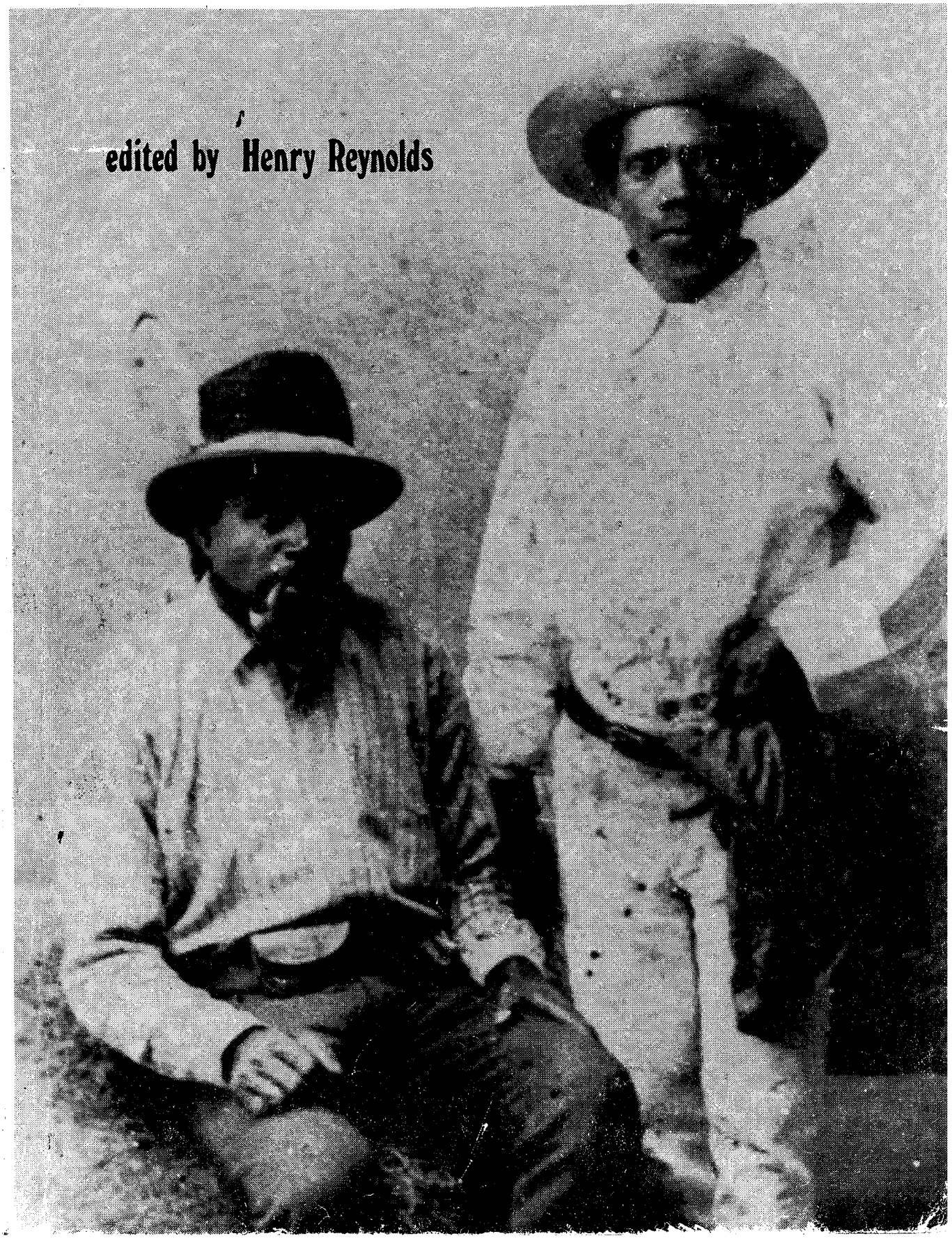
RACE RELATIONS IN NORTH QUEENSLAND

edited by Henry Reynolds



FROM MINORITY TO MAJORITY: AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHINESE INFLUX TO THE PALMER RIVER GOLD-FIELD, 1873-1876

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Reflecting upon the debate which dominated the Queensland Legislature during 1876 and 1877, John Macrossan commented that:

> There would never have been a Chinese question in Queensland had it not been for the discovery of the Palmer Gold Field.[1]

Nevertheless, it was not the discovery of gold per se that was the most important consideration in this case, but the timing of the discovery.[2] One significant consideration, often forgotten by historians, was the abolition of export duty on gold in early 1874, which coincided neatly with the opening of the Palmer.[3] An equally fortuitous factor was the departure from Brisbane of the first steamer operating under the recently signed Government mail contract with the Eastern and Australian Steamship Company, known as the E. & A. Line. The departure of this steamer in December 1873 encouraged the Company to extend the northbound trip to Cooktown and Hong Kong.[4] Impetus for Chinese emigration also came from the state of dynastic decline experienced in China, which involuntarily allowed relative freedom to travel overseas.[5] These considerations made Chinese emigration viable, and the lure of alluvial gold promised wealth to fulfill important family obligations.

