

域外拾珍

RECOLLECTIONS OF
A DISTANT SHORE

历史影像中的新西兰华人

NEW ZEALAND CHINESE IN HISTORICAL IMAGES

〔新西兰〕李海蓉 Phoebe H. Li

〔新西兰〕约翰·特纳 John B. Turner

著

总主编 / 苏文菁

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海上丝绸之路与中国海洋强国战略丛书



社会科学文献出版社
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“海上丝绸之路与中国海洋强国战略”

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“海上丝绸之路与中国海洋强国战略”

丛书总序

中国是欧亚大陆上的重要国家，也是向太平洋开放的海洋大国。长期以来，中国以灿烂的内陆农耕文化对世界文明产生了巨大的影响。近百年来，由于崛起于海洋的欧洲文明对世界秩序的强烈影响，来自黑格尔的“中国没有海洋文明”“中国与海不发生关系”的论调在学术界应者甚众。这种来自西方权威的论断加上历史上农耕文化的强大，聚焦“中原”而忽略“沿海”已是中国学术界的常态。在教育体系与学科建设领域，更是形成了一个“中”“外”壁垒森严、“中国”在世界之外的封闭体系。十八大提出了包括建设海洋强国在内的中华民族全面复兴的宏伟目标。2013年以来，习总书记提出以建设“一带一路”作为实现该宏伟目标的现阶段任务的重要战略构想。国家战略的转移需要新的理论、新的知识体系与新的话语体系，对于农业文明高度发达的中国而言，建设富有中国气质的、与海洋强国相适应的新知识体系、新话语体系、新理论更是刻不容缓。

从地球的角度看，海洋占据了其表面的约 70.8%，而陆地面积占比不到 30%，陆域成了被海洋分割、包围的岛屿。从人类发展的角度看，突破海洋对陆域的分割、探索海洋那一边的世界、把生产生活活动延伸至海洋，是人类亘古不变的追求。而人类对海洋的探索主要经历了四个不同的阶段。

第一阶段是远古至公元 8 世纪，滨海族群主要在近海区域活动。受生产力，特别是造船能力的影响，滨海人民只能进行小范围的梯度航行，进行近海的捕捞活动。除了无潮汐与季风的地中海之外，其他滨海区域的人民尚无法进行远程的跨文化交流与贸易。目前的知识体系还不足以让我们准确了解该阶段的发展状况，但我们仍然可以从各学科的发现与研究中大致确定海洋文化较为发达的区域，它们是环中国海区域、环印度洋区域、环北冰洋区域，当然也包括环地中海区域。在这一阶段，滨海区域开始出现与其地理环境相应的航海工具与技术，这是各地滨海族群为即将到来的大规模航海储备力量的阶段。

第二阶段是 8 世纪至 15 世纪，滨海族群逐渐拓展自己的海洋活动空间。随着技术的不断发展，他们由近海走向远洋，串联起数个“海”而进入“洋”。海上交通由断断续续的“点”链接成为区域性、规模化的“路”。环中国海的“点”逐渐向西扩展，与印度洋进行连接；印度洋西部阿拉伯海区域的“点”向地中海及其周边水域渗透。由此，海上丝绸之路“水陆兼程”地与地中海地区连接在一起，形成了跨越中国海、南洋、印度洋、红海、地中海的贸易与交通的海洋通道。从中国的历史看，该阶段的起点就是唐代中叶，其中，市舶司的设立是中国政府开始对海洋贸易实施管理的代表性事件。这一阶段，是中国人与阿拉伯人共同主导亚洲海洋的时代，中国的瓷器、丝绸以及南洋的各种物产是主要的贸易产品。

