said Colony or for any misdemeanour miscarriage misconduct or ill-behaviour of any master or servant within the same Provided that no such contract shall be binding on any person to serve for a longer period than five years.

65 G. W. Rusden to C. Nicholson, 17th February, 1848, (ML A4304). Extracts are reproduced in Appendix 4.

labourers that they may import from China. The need for legal security over contracts signed outside the colony can herefore, also partially explain the apparent slowness with which the squatters approached the Chinese labour market. This explanation is given more credence when it is realised that the first moves to import Chinese labourers did not occur until after the 1847 amendments had been passed.

D: A DEARTH OF LABOUR?

Another explanation for the delay is that the labour market until the latter part of the 1840's was not as under supplied as employers argued. The system of Assisted Emigration had collapsed during the depression, due to a increase in the upset price from 5s. to £1 per acre in 1842;⁶⁶ abuse by shipowners of the Bounty System in shipping speculative loads of immigrants; and then the depression which placed the government in a position of being unable to pay £979,562 in outstanding bounty orders. Before total collapse the colony received a mass influx of immigrants; 39,979 between 1839-42, many of whom because of the depressed conditions were forced to undertake shepherding. The two to three years after the depression were, for the squatters of the Northern Districts, an unusual period of labour satiety.⁶⁷ The boiling-down of flocks partially explains this. the remaining influence is found within the number of immigrants, assisted and free, that arrived during a period of economic depression and unemployment. The table below illustrates the downward movement of wages as the colony attempted to absorb the immigrants during the depression.

TABLE 5a
Comparison of Immigration and Wage Rates, 1841-1848

	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
Total Immigrants	22,483	8,987	1,142	4,687	1,096	402	816	9,104
Shepherd's wages p. a.	£30	£25	£14	£14	£17	£20	£23	£21

SOURCE: Rates of Wages, 1844-1853, Statistical Returns, *NSWLC V&P*, 1854, Vol. II, ; Sketch of a Shepherd's Duties in New South Wales, Appendix D, Report of the Select Committee on Immigration, *NSWLC V&P*, 1841, p. 5; Evidence of M. H. Marsh, 20th July, 1842, Report of the Select Committee on Immigration, *NSWLC V&P*, 1842, p. 41; T. A. Coghlan, *Labour and Industry*, Vol. I, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1969, pp. 360, 368 & 439.

⁶⁶ Australian Land Act, 5 and 6 Vic. No. 36. The increased price dramatically reduced the level of land sales and therefore the amount of revenue within the Land Fund; the revenue derived '...has not been more than sufficient to defray the expenses connected with their survey and management.' Land sale proceeds for the period 1840- 844 were: 1840-£316, 626; 1841-£90,387; 1842-£14,574; 1843-£11,297; 1844- £7,402. Report from the Select Committee on Immigration, *NSWLC V&P*, 1845, p. 6.

⁶⁷ In 1845 the Clarence River and Moreton Bay districts both reported that 'Shepherds, stockmen, and hut-keepers are in request'. New England and the Darling Downs had 'No apparent want of labour at present'. Appendix to the Report of the Immigration Agent, Select Committee on Immigration, *NSWLC V&P*, 1845, p. 661.

While labour remained comparatively plentiful and wages correspondingly low, the squatters had little reason to undertake strenuous efforts to acquire Chinese labour. By 1845 however, Sydney had recovered from the depression, wages were rising throughout the colony, and in the Northern Districts labourers became scarce, insolent, and refused to sign contracts. The earlier problems of a labour force which was adverse to undertaking shepherding; moving away from the urban centres into the interior; and '...instances of men...refusing to bind themselves under agreement...[and]...the slovenly manner in which the flocks are tended by these well-paid individuals' were again manifested.⁶⁸ To press their claims for labour the Northern squatters formed a series of associations which petitioned the colonial and British governments for labour, specifically Indian coolies.

In 1846 the "Moreton Bay Labour Association and Fund" was formed, raising subscriptions of £256 7 0 to be used '...for the purpose of importing into the Moreton Bay and Darling Downs Districts 150 Labourers (more or less), to be landed at Brisbane.'⁶⁹ Although this drive for subscriptions related to European labourers it is interesting to note that on the opposite page to the advertisement, the editorial column reprinted the major part of Phillip Friell's pamphlet entitled, *The Advantages of Indian Labour in the Australasian Colonies*, the author having employed coolies for the previous five years.⁷⁰ This led to the formation of the "Indian Labour Association", which held a preliminary meeting on the 21st October 1847, whose object was to '...avert the ruin with which we are threatened...'.⁷¹ This was followed by the reprinting in the *Moreton Bay Courier* of a circular subscribed by John Buckland, who provided the reader with the costs and contractual conditions of importing and employing Indian labourers.⁷² A further public meeting on the subject of Indian

68 *MBC*, 15th August, 1846.