The Chinese rush to the Palmer occurred in two phases: the first phase, before 1875, involved those Chinese already in Australian colonies[6] with only a few coming from outside the continent, whereas the participants in the second phase came direct from Kwangtung Province and South China ports. Sensational reporting of the number of Chinese who arrived at the Palmer from overseas has obscured the earlier, equally significant influx from within Australia. There were Chinese on the Palmer as early as November 1873; one Chinese gardener had commenced planting before Commissioner Howard St. George and the official gold-field administration had arrived.[7] The early appearance of Chinese on this new rush alerted St. George to the inevitability

of an influx of Chinese miners. In an apprehensive conclusion to one of his first official reports he voiced his fears:

> I have heard that some Chinese are on their way here and I fear if they intend to dig that there will be a disturbance between them and the European miners.[8]

Paradoxically, the Palmer Gold-field was assessed by Europeans as a field that would suit the industry of the Chinese miner because of the extensiveness of alluvial ground, and the small amount of capital needed to start mining. One over-zealous newspaper correspondent predicted conflict with European miners and declared with bravado:

> This will be the best field ever opened in Queensland for Chinese, but they must not attempt coming here at present; war is already declared;....[9]

However, those characteristics that were considered advantageous to Chinese mining were also the attributes that attracted the European miner without capital.

By late May 1874, Chinese miners and their families began to head more determinedly to the Palmer from the Etheridge and Charters Towers fields in particular.[10] That their early attempts at mining were successful was noted by one Palmer correspondent as evident 'by the neglect of their gardens'.[11] Their success, in contrast with the period of depression and destitution during the dry season of mid-1874, led to demands to ban them from the gold-field on the grounds that it was discovered by Europeans.[12] Ironically the solution to the problem of European destitution was also the impetus for an accelerated influx of Chinese - intelligence was received in June 1874 that gold had been struck at Sandy Creek. This rush initiated a pattern of European and Chinese behaviour which was to be familiar on the field until 1876: the European miners rushed to Sandy Creek leaving the ground which made up the first discoveries on the left Hand Branch. The Chinese took advantage of this abandonment and in 'large numbers' managed to reap one or two ounces 'in places the European miner disdained.'[13] In anticipation of a growing Chinese population, Wing On and Company of Townsville and the Etheridge set up a larger store,[14] and St. George requested another assistant Gold-Field Commissioner.[15] While Chinese

tin-miners from Stanthorpe clambered on a train for Ipswich,[16] Cooktown felt the effects of the incoming Chinese rush with the arrival of Chinese medical practitioners, hotel and storekeepers, and merchants.[17] By the end of August 1874 there were a thousand Chinese on the Palmer with a Chinese temple, presided over by Dr. King Chong, serving this population.[18]

Following the normal pattern, the rush to Sandy Creek ceased to be more remunerative than the original ground, and in consequence, European miners returned in late July and early August to find Chinese miners working the left Hand Branch and the beaches downstream from German Bar making 'good wages'.[19] The reaction to this 'take-over' of the first European settlement on the Palmer caused storekeepers and publicans to 'excite the miners to violent resistance to the entrance of Chinamen onto the deserted River diggings'; however, St. George was pleased to report that 'the miners have taken no notice of the illegal councils [sic] of these men, and the goldfield continues in its usual peaceable state....'[20] The almost legendary anti-Chinese incidents associated with the Victorian gold-fields were used as exemplary warning of possible future racial conflict. As the Cooktown Herald equivocally declared:

> ...[A]lthough we are pleased to see new arrivals, we trust that John will not raise the ire of our fellow country men on the Palmer, and thus give us a repetition of what took place at Lambing Flat a few years ago. If our information is correct we may expect regular batches of Celestials by every steamer as the Palmer has often been described as a Chinamen's diggings.[21]

Despite this asserted tradition of the anti-Chinese 'roll up' on earlier fields, the Palmer miner was not prepared to risk the legal consequences of assault.[22] The European miner saw the problem as a Government responsibility and sought discriminatory legislation, rather than physical violence as the solution, even though the Chinese population was only about one-thousand. In September 1874, the Cooktown Courier's correspondent made the following demand:

> It is a pity some enactment is not in force to prevent the Chinese on a goldfield until two or three years after its being opened, seeing that they never prospect themselves but come in hordes to take advantage of the gold discoveries of the more enterprising white man.[23]

However, frustration grew in the months following the failure of Sandy Creek as no new ground was opened up and provisions were scarce and dear. The Chinese, as a conspicuous minority, began to be used as scapegoats for the failure of the European miner.