第三阶段是 15 世纪至 19 世纪中叶，东西方的海洋族群在太平洋上实现了汇合。这是海上丝绸之路由欧亚板块边缘海域向全球绝大部分海域拓展的时代。在这一阶段，欧洲的海洋族群积极开拓新航线，葡萄牙人沿非洲大陆南下，绕过好望角进入印度洋；西班牙人向西跨越大西洋，踏上美洲大陆。葡萄牙人过印度洋，据马六甲城，进入季风地带，融入亚洲海洋的核心区域；西班牙人以美洲的黄金白银为后发优势，从太平洋东岸跨海而来，占据东亚海域重要的交通与贸易“点”——吕宋。“大航海”初期，葡萄牙、西班牙的海商是第一波赶赴亚洲海洋最为繁忙的贸易圈的欧洲人，紧接着是荷兰人、英国人、法国人。环中国海以及东南亚海域成为海洋贸易与交通最重要的地区。但遗憾的是，中国海洋族群的海洋活动正受到内在制度的限制。

第四阶段是 19 世纪下半叶至当代，欧洲的工业革命使得人类不再只能依靠自然的力量航海；人类依靠木质帆船和自然力航海的海洋活动也即将走到尽头；中国的海洋族群逐渐走向没落。“鸦片战争”之后，中国海关系统被英国等控制，世界上以东方物产为主要贸易物品的历史终结了，包括中国在内的广大东方区域沦为欧洲工业品的消费市场。

由上述分析，我们能够充分感受到海上丝绸之路的全球属性。在逾千年的历史过程中，海上丝绸之路唯一不变的就是“变化”：航线与滨海区域港口城市在变化；交换的物产在变化；人民及政府对海洋贸易的态度在变化……但是，由海上丝绸之路带来的物产交换与文化交融的大趋势从未改变。因此，对于不同的区域、不同的时间、

不同的族群而言，海上丝绸之路的故事是不同的。对于非西方国家而言，对海上丝绸之路进行研究，特别是梳理前工业时代东方文明的影响力，是一种回击欧洲文明优越论的文化策略。从中国的历史发展来看，传统海上丝绸之路是以农耕时代中国物产为中心的世界文化大交流，从其相关历史文化中可汲取支撑我们继续前行的力量。

福州大学“21世纪海上丝绸之路核心区建设研究院”在多年研究中国海洋文化的基础上，依托中国著名的出版机构——社会科学文献出版社，策划设计了本丛书。本丛书在全球化的视野下，通过挖掘本民族海洋文化基因，探索中国与海上丝绸之路沿线国家历史、经济、文化的关联，建设具有中国气质的海洋文化理论知识体系。丛书第一批于2015年获批为“2015年主题出版重点出版物”。

丛书第一批共十三本，研究从四个方面展开。

第一，以三本专著从人类新文化、新知识的角度，对海洋金融网、海底沉船进行研究，全景式地展现了人类的海洋文化发展。《海洋与人类文明的生产》从全球的角度理解人类从陆域进入海域之后的文明变化。《海洋移民、贸易与金融网络——以侨批业为中心》以2013年入选世界记忆遗产的侨批档案为中心，对中国海洋族群在海洋移民、贸易中形成的国际金融网络进行分析。如果说侨批是由跨海成功的海洋族群编织起来的“货币”与“情感”的网络的话，那么，人类在海洋上“未完成”的航行也同样留下了证物，《沉船、瓷器与海上丝绸之路》为我们整理出一条“水下”的海上丝绸之路。

第二，早在欧洲人还被大西洋阻隔的时代，亚洲的海洋族群就编织起亚洲的“海洋网络”。由中国滨海区域向东海、南海延伸的海洋通道逐步形成。从中国沿海出发，有到琉球、日本、菲律宾、印度尼西亚、中南半岛、新加坡、环苏门答腊岛区域、新西兰等的航线。中国南海由此有了“亚洲地中海”之称，成为海上丝绸之路的核心区域，而我国东南沿海的海洋族群一直是这些海洋交通网络中贸易的主体。本丛书有五本专著从不同的方面讨论了“亚洲地中海”这一世界海洋贸易核心区的不同专题。《东海海域移民与汉文化的传播——以琉球闽人三十六姓为中心》以明清近六百年的“琉球闽人三十六姓”为研究对象，“三十六姓”及其后裔在向琉球人传播中国文化与生产技术的同时，也在逐渐地琉球化，最终完全融入琉球社会，从而实现了与琉球社会的互动与融合。

