AN IMMIGRANT MINORITY

The Adaptation of Chinese in Papua New Guinea

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Thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Australian National University

July 1974
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

David Yen-Ho Wu
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the following people and institutions for their kind assistance during the course of my study and fieldwork, without which assistance my thesis would not have been possible.

I am most grateful to the Australian National University for granting me a Research Scholarship and the funds to conduct fieldwork in Papua New Guinea. I also appreciate the generous grant-in-aid (No. 2573) given me for the purpose of field research by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Dr Marie Reay and Professor Derek Freeman have supervised me during the course of my study at the Australian National University, and I would like to express my appreciation of their efforts on my behalf. My fellow students as well as staff members in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, have provided inspiration and stimulation by their discussions in Seminars and private conversations. Certain members of the department read my preliminary thesis drafts and offered constructive suggestions - among these I am especially indebted to Dr Paul Alexander. I am also indebted to many other members of the Research School of Pacific Studies for useful information and valuable criticism during the course of my thesis writing. Although they are too numerous to mention all of them by name, I would like to make special mention of Mr B. J. Allen, Dr Steward Firth, and Dr David Penny. Professor A. L. Epstein I owe a great deal for initiating my research in Papua New Guinea and for the valuable suggestions from which I later developed the theoretical orientations of my thesis.

While conducting fieldwork in Papua New Guinea I received kind assistance from many people at the University of Papua New Guinea, from various Administration Departments in different places, and especially from
the Sacred Heart Catholic Mission in Rabaul and the United Church in Rabaul. I wish to make particular mention of the help given to me by Father Franke and the Reverend Neville Threfall.

My indebtedness to many of the Chinese of Papua New Guinea is beyond expression. I shall never forget their hospitality, their interest in my work, and their efforts to provide data for my thesis. It is impossible to thank each of them in a separate acknowledgement here, but my thanks for their special help and friendship are particularly due to Mr and Mrs Francis P. Cheung, Mr and Mrs James Cheong, Mr and Mrs Vincent Chan, Mr and Mrs John Lau, Mr and Mrs Andrew Lui and their family, the late Mr Seeto Soon, the late Mr Luk Pui-wai, Mr and Mrs Cedric Chee, Father Raphael Chow, Mr and Mrs Henry Chow, Mr Cheong Wing Hui, Mr Chin Pak, Mr Perry Kwan, and Dr and Mrs C. S. Li.

I am grateful to Mrs Robin Gengos for her reading of my drafts and correcting my English where necessary, thereby making my thesis more presentable. Mrs Dorothy Aunela typed the final drafts of this thesis with great efficiency and accuracy, and to her also I would like to express my gratitude.

Finally, my thanks are due to my wife, Wei-lan, for her assistance in my fieldwork and for her patience and encouragement throughout the most difficult period of writing.
ABSTRACT

This study examines the adaptation of Chinese as a minority population in Papua New Guinea during the past 80 years. The analysis is focused on two general themes: how did the Chinese achieve their present economic position in Papua New Guinea, and what are the implications of their changing socio-political status in view of the developments towards political independence.

Large scale immigration of Chinese to New Guinea began at the turn of this century, when skilled Chinese labourers and artisans were in demand by the European colonizers. Although the Chinese were restricted in their social and economic activities, they eventually emerged as a merchant-dominated population. Their adaptation to a specific position in the Papua New Guinea environment is analyzed by delineating both the activities of the Chinese population as a whole, and the actions and decisions of individual Chinese immigrants. In analyzing Chinese modes of adaptation, this study discusses several aspects of the Chinese population: composition, settlement patterns, history, socialization processes, social, economic and political organizations, and relationships with the other ethnic groups. This analysis makes it possible for us to understand how the Chinese successfully developed commercial enterprises in Papua New Guinea and the means by which their upward social mobility was achieved.

It is concluded that the success of the Chinese in adapting to a specific position in the colonial socio-economic structure has jeopardized their future in Papua New Guinea, at a time when the indigenous people are gaining political autonomy.

A synopsis of this study is to be found in the sub-section on "Theoretical Considerations" of Chapter One of the present thesis (pp.4-11).
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
I. The Anthropological Study of Overseas Chinese

Before coming abroad to do graduate studies I had for many years conducted ethnographic field research among the aboriginal tribes of Taiwan, recording the vanishing cultures of these pre-industrialized, non-literate societies. This work was done when I was an undergraduate student at the National Taiwan University; I was associated with the Academia Sinica during my university years and I afterwards worked there until 1966. Both these institutions emphasized in their teaching of anthropology students the tasks of recording primitive societies and reconstructing human history. Although among my teachers there was one, Professor Yih-yuan Li, who had initiated the idea of studying one's own culture and society as part of one's job as an anthropologist, it was not until I had studied with American and British anthropologists specializing in the study of 'complex societies' that I realized that investigating an industrialized, literate society might open a new dimension in my career as an anthropologist. From the time I began post-graduate work at the University of Hawaii anthropological research on 'complex societies' drew my interest. I learned that since the 1950s the study of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia had become one of the most popular topics in social anthropology. The arrival of British and American anthropologists in the Nanyang Chinese communities was closely associated with the emergence of the anthropological field dealing with research on 'complex societies'. Interest in those communities in particular was also due to the fact that actual field research in China was not possible, and anthropologists interested in traditional Chinese culture or social organization had been obliged to look elsewhere: they had found a 'field substitute' in Overseas Chinese societies (cf. Freedman 1963, 1966, 1968). There were other anthropologists who believed that the Overseas Chinese, including those on China's off-shore islands of Hong Kong and Taiwan, were ideal for
studying immigrant society and cultural change. Research on the Overseas Chinese has been variously concentrated on a number of important areas.\(^1\)

I was also inspired by the admirable work of the pioneer Chinese social anthropologists, Lin (1948), Fei (1947), Hsu (1967), and T'ien (1953), and by their analysis of the culture and society of their own people. It is something of a challenging task to study one's own people, for as Malinowski comments on Fei's *Peasant Life in China* (1947):

> It is the result of work done by a native among natives. If it be true that self-knowledge is the most difficult to gain, then undoubtedly an anthropology of one's own people is the most arduous, but also the most valuable achievement of a field-worker. (1947:xiii)

I became interested in the Overseas Chinese for a reason other than purely academic curiosity — a largely sentimental reason. I myself am a descendant of immigrant Chinese. For generations my ancestors were amongst the pioneer immigrants who participated in the development of Taiwan and thus the study of a contemporary Chinese immigrant society at least partially fulfils my own interest in finding out what my ancestors might have experienced.

\(^1\) Skinner (1957) provides us with a historical sketch of the Chinese immigration to Nanyang in general, and to Thailand in particular; he later (1958) analyzes the interlocking relationship among the Chinese commercial leaders in Bangkok. T'ien (1953) draws attention to the Chinese dialect groups and trade associations in Sarawak; Freedman (1957) focuses on the family and marriage in Singapore; and Newell (1962) adds a report on a Chinese vegetable farming community in Malaya. One of the oldest Chinese communities in Indonesia was studied by Donald Willmott (1960, 1961), while William Willmott has investigated the Chinese in Cambodia (1967, 1970). Li (1970) gives a Chinese view of the immigrant Chinese in southern Malaya. Fieldwork conducted in Taiwan has generally taken the 'little community' approach. This work includes studies of a farming village by Gallin (1966) and the Wolfs (1964, 1968), and of a fishing village by S. H. Wang (1967) and Diamond (1969). Gallin was also the first to discuss important social problems in Taiwan land reform (1963, 1964a) and local leadership (1963, 1964b, 1968). Collected papers on specific topics have been published in recent years by Freedman (1970) on family and kinship, by Margery Wolf (1972) on women's roles, by William Willmott (1972) on economic organization. All these publications have facilitated my understanding of the anthropological view of Chinese societies.
My final reason for choosing to study an Overseas Chinese community was a practical one. I had had the opportunity to make casual observations of Overseas Chinese in Hawaii and in North America and I realized that I would have no major difficulty in studying their culture and their behaviour. As I could already speak several Chinese dialects, I was confident I would be able to master any new dialect spoken by any Chinese community I might study. Fluency in the vernacular is a great advantage in field research, as it greatly assists the researcher to gather material on the people's culture and behaviour.

My first knowledge of the Papua New Guinea Chinese was derived from individual anthropologists who had visited the country and from residents of the country whom I had met before 1970. I was told by Dr B. G. Burton-Bradley - then Assistant Director of Public Health in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea - who was visiting Hawaii, that there were no Chinese in Port Moresby in the 1950s, but by the end of the 1960s there were about 500 Chinese living there, many of whom owned shops in the business areas. I also heard of a Chinese living in Bougainville who, starting as a coolie on a European plantation, had himself become the owner of a plantation as well as several stores and a hotel.

These pieces of information prompted many questions. When and how had the Chinese arrived in Papua New Guinea? Where had they come from? Why had they suddenly appeared in Port Moresby? Were the Port Moresby Chinese related to the New Guinea Chinese? Did they still maintain a Chinese culture or had they been acculturated with the Niue Guineans? How could an individual Chinese become so rich after starting out as a penniless coolie? Was his success due to environmental, cultural, social or other factors? What were the sociological factors behind the migration and commercial development of the Chinese?
During my pre-field preparations at the Australian National University, from the end of 1970 to early 1971 the only additional available fragments of information about the New Guinea Chinese I was able to gather were historical data contained in the German Colonial Annual Reports and in Rowley (1958) and Biskup (1970). There was at that time no information about the contemporary situation of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. I therefore arrived in the field with an open mind but hoping that the people might display some of the characteristics of the Overseas Chinese in the other places I had visited or read about.

II. Theoretical Considerations

The Chinese in Papua New Guinea number about 3,000, making up only 0.14 per cent of the total population of this country (2.28 million) and 8.59 per cent of the total non-indigenous population of 35,000. In spite of the fact that they are thus very much a minority population, the Chinese have, for the past 80 years, played a significant role in the socio-economic history of Papua New Guinea.

This thesis is an attempt to understand the adaptation of the Chinese population as an immigrant minority in Papua New Guinea. When I began my study, one of the most striking phenomena to draw my attention was that although the Chinese had started as labourers and tradesmen and had been restricted in their social, economic, and political activities as well as in their physical mobility, they had eventually become a merchant-dominated population and their commercial enterprises were dispersed in urban centres over the whole of Papua New Guinea. How and why this development occurred is a major theme of this thesis. The second theme, closely related to the first one, is the changing socio-political position of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea and the implications of their present position during the transition of Papua New Guinea from colonial rule.
towards independence. Underlying both these themes is the notion of adaptation which I employ extensively in my analysis.

In using the concept of adaptation as a general framework of analysis, I have formulated it in a very general way which could be described as follows: We have here an example of a small population possessed of a distinct cultural tradition, which has been handed down generation by generation over several thousand years, and which these people carried with them to a completely new environment where they attempted to survive among people whose cultural traditions were entirely different. This immigrant population had to seek opportunities and make adjustments in order to survive and thus their activities in the new land were characterized by an interactional relationship between them and the environment: the total environment which includes the social, economic, political and physical environment - the configuration of elements acting upon this aggregate of people and affecting their modes of living. In seeking opportunities and making adjustments, they aimed to acquire more efficient methods of exploiting resources and to achieve a higher standard of living and a more satisfactory socio-political status. Initially, opportunities were judged on the basis of their traditional knowledge, values and their world views, and they utilized their traditional technology and modes of social organization to solve their problems. These imposed some restrictions on their perception of opportunities, while other possible choices were restricted by the socio-political position in which they found themselves. While they chose the alternatives that they believed were advantageous, the changing environment made several of the choices less advantageous in the long term.

In choosing to act in particular ways the Chinese have altered, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, their cultural forms, their values, their social organizations, their socio-economic
and political positions, and their relationships with other peoples in the same environment. Their environment is both a constraint upon their choices and an outcome of previous choices. In addition, the environment itself has been constantly changing as other groups have exploited resources, and have exchanged, interacted, manipulated, organized and reorganized their relationships. The process of adaptation of the population under consideration is thus characterized as an on-going device of choice and action, and exemplifies continuity as well as the transformation of cultural and social forms. Within such a very general framework I have described the Chinese of Papua New Guinea who are the subjects of this study.