69 *MBC*, Saturday, 19th December 1846.

70 Friell, (d. Jan. 1854), was the only son of Captain Friell who commanded a company under the Duke of Wellington. Friell was appointed Judicial Surveyor of the Ceded Districts, later becoming the British envoy for the king of Oude. Upon the King's death, Friell left India and arrived in the colony in 1844, establishing "Tent Hill" in the Moreton Bay district. ("The Late Phillip Friell, Esq.", *MBC*, 4th February, 1845.) A letter Friell wrote to the editor in June 1847 stated that in regard to the Indian labourers he had earlier imported, '...fifteen out of twenty have volunteered to renew their engagements on the same terms...'. *MBC*, 19th June 1847. Within a Police Office report the coolies employed by Friell are described as orphans- *MBC*, 19th December, 1846. Friell and the Sandemann brothers were the major importers, and employers of Indian labourers in the Northern Districts, importing as late as 1848, fifteen coolies and three women. *MBC*, Shipping Intelligence, 26th August, 1848. The ability of these squatters to flaunt the laws of the Indian Government in prohibiting the immigration of its citizens is related to Friell's connections in India, and the importers stating that the labourers were to be employed in a domestic situation.

71 "Indian Labour", *MBC*, 30th October, 1847. The initial subscribers to the fund and the numbers of Coolies subscribed for were: Francis Forbes, ten; George Mocatta, seven; J. C. Pearce, five; F. & S. H. Burgoyne, four; John Stevens, two; Walter Gray, two; William Murray, two; Donald Coutts, two; Gordon Sandemann, fifteen; John Macconnel, two; Edward Brown, five.

72 The circular stated that the coolies could be '...engaged for a period of five years at five rupees per month, or six pounds per year, with the addition of one suit of warm clothing annually, and a ration of less value than issued to Europeans...' and that the '...shipping of horses for sale in India will

Labour was held on 17th January, 1848, where A. S. Lyon, the Secretary of the "Indian Labour Association"⁷³ presented a letter written by Buckland specifically for the attention of the association.⁷⁴

Prior to the squatters accepting the advice of Friell and Buckland on the matter of Indian labour, a letter was reprinted in the same newspaper suggesting the importation of Chinese labourers.⁷⁵ This letter, which is discussed in more detail within the following chapter was part of what may be termed a series of reconnaissance missions which were undertaken to assess the practicability of importing labourers from China.

E: RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first reconnaissance mission was undertaken by Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki,⁷⁶ possibly on behalf of the AACo. as his letter was addressed to Phillip Parker King, the company's commissioner.⁷⁷ In 1839 King, on behalf of the AACo, had looked to China for labourers but the Opium War had terminated his plans. Strzelecki's recommendations may therefore have been commissioned by King in an attempt to gauge the state of the market with the cessation of the war, and the signing of the Treaty of Nanking. Strzelecki wrote from Hong Kong that:

*...labour of every description is cheap, good & better & quicker & of a more willing attitude a better & cheerful nature than that which a European population of the same class ever would possess- The wages of the best servant are 4 dollars per month- & of best Carpenters which beat any in Sydney 15 Dollars per month.*⁷⁸

be the readiest way of meeting the expense of importing Coolies-...". "Indian Immigration Circular", *MBC*, 11th December, 1847.

73 The Committee of the association comprised, Fred W. Bigge, W. C. Wentworth, Colin J. Mackenzie, Francis Bigge, J. P. Robins, — Brewster, John Balfour, David Archer, A. R. Lawson, A. Farquharson, C. R. Haly, G. Moffatt, J. M. Andrew, Henry Hughes, George Gammie, Francis Forbes, David Forbes, J. C. Crawford, George Leslie, John Kinchela, St. George Gore, C. W. Pitts, Captain Moffatt, W. S. McLeay, R. Campbell Tertius, Thomas Walker, P. Friell, John Mackay, John Taylor: Mr. A. S. Lyon was secretary, and Mr. Robert Little was treasurer.