《从龙牙门到新加坡：东西海洋文化交汇点》、《环苏门答腊岛的海洋贸易与华商网络》和《19世纪槟城华商五大姓的崛起与没落》三本著作从不同的时间与空间来讨论印度洋、太平洋交汇海域的移民、文化与贸易。《历史影像中的新西兰华人》（中英文对照）则以图文并茂的方式呈现更加丰厚的内涵，100余幅来自新西兰的新老照片，让我们在不同历史的瞬间串连起新西兰华侨华人长达175年的历史。

第三，以三部专著从海洋的角度“审视”中国。《海上看中国》以12个专题展现以海洋为视角的“陌生”中国。在人类文明发展的进程中，传统文化、外来文化与民间亚文化一直是必不可少的资源。就中国的海洋文化知识体系建设来说，这三种资源有着不同的意义。中国的传统文化历来就有重中原、轻边疆的特点，只在唐代中叶之后，才对东南沿海区域有了关注。然而，在此期间形成了海洋个性的东南沿海人民，在明朝的海禁政策下陷入茫然、挣扎以至于反抗之中；同时，欧洲人将海洋贸易推进到中国沿海区域，无疑强化了东南沿海区域的海洋个性。明清交替之际，清廷的海禁政策更为严苛；清末，中国东南沿海的人民汇流于17世纪以来的全球移民浪潮之中。由此可见，对明清保守的海洋政策的反思以及批判是我们继承传统的现实需求。而《朝贡贸易与仗剑经商：全球经济视角下的明清外贸政策》与《明清海盗（海商）的兴衰：基于全球经济发展的视角》就从两个不同的层面来审视传统中华主流文化中保守的海洋政策与民间海商阶层对此的应对，从中可以看出，当时国家海洋政策的失误及其造成的严重后果；此外，在对中西海商（海盗）进行对比的同时，为中国海商翻案，指出对待海商（海盗）的态度或许是中国走向衰落而西方超越的原因。

第四，主要是战略与对策研究。我们知道，今天的国际法源于欧洲人对海洋的经略，那么，这种国际法就有了学理上的缺陷：其仅仅是解决欧洲人纷争的法规，只是欧洲区域的经验，并不具备国际化与全球化的资质。东方国家有权力在21世纪努力建设国际法新命题，而中国主权货币的区域化同理。《国际法新命题：基于21世纪海上丝绸之路建设的背景》与《人民币区域化法律问题研究——基于海上丝绸之路建设的背景》就对此展开了研究。

从全球的视野看，海上丝绸之路是人类在突破海洋的限制后，以海洋为通道进行物产的交流、思想的碰撞、

文化的融合进而产生新的文明的重要平台。我们相信，围绕海上丝绸之路，世界不同文化背景的学者都有言说的兴趣。而对中国而言，传统海上丝绸之路是以农耕时代中国物产为中心的世界文化大交流，源于汉唐乃至先秦时期，繁荣于唐宋元时期，衰落于明清时期，并终结于 1840 年。今天，“21 世纪海上丝绸之路”建设是重返世界舞台中心的中国寻找话语权的努力，在相同的文化语境之中，不同的学科与专业都有融入海洋话语时代的责任。欢迎不同领域与学科的专家继续关注我们的讨论、加入我们的航船：齐心协力、各抒其才。海洋足够辽阔，容得下多元的话语。

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Lan Yuan (Dunedin Chinese Garden)
National Library of New Zealand
Nelson Provincial Museum
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Suite Gallery, Wellington
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奥克兰图书馆
奥克兰博物馆
格力茅斯历史博物馆
奥塔哥大学豪肯图书馆
新西兰基督教长老会诺克斯学院
兰园（但尼丁中国花园）
新西兰国家图书馆
尼尔森省博物馆
普可阿利基博物馆（新普利茅斯）
南方博物馆暨画廊
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Phoebe H. Li & John B. Turner

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李海蓉 约翰·特纳

Foreword

As this fascinating collection reveals, Chinese have been in New Zealand for as long as many other peoples, since the 1840s in fact. Many came first as gold miners and traders from a single province – Guangdong – with the intention of only staying temporarily. Much later, and despite official restrictions on Chinese immigration, they settled with their families throughout the country becoming shopkeepers, market gardeners and restaurateurs. Some became so successful they changed the way New Zealand did business. The Chinese contributed much to New Zealand and its early development while still ensuring they and their descendants retained connections with their home villages in Guangdong.