The analytical approach of this thesis is not confined to any specific school of thought, nor is the thesis intended to test any particular theory of adaptation. Nevertheless, notions of adaptation developed by other anthropologists are basic to the way data are presented and the way in which the analysis proceeds. The concept of adaptation adopted here comprises two interrelated aspects.

Firstly, it refers to the on-going process of human evolution. The present cultural and social change of people in various places, in either preindustrialized societies or in industrialized complex societies, is but a continuation of the on-going process of man's adaptation (cf. Y. Cohen 1968). In examining on-going evolution the important aspects discussed are personality formation, cultural values, customs and institutions, and social, economic, and political organizations. In all cases present forms are examined in terms of their historical background. Secondly, it refers to a process of change which can be understood by observing the choices of people in response to pressures and opportunities in their environment. In ordering my field material, I have placed emphasis on this
second aspect of the meaning of adaptation, that described by Whitten and Whitten (1972) as 'social strategy'. This approach is characteristic of many recent anthropological studies of adaptation. The notion of 'social strategy' stems from Firth's (1951:26-40) suggestion that social change occurs when individuals act by making choices and decisions. As A. L. Epstein puts it (1969:3): "The dynamics of change are to be sought in the choices that people are led to make as new opportunities and alternative courses of action open up to them". The emphasis in this approach is laid on the empirical delineation of individuals' choices and actions in their responses to the environment, rather than on ideal social forms or jural rules. Therefore, in each chapter of my thesis I present cases of individuals' perceptions and behaviour in social interactions, and endeavour to show why they chose to act in certain ways in response to different opportunities or exigencies in their environment.

Chapter Two describes the demographic characteristics of the Chinese population in Papua New Guinea. I conducted a census survey which facilitated a detailed analysis of many significant aspects of the Chinese population: age and sex distribution, household size, marital status, birth place, number of generations in New Guinea, ethnic characteristics, ancestral home town and dialect groups, surnames, religion, education, and occupations. Also discussed in this chapter are the geographical distribution of the Chinese and their settlement patterns in the major towns of Papua New Guinea.

Chapter Three presents a history of the Chinese based mainly on published literature and documents, whereas Chapter Four gives oral histories as told by individual Chinese. The former chapter is intended to show the changing position of the Chinese in relation to immigration policy, law and regulations, attitudes of the ruling Europeans, and opportunities in their environment. The latter provides a balance by
illustrating how the individuals - as well as the population as a whole - migrated, settled in, and adapted to this environment. Chapter Three is mainly concerned with the socio-political environment of the Chinese. The discussion demonstrates the step-by-step procedure by which the Chinese freed themselves from environmental restrictions, mainly restrictions of a social and political nature. Although until the 1950s the Europeans who were in control desired the Chinese to occupy a subordinate as well as supplementary social and economic position in the colony, the Chinese had by that time actively explored opportunities in the environment and engaged in many diverse occupations. They were therefore able to more efficiently exploit resources and promote their own socio-economic position. Chapter Four focuses attention on individual immigrants and their adaptability as illustrated by autobiographical sketches. Traditional social organizations are a means of adapting to this new environment, but it was the adjustment and flexibility of individuals which was crucial to those migrants who successfully gained a definite place in New Guinea. The adaptation of the Chinese as a group is seen in their adoption of Christianity in order to obtain protection through the missions, in founding their own schools to enable their children to achieve upward social mobility, in taking advantage of the assistance of individual Europeans in order to develop trading business and to break the restrictions on them, and in remaining cautious and non-involved in the political affairs of the wider society. The last section of Chapter Four portrays the aspirations of the Chinese since their arrival in New Guinea. It notes that due to environmental factors the majority of the Chinese sought their opportunities in commercial businesses.

After this background and overall history of Chinese adaptation, the analysis shifts to the contemporary scene. Chapter Five deals with child-rearing practices and values. Child-rearing is interpreted in terms
of a special adaptational theory developed by Bowlby for the analysis of the mother-child relationship and personality development, and this in turn is related to the behaviour and values needed for economic achievements. The analytical approach employed in this, and in later chapters, emphasizes individual variations in behaviour and decision-making, but nevertheless the range of behaviour that characterizes the majority of the population can be delineated, as can the direction of change.

The development, organization, and operation of commercial enterprises are described in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight. Chapter Six is concerned with the rotating credit associations. The Chinese immigrants have elaborated on the primitive model they brought with them and have used the rotating credit association for efficient capital formation. Manipulation of this economic institution and of other social networks within the Chinese community has enabled the Chinese to adapt themselves to commercial development in Papua New Guinea.

Chapter Seven analyzes the process by which the Chinese seek business opportunities in different places, look for better store sites, set up trade stores, manage their stores and maintain a way of life adapted to the trade store business, establish networks with wholesale dealers, and build up ties with international exporters. All these activities demonstrate the acquisition of the necessary skill, knowledge and organization for business enterprises without formal vocational training. By dominating the trade store and other retail businesses, the Chinese have thus become specialized in their occupations, and have adapted to a unique position in the economic structure of the country.

Chapter Eight further analyzes the way in which the family and other kin-based groups work in commercial ventures. As a result of both adaptation and environmental changes, in Papua New Guinea the Chinese have
abandoned the traditional organization of the lineage and the extended family. Although the majority now live in households composed of a single nuclear family, the stem family as an economic unit is still popular, and enables the Chinese to more efficiently pool their capital, and to develop and manage business enterprises. The role of women in Chinese economic affairs is pronounced, because women have assumed an active role in title holding, management, and partnership formation for entrepreneurial activities. A large part of Chapter Eight is also devoted to the case history of a single family, in the belief that the delineation of their developmental cycle will provide an example which illustrates in detail the nature of social and economic life within the family.

Chapter Nine provides an analytical and historical account of the political structure of the Rabaul Chinese community. By analyzing the people's perception of the colonial political system and their own view of their position in this system, the reasons for their submissiveness, their factional rivalries, and their multiple political identity can be understood. Their adaptation to a European colonial structure is interpreted in terms of the way they have applied a traditional Chinese political model to the New Guinea scene. The adoption of such a model is shown to be responsible for the Chinese view that the Independence of Papua New Guinea represents a crisis point for them.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis with a further discussion of the present socio-political position in Papua New Guinea, with emphasis on the relationship between Chinese and European and between Chinese and indigene in the light of recent political developments. After adapting to the country's colonial system, the Chinese have suddenly become aware of their awkward position in an environment where identification with the indigenous people is lacking. In addition, their very success in achieving a better socio-economic position has jeopardized their future survival. Although
remedial measures have been taken the continued presence of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea is now largely dependant on the policies of the new government, rather than on other environmental factors.

III. Field Research Conditions and Methodological Considerations

Field research was conducted during two separate trips: between February 1971 and March 1972; and between September 1972 and March 1973. Eighteen months in all were spent in Papua New Guinea, where my field investigations were carried out with the assistance of my wife. During the first trip we made a reconnaissance tour, visiting Port Moresby, Lae, Goroka, Mount Hagen, Madang, Wewak and Kavieng, in order to gain some first hand knowledge of the Chinese communities in those places. Subsequently we lived for about eight months in Rabaul, for two months in Kavieng, and for one month in Lae. Realizing that the Chinese in these various places shared a similar culture and social organization, we spent the entire second field trip in Rabaul. Rabaul was chosen because it has the oldest Chinese community in the country and contains the largest Chinese population.

Before I reached Papua New Guinea I had had no direct communication with any of its Chinese inhabitants. Upon our arrival at Port Moresby, friends at the University of Papua New Guinea kindly introduced us to the nearby Chinese shopkeepers. With these introductions our initial contact with the people began. We would also walk into Chinese shops, buy something and then, having introduced ourselves, enter into conversation. It was this same method that we later used to initiate our investigations in Lae, Goroka, and Mount Hagen. Most of the people were warm and friendly, and we relied greatly on these initial conversations. But our pleasant experience ended when a European friend tried to help me by introducing me to a Chinese community leader in Port Moresby. This leader, hardly allowing me to complete my introduction, told me that he had nothing to tell me and
referred me to another important person, who in turn referred me to yet another community leader. Similar frustrating and embarrassing situations were experienced with some of the Chinese 'leaders' in other towns. Either someone was taken suddenly ill when I called, or he would promise to talk to me later but subsequently never turn up. The reason for this situation was the impending independence of Papua New Guinea, which was seen as a time of crisis by the Chinese. A recent increase in the amount of research on them, for example, the investigations of a history student of the Papua New Guinea University - Peter Cahill (1971, 1972), and a sociology student of Latrobe University - Christine Inglis (1972), had given rise to a widely held belief that all this research represented a government investigation.

It was then my good fortune to fall in with a very kind Chinese salesman - a representative of a Hong Kong exporting firm - while travelling from Mount Hagen to Rabaul. In fact, I was by mere chance travelling on the 'silk road' used by the international businessmen who regularly visit the major towns of Papua New Guinea. As soon as we arrived in the next town this businessman took me with him to visit his clients. As a result of his introductions I was well received by them. It was through this same businessman that I was introduced to several Chinese families when I arrived in Rabaul, after having been previously rejected by an influential executive of the local Chinese association.

In my field investigations, I employed the following anthropological techniques: scheduled interviews, autobiographical recordings, genealogies, and participant observation. The last method proved the most fruitful. At first I carried a notebook and took notes whenever I obtained part of a genealogy or any other piece of interesting information. After about a month, however, I discontinued this practice, for I had discovered that
my notebook caused uneasiness and even perturbation among some of those to whom I talked. Therefore, I resolved to rely on observation as a participant, and on casual conversations to collect information. Each evening before returning I wrote down my recollections of the day's activities; my wife reported to me what conversations she had had with people; and we also discussed the meaning of these events.

Our daily activities included visiting various stores and conversing with people while we helped with the customers. In the evenings we either interviewed people to collect historical or socialization material, or we took part in the leisure activities of the community. Although I was inconvenienced by my inability to carry a notebook and to take notes whenever I wished, sometimes it turned out to be more advantageous to conduct a field investigation this way: people feel free to talk and reveal information crucial to later analysis, which material may not otherwise be obtained in a formal interview. Although it sometimes required subtle manoeuvring to lead the conversation to areas in which I was interested, I was eventually able to collect the field material needed for my research. The only exception here was precise quantitative data on business transactions, where I had to rely on estimates based on reliable information acquired through participant observation and conversation. Initially I intended to collect systematic data on business activities; I mapped the location of all the Chinese stores in each town we visited and attempted to record the shops' history, tenancy, partnerships, capital investment, stock, turnover, and family expenditure. However, I did not have access to their records, and had to rely on their own reports. Most of this information was obtained through casual conversations. The historical data should be quite accurate, for I collected autobiographies from over 20 elderly men and women. I also interviewed 32 young mothers about child-rearing and the socialization process of their children.
Despite my efforts to explain my research, most people initially did not believe my explanation or found difficulty in comprehending it. Although we soon established a rapport with many people, suspicion was not diminished. It soon became known that a book would be written and as a result some people avoided me, fearing that their names or events about them might be included in this 'book'. Others fed me with stories about scandals, social and political in nature, and about persons they disliked. Although scandals were not my primary concern, they were interesting and indeed helped to better understand the society.

It was well towards the end of my first field trip that we were told by people who had become our friends that I had been identified in the Chinese community as a 'wong ga' spy - a man on Her Majesty's secret service. Other persons pretended to accept my explanation, but stuck to their own beliefs as to my real identity. At least one man was said to have commented: "If he is an anthropologist why hasn't he gone to the bush to study the savages as Margaret Mead did?" After I had completed my research I met a Rabaul Chinese in Sydney who said to me: "So your assignment has been accomplished and you have been transferred back to Canberra. Who then is now stationed in Rabaul?"