Yet the accusations that arose against the Chinese out of the disillusionment of late 1874 were confused and inconsistent. While it was argued that the Europeans had not abandoned the old diggings,[24] there was no attempt by European miners to return to the left Hand Branch.[25] It was charged that the presence of the Chinese was detrimental to the development of the North:

> ...[The] encroachment by the Mongolians on grounds not already tested and abandoned would cause the legitimate digger to leave the gold field and impede further development of mineral wealth.[26]

Yet, even James Mulligan realized that the Chinese were the epitome of success and their presence was 'enough to prove the Palmer a payable field'.[27] Chinese self-sufficiency was resented because it permitted a longer time on the field,[28] and in an attempt to rationalize the predicament of the European miners, the Chinese were blamed for the scarcity of goods and high prices:

> ...[The Chinese] were the cause of flour rising from £6 to £20 per bag, and not obtainable at one time at that. In consequence, the miners had to go to Cooktown and pack the supplies the Chinese ought to have brought with them.[29]

It must have been evident to most of the European population that the Chinese were the chief suppliers of vegetables and stores. An even more interesting contradictory accusation was the charge that the Chinese were discriminating against the European by not sharing 'his last loaf with his improvident brother'.[30] At least one writer from

The Cooktown Herald recognized the paradox:

> Perhaps his [the Chinese] education on this point has not been less orthodox than that of many English, whose youthful minds have been cramped with bigotry and catechism and prejudice against men whose skin is different in colour from their own.[31]

Despite the charge of discrimination on the part of the Chinese community, racial difference was seen by others as an irreconcilable factor in European-Chinese relations. As one writer stated:

> ...[We] will never submit to this filthy race of people, whose habits are so adversed [sic] to our own....[32]

Even threats of violence began to sound hollow by the end of 1874. During the period from August to November, when conditions were poor, European miners were hardly in a position to carry out these threats although the Chinese were a minority. Instead the Government was accused of neglecting mining interests and demands were made for the protection of the mining class from Chinese competition.[33] When the majority of miners returned to the Palmer in December 1874, provisioned and well-armed, there were again threats of racial violence:

> These Chinese are arriving in large numbers, and are following up the European quicker than they ought....If they attempt further ingress, from what I can learn, there will be a roll up, and that too at the very worst season of the year, and half the police of the colony would find enough to do with an infuriated crowd of say 3000 to 4000 men, armed as the miners up here are, with rifles and other weapons of offence, led on by some enthusiast, as is generally the case....[34]

However, violence on this scale did not eventuate despite a 'sort of reaction' against Chinese after the failure of the rush to Mitchell fall.[35] Plentiful rain had made the field workable for all and relations remained tolerable, although the cry for discriminatory legislation was continued.[36] However, the situation was to change dramatically with the beginning of 1875.

A new phase in European-Chinese relations began on 30 January 1875 with the arrival of the Australian Steam Navigation Company's steamship Victoria with two-hundred Chinese passengers. The S.S. Victoria was closely followed by the E. & A. S.S. Singapore and the Peninsular and Oriental Line's S.S. Adria in March, bringing the total number of Chinese from overseas to almost one-thousand.[37] By early May 1875 5000 new immigrants had arrived by steamer from Chinese ports, significantly augmenting the population of Cooktown and the Palmer.[38] The European reaction to this situation was definitely mixed. One contributer to the Cooktown Herald pointed out the variation in opinion concerning the increased numbers of Chinese:

> On one hand the digger - backbone and mainstay of our district - stands aghast at the swarming crowds of chattering and gesticulating strangers, who came from God knows where, and are going to the Palmer - long regarded the peculiar birth-right of the European colonist. On the other hand, the storekeeper, painfully conscious of the tons of rice and sugar, the mountains of tea chests (duty paid) which block his stores, mutters an anathema against foreigners, and, like the Levite in the parable, disgustedly takes the other side.[39]