74 This letter detailed the necessary steps that the association would have to take in order to secure the labourers; the improbability of the Government defraying the expense of importing the coolies; Buckland's belief that if properly approached the Indian Government would remove the restriction on the movement of Indians; the annual cost to the employer ("little more than £9"); and the calculation that over five years the total cost to the employer inclusive of passage from India, cost of return passage, wages and clothing was only £46 in comparison to an annual wage of £30 for European shepherds. "Domestic Intelligence", *MBC*, January 22nd, 1848.

75 "Chinese Immigration", *MBC*, 10th April, 1847.

76 Strzelecki, (1797-1873), explorer, geologist and scientific farmer, left the colony for Singapore thence London in April, 1843. *ADB*, Vol. 2, pp. 494-95.

77 King (1791-1856), naval officer, hydrographer, shareholder of the AACo, founding member of the Australian Club, MLC and signatory to Davidson's appeal for Chinese labourers, was the son of Governor Phillip Gidley King, and a friend of W. S. Davidson. *ADB*, Vol 2, pp. 61-64.

78 Sir P. E. de Strzelecki to P. P. King, 26th July, 1843, *Phillip Parker King Letters*, H. O. Lethbridge Collection, pp. 147-155. (MLA 3599-CY1933)

The next reconnaissance mission was undertaken by Adam Bogue,⁷⁹ who published the results of his inquiries into the feasibility of importing labourers from China, in *Sydney Morning Herald* on 23rd March, 1847. Under the banner of "Original Correspondence", Bogue presented letters transmitted between himself and F. D. Syme, describing himself as a friend to many "large sheep proprietors". To Syme Bogue wrote that given the '...great rise which has taken place in the price of labour...' he was confident that the '...Australian colonies would take off ten thousand of these men every year...'.⁸⁰ In his reply Syme emphasised the importance of not ill-using or abusing the Chinese, and outlined the contractual conditions under which the Chinese would emigrate to Australia:

...a man engages to serve me, or the contractor, as the case may be, in Sydney, for the space of five years, at the monthly wages of two to three dollars. I engage to find him a free passage to, and a free passage back, on the expiration of his term, should he wish to return. He is allowed his rations and two suit of clothes.

The expenses here are two dollars, per man, paid to the collector; advance before leaving, eight to ten dollars, to be repaid on arrival in Sydney, in monthly instalments; and of course rations, water, and between decks fitted in the vessel, and bunks in the between decks large enough to stow eight to ten men.⁸¹

It is intriguing that no public reply was forthcoming to Bogue's letters, either from the editor of the *Herald*, any of its readers or in other newspapers. The correspondence between Bogue and Syme did however, produce a response from the British Consul in Amoy after the letters were printed in the *Hong Kong Register*.⁸² Bogue contributed the correspondence between T. H. Layton, the British Consul and F. D. Syme to the *Sydney Morning Herald* to ensure that the question regarding the '...legality or illegality of deporting coolies of their own free will from China to any British colony be set at rest'.⁸³

The exchange between Syme and Layton was acrimonious to state the least. Syme rebuked Layton over his demand that the former reveal '...whether it is your intention to ship any coolies for any of the Australian or any other colonies, British or

79 Adam Bogue was at one time an overseer on one of Benjamin Boyd's properties, stood for election for the seat of Port Phillip in 1848, an associate of Boyd's and also a shipping associate of Robert Towns. Bogue also published an open letter which he wrote to Earl Grey on the subject of steam services between the colony, India and China. [*Steam to Australia. A Letter addressed to the Right Honourable Earl Grey*, Sydney, W. & F. Ford, 1847]. Marion Diamond, *The Seahorse and the Adventurer*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1988, p. 147.

80 A. Bogue to F. D. Syme, 6th December, 1846; *SMH*, March 23, 1847. These letters were also reproduced in the *Maitland Mercury*, 27th March, 1847.

81 F. D. Syme to A. Bogue, 27th December, 1846; *SMH*, March 23, 1847.

82 This fact is mentioned in the *SMH*, 25th April, 1848 where Bogue had the letters between Syme and Layton reproduced.

83 "Original Correspondence" by A. Bogue, *SMH*, 25th April, 1848.