Despite these suspicions, we became acquainted with many families soon after settling in Rabaul. This was partly due to the fact that I accepted an invitation to teach Mandarin and Chinese Civilization, on the understanding that I would be given assistance in exchange for my services. We used one of the classrooms at the Catholic Sacred Heart School, on two nights each week. The classes continued for four months and were attended by people of all ages. About 40 'students' attended initially. These 'students' introduced me to their relatives and friends, and I thus came to be accepted in various social circles.
Throughout our 14 months in Rabaul, we lived in a spacious house owned by the Australian National University, where people called in freely. Visitors were entertained, parties held, and on many evenings women would come to make Chinese snacks and gossip with my wife, while the men would discuss social problems and the political situation with me.

My original intention was to study social and cultural change among the Chinese, focussing on their socialization process and the changing cognitive models of their social organization. However, following my contact with the people, I realized that I would need to broaden the perspective of my field research. Their anxiety about my research, their cautious responses toward the changing political environment, their complaints about their harsh social environment in both past and present, and their aspirations for commercial development all quickly caught my attention. I realized that to understand their present social life an examination of the overall history of the Chinese population in this specific environment would be necessary. Considering the small size of this population - no more than 3,000 - and their short history in New Guinea of no more than 100 years, the task seemed feasible. The adaptational process of the Chinese was thus developed as the theme of my thesis during the actual course of my field research.

During the interval between my two field trips, seven months were spent in Canberra on the preliminary analysis of field data and the devising of a theoretical framework for my thesis. Considerable time was spent at the National Library of Australia reading *The Rabaul Times*, which was published in Rabaul between 1925 and 1941 and again between 1957 and 1959; the *Pacific Islands Monthly* (from 1949 to 1971); and a number of other newspapers and magazines published in Papua New Guinea. The *Annual Report* of the German Colonial Administration and the Australian *Report* to the
Council of the League of Nations were also scrutinized.

From a methodological standpoint I have accepted Hsu's (1969) guiding principles in his *Study of Literate Civilizations*, in laying emphasis upon obtaining data from a large variety of sources - popular literature, laws, historical documents, the media such as newspapers and popular magazines - although as an anthropologist I have accepted that my primary data should be derived from field investigation. During the period of field research, I regularly read and took clippings from *The Papua New Guinea Post Courier*. Two weeks were also spent at the administrative archives in Port Moresby where, with the assistance of my wife, the post-war government files concerning the Chinese were studied.
CHAPTER TWO

THE CHINESE POPULATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA
I. Demography

The 1966 census recorded the total Chinese population in Papua New Guinea as 2,935, which figure includes 2,455 people who were said to be Chinese, 406 of part-Chinese and part-indigenous descent, and 74 of part-Chinese and part-European descent. Since Chinese adolescents studying in Australia during the time of census taking were not counted, the official figure is almost certainly smaller than the actual number. Had the absent students been included another two or three hundred could have been added to the total Chinese population of Papua New Guinea.

In 1971 a census was again conducted in Papua New Guinea. However, until early 1974 no detailed report on this census was published, and my attempts in both 1972 and 1973 to obtain official figures for the Chinese population from the Bureau of Statistics of Papua New Guinea were unsuccessful. I have had, therefore, to rely on my own findings during a field trip to Papua New Guinea in 1971 in discussing the present distribution of the Chinese population there.

On this field trip, a survey of Chinese demographical distribution was made while travelling through the majority of the established urban centre in the country. The initial data were compared with the enumerations made by local Chinese community leaders, and an estimate of the Chinese population in various towns in 1971 was made. There were about 500 Chinese in Port Moresby, 400 in Lae, 80 in the Highland towns, 200 in Madang, 100 in Wewak, 200 in Kavieng, 50 in Buka and Kieta, 50 in West New Britain towns, and some 1,200 in Rabaul and Kokopo. My total estimate for the

2 In September 1972, the Rabaul Town Council issued a figure of the estimated population within its town boundary, and listed 1,900 Chinese. This estimate seems to me to be much too high.
whole of Papua New Guinea therefore was 2,780.

It was not until March 1974 that I obtained from the Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics the 1971 Census of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. This information gives distributions of 'pure' Chinese in those districts and major towns in the country listed in Table 1, for places to which the 1966 census also applied. The official 1971 figure of 2,760 is very close to my own estimate of 2,780. However, internal migration from Rabaul to the other urban centres was more rapid than I had expected, and so my estimate of 1,200 Chinese in Rabaul and its vicinity exceeds the official figure by about 200. As mentioned earlier, the official census does not include students attending schools in Australia, who number no less than 200. Should this figure be added to the official one, the entire Chinese population in Papua New Guinea is then approximately 3,000. Further to this, there remain an additional 500 to 600 Chinese of mixed descent to be considered.

Compared with the findings of the 1966 census the urban Chinese population in 1971 had notably increased, with the most notable increase being in Port Moresby. The internal migration of Chinese from East New Britain to Papua and to the New Guinea mainland, rather than by mere increase in the number of births, accounts for this. This migration will be discussed later in Chapters Three, Six, Seven, and Eight.

It was also found necessary to conduct an intensive household survey of the entire Chinese population in Kavieng and a sample population of Rabaul during November and December, 1971, since information from official sources on the structure of the Chinese population was again unavailable. Rabaul and Kavieng were selected as the places for conducting this household and population survey mainly because I lived there long enough to know the people and to be familiar with salient aspects of the community. As
## TABLE 1: 1966 AND 1971 PAPUA NEW GUINEA: PERSONS OF CHINESE RACE BY DISTRICT AND IN MAJOR TOWNS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Districts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>636</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milne Bay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IN PAPUA</strong></td>
<td>167</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Highlands</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Highlands</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Highlands</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morobe</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>424</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Sepik</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Sepik</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. New Britain</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. New Britain</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>1,269</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IN DISTRICTS</strong></td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>1,064</td>
<td>2,455</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>1,271</td>
<td>2,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Towns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moresby</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lae</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wewak</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madang</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt Hagen</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goroko</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kieta-Arawa-Panguna</td>
<td>(no information)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IN TOWNS</strong></td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td>1,224</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>2,281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1 March, 1974).
well as this, a study of the two communities allows comparative analysis, as Rabaul has the largest concentrated Chinese population in the whole of Papua and New Guinea while that of Kavieng is much smaller, and lives in a less urbanized locality. Due to the small size of the Chinese population and the restricted residential area in Kavieng, I was able to include every household whose members were Chinese or of traceable Chinese descent. In most cases in Kavieng, people were found to be very responsive and cooperative in interviews. But in Rabaul the situation was very different. A survey of the entire Chinese population was simply impossible when time, personnel, and finance were considered. I thus decided on a sample of the population. This sample was first set up on a random basis, with the aim of interviewing a certain number of households on each street in those sections of town known to have a concentration of Chinese residents. This proved to be unfeasible when it came to carrying out test interviews. By and large the difficulties arose from the attitude of the Chinese towards interviews by a stranger. They were extremely suspicious and sometimes even hostile when questioned about details of their households and families. My wife and I later learned that we had first to establish a rapport with each household (this was not possible with the entire population in town) and then to obtain the necessary information by participation, observation, and questioning in a very casual manner. Even so in many cases information regarded by the interviewees as confidential - such as age and the ownership of enterprises and properties - had to be obtained from their neighbours and friends, as well as from their enemies in some cases. Restricted by field circumstances, we had to give up the idea of acquiring a well designed sample by normal sampling techniques, and instead tried to collect data from as many available households as possible. All the data are constructed using December 1971 as the standard point of time reference. The discussion which follows will be focussed on the results of this survey of the Chinese
population of Rabaul and Kavieng. Although the Rabaul sample is not constructed from a strictly random basis, it is believed that the sample population is large enough (about half of the entire Chinese population in town) to balance any possible bias, and thus allow explanations of the population structure to be meaningful.

Age and Sex Distribution

The sampled Chinese population of Rabaul is 652, which consists of 359 males and 293 females; the Chinese population of Kavieng is 254, with 130 males and 124 females. The number of males is clearly higher in both communities than that of females. Table 2 shows these populations divided into community and sex.

**TABLE 2: SURVEYED CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG ACCORDING TO SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sex Ratio*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>122.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavieng</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>104.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>117.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females

The total population divided according to age, each five years in one group, is tabulated in Table 3, where the sex ratio for each of the age groups is also calculated and listed.

The sex ratio of children below the age of ten appears to be highly unbalanced in favour of males: 138.3 males to 100 females in the 0-4 group, and 145.9 males to 100 females in the 5-9 group. While there are slightly more females in the age groups of 40 to 69 years of age (87.9
male: 100 female), the number of males overwhelms that of females by 260 to 100 among people above the age of 70.

**TABLE 3: AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>138.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>145.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>115.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>105.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>108.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>125.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>124.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>115.7</td>
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<td>45-49</td>
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<td>103.5</td>
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<td>50-54</td>
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<td>87.9</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>103.5</td>
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<td>60-64</td>
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<td>65-69</td>
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<td>103.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>260.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>103.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>103.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>117.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Household Size and Structure**

In their residential units the Chinese in Rabaul and Kavieng tend to form small households, although economically speaking they have families which are composed of people living in several households as discussed in Chapter Eight. Table 4 indicates the household size of the Chinese in Rabaul and Kavieng. As the mean household size is 4.98 persons, the modal
household contains four persons, and the median for the total number of households of the entire population is five, we can say that the Chinese have small households. These small households, which are predominately composed of one couple and their children, are revealed by the results of the analysis of household structure, which is shown in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons Per Household</th>
<th>Rabaul</th>
<th>Kavieng</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 person</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 persons</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 persons</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 persons</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 persons</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 persons</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 persons</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 persons</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 persons</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 persons</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 persons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 persons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 persons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS</strong></td>
<td>133</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean = 4.98 persons; Mode = 4 persons; Median = 5 persons

The significance of kinship in Chinese households is revealed by the fact that about 98 per cent of the total Chinese population were living in households where members are related in some way to each other, whereas only six persons among the total population of 906 were known to have no kinship ties whatsoever with the head of the household in which they resided. It is also noteworthy that there are 57 persons listed as grand-
children of the head of the household. This indicates that despite the smallness of the average household, many still consisted of extended families of three generations.

TABLE 5: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE: RELATIONSHIP OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS TO HEAD, CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Head of Household</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Degree of Kinship Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ego</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>1st degree kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Spouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>Total 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Parent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(86.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Child</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>2nd degree kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Adopted Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sibling</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Grandchild</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Grandparent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(11.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Child-in-law</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Total 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Parent-in-law</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. First Cousin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sibling's Child</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Spouse's Sibling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Other Kinship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. No Kinship</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. No Information</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Patterns of Marriage

Marriage patterns of the Chinese populations of Rabaul and Kavieng are analyzed and listed in both Table 6.A and Table 6.B. Table 6.A gives a summary of the marital status of the population in terms of legal marriage. As shown in Table 6.A 505 persons are listed as not married. They include persons who had an illegitimate child (i.e., 2
of Table 6.B) and those who were cohabiting without legal marriage (i.e., 6 of Table 6.B) although the majority of the unmarried are youths and children who were not yet mature. Among the 360 persons who are listed as married in Table 6.A, two men practiced polygamy, for 23 persons this was the second marriage, and eight had cohabited with their spouses before the present marriage (i.e., 3, 4 and 7 of Table 6.B). The rest of the population is divided amongst the divorced or separated - nine persons (i.e., 8 and 9 of Table 6.B); the widowed - 28 persons (i.e., 11 of Table 6.B); and those for whom information about their marital status was not clear - four persons (i.e., 12 of Table 6.B).

Marriages among the New Guinea Chinese are usually very stable. For instance, even though many cases of adultery were reported during the time of my fieldwork, they did not consequently result in divorce or separation, for the persons involved would usually be forgiven by their spouses as time went on. Thus four persons only, three male and one female in the total population of Rabaul and Kavieng had legal divorces. People who had married for the second time in the majority of the cases did so after the death of their spouses, not after divorce.