The arrival of the steamers coincided with a dull period in business and hence the commercial class regarded the arrival of the Chinese consumers as fortuitous.[40]

On the Palmer Gold-field, Warden Selheim sensed the growth of animosity in the European mining population. He explained the situation to the Colonial Secretary, also revealing his fear of the vulnerability of the gold-field administration with this ever increasing population:

> ...[T]he very strong feeling that exists here against the Chinese, and the intensity of which is increasing daily at the same rate as this class of population is flocking in. I am only too sensible of the fact, that any day some trifling event may fan the smouldering fire into a blaze, and in such a case the want of an experienced Officer in charge of Police would be felt very much.[41]

However, Police Commissioner Seymour was not perturbed and in a rather evasive reply dismissed Selheim's request:

> no doubt some difficulty may be expected to result from the sudden influx of the Chinese but up to the present the population on the diggings has been extremely orderly.[42]

The failure of the Native Mounted Police in dealing with the Aborigines on the mining frontier may have had some bearing on his reply.[43] It is probable that Seymour felt Selheim was over-reacting, as a correspondent to the Queenslander reported that 'quietitude and order' prevailed on the diggings, and no collision between Europeans and Chinese was expected.[44]

On the Palmer, the Chinese were 'gradually coming to the best part of the field'[45] at Oakey, Stony, Fine Gold, Limestone and Sandy Creeks. An attempt was made to forbid the Chinese from these areas; a notice was nailed on a tree at Sandy Creek as a warning against Chinese encroachment:

> Any Chinaman found higher up this creek will be instantly seized and hanged until he is dead.[46]

However, this notice was a hollow symbol of European resentment rather than a calculated stand to frighten the Chinese away. In Palmerville 'nearly every store, hotel, bakery, and butchers' shop is kept by Chinamen',[47] and the situation was identical in Maytown.[48] While some Europeans among the diggers considered the Chinese were necessary in providing the 'requisite aids of life and enjoyment',[49] the view of one Palmer digger was more stubbornly anti-Chinese:

> We don't want the Chinese; and we won't have them.[50]

Such attitudes reflected the miners' impatience with the Government. In this mood some attempts were made to whip the miners into violence against the Chinese, in memory of Lambing Flat. One anti-Chinese demagogue declared:

> We shall have to fight, and that's my opinion, and the opinion of scores of others who, like myself, had to do with the celestials long before Queensland was

> a colony....[W]e diggers have made up our minds that the Chinese shall not have our goldfields as long as we have fingers left to pull a trigger, or hands to lift an axe or a crow-bar. All the lovers of Chinese, ...will not persuade us to give up our ground - the ground we prospected - which we found after difficulties, labours, and sufferings of which few have any conception - and the ground which we mean to keep.[51]

This emotional appeal to the miners failed to motivate them to violent action. The numerical superiority of the Chinese now rendered any threat of violence most bluff. The real impact of these threats was felt outside the Palmer itself.

When large numbers of Chinese started to return home to China with gold, it brought a public outcry,[52] and a meeting was held at Cooktown in March 1815 to 'consider the desirability of preventing the influx of Chinese on the Northern goldfields' by legitimate means. It was agreed to urge the Government 'to avert collisions which are inevitable should several thousand Chinese land at Cooktown'.[53] Another anti-Chinese meeting was held this time in Brisbane - the views of Palmer River miners being inferred by a concerned southern public. It was declared on their behalf that:

> They [the miners of the Palmer] are, therefore, desirous that the authorities should first be prepared for any disturbance that may occur; and next, that the law, where it can be brought to bear on the Chinese, should be set in motion without delay.[54]

Another public meeting was organized in Cooktown during early April to discuss the best method to prevent a greater influx to the gold-fields. The main concern of this meeting was the dramatic increase in Chinese population, the disorder that would follow, and the fact that the Chinese miners were temporary settlers, who, it was claimed, did not prospect. A petition was signed requesting the Government to prohibit further shipments of Chinese.[55] Nevertheless, the population continued to grow, and by June 1875 a local estimate was that the Chinese population of Cooktown and the Palmer stood at 12,000, with 75-85 per cent from overseas.[56] In the same month the Chinese managed to break

rough into a portion of the European domain at Sandy Creek.[57] creased complaints came from the European miner,[58] but intermingled th this criticism was the desperate need for new discoveries so at the European miner could continue.[59]