Today over 170,000 Chinese New Zealanders call New Zealand home. These Chinese New Zealanders contribute significantly, and in diverse ways, to New Zealand's society and economy. They also share their culture, contributing a unique strand to the multicultural fabric of New Zealand.

This book records that rich and varied history through photographs that are both historically important as well as artistic. I congratulate Phoebe Hairong Li and John B. Turner for their commitment to compiling such an important collection of photographs and for producing this book and the associated exhibitions.

The book is a testament to them but also to the long and chequered history of links between our two peoples. Strong friendship between our peoples is, of course, an essential basis upon which our strong bilateral relationship is built, and upon which it will continue to grow.

John McKinnon
New Zealand Ambassador to China
Beijing

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正如这本引人入胜的著作所显示的，和许多其他人一样，中国人在新西兰已有很长时间，实际上早在 19 世纪 40 年代，很多人一开始以金矿工人和商人的身份来到新西兰，只打算临时逗留，他们都来自一个省——广东。很久以后，尽管有对中国移民的官方限制，他们和家人还是在新西兰各处定居，成为商店店主、蔬菜园经营者和餐厅老板。一些人做得非常成功，他们改变了新西兰的商业模式。中国人为新西兰和新西兰早期发展做出了巨大贡献，与此同时，中国移民及其子孙后代仍然与广东老家保持联系。

现在，有超过 170,000 华裔新西兰人把新西兰当作自己的家。这些华裔新西兰人通过多样的方式为新西兰的社会和经济做出卓越贡献。他们也与其他人分享自己的文化，为新西兰的多元文化构建做出独特的贡献。

这本书通过照片记载了这段丰富多彩的历史，这些照片既具有重要历史意义，也是艺术品。我祝贺李海蓉（Phoebe）和约翰·特纳，他们投入很多精力，收集到如此重要的照片集，并编撰了这本书，以及策划了与之相关的展览。

此书不仅证明了他们的付出，也印证了我们两国人民之间相互交融的历史源远流长。我们两国人民之间的深厚友谊毋庸置疑，这是新中两国建立牢固关系的重要基础，在此基础之上，两国人民之间的友谊也将继续发展。

麦康年
新西兰驻华大使
北京

Recollections of a distant shore: a photographic introduction to the history of the Chinese in New Zealand

Phoebe H. Li

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Karen Stæde. *Appo Hooton: Woo Ah Poo Hoc Ting: New Zealand's First Chinese Immigrant, Nelson, 1842-1920*. Nelson, N.Z.: The Nelson Provincial Museum, 2010, p.6.

2

Michael King. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, p.172.

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Under the Canton System, the Chinese government confined foreign traders' operation to the city of Canton, where only government-authorized Chinese merchants could deal with them. Such Chinese merchants formed a guild, known as *Cohong*.

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Elizabeth Sinn, "Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: General Trends," in *Emigration from Hong Kong: Tendencies and Impacts*, ed. Ronald Skeldon. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995, p.12.

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The Cantonese term "Sun Gum San" literally means "New Gold Mountain", and refers to Australia and New Zealand together, in contrast to the "Old Gold Mountain", broadly referring to North America.

The first recorded Chinese immigrant to New Zealand is Appo Hooton. On 25 October 1842 this cabin steward in his twenties joined passengers of the migrant ship *Thomas Harrison* arriving in Nelson, and became one of its earliest settlers, ending as a centenarian known for his "industry and respectability". Today it is said that about 1,600 New Zealanders are related to him.

Why did Appo Hooton decide to start a new life in a strange land in the far-away south Pacific? One claimed reason was the captain's refusal to supply soap for washing his clothes.¹ We do not know whether that was his genuine motive for immigration. Nevertheless, what we do know is that the year 1842 was momentous for both New Zealand and China, and that might have had a dramatic impact on many ordinary and humble individuals like Appo.