### Table 6.A: Summary of Marital Status of the Chinese Populations of Rabaul (Sample) and Kavieng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Married</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 6.B: MARITAL STATUS OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Never Married</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Never Married but has Illegitimate Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Married (Monogamous)</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Married (Polygynous) Both Wives Chinese, one in China, one in NG</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Second Marriage</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cohabitation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Practiced 6. before Present Marriage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Divorced (No 2nd M.)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Separated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Separated after 6.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Widowed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. No Information</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Birth Place

Among the surveyed Chinese population 84 per cent were born in New Guinea, while only 11.6 per cent were born in China. Classifications of birth place according to sex and community are listed in Table 7.A. The internal migration within Papua New Guinea is very evident, as there were 23 persons living in Kavieng who were born in Rabaul; 10 persons living in Rabaul who were born in Kavieng; and 36 persons born elsewhere in New Guinea but living in either one of the two communities. When the populations under the present survey are examined with the two variables of birth place and age of individuals having been taken into consideration, as has been
TABLE 7.A: BIRTH PLACE OF INDIVIDUALS ACCORDING TO SEX AND COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Place</th>
<th>Rabaul Male</th>
<th>Rabaul Female</th>
<th>Rabaul Total</th>
<th>Kavieng Male</th>
<th>Kavieng Female</th>
<th>Kavieng Total</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rabaul</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavieng</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>(761) 84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere in New Guinea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (and H.K.)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

done in Table 7.B, it is clear that those people born in China are predominantly older - average 54.2 years of age - while the New Guinea born Chinese are on the average much younger. The fact correlates with the pattern of generation distribution of the Chinese according to their ages; the greater number of generations, the younger the people are, as indicated in Table 8.B.

Chinese Immigrants and Generation

To determine the generation difference among the Chinese now settled in New Guinea, the writer has used as a criterion whether individuals are born in New Guinea and whether or not their parents and their ancestors of ascending generations were born in New Guinea. A person who was not himself born in New Guinea is thus classified as an 'immigrant'. As indicated in Table 8.A, 12.3 per cent of the population of the survey are immigrants. The first generation New Guinea Chinese, that is children of immigrants, makes up 40 per cent of the population. The second generation New Guinea Chinese, 1

1 In Table 8.A 33 persons are listed as 'not applicable'. This includes persons who were married to or lived with the Chinese but are not themselves Chinese and who are thus excluded from the analysis.
### TABLE 7.B: CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG, BIRTH PLACE OF INDIVIDUALS ACCORDING TO AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Rabaul</th>
<th>Kavieng</th>
<th>Elsewhere in New Guinea</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>No Information</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0- 4</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- 9</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-94</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Immigrant</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self China Born</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One parent China born, self New Guinea born</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parent China born, self New Guinea born</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents New Guinea born, self New Guinea born</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One grandparent N.G. born, parents N.G. born, self N.G. born</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
whose parents were born in New Guinea, made up 33.3 per cent of the population, while the third generation New Guinea Chinese was only 14.5 per cent of the population. However, in terms of actual residence in New Guinea the generation depth of the Chinese actually extends to the fifth generation. According to genealogical records of the families collected in Rabaul and Kavieng, many of the third generation New Guinea Chinese listed in Table 8.A are actually the fourth or fifth generation residents, because their grandparents or great-grandparents, even though they themselves were born in China, actually lived in New Guinea. Such was the case with many of the Chens, Chous, and SuTus.

The mean age of the different generations of the New Guinea Chinese is shown in Table 8.B, which shows the age distribution of the Chinese of various generations. Those Chinese who are immigrants themselves are on the average over 56 years old, but those of the first generation have an average age of 30.2; the second generation 16.1; and the third generation 5.9. It is, therefore, evident that the first and second generation Chinese in New Guinea are adolescents and young adults, while the third generation are children.

**Ethnic Characteristics**

Judged by its ethnic as well as its cultural characteristics, the Chinese population in Papua New Guinea is not a homogenous group. Among the Chinese included in my survey only 77 per cent are 'pure Chinese', as shown in Table 9.A. By 'pure Chinese' I have no intention of saying that they constitute in terms of biological criteria a homogenous group, but

---

1 This includes many immigrants who arrived in New Guinea as late as just before the Pacific war of 1941: the wives and children of earlier Chinese male immigrants. There are also new female immigrants who have come to New Guinea to be married to Chinese men since the late 1950s.
### TABLE 8.B: CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG, AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VARIOUS GENERATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Self Immig.</th>
<th>1st Gene.</th>
<th>2nd Gene.</th>
<th>3rd Gene.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-94</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Age  
- Self: 56.1  
- 1st Gene: 30.2  
- 2nd Gene: 16.1  
- 3rd Gene: 5.9
rather that in their recent ethnohistory the progenitors of these people had no record of any intermarriage with other ethnic groups in New Guinea. It is an historical fact that the Chinese arriving in New Guinea as an immigrant population have intermarried with indigenous Niuginians as well as with other immigrant groups such as Europeans, Malays, and Polynesians, and thus have produced offspring who carry with them biological and cultural traits of both Chinese and the other ethnic groups. It is therefore in the sense of ethnic exogamy that we can talk about pure Chinese or Chinese of mixed ancestry such as the Sino-Niuginians - who are born of a Chinese and a Niuginian parent or born of parents both of whom are offspring of mixed ethnic marriages - and the Eurasians, who are children of a Chinese and a Caucasian parent.

**TABLE 9.A: ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAU, SAMPLE AND KAVIENG ACCORDING TO GENERATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Category</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>1st.</th>
<th>2nd.</th>
<th>3rd.</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pure Chinese</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino-Niuginian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurasian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong> (33)</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sino-Niuginians constitute 15.8 per cent of the surveyed Chinese population, and Eurasians 2.2 per cent. Many of those Chinese women who have married Europeans have moved either away from the communities surveyed, or out of New Guinea; otherwise, the percentage of Eurasians in the Chinese population would undoubtedly have been higher.
Irrespective of the extent of ethnic mixture in a person's progenitors, as long as he is descended from a Chinese man, maintains a Chinese surname, and speaks a little Chinese, he is regarded and accepted by the Chinese population as a 'tong-ian'. This assertion is supported by the fact that, for instance, in Kavieng all the Chinese of whatever ethnic characteristics lived in one quarter which was reserved for the Chinese. We often heard the Sino-Niuginians, who may very closely resemble an indigenous native in appearance, mentioning that "we Chinese do this and that". The New Guinea Chinese, however, cannot themselves escape charges of ethno-centrism, for they also remark on or refer to the Chinese descended from mixed ethnic marriages as 'half descent' or 'pun-tung', in contrast to the 'genuine Chinese' or 'ching-tong'.

Generation differences in the Chinese population according to the above mentioned ethnic categories are tabulated in Table 9.A. Table 9.B provides further detailed description and classification into categories in terms of the degree of ethnic exogamy among their progenitors. Those who are ethnically non-Chinese are those under items 7, 8, and 9 of Table 9.B, and are relisted in combination under the item of 'not applicable' in Table 9.A.

Surnames

Forty-one Chinese surnames were recorded from among the surveyed Chinese population. Among the surnames SuTu, Chen and Chou are distinctive in having more people bearing them than any other surnames. The predominance of certain surnames is related to patterns of Chinese migration to New Guinea in the early days, when the settlers very often recruited new migrants from among their lineage members at home. In the Papua New Guinea Telephone Directory the name Seeto (SuTu) and Chan (Chen) appear more frequently than
### TABLE 9.B: ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG ACCORDING TO SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Description</th>
<th>Rabaul</th>
<th></th>
<th>Kavieng</th>
<th></th>
<th>Grand</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. F &amp; M both Chinese</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. F=½ Chinese, M pure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M=½ Chinese, F pure</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. F, M both ½ Chinese, or F pure, M native, or M pure, F native</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. F white, M Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. M white, F Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pure white</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pure native</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mixture of Malay, Polynesian &amp; white</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Throughout this thesis Chinese words spelled according to the Mandarin pronunciation are capitalized and are not in italics, e.g., SuTu or Fen Chia: while words of Cantonese pronunciation are not capitalized, except for place and persons' names, and are in italics, e.g., tong-ian.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chen (Chen, Chan, Chin)</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>23. Id (Lai)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang (Cheong, Cheung)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24. Luo (Low)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheng (Chang)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25. Lung (Lung)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang (Chiang)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26. Ma (Ma)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chou (Chow)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>27. Mai (Mack)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu (Chen, Lee)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>28. Pan (Poon)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung (Chung, Cheung)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29. Pan (Poon)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feng (Foung)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30. Peng (Pong)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho (Ho)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31. Shie (Tse, Tsai, Cha)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu (Woo, Wu)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32. Su-Tu (Seeto, Seto, SeeHo, Tzeto)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwang (Wong)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33. Tang (Tong)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwan (Kwan, Quan)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34. T'sai (Choi, Choy)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwang (Pong)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35. Tseng (Tsang)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lai (Lai)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36. Tsang (Yun)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li (Lee)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37. T'seng (Sam)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li (Lai)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38. Wu (Ng, Ning)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liang (Leung, Leong)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39. Yan (Yim)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liau (Leo)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40. Yieh (Yip)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin (Lam)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41. Fu (Foo)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling (Ling)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0. Not Applicable</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu (Lai)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu (Lo, Lou)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OTHER UNLISTED SURNAMES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA:

42. Hsu (Hui) 许 43. Wing (Wan) 温 44. Chien (Chin, Cheen) 錢
45. Han (Han) 韓 46. Lan (Lam) 藍 47. Lau (Low) 劳 48. Su (Soo) 苏
49. Teng (Tang) 鄧 50. Tai (Dai) 戴 51. Kuo (Koo) 郭 52. Nieh (Nee) 鳳 53. Miu (Mau)
China) ancestral home town' of every adult New Guinea Chinese is clearly known by him despite the generation and ethnic differences among them. Table 11 lists the places of Tsu-Chi of the Rabaul and Kavieng Chinese,

**TABLE 11: TSU-CHI (ANCESTRAL HOME) OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestral Home Town</th>
<th>Rabaul</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Kavieng</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiping (Hoi~ping)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taishan (Toi~san)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu<del>wan (Ng</del>yun)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan (Hoi~nam)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huiyang (Wei~young)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuchien (Hokkien)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>359</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All the Hong Kong brides are classified under this category regardless of their Tsu-chi.

with the exception that those married women who have come from Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore are so listed regardless of their actual Tsu-Chi. In order of frequency as it appears in Table 11, the Tsu-Chi include Kaiping and Taishan (two of the See Yap counties), Wu-wan (five districts surrounding the Canton city), and Huiyang. All these places are within the

1 Many of the Sino-Niuginians, although they carry very strong indigenous physical features and are hardly to be recognized by outsiders as Chinese, pointed out to the surveyor during his interview that: "We are Kaiping people (Ngo~de hai hoiping~jan lai~ga)". 
province of Kwangtung.

The Tsu-Chi are generally known to be associated with Chinese dialect groups. As Table 12 indicates, the See Yap Cantonese who came from Kaiping and Taishan account for 70.1 per cent of the total surveyed population; the other Cantonese form 12.8 per cent of the population; and the Hakka people who predominantly came originally from Huiyang account for 11.9 per cent of the total population.

**TABLE 12: DIALECT GROUPS OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect Group</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See Yap Cantonese (Kaiping + Taishan)</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Cantonese (Wu-wan + Hainan)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakka (Huiyang)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>787</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including Hong Kong, Singapore, and other areas.

The surname groups which have been discussed can also be correlated with the Tsu-Chi as well as with dialect groups. My survey data confirms the view held by old Chinese informants that the majority of the Chens came from Taishan, while the SuTus and Chous came from Kaiping. These people are all See Yap Cantonese, so are the Changs and Kwangs. The Hakkas carry the surnames of Hwang, Li (Lee), Hu, Yieh, Hsu and Wan. The surnames of Chien, Han, Fu, Lung, Ling and Lan belong to the Hainan islanders; the majority of those with these names are now Sino-Niuginians.