A new rush to the Kennedy Fall of the Conglomerate Ranges id eventuate at the end of August 1875. Mystery surrounds the actual iscoverers of this ground, but it was claimed that they sold out to hinese miners for £60.[60] The importance of this field in European-hinese relations is that it disproved the European fallacy that the hinese did not venture into uncivilized sections of the field. Yet, n the light of the Chinese rush to the Conglomerate, the anti-Chinese rgument had to be defended:

> It is altogether wrong to say that the Chinese opened the ground in this part of the Palmer district, and that in consequence they were undeserving the slur cast upon them, i.e., that they never prospected ahead, but followed in the footsteps of Europeans, and took advantage of their discoveries....It was long after the Conglomerate was prospected and left by Europeans...that the Chinese pushed on to the *ultima thule* of the diggings, and established themselves there, and opened two or three gullies; but no credit attached to them...[61]

The writer negatively admitted that the Chinese did indeed prospect, but was obviously unwilling to destroy this standard anti-Chinese criticism. However, the success at the Conglomerate encouraged further prospecting by Chinese,[62] bringing great profit to Chinese miners.[63] Not only did the rush to the Conglomerate encourage further immigration, thereby strengthening the numerical superiority of the Chinese, but the attraction of European miners to the rush allowed remaining Chinese miners to take up the deserted ground at Oakey, Sandy and McLeod Creeks - the stronghold of European mining. Warden Selheim again became apprehensive about the stability of the field and attempted to separate Chinese and European mining areas.[64] Notwithstanding this demarcation, the Chinese population spread over the field as Europeans sold claims to Chinese in European areas.

European and Chinese miners were 'indiscriminately mixed up in all directions'.[65] One correspondent observed:

> The Chinese are everywhere,...and as by their system of work they take everything "on a face", instead of only working the most likely spots, as is the case with Europeans, their perserverance is naturally rewarded - in an essentially patchy diggings - with an occasional lucky find. There is an impression on the field that at least three-fourths of the gold got falls to the lot of the Chinamen.[66]

Despite the fact that gold was circulating more freely in Cooktown and Chinese gold buyers were receiving large amounts of gold,[67] this correspondent found it difficult to decide whether to ascribe perserverance or luck to the Chinese success. Luck, at least, would explain more graciously the failure of the European miner to succeed as well.

The success in mining and also the lucrative trade in tea, rice, vermicelli, joss paper and bêche-de-mer, led major steamship companies to regard Cooktown as the most important Queensland port after Brisbane.[68] The Hopkee Company established a regular monthly line of steamers between Hong Kong and Cooktown.[69] The first Hopkee steamer, the City of Exeter, arrived on the 14 March 1876 with 419 passengers.[70] Their arrival coincided with the discovery of gold on the Hodgkinson River, and with the resulting rush, the whole area designated as the Palmer Gold-field, was largely abandoned to the Chinese.[71] (As the Palmer was now predominantly populated by Chinese, one writer facetiously suggested that it be renamed 'New Canton' or 'New Hong Kong'.)[72] Consequently, Chinese immigration broke out afresh and steamers began to arrive weekly. Fortuitously, the E. & A. Line was able to put into service its new and powerful steamer, the S.S. Queensland, which had been ordered in anticipation of a greater number of passengers.[73]

The European miner became the focus of discussion. On one hand, there was criticism of the European miner's impatience and

readiness 'to relinquish certainties for speculative ventures', allowing the more patient Chinese miner to 'step into vacated ground and there establish himself.'[74] On the other hand, it was claimed in defence of the European miner that the Chinese were blamed for depriving the European alluvial digger of ground to fall back on, compelling him 'to open up new fields or retire from his avocation'.[75] Predictably in early May 1876, over a month after the initial rush to the Hodgkinson, a large number of European diggers began to return to the Palmer now occupied by Chinese. Several attempts were made to force Chinese off more select ground,[76] however, the numerical superiority of the Chinese prevented the reversal of the new order, making more difficult any attempt by Europeans to resume their abandoned claims. Warden Selheim was forced to grant exemplary punishment to a few Europeans who attempted to jump Chinese claims.[77] That the law protected the Chinese caused irritation, as the reversal of roles apparent on the Palmer was seen as intolerable to the colonial European mind:

> The Chinese, who have now occupied the pick of the field, have not only possession, which is nine-tenths of the law, but they are absolutely and incontestably within their lawful rights....Moreover, according to accounts, the Chinese are not inferior to their competitors in respect of equipment for offence or defence. It is not the slightest degree likely, therefore, that the invaders will recede one place from the positions they hold. Controlled and governed as they are powerful by secret organizations, they are doubtless quite alive to the fact that provided they can maintain their advantage against immediate pressure and act upon the defensive, the arm of the law, even if it is not raised to support them, cannot at any rate smite them; that in fact it will not be they who are law breakers, but those who annoy and disturb them.[78]

In effect, the Chinese population had become entrenched as the new order on the Palmer River Gold-field, and the Europeans had become the intruders. This blow to Anglo-Saxon pioneering pride, evident in the reversal of roles on the Palmer and the dramatically increasing Chinese population, sparked off southern concern.