foreign, during the present year; and whether you at present hold any commissions or orders from any mercantile firms, either British or foreign, for that purpose;...'84 on the basis that it was sensitive business information. Syme also attacked Layton over his questioning of the legality of shipping Chinese on the basis that he had been '...applied to by a late member of Government for the purpose of ascertaining on what terms he [Syme] would contract to forward coolies to the British West India Islands for account of Government', and that surely there would not be one law for merchants and another for government.⁸⁵ Another point of contention was the case of the *Duke of Argyle*, which transported 400 Chinese to Havana, a "foreign and slave colony", '...with your [Layton's] cognizance, and carried with her your port clearance, stating her cargo and destination.'⁸⁶ In response, Layton stated that he intended to '...most strictly watch over and scrutinize your conduct, and that of others who may, like yourselves, be engaged in any transactions relating to the shipment of coolies to any part of the world'.⁸⁷ Layton retired from his earlier position of requesting information on the shipment of Chinese but warned Syme that '...the ten thousand men, or as many as Mr. Bogue may require, (stowed eight or ten in a bunk) cannot be treated as ten thousand bales of buckram.'⁸⁸

Syme's response to Layton's second communication was to argue that his letter '...left unnoticed the two most important points in our letter...'. Firstly, Layton was accused of not informing '...us by what law, or by what enactment, such exportation is rendered illegal, neither do you adduce any argument to show us that it is even questionable.'⁸⁹ The second point was Layton's own knowledge, and apparent approval, of the cargo and destination of the *Duke of Argyle*, yet inferred that '...the legality of any shipment we might make to Australia was liable to much question'.⁹⁰ To Syme the extent of the demand for labour in the Australian colonies made labour '...as much an article of commerce as opium, shirtings, or buckram'; and he could not '...overlook the inconsistency of a British authority sanctioning its transmission to a

84 "Original Correspondence", Layton to Syme, 23rd June 1847, *SMH*, April 25th, 1848.

85 "Original Correspondence", Syme to Layton, 29th June 1847; *SMH*, April 25th 1848. Layton demanded from Syme the name of the "late member of Government" referred to as well as the '...number of coolies required by Her Majesty's Government, the wages proposed to be given them...'. "Original Correspondence", Layton to Syme, 13th July 1847; *SMH*, April 25th, 1848.

86 "Original Correspondence", Syme to Layton, 29th June, 1847; *SMH*, April 25th, 1848

87 Layton cited Article XII of the Supplementary Treaty, which states "That the Consuls shall strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all person being British subjects, trading under their superintendence. "Original Correspondence", Layton to Syme, 13th July 1847; *SMH*, April 25th, 1848.

88 "Original Correspondence", Layton to Syme, 13th July 1847; *SMH*, April 25th, 1848.

89 "Original Correspondence", Syme to Layton, 19th July, 1847; *SMH*, 25th April, 1848.

90 "Original Correspondence", Syme to Layton, 19th July, 1847; *SMH*, 25th April, 1848.

Spanish and a slave colony by a British vessel, while he questions the legality of the same to a British and a free settlement.⁹¹

The publication of this exchange between Syme and Layton produced no public response, although it can be assumed that those individuals interested in the question of Chinese importation would have found the exchange very enlightening. That Layton could not, and did not, reply to Syme's accusations must have produced hope in the minds of "Messrs. Tertius Campbell, Wentworth, Dr. Nicholson, and other influential men,..."⁹² that Chinese labourers could be imported without official impediments.

One question that is difficult to provide a definitive answer for, is why neither Adam Bogue nor Syme were involved in the trade to New South Wales. A number of hypotheses can however, be advocated. Firstly, Bogue by publishing the letters may have scared off potential importers, who may not have welcomed such open publicity of their intentions. A second explanation could be that Bogue, as an associate of Benjamin Boyd, was not regarded as a suitable middle-man. The level of antipathy within the colony towards Boyd at the time may have impacted upon Bogue and his intended foray into the labour trade. Thirdly, this explanation can be expanded by querying as to whether or not Bogue had the finances, or access to the finance necessary for undertaking such a venture. It is the lack of connections either to the non-Boyd aligned squatters or to financial channels that provides the most probable explanation for Bogue's non-involvement. Such connections being the hub or nexus, of the colonial trade in Chinese labourers.

Another person who was intimately interested in the fortunes of the squatting class and recognised the advantages of open access to Chinese labour for this class, was G. W. Rusden. In letters to Nicholson from China, Rusden writes in great detail of the advantages and disadvantages of Chinese from the various treaty ports; the expected terms of contract; legalities such as the Master and Servants Act; and the financial benefits to the colony in comparison to emigration from England.⁹³ In some respects the detail on the venture offered by Rusden is close to that published by Bogue. Both praised labourers from Fukien above those from Canton due to the former's '...great simplicity of character, their superior tractableness, and their great industry in agricultural and other pursuits'. The Cantonese were dismissed from

91 "Original Correspondence", Syme to Layton, 19th July, 1847; *SMH*, 25th April, 1848.