**Religion**

Religion is yet another aspect which substantiates the view that
the Chinese population is a heterogeneous one. Apart from a few individual worshippers, no traditional Chinese religious institution is maintained in Papua New Guinea. A large proportion of the Chinese have become baptized Christians. The composition of religious affiliations among the Chinese in Rabaul and Kavieng is revealed in Table 13. In both places they are predominantly Roman Catholic - 60.2 per cent of the entire population surveyed. Only 8.9 per cent of the Chinese in Rabaul and Kavieng are known to be Methodists. The reasons for such a disparity in number between the Chinese Catholics and Chinese Methodists, which needs to be explained, are discussed in Chapter Four. The 20.6 per cent listed as having no religious affiliation with Christian sects are either the aged, who uphold Chinese folk beliefs, or those young children who have yet to be associated with any formal religion.

**TABLE 13: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Religion</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Religious Affiliation</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

The educational standard of the Chinese according to sex difference is analyzed and the results tabulated in Table 14.A. Not only does the number of persons having the same level of education not differ significantly between males and females, but also a Chi\(^2\) score proves that there is
TABLE 14.A: EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG ACCORDING TO SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Education</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No School Education</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Tertiary, and Advanced</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Combination of 1 and 2 of Table 14.C.
2 Combination of 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of Table 14.C.
3 Combination of 8, 9, 10, and 11 of Table 14.C.
4 Combination of 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 of Table 14.C.

unlikely to be a statistically significant difference. In other words, males and females, at least among the surveyed population, have stood an equal chance of receiving a formal education.

The standard of education among the population of Rabaul and Kavieng has also been analyzed with reference to generation difference, and the results are shown in Table 14.B. A tendency towards an increased level of education in each succeeding generation is apparent, for the modal category of frequency distributions for the immigrant Chinese is 'no formal school education'; for the first generation Chinese is 'primary education'; and for the second generation is 'secondary education'. Also, people who have been educated at the tertiary level increase in frequency generation by generation. An exception here is the third generation, whose members were still young at the time of my survey: the majority of them have had
as yet no school education or at only a primary education.

### TABLE 14.B: EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG ACCORDING TO GENERATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Education</th>
<th>Immi.</th>
<th>1st G.</th>
<th>2nd G.</th>
<th>3rd G.</th>
<th>No Inf.</th>
<th>Not appl.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No School Education</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
<td><strong>340</strong></td>
<td><strong>282</strong></td>
<td><strong>126</strong></td>
<td><strong>-</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>906</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More detailed information on the types of education, and whether this was received in New Guinea or elsewhere, is listed in Table 14.C. A further discussion of the educational system operating in the Chinese communities before the World War II and afterwards will be presented later in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

### Occupations

Variety and multiplicity can be said to characterize Chinese occupations in Papua New Guinea. The Chinese are employed in a wide range of occupations, from professionals to craftsmen, and provide the country with a variety of services - from storekeepers of all sorts to bread and beverage manufacturers; this is despite the widespread impression that the Papua New Guinea Chinese are all storekeepers. This impression is perhaps derived from the Chinese settlement patterns which will be discussed below.

When analyzing patterns of occupation, it is discovered that the conventional method of assigning each individual to one occupation is not
## TABLE 14.C: EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE POPULATIONS OF RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Education</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No School Education</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Informal Chinese Education (can read and write)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Primary Education in New Guinea, Incomplete</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Primary Education in China, Incomplete</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Primary Boarding School in Australia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Complete Primary Education in New Guinea</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Complete Primary Education in China</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Secondary Education in Australia, Incomplete</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Secondary Education in China, or Hong Kong, Incomplete</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. High School Leaving Certificate</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. High School Matriculated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Teacher's College</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Technical College, or Apprenticeship</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. University, Incomplete</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Advanced Studies or Higher Tertiary Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. No Information</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 15. OCCUPATIONS OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN RABAUL (SAMPLE) AND KAVIENG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M F Total</td>
<td>M F Total</td>
<td>M F Total</td>
<td>M F Total</td>
<td>M F Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>333 256 589</td>
<td>429 337 766</td>
<td>459 408 867</td>
<td>479 416 895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy Members</td>
<td>1 -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers (Primary,Secondary)</td>
<td>1 4 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians (wider social)</td>
<td>2 -</td>
<td>3 1 1 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians (Chinese Organ.)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>5 - 5 2 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Professionals</td>
<td>4 4 8 8 - 3 1 - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Administrative, Executive, and Managerial Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Officials</td>
<td>3 1 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adm. Clerical</td>
<td>16 10 26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Administrative Workers</td>
<td>19 11 30</td>
<td>1 -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-owner/Share Holder of Big Companies</td>
<td>11 4 15</td>
<td>7 - 1 - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial for Familial Co. or Big Store</td>
<td>19 5 24</td>
<td>3 1 4</td>
<td>- 1 - 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner, in Australia</td>
<td>6 9 15</td>
<td>9 8 7 4 2 6 3 3 1 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner, in New Guinea</td>
<td>- - 5 - 5 1 3 3 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Theatre Owner</td>
<td>1 1 1 -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers, Directors</td>
<td>1 5 6 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers of Big Co.</td>
<td>22 1 23</td>
<td>6 - 6 10 2 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Managerial Workers</td>
<td>64 19 81</td>
<td>12 9 41 17 4 21 2 - 9 2 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerical Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book-keepers, Stenographers, Typist, etc.</td>
<td>21 6 27</td>
<td>- 2 -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Store Owners</td>
<td>4 14 18</td>
<td>3 2 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Store Partners</td>
<td>42 55 97</td>
<td>23 7 30 7 4 11 1 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Store Management</td>
<td>16 18 34</td>
<td>50 68 118 12 1 13 4 - 4 - 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen &amp; Shop Assist.</td>
<td>6 25 31</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itinerant Lorry Owners</td>
<td>- - 2 1 3 1 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sales Workers</td>
<td>68 112 180 102 100 202 25 7 32 7 2 9 1 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Farm Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation Managers</td>
<td>7 - 7 4 - 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Workers in Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal Ship Captains/Sail.</td>
<td>1 - 1</td>
<td>2 - 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 1 - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi Owners</td>
<td>1 1 2</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>5 - 5 1 - 1 - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship Owners</td>
<td>- - 3 - 5 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Workers in Transport</td>
<td>2 1 - 2 - 5 - 5 1 - 1 1 2 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Craftsmen, Productive and Process Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Machinistes</td>
<td>5 - 5</td>
<td>3 - 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Machinists</td>
<td>7 - 7 1 - 1 1 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters, Full-time</td>
<td>8 - 8 1 - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters, Part-time</td>
<td>- - 1 - 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry Owner-workers</td>
<td>3 3 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverage Manufacturers</td>
<td>2 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Craftsmen, P &amp; F Work.</td>
<td>25 3 28</td>
<td>5 - 5 2 - 2 2 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Workers</td>
<td>1 1 - 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Private Households)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs, Insurance, and</td>
<td>17 6 25</td>
<td>1 - 1 6 1 7 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate Agents, Copra Buyers</td>
<td>2 1 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant &amp; Bar Owners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Service Workers</td>
<td>19 81 100</td>
<td>1 16 47 7 67 74 4 4 8 - 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>170 106 106 276</td>
<td>- 72 46 46 1 66 61 2 2 4 - 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>75 68 143</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pensioner</td>
<td>10 - 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (unspecified)</td>
<td>2 - 2</td>
<td>2 4 6 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Other</td>
<td>257 174 411 2 4 6 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. No Information</td>
<td>3 6 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand Total 489 417 906 489 417 906 489 417 906 489 417 906 489 417 906
adequate. Since many Chinese at the same time may have more than one occupation, I have thus allowed each individual in the survey to claim as much as five occupations, either in the order of importance assigned them by the person himself or else according to general opinion. For example, almost every married woman who works in a trade store is both a store manager and a housewife. A shareholder of a commercial enterprise may be at the same time a manager of the company owned by his family, and also a coastal ship owner. Or a typist working for the government during office hours may also be a shop assistant after her official work, and as well as being responsible for the cooking and cleaning for her family in cases where her aged parents and young brothers all reside together.

The variety and multiplicity of the occupations of the Rabaul and Kavieng Chinese surveyed are thus listed in detail in Table 15. Several Chinese who were professionals were not included in my Rabaul sample. A Chinese pharmacist who worked for a European Chemist shop was not included in my sample. In 1972 a Rabaul-born Chinese medical doctor returned to practice. Five licenced pharmacists in Port Moresby were Chinese who had migrated there from Rabaul and Lae.

Despite this characteristic of variety in their occupations, there are more Chinese engaged in commercial activities - especially in retail business - than in any other trade or profession. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six and Seven, there has been a trend among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea to give up their occupations as employees and to become self-employed merchants.

II. Characteristics of Chinese Settlement

While they are dispersed all over Papua New Guinea, the Chinese population in 1971 lived mainly in urban centres, containing administrative
quarters, commercial establishments, and European settlements. In Papua Chinese were to be found only in Port Moresby, Daru, Samarai, and the Trobriand Islands. Except in Port Moresby, where most Chinese in Papua were concentrated, the places mentioned had at most only a couple of households each. On the Gazelle Peninsula, the northeastern tip of the island of New Britain, and in every part of New Ireland, Chinese were found living outside the towns as well. The Chinese have established themselves in these areas since the last century: many of them have lived on coconut and cocoa plantations, supervising workers there while at the same time running small trade stores. On the New Guinea mainland they arrived in the Madang and Wewak areas during the 1890s, but settlement in large numbers did not happen in these places until the 1950s and later. When Lae was first chosen as the new capital for New Guinea in 1939, a few dozen arrived to settle there, and again after the war Chinese from Rabaul emigrated by the hundreds to Lae, and later also to Highland towns during the late 1960s.

The immediate impression of those visiting Papua New Guinea for the first time when they meet the Chinese at home is that wherever a Chinese store is found, there also is found a Chinese house or vice versa. In most parts of the country, with the sole possible exception of Rabaul, the Chinese are found to be living in the same buildings as their stores. A Chinese store in an urban centre rarely stands alone; normally it stands with several others in a row. The buildings all look similar: usually a two storey wooden house with a single or double front door which opens immediately onto the street to allow the potential customer to see the stock inside the store even at a quick glance; while upstairs are the living and sleeping quarters of the household. If it is a single storey building, and thus usually of smaller size a hallway leads from the store room in the front through the centre of the building towards the back, with several
MAP 6: RABAUL

TOWN OF RABAUL
MILINCH OF BLANCHE
bedrooms on both sides - this hallway ends in the kitchen-dining room.
Chinese houses or stores all look similar because they were built by the people themselves, many of whom learned their carpentry from the same Chinese master-carpenters.

In the established towns the Chinese are usually found concentrated in one area or else within certain areas. The reason for this is mainly due to the social pressures upon them in the past. In those older New Guinea towns such as Rabaul, Madang, and Lae, there is a place called Chinatown where before the 1950s the Chinese were confined, both for living and for carrying on their commercial and other activities. The old Chinatowns were invariably very crowded - rows of houses stood side by side leaving almost no spare space for trees and gardens. The location of these Chinatowns is shown in the maps (Maps 3, 4, 5, 6) for each of the towns mentioned. As the map of Rabaul town shows, the size of each block of land in the old Chinatown area is much smaller than those located elsewhere in town.