Southern newspapers publicized the uniqueness of this situation in Australian history. As a result, an idealized status quo was contrasted unfavourably with that on the Palmer. According to the editor of the Queenslander:

> The regular condition of affairs has been that the European should take his choice of ground and hold to it, while the Chinaman contented himself with gleaning after the white man had reaped....On the Palmer it has apparently eventuated very differently. By fortuitous circumstances the Chinese have obtained the choice of position on a field which still continues to present attractions to the European digger. Returning from their vain quest of richer ground elsewhere, the latter find their quondam followers in occupation of the picked positions. In lieu of the Mongolian's approaching a field already occupied by Europeans, and submissively setting to work to make a thrifty living on the abandoned or despised positions, that lot falls to-day to the white man.[79]

* * *

This pattern of progressive Chinese domination of a previously European field appears to resemble that which occurred in many other Australian gold-mining areas, although the process has rarely been examined in detail elsewhere. However, on no other major gold-field in Eastern Australia was the Chinese ascendancy so rapid, or so complete. In mid-1874 there were fewer than a thousand Chinese on the Palmer, and the majority of these had come from Southern gold-fields. A year later there were over five-thousand, and the number was still rising; the new influx direct from China completely overwhelmed the European population and the established Chinese community alike.

The mechanics of the Chinese displacement of the European miner were simple and ironically largely due to the character of the displaced European. Tradition tolerated the movement of Chinese into abandoned European areas, and when the small rushes to Sandy Creek and

the Conglomerate proved profitable only in the short term, the Chinese were left in indisputable possession of much of the Palmer. The grander rush to the Hodgkinson in 1876 repeated the process for the whole of the Palmer. The Chinese rarely initiated a significant find, but proved to be extremely methodical exploiters of the areas they occupied:

> When the easily-got gold is "won", or when rumours got abroad of richer deposits elsewhere, claims are all abandoned, and the exodus is as rapid as the original rush was. This happened on the Palmer, the Chinese taking up the abandoned claims of the Europeans.[80]

Surprisingly, in view of the inflamatory rhetoric that arose from resentful European miners there was no significant or organized violence between the two groups on the Palmer. This fact, in an area where the miners had not hesitated to employ violence in suppressing Aborigines, reflects a distinct difference in the European's perception of the two groups with which he was in competition. The British status of many of the Chinese, and their sheer numbers after date 1875, however, no doubt imposed practical restraints on those disposed to hasty action. Neither was there any strong moral case to be made for the European miner, since in almost every instance, the Chinese took only what had already been dismissed as unworkable.

REFERENCES

1. John Macrossan to the Legislative Assembly, 13 February 1884, Queensland Parliamentary Debate (hereafter Q.P.D.) 1883/4, Vol. XLI, p.357.

2. Gold was first discovered on the Palmer River by William Hann's expedition in 1872, but was not considered payable. In 1873, James Venture Mulligan found payable gold, which initiated a rush to the Palmer in September 1873.

3. Table LX - 'Schedules of Taxes, Duties, Fees, Rents, Assessments, and all other sources of Revenue', Queensland Votes and Proceedings (hereafter Qld. V. & P.) 1874, Vol. II, p.11. The Queensland Government was reluctant to re-introduce this duty

because it was opposed by miners who saw it as a class tax aimed at the mining class. See Editorial Cooktown Courier, 17 January 1877, and Colonial Treasurer to Legislative Assembly, 9 August 1876, Q.P.D. 1876, Vol. XX, p.466.

4. In April 1873, a contract between the Queensland Government and four other signatories: James Henderson of Bright Brothers and Company of Brisbane and Melbourne; James Guthrie of a Singapore Merchant House, William McTaggart and P.F. Tidman of McTaggart, Tidman and Company - formed a steamship service to operate from Brisbane to Singapore although the southern terminus was Sydney. This new line was called the Eastern and Australian Mail Steamship Company or the E. & A. Line. The contract called for the first steamship to depart Brisbane 12 December 1873. By this time the Palmer Rush had encouraged the Company to extend the northbound trip to Cooktown and Hong Kong. Australian Shipping Record (hereafter A.S.R.) 2 (3) 1971, pp.71-2.