Appo's arrival was shortly after the annexation of New Zealand, a result of the Treaty of Waitangi signed between the British Crown and Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa. The treaty marked the beginning of large-scale British colonisation, which later meant generations of grief for many Māori who lost their land forever; but to those leading British settlement, New Zealand was expected to become a social laboratory that would establish a "Better Britain".²

In the Far East the expansion of the British Empire was evinced by its victory against China during the first Opium War (1839-

1842), and its subsequent rule of Hong Kong due to the Treaty of Nanjing. Voluminous studies, especially by Chinese historians, have discussed extensively the catastrophic domino effects of the treaty on their nation. But within the narrow context of the modern history of Chinese international migration, Hong Kong's resulting rise may be perceived in a rather different way. The dramatic rise of Hong Kong replaced the Canton System (1757-1842)³ and subsequently opened up new opportunities to many more adventurous and ambitious Cantonese fortune seekers and to those who were simply stuck in the despair of poverty, but now could see hopes. Previously, such opportunities were reserved for only a few *Cohong* merchants.

Following the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and in Victoria in 1851, the world witnessed a vast influx of Cantonese miners, and later assorted immigrants, embarking from Hong Kong to seek a better life in the "Gold Mountains" and the rest of the Pacific Rim. According to the Hong Kong Harbour Master reports, by 1939 around 6 millions of Chinese, mostly Cantonese, had left their homeland.⁴

Those who arrived in New Zealand, the so-called "New Gold Mountain",⁵ formed merely a small stream within the massive wave of Cantonese international migration commencing in the mid nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this small community typified many features and experiences of the early Chinese immigrants in

the “Gold Mountains”, which were then dominated by Europeans.

Initially, the Chinese were welcomed. In 1866, 12 experienced Chinese miners arrived in the Otago goldfields from Victoria, Australia, at the invitation of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, to rework abandoned claims and deserted mine shafts. Only with the later staggering increase in the Chinese mining population, and consequently growing fear and xenophobia among the European community, did restrictions on Chinese immigration begin to take shape.

In 1881 New Zealand introduced a tonnage ratio for vessels with Chinese on board (a maximum of one Chinese passenger per 10 tons of cargo) as well as an entry tax of 10 pounds upon each landed Chinese. In 1896, the ratio became one passenger per 200 tons of cargo and the poll-tax was raised to 100 pounds, when the average annual income in New Zealand was about 41 pounds.⁶ In 1907 an English-language test was imposed on all Chinese arrivals. Further, in 1920 the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act implemented an entry permit system, which empowered Customs officers to deny Chinese and other “undesirable aliens” entry or re-entry to New Zealand without justification.⁷

These legislative means effectively resulted in a diminishing New Zealand Chinese community that had to battle for its survival. After the gold rush era, the Chinese took up market gardening and greengrocery as their primary occupations, with a smaller number of people operating laundries. The community were predominantly

men, who worked hard and lived frugally, in order to save and send remittances back to their dependant wives and children left behind in Guangdong.

It was the Japanese full-scale invasion of China (1937-1945) that changed the situation completely. During the war, the New Zealand government granted refugee status to many Chinese women and children, allowing them to enter the country to reunite with their husbands and fathers. The costly poll-tax was also abolished shortly afterwards.⁸ Their arrival was a watershed, marking the transformation of the New Zealand Chinese community from transient male sojourners into settled families.

New Zealand’s post-war prosperity and its growing acceptance of Chinese to a large extent encouraged these once-alienated “other” people to be integrated into mainstream society. Over the following decades, the Chinese community remained small, but gradually stood out with the emergence of many locally trained professionals such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and teachers.

This almost exclusively Cantonese “model minority” was all of a sudden shaken by the influx of new immigrants, following the passage of the 1987 Immigration Act, of which the most notable part was its nondiscriminatory intent: “Immigrants are now selected on the basis of personal merit rather than national or ethnic origin. This is a significant departure from the bias in favour of the British and West Europeans which had shaped New Zealand migrant flows for almost a century”.⁹ The act facilitated a surge in Asian immigration to New Zealand of an

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In 1896, the average income of the New Zealand population was about 41 pounds per head for all ages and both sexes, and 91 pounds per head for breadwinners. See, *Department of Statistics. The New Zealand Official Yearbook 1896*. Wellington: New Zealand Government Printer, 1896, p. 174.