In more recent times the Chinese are to be found living in dispersed areas in each of the established urban centres. Their houses, however, are always in a group in the neighbourhood, and the group of houses belonging to the Chinese invariably becomes the commercial centre for that neighbourhood. The development of Chinese settlements in any place in Papua New Guinea is thus closely associated with the urbanization process. It is strongly suspected, moreover, that urbanization process in many sections of established or newly developed urban centres is closely related to the settling there of Chinese residents. It is apparent that the Chinese always seek out and discover opportunities for commercial establishments: wherever a large settlement - regardless of whether it is of European or indigenous people - is found to be without any retail stores in its vicinity, the Chinese endeavour to move in and establish
stores. This process is most obvious in Port Moresby where the only commercial area, before the Chinese began immigrating there in the early 1960s, was concentrated in the established European township near the harbour. Today, wherever the Chinese have built houses and have started their stores they have established in their neighbourhood a new 'shopping centre', such as those in Koki, Boroko, Hohola, Six Mile, Korobasea, and Waigani. The process of development in Boroko is most prominent for, according to Chinese informants, the place where 'hundreds' of shops are now standing was merely a bush area when they first arrived. Now it has become one of the biggest and busiest commercial areas in the city. In Waigani also, where an administrative college and a university are located, the only retail shops are run by Chinese; a Chinese business family from Rabaul also built there in 1972 one of the biggest supermarkets in the city. The Chinese were talking about the possibility of a new shopping centre in the Gordon area, where so far only three Chinese shops had been allowed to operate but where there is a large indigenous settlement.

From time to time throughout this thesis mention will be made of the township of Rabaul and of the Chinese living there. It is therefore pertinent here to sketch the physical features of the place where about half the Chinese population in the whole of Papua New Guinea is residing.

Rabaul town is built on an area of flat land between the surrounding volcanic hills and the sea, along the shores of Simpson Harbour, which is U-shaped with its open end facing the south. There are three main streets in town: Malaguna Road, Mango Avenue, and Casuarina Avenue. Malaguna Road runs across the town from east to west, roughly parallel with the north shore of the harbour, and connects with the two main roads at the western end. One of these roads leads to the North Coast Road of the Gazelle Peninsula, and the other one to the Kokopo road which connects with the road networks on the plateau land to the south of the town. To
the north of Malaguna Road is the 'good' residential area with spacious houses and big gardens, where Europeans and the more wealthy Chinese live. Towards the eastern end of this residential area only recently was built a settlement for indigenous government employees who live in simple and small houses. To the south of Malaguna Road on the harbour side is the industrial area, where factories, a power house, and a technical college are located. Along Malaguna Road, apart from a big Catholic church and a school, Chinese stores as well as European firms are scattered. Toward the extreme western end of this road, at its conjunction with Kokopo road, there are several Chinese shops and the Mataungan Association with its small commercial market, which belongs to the Tolai people. Toward the eastern end is the busiest commercial area in town for both the indigenous and other peoples, because there stands the old Chinatown and the native market - each the biggest of its own kind in the country.

The other two main streets of Rabaul run in a North-South direction, both meeting Malaguna Road at its eastern end. Mango Avenue, which is the main street of European commercial activities - all the modern shops, the banks, the main hotels, the insurance agents, and travel agencies - is closer to the harbour. There is no Chinese shop on this street, although the only two movie theatres in town (one catering for the expatriates and the other for the indigenous) have been owned and managed by a Chinese businessman since the mid-1950s. The southern end of Mango Avenue meets Sulphur Creek Road, which passes through the new (post-war) Chinese quarter and leads towards the southern outskirts of town to the golf course and the airstrip. From there the road runs to Matupit Island, one of the biggest Tolai settlements on the Gazelle Peninsula (See Epstein, A. L. 1969).

The northern end of Casuarina Avenue runs through the centre of Chinatown where alongside the street are crowded rows of Chinese shops with practically no space between them. The street runs southward and passes
Queen Elizabeth Park, the sports ground, the schools, and the administrative buildings. The southern end of Casuarina Avenue runs into the new Chinese quarter - which before the war was the Matupit Farm. In the new quarters, even though each household was given more space than in the old Chinatown, every Chinese house was built immediately onto the street with its living room facing the street, in preparation for its conversion to a shop at any time. Many 'temporary' Chinese stores did flourish during the 1950s, but since then only about 20 are still in operation. It is noteworthy that an exclusive white residential area in Rabaul still existed when I was there between 1971 to 1973. This is the Namanula Hill where since the German period, only European government officials and rich European merchants have lived.

The course and manner of establishment of these Chinese settlements in various places in Papua New Guinea will be discussed in Chapter Three.

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1 Lyng (1919:131-2): "In the mountains, a mile and a half from Rabaul, Namanula is situated. It is healthier there, and slightly cooler than below.... Nature has created a delightful spot around Namanula, and probably for this reason it has become the fashionable suburb. It is there Government House is situated at the summit of a hill, surrounded by the most luxuriant tropical vegetation, and presenting excellent views.... In Namanula there are also a number of picturesque villas...."
PLATE I: A corner of the Rabaul Market, overlooking the trade stores of Chinatown.

PLATE II: Chinese trade stores at the Matupit Farm - the New Chinatown of Rabaul.
PLATE III: Part of the Boroko commercial area in Port Moresby.

PLATE IV: Madang Chinatown.
CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY OF CHINESE MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN NEW GUINEA
I. The German Period: 1880-1914

The most easily constructed history of the New Guinea Chinese is mainly a non-Chinese or European one, for the data from which such a history may be reconstructed is only obtainable either from the official records of the European colonial administrations or from literature written by Europeans in their own languages. Taken from any point of view, however, the history is a long one. Because Chinese traders have been active in Southeast Asia since the 15th century, they almost certainly (before the 19th century) reached coastal New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, and possibly at the same time as early European contacts (Oliver 1951:104; Rowley 1965:56-7). Rowley maintains that some Chinese might have accompanied Malay bird of paradise hunters and so visited the Sepik river valley long before the Germans claimed it; in any case Chinese traders had apparently established contact with the islands off Aitape before the German New Guinea Company was established there.

The arrival of large numbers of Chinese in New Guinea during the last century was closely related to economic development there under the German colonial administration. This development demanded cheaply paid skilled labourers, unavailable amongst the indigenous population. Germany claimed New Guinea as her protectorate in 1884, and the German New Guinea Company was assigned sovereign rights until 1899. During the period from 1889 to 1901, when the German New Guinea Company on Kaiser Wilhelmsland (now the New Guinea mainland) was experimenting with coconut and tobacco plantations, hundreds of indentured Chinese labourers were brought in each year, first from Singapore and Sumatra, and later from Hong Kong and China, to work as plantation labourers in the present day Madang and Finschhafen areas (cf. Biskup 1970; Firth, S. G. 1972).
Tropical diseases, hard work and harsh treatment (See Cayley-Webster 1898:23; Lyng 1919:150-1; Kotze 1921:16; Biskup 1970:90-3; Firth, S. G. 1972:369) resulted in hundreds of deaths among these labourers. Between August 1891 and February 1892, 1,699 Malay and Chinese coolies arrived in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, "but a German naval report claimed that over 60 per cent of the workforce in Kaiser Wilhelmsland died in 1891 and 1892" (Firth, S. G. 1972:369). Both the indentured labour scheme and the plantation projects of the New Guinea Company proved to be failures. The Company pointed out to the German government in 1904 that this was "because a plantation in Kaiser Wilhelmsland would have to reckon with an average sickness rate of a third among any Chinese it imported and the loss of 30 per cent to 40 per cent of them through death and invalidity" (Firth, S. G. 1973:186).

Most of the labourers who survived stayed only for the contracted period of from two to five years, and after this were repatriated. The arrival of indentured Chinese labourers on the New Guinea mainland during this period should not, therefore, be considered to be the beginning of Chinese immigration to New Guinea.

The German administration did not import Chinese labourers as immigrants, and the indentured labourers themselves did not intend to come as settlers. Only a small number stayed after their contracts expired, and still fewer within this small group settled down in New Guinea and produced offspring. By 1906 there were only 151 Chinese

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Cayley-Webster records (1909:23): "A morning or two after we arrived, I was unfortunately a witness to the public flogging of a Chinaman who had incited six of his countrymen to run away, leading them to believe that China itself would be found on the other side of the great Finisterre mountains looming up about ten miles in the interior. They were captured after a very few hours and brought back, but it appeared to me that the offence hardly merited the terrible punishment inflicted by the authorities."
remaining on Kaiser Wilhelmsland of whom only 38 were listed as
labourers; the 1911 census for Chinese in the Kaiser Wilhelmsland shows
82 individuals, none of whom was listed as a labourer (Annual Report
1906 and 1911). Perhaps most significant is the fact that even as late
as 1911 there were only three Chinese females in Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

It is generally believed by the residents of Papua New Guinea
that the Chinese there are descendants of coolies brought in by the
Germans. The opinion of the first group of Australians to arrive in New
Guinea that this was so was based on conjecture, but nonetheless has
general currency among Europeans living there at present. Many Papua
New Guinea Chinese resent the belief of their 'coolie' origin because
contempt or ridicule are implied in it, but since most are ignorant of
their own history in this country, they have had to accept as true an
opinion of which they are certainly not proud.

A letter on this subject, which appeared in The Rabaul Times
(December 16) in 1928, remarks that: "the majority of them were originally
brought here by the Germans to labour as coolies...". A similar account
appeared again in 1960 in the Pacific Islands Monthly in an article by Priday: "The Germans had brought in 2,000 coolies for
plantation labour, and their descendants remained as store keepers,
traders, restaurant keepers, tailors, laundrymen and hairdressers,
shipowners and plantation managers." This account was given in spite of
the fact that a Father Dwyer, who had been close to the Rabaul Chinese,
had previously tried to clarify the truth of their origin. An article
published in the same magazine earlier in 1953 (September, p.40) had
pointed out that: "Father Dwyer said it was not true that the Chinese

1 Hereinafter referred to as 'TRT'.
2 Hereinafter referred to as 'PIM'.
in New Guinea were mostly the descendants of Chinese coolies brought in by the Germans. The Germans generally repatriated their Chinese labourers but they did encourage the immigration and settlement of free Chinese from the Canton area, and 80 per cent of the Chinese now in New Guinea were of this stock." There was as well a view contradicting the general opinion about their origin, which attributed the present existence of the Chinese population in New Guinea to a generous Australian immigration policy practiced in New Guinea in 1921. This is reported in 1952 in an article on "How Come the Chinese in New Guinea", in the Pacific Islands Monthly (May, p.104):

The Chinese who were admitted to New Guinea by the Germans, were limited strictly to a few general traders - Ah Tam, Ah Kun and a third man who operated in a big way at Madang. These Chinese traders were allowed to bring in as employees a limited number of their fellow countrymen. Nothing was done about the Chinese community while the country was under Australian military occupation (1914-21).

In 1921 the newly-established Australian Administration introduced the immigration laws of the Mandate in such a way as to permit the free entry of Chinese, both men and women, for a couple of years. It was this immigration which provided the basis of the present Chinese community. After a couple of years the Australian Administration became alarmed at the influx of Chinese and withdrew the general permit to enter, and allowed entry thereafter only in particular cases, such as that of close relatives of Chinese already established.

Unfortunately, the assertions in this article are for the most part not based on historical facts. The Chinese population during the German period and before 1921 was certainly not limited to a few traders and their employees, nor did the Australian administration at any time ever open New Guinea for the free immigration of Chinese. It can be seen that the general opinion is confused and contradictory, and to see what actually happened we must now examine the recorded history, limited as this may possibly be.

As long ago as the 1880s, even before the German New Guinea
experimented with the indentured labour system, a number of Chinese artisans and traders - had already been working for the Germans in the Bismarck Archipelago (Rowley 1958:73). Before Germany annexed New Guinea in 1884, Germans based in Samoa were active among the islands, trading in copra and tortoise shell, and some Chinese might have sailed in their ships and helped with the trading. One of the first Chinese, Ah Tam (whose real name is Lee Tam Tuck) - who came to New Guinea in the late 1870s or 1880s with the Hernsheim brothers^1 - had established himself as an independent shipbuilder and trader on Matupit island of New Britain by the end of the last century. It is said that in 1899 the local native people - the Tolai - were able to begin sailing to the west in order to acquire valuable shells, which they used as a medium of exchange with both natives and Europeans, because they had been able to obtain bigger boats built by Ah Tam (Salisbury 1970:35). At that time, there were some 30 Chinese living in the Bismarck Archipelago (Salisbury 1970:33) and working for the German firms and missions as carpenters, housekeepers, cooks, copra buyers and trading agents (Annual Report 1900-1; Schnee 1904:14; Rowley 1958:74).