5. K. Cronin, The Chinese Question in Queensland in the nineteenth century - a Study of Racial Interaction, B.A. Thesis, University of Queensland 1970, p.15.

6. A significant number of Chinese were in Queensland before the Palmer rush. According to the Census of 1871 there were 3,305 Chinese in Queensland, Qld. V. & P. 1876, Vol. II, p.338.

7. Information from the Palmer correspondent, dated 2 November 1873. The Queenslander, 13 December 1873.

8. Howard St. George to the Secretary for Works and Mines, 19 December 1873. Queensland State Archives (hereafter Q.S.A.) WOR/A 77 74/122.

9. Queenslander, 13 December 1873.

10. Cooktown Courier, 6 June 1875.

11. Ibid., 20 June 1874.

12. Ibid., 6 June and 20 June 1874; Cooktown Herald, 3 June 1874.

13. St. George to the Minister for Works and Mines, 6 July 1874. Q.S.A. WOR/A88 74/3703.

14. Cooktown Herald, 8 July 1874. See also advertisement, ibid., 5 August 1874.

15. St. George to Secretary for Works and Mines, 20 July 1874. Q.S.A. WOR/A 88 74/3999.

16. Queenslander, 8 August 1874.

17. Various advertisements in Cooktown Courier and Cooktown Herald from May to August 1874, indicating the rapidity of the influx.

18. Queenslander, 3 October 1874.

19. Cooktown Herald, 19 October 1874.

20. St. George to the Secretary for Works and Mines, 13 July 1874. Q.S.A. WOR/A 88 74/3730.

21. Cooktown Herald, 15 July 1874.

22. Ibid., 2 September 1874; Cooktown Courier, 3 October 1874.

23. Cooktown Courier, ibid.

24. Cooktown Herald, 11 November 1874.

25. Ibid., 7 November 1874.

26. Ibid., 28 October 1874.

27. Queenslander, 24 October 1874.

28. The fact that the Chinese were well-provisioned was considered by some Europeans as encouraging racial violence as it was assumed that they would be rushed for their stores. Cooktown Herald, 23 September and 14 October 1874.

29. Queenslander, 9 January 1875. The high cost of provisions can be attributable to European storekeepers. For example Wing On and Company were selling flour at 1/9 per lb., and quickly sold out. Once this happened the European storekeepers increased their prices to 2/6. Cooktown Herald, 3 October 1874.

30. Cooktown Herald, 14 October 1874; according to James McHenley, a local Anglo-Chinese linguist, the Chinese had a name for Europeans which was Fan-Kwei or 'Foreign Devil', but they also differentiated Englishmen by referring to them as Hingmo-Yan meaning 'red-haired'. See Cooktown Herald, 21 June 1876.

31. Ibid., 14 October 1874.

32. Ibid., 28 October 1874.

33. Ibid.

34. The Queenslander, 9 January 1875.

35. Brisbane Courier, 5 January 1876.

36. Cooktown Courier, 23 January 1875.

37. It is possible that the A.S.N. S.S. Victoria was under the charter of the firm of G.R. Stevens and Company of Hong Kong and China; the P. & O. S.S. Adria was under the charter of G.R. Stevens and Company; the S.S. Singapore belonged to the E. & A. Line which

was contracted to the Queensland Government (see footnote 4). The E. & A. Line was the only regular shipping company calling at Cooktown as all other steamers were under charters. The principal charters were to the account of Chinese merchants in Hong Kong and Canton, but were arranged through British merchant houses in the Far East, however the S.S. Elgeria was not British but German owned. A.S.R. 2 (4) 1971, pp.112-3. This evidence contradicts the statement by Sing-Wu Wang claiming that no Australian or European capitalist is known to have taken part in the business of Chinese emigration. See Sing-Wu Wang, The Organization of Chinese Emigration, 1848-1888, with special reference to Chinese emigration to Australia, M.A. Thesis, Australian National University 1969, p.113.

38. The S.S. Victoria arrived on 30 January 1875 with 200 passengers, Queenslander, 20 February 1875; the S.S. Singapore and S.S. Adria arrived on 20 March with about 800 passengers. Cooktown Courier, 27 March 1875 and Queenslander, 27 March and 3 April 1875; the S.S. Namoi and S.S. Egeria arrived early 1875, with a total of 1272 passengers. Queenslander, 17 April 1875 and Cooktown Herald, 10 April 1875. Also Attorney-General John Bramston (Hong Kong) to the Colonial Secretary (Queensland) in a telegram, relayed from Townsville 12 April 1875, warning the Colonial Secretary of the arrival of the Egeria with 668 passengers. Q.S.A. COL/A 216 75/3403; the S.S. Japan and S.S. Scotland arrived in early May with a total of 2190 passengers for Cooktown. Queenslander, 8 May 1875 and St. George to the Colonial Secretary, 10 May 1875, Q.S.A. COL/A 216 75/3403.