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For more details of New Zealand’s legislation against Chinese immigration, see Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997*. Wellington: New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008.

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In 2002 the New Zealand government made a formal apology to the Chinese community for the poll-tax and other statutory discrimination, along with a payment of \$5 million as a gesture of such reconciliation. This fund enabled the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust to be established in 2004, aiming primarily to support research on New Zealand Chinese history and the preservation of Chinese language and culture.

unprecedented scale and speed, which caused a rapid backlash and was even portrayed as an "Asian Invasion" by the New Zealand media in the mid 1990s. Ethnic Chinese from Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, etc., have together contributed the largest component to a cohort known as "Asian immigrants".

Since the arrival of its new members, the New Zealand Chinese community has thrived over the past 30 years, despite experiencing unexpected fragmentation and an identity crisis, because the newcomers originate from various countries and regions, and so maintain different cultural affiliations and national allegiances. Multi-layered complexities have also developed within the Chinese community, with established early settlers and newcomers' disparate socioeconomic status, mixed religious and belief systems, and diverse experiences with mainstream New Zealanders including Europeans and Māori.

The latest census in 2013 shows that New Zealand is now the home for over 170,000 Chinese, of whom more than a half are recent migrants from mainland China, about one quarter local-born, and the rest originate from elsewhere. The Chinese represent around 3.7% of the New Zealand population of 4.2 million,¹⁰ and are the second largest ethnic minority in the country, next only to Māori.

The past of the New Zealand Chinese community has not yet drawn enough attention from mainstream historians of the country, who mostly concentrate on the historiography of Europeans and Māori. Fortunately though, within the Chinese community its collective and individual memories have been written down by members like Bickleen Ng Fong, James Ng, Manying Ip, Joe Yue Sing (Zhou Yaoxing), Henry Chan, Young Tong-Shing (Yang Tangcheng), Lily

Lee, Ruth Lam, Jenny Lee-Morgan, Helen Wong, and more recently David Fung, Phoebe H. Li and Wayne Wilson-Wong.¹¹ Lily Lee and Wayne Wilson-Wong have also turned their family stories of migration and integration into motion pictures, which is indeed a more accessible approach to the history. However, the general audience in New Zealand may be more familiar with local Chinese filmmaker Roseanne Liang's own cross-cultural romance, which she first screened in her debut documentary *Banana in a Nutshell* (2005), and later modified into a feature film *My Wedding and Other Secrets* (2011).

An earlier portrayal of the history of New Zealand Chinese in New Zealand mainstream cinema, *Illustrious Energy* (1987), an exquisite work on Chinese gold miners in the Otago goldfields, has been neglected for too long. In order to produce it, Leon Narbey, one of New Zealand's finest artists, consulted the large collection of Presbyterian missionary Rev. Alexander Don's historical photographs and extensive archaeological reports by the Otago University team working on those past digging sites.¹² The significance of this film lies not only in its re-creation of the long-gone history, but also in its impressive usage of the visual records kept by Don's lens. The film is a good demonstration of the unique power of outstanding historical photographs, which can preserve many tangible details and hidden hints that may be illustrated beyond the capacity of written texts.

I feel privileged to have worked with John B. Turner, one of New Zealand's leading photographic historians, who has assisted me in investigating a great range of images that conventional historians usually have no access to or no wish to look at from a fresh angle. Such a wider selection of photographs is a prism through which a complicated history may be perceived and apprehended. Using more

than 100 carefully chosen photographs with both historical and aesthetic merit, we aim to present to a general audience a visual introduction to various aspects of the 175 years of Chinese life in New Zealand.

These photographs have formed the basis for exhibitions at the Overseas Chinese History Museum of China in Beijing from October 2016 to January 2017, and at the Auckland War Memorial Museum in New Zealand starting in February 2017. This collection is far from comprehensive, but I hope that readers will share my contemplation of the trajectory of this reoccurring history.

Phoebe H. Li, Auckland, December 2016

Poster for *Illustrious Energy*

《超能》电影海报

Courtesy of Leon Narbey 鸣谢莱恩·纳贝