How these people had arrived is not recorded, but from my interviews with

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^1 The possible date of Ah Tam’s arrival in New Guinea is uncertain, for three different dates have been obtained from different sources. Upon his retirement and departure from Rabaul for Hong Kong in 1931, TRT (July 31, 1931) reported that Ah Tam had lived uninterruptedly for 49 years in the Territory. This puts his date of arrival as the year 1882. However, a year later when the news of Ah Tam’s death in Hong Kong was reported, the same newspaper noted (August 19, 1932) that Ah Tam had died at the age of 74 having spent 40 years in the Territory. From this report Ah Tam would have been born in 1858 and arrived in New Guinea in the year 1892. The late Mr Chow Ying in his memoir (not dated) gave another story of Ah Tam’s arrival in the Territory. Mr Chow recalled that when he arrived in New Guinea in 1901, Ah Tam told him that he had been in New Guinea for 28 years. Mr Chow accordingly believed that Ah Tam arrived in 1873. Although the last date appears to be extremely early, it is still plausible because the Hernsheim brothers - Ah Tam’s patrons and long term associates - came to the Bismarck Archipelago in 1874 and set up a trading post on the Matupit island in 1879 (Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 1901:173-5).
PLATE V: Employees of the firm Hernsheim and Co. at Matupit, in 1901. Note the Chinese sitting in the centre (source: Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 1901:194).

PLATE VI: Ah Tam's store and shipyard at Matupit, in 1901. (Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 1901:194).
Chinese informants it appears that most of the early Chinese came as free migrants from Singapore. This migration might have been related to the fact that from 1894 regular shipping services were opened between Europe and New Britain, via Singapore (Salisbury 1970:32). Chinese newcomers usually worked for some time in Ah Tam's shipyard or store before they were hired by the Germans or became independent traders. A census of the Chinese population in the Bismarck Archipelago just before 1903 shows that they were either artisans or traders. As traders, they sailed to the islands and New Guinea coastal villages, either by themselves or accompanied by the Germans, to exchange trade goods for copra with the natives. Occasionally, they also recruited natives to work for the Germans. Native villagers of the inland Sepik Valley (in the present Kombio Census Division) recall that their first contact with outsiders was with the Chinese who, around 1900, brought steel knives, salt, cloth and beads to the villages, and people still remember the names - Ah Long, Kasing, Tulhoi, and Nihing - of the Chinese pioneers (Allen, 1974).

According to Allen (1974), natives of the Dreikikir area, Torricelli Mountains, of the Sepik District gave an account of their initial contact with outsiders, who were Chinese and Malay bird of paradise shooters. The Chinese recruited villagers as shooters, gave them trade goods, taught them 'some pidgin' and how to use shotguns. These visitors also introduced to the villages new fruits and vegetables which included 'Chinese' taro (Xanthosoma Sp.), cucumbers, and pawpaw. The results of these contacts with the Chinese spread far beyond the limited number of villagers they had contacted. For example, steel obtained from the Chinese was traded over a wide area up until the end of the Second World War.

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1 The Annual Report for the year from April 1900 to March 1901 notes a decrease in the import of boats and attributes this to "a Chinese in Matupi who builds largely within the Protectorate". This must refer to Ah Tam.
Between 1905 and 1920, several bird shooters turned to recruiting labourers for the Europeans and, guided by the coastal natives, they travelled from village to village throughout the inland for this purpose. Their native guides sometimes raided villages and abducted young men and women by force.

As Rowley (1958:74) points out, the Chinese risked their lives travelling to areas outside European influence to trade with the natives, and a number of cases of the murder of Chinese by natives were reported. Some Chinese, however, married native women from the Sepik area, New Ireland, New Britain, and the Solomon Islands; the widespread of these places reveals how extensively the Chinese traders travelled.

The traders apparently encouraged coconut production by the native people, especially in the New Britain area. Firth (S. G. 1972: 377) records that in 1899 "from the Bismarck Archipelago exports of copra were 3,632 tons, putting it among the major copra-exporting areas of the Pacific. The plantations in the Archipelago produced only a small

1 Schnee (1904:81-5) recounts the following incidents:

1888 At Kapsu, NeuNecklenburg: A station of the firm Hernsheim & Co., was destroyed; a European trader captain Hope and a Chinese were killed.

1897 At Bougainville, Solomon Islands: A station of the firm E. E. Forsayth was destroyed and Chinese traders killed.

1897 At Neupommern, South Coast: A schooner 'Nissan' belonging to the Chinese Ah Tam was stranded; the whole crew, with the exception of one of the native workers, of two Chinese and several natives was killed.

2 Allen (1974) records that two women from the mountain villages married Chinese men. "One married Tulhoi and lived at Yakamul. Her two sons Kabisung and Samiyek are said to have accompanied their father to Rabaul. A Pelnandu woman, Tendange is said to have married Nihing and lived at Aitape, where she died. Strong bonds were formed between northern Wom and eastern Urat villages by these marriages. The kinship links formed were exploited extensively in the spread of rice planting and the 1956 cult."
proportion of this. Most copra came from the 49 trading stations spread throughout the islands, 16 in the Gazelle Peninsula, 16 in New Ireland, the rest scattered from Ninigo atolls in the west to Ontong Java in the east and southwards to the Shortland group of islands near Bougainville. Stimulated by the desire of the people for European 'trade goods', native copra production in the Bismarck Archipelago continued to increase at the turn of this century, and since European contact was first made, native trade copra has become the major export in this area (Salisbury, 1970: 33-7).

According to S. G. Firth's account (1973:188-95), a large scale immigration of free Chinese to New Guinea was initiated and promoted by the German colonial administration in New Guinea. Apart from the fact that the German New Guinea Company imported indentured Chinese labourers to the New Guinea mainland during the 1890s, the German administration planned to encourage free immigration of 'Asians' to the country, and in 1900 the Governor, Von Bennigsen, drafted an ordinance to govern Chinese immigrants. Though it never became law, the draft ordinance was aimed at preventing the Chinese from engaging in trading and plantation businesses so that they would serve the purposes of the German as labourers and tradesmen.

Governor Albert Hahl, who succeeded Bennigsen in mid-1901, became a vigorous champion of free immigration of skilled Chinese artisans and agriculturists to New Guinea to practice their trade and to open and cultivate land. In Hahl's view, such Chinese would make New Guinea self-supporting, thus releasing the imperial government from the burden of a heavy subsidy (Biskup 1968:97). A small number of Chinese were recruited secretly from Singapore and arrived in New Britain just before Hahl's whole scheme came into effect, but the public flogging of ten Chinese contract tradesmen at Kokopo in November 1902, when Hahl was away in
Europe, exposed such recruitment as illegal and against British
emigration regulations. Some of these Chinese were repatriated and
afterwards complained to the British authorities - this was publicised
by the Straits Times.\(^1\) Subsequently, flogging of the Chinese was quickly
abolished (in January 1903) and the British permitted the German Consul
to recruit for Hahl a further 32 contracted Chinese, who came to New
Britain in August 1903. Other Chinese arrived later as independent
settlers.

"To encourage this entry of Chinese as well as to control it
Hahl issued an ordinance in February 1904 which imposed no special
restrictions on Chinese apart from requiring them to report to the
authorities when arriving in the protectorate and when changing their
place of residence." (Firth, S. G. 1973:191). We also learn that:

"In Hahl's vision of New Guinea's future, the colony was to be populated
by tens of thousands of Chinese, Tagalese, Malay, and Indian peasants,
after the pattern of the Malay Peninsula, North Borneo, and Fiji, whom
the Germans would make into 'industrious New Guineans (arbeitsfreudige
Neuguinesen)'" (Firth, S. G. 1973:193). Hahl never achieved his goal, for
we find that:

Whereas he sought the immigration of 'only ten thousand
people' as the basis for a new future, the foreign coloured
population of the old protectorate had reached a mere 1,609
by January 1914, and few of them had come as indentured
labourers. What had occurred was an influx of artisans and
traders, mostly Chinese, who brought valuable skills and
services to the copra economy without fundamentally trans­
forming it. (Firth, S. G. ibid)

Hahl's scheme failed mainly because German planters did not want
to pay the higher wage to Asian labourers they demanded. Moreover, Chinese
who had come to New Guinea as free immigrants were not interested in the

\(^1\) The incident rated a mention in Song (1923)'s One Hundred Years'
History of the Chinese in Singapore.
work of 'coolies'.

In 1905 Hahl also laid down conditions under which the Chinese could lease land. "The land had to be unsuitable for European plantations and had to be in sparsely populated regions (Biskup:1970:98)." Ah Lock (Chan Lock) was the first Chinese to acquire lease land on a 30 year lease in New Ireland. By 1914 32 Chinese had taken up leases, holding on the average 25 hectares each, mainly in south-western New Ireland (Biskup 1968:98; Firth, S. G. 1973:193).1

The arrival in New Britain of numerous Chinese immigrants began in 1903, when the Germans decided to construct a new wharf at Simpson Harbour and needed Chinese craftsmen to do the work. During the year 1903, the Chinese population in the Bismarck Archipelago increased to over a hundred, a result of "the influx of free Chinese carpenters" (Annual Report 1903:125). The Annual Report (1904:199) says: "Trade, plantation and sawmills in the Bismarck Archipelago are carried on by a personnel of 127 Europeans, 75 Chinese, and 3,865 (native) labourers." An increase in the Chinese population up until the outbreak of war in 1914 is revealed by the annual census figures (listed in Table 16); however, the annual increase was more a matter of arrivals outnumbering the large number of departures rather than of a steady increase in the settled community (Rowley 1958:76). The floating nature of the Chinese population is demonstrated by the arrival of 260 Chinese from Hong Kong to Rabaul in 1910 and the departure of 174 Chinese from Rabaul in the same year.

Biskup (1970:96) attributes the increase in Chinese immigration

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1 The Australian Report (1922:15) mentions: "Japanese and Chinese able to read and write a European language were granted leases of land for a term not exceeding 30 years: but no Japanese or Chinese seems to have owned the freehold of land during the German Administration."
partly to the opening of regular new shipping services between New Guinea and Hong Kong by the Norddeutscher Lloyd, and partly to the change in the port of call of this company's liner from Herbertshohe (now Kokopo), the German Protectorate capital, to its new wharf at Simpsonhafen, which was soon renamed Rabaul. In 1910 Rabaul became the new capital of the German Protectorate, and the township of Rabaul was built largely by Chinese. According to the German records, Chinese tradesmen were brought in to serve the needs of Government and business by Ah Tam for a per capita fee, and Ah Tam himself was granted a 30 year lease of 17 acres of land at Rabaul in April 1907, at a nominal rent of 100 marks per year. Ah Tam's lease land developed into a Chinatown, where most of the Chinese lived and to which area Chinese shops in Rabaul were confined, although Asians other than Chinese also became tenants. In the opinion of some old Chinese I interviewed, Ah Tam should not be credited with the recruitment of Chinese labourers and craftsmen from China during this period; the reasons for this will be revealed in the next chapter. Whatever the case, it is certain in that no Chinese was brought to Rabaul as a 'coolie' to work in the European plantations.