39. Cooktown Herald, 27 March 1875.

40. Ibid.; Queenslander, 20 February, 27 March and 3 April, 1875; Cooktown Courier, 27 March 1875.

41. Warden P.F. Sellheim to the Colonial Secretary, 23 March 1875. Q.S.A. COL/A 208 75/1091.

42. D.T. Seymour to the Colonial Secretary, 16 April 1975, ibid.

43. N.A. Loos, Aboriginal-European Relations in North Queensland, 1861-1897, Ph.D. Thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland 1976, p.193.

44. Queenslander, 22 May 1875.

45. Ibid., 29 May 1875.

46. Communicant to the Editor, Cooktown Courier, 22 May 1875.

47. Cooktown Herald, 29 May 1875.

48. Ibid., 21 July 1875.

49. Ibid., 29 May 1875.

50. 'A Palmer Digger' to the Editor, Cooktown Courier, 29 May 1875.

51. Ibid.

52. Cooktown Herald, 27 March 1875.

53. Queenslander, 3 April 1875. However only 40 to 50 people were present.

54. Ibid., 10 April 1875.

55. Cooktown Herald, 10 April 1875; Queenslander, 1 May 1875.

56. Queenslander, 17 July 1875. The arrival and departure figures for the month of June indicate the rate of this growth.

	Europeans	Chinese	Total
Arrivals	1796	4317	6113
Departures	301	136	417

57. Ibid.; Queenslander, 14 August 1875; Cooktown Courier, 21 July 1875. According to this article, the Chinese could work four miles down Sandy Creek, but were not allowed into the camp at Cradle Creek off Sandy Creek.

58. Cooktown Herald, 28 July 1875; Cooktown Courier, 4, 25 and 28 August 1875; Queensland, 11 September 1875.

59. Queenslander, 14 August 1875.

60. Cooktown Herald, 27 September 1875; Queenslander, 28 August 1875.

61. Queenslander, 16 October 1875.

62. As a result of prospecting by Chinese, a rush broke out near Cooktown on the Right Hand Branch of the Endeavour River which was kept a secret from European miners. Cooktown Herald, 11 September and 2 October 1875 and Queenslander, 18 September 1875; another prospecting party struck new ground at a depth of forty feet, Queenslander, 6 November 1875.

63. Some after only a few months work were able to make a 'few hundred ounces' of gold, Queenslander, 23 October 1875; the return of the S.S. Fyen and S.S. Brisbane to Hong Kong in early October 1875 with 14,000 ounces of gold, included an eighty-ounce nugget. Cooktown Courier, 9 October 1875, and Queenslander, 16 October and 23 October 1875.

64. Queenslander, 11 December 1875.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 26 February 1876.

67. Ibid., 25 September 1875; Cooktown Herald, 15 August 1876.

68. Queenslander, 11 December 1875; 30 September and 28 October 1876.

69. Ibid., 8 January and 18 March 1876; Cooktown Herald, 8 January and 8 March 1876. The firm 'Hopkee' ('Coalition') was largely dependant on Cooktown trade and the support of Chinese capitalists in Australia. Sing-Wu Wang, op.cit., p.102; K. Cronin, op.cit., pp.10-11.

70. Queenslander, 18 March 1876.

71. Ibid., 15 April 1876.

72. Cooktown Herald, 26 April 1876.

73. Queenslander, 8 April 1876.

74. Ibid., 29 April 1876.

75. Ibid., 22 April 1876.

76. Attempts were made to hunt the Chinese off Sandy and Fine Gold Creeks, Cooktown Herald, 10 May 1876. A dispute was reported to have arisen between Europeans and Chinese at Stoney Creek, although not serious, Queenslander, 8 July 1876; Warden W.R.O. Hill also noted a rumour of a 'roll-up'. Hill to the Inspector of Mines, 1 June 1876. Q.S.A. M.W.O. 13A/G1 76/31.

77. Queenslander, 29 July 1876.

78. Ibid., 23 April 1876. Editorial.

79. Ibid.

80. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Queensland Court, Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886, p.2.