92 "Chinese Immigration", *MBC*, 10th April, 1847.

93 Letters from George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848, 28th February, 1848, pp. 403-408. (ML A4304) As Rusden's letters are so detailed and contain many points of relevance, it is difficult to section off any part and continue to do justice to their eloquence and broad descriptions, so they have been reproduced in Appendix 4.

consideration by demanding high wages, with their '...riotous behaviour...' making them the '...the worst of their class in the Empire...'⁹⁴

In contrast to Bogue who contacted Syme, Rusden made contact with '...W. Mitchell, of the house of Messrs. Mitchell & Co. of Amoy' who assured Rusden that 'the Cooly population....will emigrate to you in thousands.'⁹⁵ In comparison to Davidson's expectations, Rusden wrote that in regard to the suitability of Chinese labourers as shepherds and watchmen, '...the Chinese would be well pleased with an occupation so easy:...'.'⁹⁶ Of all the recommendations offered on Chinese labour for the colony, it was only Rusden that specifically mentioned the contracts which the Chinese would sign; reminding Nicholson of the '...providential readings and tact of Mr Wentworth...' in having the 1847 amendment favourably relating to foreign contracts passed.⁹⁷

For ease of comparison the table below presents the conditions under which the Chinese would emigrate to the colony as outlined by Davidson, Bogue, and Rusden.

TABLE 5b
Comparison of Chinese Emigration Schemes

PROMOTER	ADVANCE	TERM OF CONTRACT	WAGES	RATIONS
DAVIDSON	\$10	1 year	First year nil, after that £12-15 p. a.	Yes
BOGUE	\$8-10 (£1.13s.4d-£2.1s.8d.)	5 years- free return passage	\$2-3 per month (8s.4d-12s.8d.)	Yes Plus 2 suits of clothes
RUSDEN	\$5-10 (£1 10d.- £2 1s.8d)	5 years	\$3-5 per month (12s.8d.-£1 10d.)	Yes

SOURCE: "Chinese Mechanics and Labourers", G. F. Davidson, *Sydney Herald*, 17th June, 1837: "Immigration from China", Adam Bogue, *SMH*, 23rd March, 1847: George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304). Amounts are shown in Spanish dollars and have been converted at the rate given by Rusden of \$1=4s. 2d.

⁹⁴ A. Bogue to F. D. Syme, 6th December, 1846; *SMH* March 23, 1847. G. W. Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848 (ML A4304)

⁹⁵ W. H. Mitchell had been a minor consular official then a merchant in Amoy. Any house of Mitchell & Co. did not last long however, as it is not recorded in the 1846 "List of Commercial Houses (*CR* Vol. XV, p. 3.) Neither is Mitchell listed amongst the residents of Amoy in 1846, 1847, or 1848 (*CR*, Vol. XV, p. 413; Vol. XVI p. 3; and Vol. XVII, p. 3.) He was resident in Amoy in 1849, and in Hong Kong with his family in 1850-51 (*CR*, Vol. XVIII, p. 3; Vol. IX, p. 3). By 1850, he was a magistrate in Hong Kong, having written to Sir John Bowring in regard to the shipping of labourers (E. C. Arensmeyer, 'British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850-1874', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1979, p. 166). Mitchell was later promoted to Assistant Police Magistrate, Sheriff, Provost Marshal, Coroner, and Marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court, and was accused of extorting money, an accusation that was not acted upon. J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1964, (references) p. 21.

⁹⁶ George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304)

⁹⁷ Rusden also states that the British Consul or Vice-consul could witness the contracts '...by means of his seal and signature.' George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304). An action that brought Layton, the Consul, and Gingell the interpreter into conflict with the British Government. Refer to Chapter 4.

A couple of major differences between the expectations of Bogue and Rusden are of interest, namely the discrepancy in the amount of advance to be paid, and the payment of a return passage in Bogue's schema. The latter condition had been one which the Indian Government inserted for the protection of its labourers travelling overseas,⁹⁸ yet was never applied in the Chinese labour trade. The discrepancies within the amount of advance and wages to be paid can be explained by the different agents approached on the subject, with the actual amounts paid in the colonial trade falling between the figures supplied by Bogue and Rusden.⁹⁹

The level of rations due to the Chinese are not stipulated in any of the recommendations, Rusden and the others possibly assuming that they would be equivalent to those provided to European labourers.¹⁰⁰ However, Davidson suggested that rice could and should be shipped as a way of defraying the expense of flour rations;¹⁰¹ a practice that was adopted within the colonial trade.

As with Davidson and Bogue the reproduction of the labour force was utmost in Rusden's mind, informing Nicholson that:

*...you must be dependent for a continuance of supply upon the nature of the reports which will be sent by the first emigrants to their countrymen in Amoy: and it is therefore clear that to ensure a continuance of supply, too much care cannot be taken by those who employ the first immigrants, in managing them so that they may conceive a favourable impression of their new country.*¹⁰²

Bogue appears to have offered his recommendations on the ease of acquiring labour from China from a personal perspective, possibly as part of his agitation for the establishment of steam services between the Colony, England, India and China.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Refer to H. Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974.

⁹⁹ After starting at \$8 the advance fell to \$6 and wages remained relatively constant at \$3 per month, yet were calculated at \$1=4s. Refer to Chapter 7 and specifically Table 7a.

¹⁰⁰ Rusden mentions that given the dietary intake in Amoy the labourers would be glad of flour, mutton and beef. George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304). The rations provided to European shepherds in the district of New England were: 'ten pounds meat; ten pounds flour; two pounds sugar one quarter pound of tea; and two ounces of negrohead tobacco a week', Evidence of M. H. Marsh, 20th July, 1842, Select Committee on Immigration, *NSWLC V&P*, 1842, p. 41. The rations furnished to the Chinese in the colony were gradually reduced from this level, and clothing disappeared altogether from the contract as the trade progressed. Refer to Table 7a in Chapter 7.

¹⁰¹ '...I would recommend the importation of fifteen hundred or two thousand bags [of rice] in the ship the men come in; it might be landed here at three halfpence per lb. and would go as far as flour in rationing the men. "Chinese Labourers and Mechanics", G. F. Davidson, "Chinese Mechanics and Labourers", G. F. Davidson, *Sydney Herald*, 17th June, 1837.

¹⁰² George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304). Davidson stated that 'On the subject of ill-treatment....a Chinaman will not put up with it, and will spread such reports about it as will tend to prevent future supplies reaching this part of the world.' *op.cit.*; Bogue's comment on the subject is noted above.

¹⁰³ Bogue attested that he considered '...that the steamers would be the means of introducing Chinese and Indian laborers, more especially the former, who from my knowledge of them in the Straits

Rusden's letter in being addressed to Nicholson, one of those named as '...inclined to try the experiment if supported...',¹⁰⁴ has the appearance of the results of a contracted reconnaissance mission. Nicholson and the other "influential gentlemen" however, had already contacted someone in China for the relevant information. Their letter, written before Rusden's, states that the Chinese labourers '...can be brought here at an expense per head of £8, to be indentured for a term of five years, at the annual wage of from £4 16s. to £7 4s., with two suits of clothes and rations.'¹⁰⁵ This quoted price of £8 landed in Sydney was significantly cheaper than Davidson's expected price of £12 each,¹⁰⁶ however, Davidson's price was much closer to the actual cost to employers.¹⁰⁷

Due to the differences between the various recommendations offered and the conditions under which the eventual trade operated, the "influential men" were able to draw on a range of prices, and the prevailing attitude that '...no possible obstruction exists to prevent while all circumstances combine to assist you in the procural of Chinese labour,...'.¹⁰⁸ The ability of the squatters to achieve economic and legal security, was provided by their increasing influence in the Legislative Council. The provision of these securities meant that in 1847 circumstances combined sufficiently to entice the "influential gentleman" to try the experiment of Chinese labour importation.

settlements and in Hong Kong, are very fond of living under our Institutions. The reason we have not had more of these people among us is, that the communication with China has hitherto been so seldom and irregular.' Evidence of A. Bogue, 26th April, 1848, Select Committee on Steam Communication with England, *ASWLC V&P*, 1848, p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ "Chinese Immigration, *MBC*, 10th April, 1847.

¹⁰⁵ "Chinese Immigration, *MBC*, 10th April, 1847.

¹⁰⁶ '...I feel convinced I can land the men in Sydney at £10 a head, say £11, and add £1 for commission for my Singapore agent....'. "Chinese Labourers and Mechanics", G. F. Davidson, *op.cit.*,

¹⁰⁷ The cost of landing the Chinese in Sydney was £12 to which was added the advance of £1 10s., employers paying the total of £13 10s. for each Chinese labourer. R. Towns to Captain Lodge, 11th March, 1852, *RTC*, (ML MSS 307/117).

¹⁰⁸ George William Rusden to Sir Charles Nicholson, 17th February, 1848. (ML A4304)