The Annual Report for 1909 to 1910 mentions the extension of the area of Chinatown in Rabaul, and the Report makes special mention of the establishment in town of small Chinese businesses, such as tailoring and laundries, despite the fact that the total Chinese population in the Bismarck Archipelago in that year decreased a little. It is emphasized in the Annual Report for the next year that mechanical businesses were "entirely in the hands of the Chinese" (p.40). Most of the Chinese were "employed as mechanics, but many were stokers and sailors and some were stewards on ships engaged in coastal traffic. An appreciable number were cooks and stewards. There were still no Chinese or Malays employed as plantation labourers" (Annual Report 1910-11:429). The same Report
for the next year (1911-12) states (p.488) that: "The most important section of the non-indigenous coloured population, both in number and economic importance, are the Chinese. There are 926 in the whole Protectorate. Of these 720 are in the Old Protectorate, the remainder are in the two phosphate districts, Nauru and Angaur." The 200 Chinese on Nauru worked as miners, while the 720 Chinese in New Guinea were employed as mechanics, builders, planters, traders and cooks. "The Chinese are now the only separate traders. Most of these Chinese are not independent traders, but are agents for whites. Their activities are mainly devoted to purchasing copra" (ibid:440). Although the Chinese population in New Guinea continued to fluctuate, many of them had already settled down, as there were "quite a number of Chinese women and children" (ibid).

Statistics on occupational distribution for the years 1903 to 1914 (see Figure 1, Table 16 and 17) suggest that as the Chinese population in New Guinea, especially in the Rabaul area, increased in number, more Chinese had to take up lower paid manual jobs - the wharf coolie is an example - while the proportion of people engaged in mechanical and carpentry work remained roughly the same, and the percentage of people with higher income jobs such as trading decreased through the years. A Chinese artisan could earn an average income of about 100 marks a month: cooks earned between 80-150 marks a month, firemen about 100 marks, blacksmiths 120-150 marks, fitters 200 marks, and gardeners from 60 marks a month (Biskup 1970:99). A Chinese coolie earned an average of 15 marks a month, whereas European employees of the German companies earned

1 The 'Old Protectorate' included Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the Bismarck Archipelago, Bougainville and Buka in the Solomons, the Admiralty Group, and some hundreds of small islands in the present Trust Territory of New Guinea. The whole 'Protectorate' included islands beyond New Guinea, for example Nauru.
FIGURE 1: PATTERNS OF OCCUPATION OF THE NEW GUINEA CHINESE: 1903-14 AND 1954-66
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Merchant</th>
<th>Trader</th>
<th>Planter &amp; Gardener</th>
<th>Mechanics*</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
<th>Seamen</th>
<th>Labourer</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1903 B.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904 B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907 B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>177</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>39</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>63</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912 T**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1141</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Business People</th>
<th>Planter</th>
<th>Artisan</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
<th>Sailor</th>
<th>Labourer</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914 T***</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report, 1900-14

* Mechanics include artisans of all trades, such as carpenters, tailors, cooks, etc.

B.A.: Bismarck Archipelago
K.W.: Kaiser Wilhelmsland
T**: For the entire Protectorate
T***: For the Old Protectorate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Trading</th>
<th>Planting</th>
<th>Artisans</th>
<th>Labourers</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903 B.A.</td>
<td>42 (46.15%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49 (53.58%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904 B.A.</td>
<td>49 (41.18%)</td>
<td>1 (0.84%)</td>
<td>52 (43.70%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14 (11.76%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>119 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906 B.A.</td>
<td>56 (22.13%)</td>
<td>13 (5.14%)</td>
<td>125 (49.41%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55 (21.74%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>253 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907 B.A.</td>
<td>50 (23.92%)</td>
<td>11 (5.26%)</td>
<td>103 (49.28%)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15 (7.18%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>209 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 B.A.</td>
<td>52 (11.30%)</td>
<td>20 (4.35%)</td>
<td>227 (49.35%)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>63 (13.70%)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>460 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 B.A.</td>
<td>64 (10.03%)</td>
<td>27 (4.23%)</td>
<td>307 (48.12%)</td>
<td>96 (15.05%)</td>
<td>90 (14.11%)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>638 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912 T.</td>
<td>98 (8.59%)</td>
<td>42 (3.68%)</td>
<td>565 (49.52%)</td>
<td>189 (16.56%)</td>
<td>185 (16.21%)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1141 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914 T.</td>
<td>182 (13.22%)</td>
<td>32 (2.32%)</td>
<td>596 (43.28%)</td>
<td>186 (13.51%)</td>
<td>280 (20.33%)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1377 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B.A.; T. see Table 16)
between 2,000 marks and 9,000 marks a month (Biskup 1968:90). Many Europeans had in their service a Chinese cook or housekeeper, and these Europeans seem to have appreciated their service (cf. Schnee 1904:14). With incomes so low, compared with those of the Europeans, the Chinese worked hard and were constantly in the look-out of opportunities for venturing into combined careers of buying copra, sailing, trading, and gardening. Many of them, after working for a European firm as an agent for some years, managed to become independent. The scale of Chinese independent business enterprises compared with those European enterprises can be realized from Biskup's (1970:101) discussion of the 1913 business tax register. The smallest of the big European firms had to pay an annual tax of 2,000 marks, while many European planter-traders were assessed at 100 marks or less. "By contrast 13 Chinese in the Rabaul district had been assessed at between 100-120 DM, 10 at 150 DM, two at 400 DM and one at 600 DM. In Namatanai district (New Ireland) two Chinese traders had been assessed at 100 DM, one at 150 DM, one at 200 DM and one at 400 DM." (Biskup, ibid). In sum, as many as 31 Chinese from amongst the total population of more than 1,000 had become sufficiently successful to compete with the smallest of the independent European planter-traders. The conclusions of many writers (Lyng 1919:69; Biskup 1970:100; Salisbury 1970:40) on the success of the Chinese in commercial business at the end of the German period actually apply to only a very small proportion of the Chinese population.

However, the success in business of even this small number of Chinese traders gave rise to complaints by many Europeans. For example, as early as 1906, Father Dicks of the Vunapope Roman Catholic mission told the German Council that the Chinese "made all trade impossible". And in 1912 a European merchant complained to the Government Council that Chinese businesses remained "open deep into the night" and thus threatened
the European firms with "grievous competition" (Biskup 1968: 102).
While those Chinese who competed with Europeans achieved their success by working long hours, the Europeans gave no evidence of departing from their fixed working hours. Lyng described them (1919:123): "The business hours are from 8 to 11 a.m., and from 2 to 4 p.m., five hours constituting a tropical working day for Europeans. The rest of the time is idled away on their respective verandahs, reading, drinking lager beer, and sleeping, these being the most favoured pastimes."

II. The Inter-War Period: 1914-42

The Australian military occupation of New Guinea from 1914 to 1921 had the effect of stabilizing the Chinese community in Rabaul, for traffic between China and New Guinea was stopped (Rowley 1958:77).
During this period, there were about 1,500 Chinese in New Guinea, about 900 of them living in and around Rabaul (Lyng 1919:125). James Lyng, a lieutenant in the army, described the Rabaul Chinatown:

It is as if a little East-Asiatic township, by some magic power, had been transplanted to New Britain.... There are half-a-dozen stores there, several restaurants, tailors, laundries, and bootmakers; butchers, bakers, carpenters, mechanics, etc.... Although most of the shops neither impress by size nor cleanliness, but are just what one would expect in a Chinese quarter, there is plenty of excuse for everybody to go there.... Over and above all, Chinatown is Rabaul's busy, unruly corner - where people rise early - are always on the move - and go to bed late. While after sunset the European quarter becomes quiet, and the streets look empty and desolate, life in Chinatown moves on - intense - rapid - and wicked. (pp.126-9).

While most of those Chinese artisans and traders who were engaged in essential occupations carried on their usual work, a number had become independent of European firms and had opened their own importing and retailing businesses. Rowley (1958:78) attributes the growing prosperity of Chinese businesses to the liberation of the Chinese from the power of the German business firms by the Australian occupation
of New Guinea. As well, more Chinese both in number and proportion, had become small traders (see Table 18). Chinese success in business caused such alarm among the newly arrived Australians that the administrator Pethebridge took measures to stop Chinese from competing in business with the Europeans (including the Germans who were supposed to be the enemies). Before outlining the restrictions placed upon the Chinese, I would like to present an account of the kind of 'trading' in which they were engaged. Again, Lyng wrote (1919:57):

The small European trader, during the latter years, has practically been squeezed out of existence by John Chinaman. One needs only to drive a few miles out of Rabaul, and he will, in less than an hour, pass a dozen Chinese traders, living mostly in miserable huts put up by themselves, but always with some trays of copra drying in the sun, and generally surrounded by an interested group of natives. His stock of Kanaka merchandise occupies but a couple of shelves, yet he makes money. The native will not go two miles to a white trader when he can sell his coconuts to a Chinaman living but a stone's throw off, and, besides, may pay him a trifle better.

Pethebridge issued a number of orders in 1917, not to protect native producers, but to protect European commercial interests, the majority of which were still in the hands of the Germans (cf. Rowley 1958:82-3; Salisbury 1970:40-1). The orders on 'Trading in Coconuts or Copra in the Gazelle Peninsula', introduced in February and April, fixed the prices to be paid to natives in terms of both trade goods and cash for copra so that the small Chinese traders could not pay the natives more than the Europeans would. In March, the 'Control of Chinese Trade Order' was introduced, forbidding the Chinese to engage in either the wholesale or importing trade. This order caused such an outcry from those Australian firms in Sydney which supplied the Chinese in Rabaul that the order was soon withdrawn. The other regulation which most affected the Chinese concerned the licensing of new trade stations; no new licence could be issued within two miles of an existing station. As Salisbury
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>126</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>303</td>
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<td>304</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport and Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Roads</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Seas and Rivers</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Transport and Communication</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>185</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Industrial</td>
<td>381</td>
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<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Producers</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer (Pig)</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Primary Producers</td>
<td>137</td>
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<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Breadwiners</td>
<td>1,044</td>
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<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>1,424</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Report 1921-22, p.120.
points out (1970:41) this regulation, effective in the Kokopo area, meant that the Chinese were kept out of business and the Tolais could sell their copra only to European stations for a fixed price against a rising world market price for copra.

A change in favour of the Chinese did occur in their jurisdictional status, which had previously been similar to that of the natives. In November 1915, the Military Administration under Pethebridge ordered that Chinese, along with other non-indigenous coloured races, be tried in a court separate from that for the natives. This was considered a privilege, which previously the Japanese alone of the 'coloured races' had enjoyed. The reason for the decision at this particular time was to avoid the embarrassment of having some Australians who were associated in crime with the Asians (receiving bribes) tried before the same court as that for the natives (Rowley 1958:80). In February, 1916, by a 'Status and Jurisdiction Ordinance', Chinese and other Asians were granted "the status of, and were to be subjected to the same jurisdiction as, the white inhabitants of the Territory" (Report 1922:15).

In April, 1920, as the first step towards prohibiting Chinese immigration, all non-indigenous persons not of European origin over the age of 15 were required to register their names with the District Officer (Report 1922:15). They were registered as 'aliens'. While no ordinance was introduced on the matter of Chinese immigration, Chinese immigration to New Guinea was officially stopped when New Guinea became an Australian Mandate in 1921. Cahill (1972) conducted a detailed study on the Australian immigration policy in New Guinea as it specifically applied to the Chinese. His main points are these:

The Australian government recognized those Chinese residents who had arrived in New Guinea before January 1922 as permanent residents,
but they were regarded as foreign nationals and those born in New Guinea were not eligible for citizenship. Those who had entered after the specified date were deemed to hold the status of temporary residents who, with the exception of wives and children of any permanent resident Chinese who had married before the date, could stay for a specified period only. Chinese permanent residents who left the Territory had to return within 12 months or lose their residentship. Certain categories of Chinese, such as visitors, businessmen, students, and teachers, were allowed to enter on a Certificate of Exemption from Dictation Tests for a period of three years, with the possibility of an extension for another three years. Very few Chinese actually entered New Guinea in this manner. Chinese who were permanent residents but who had married abroad after 1922 were not allowed to bring in their wives and children. This also applied to non-permanent residents.¹ From about 1925, the wives of such men were permitted to come to New Guinea for a three year non-extendable period, provided that they had been married for ten years. At the end of this three year period, they had to leave for seven years before they could again apply for re-entry for another non-extendable three years. Many children of Chinese residents had to come as students accompanying their mothers to visit their fathers for a three year term.

Chinese residents in New Guinea who had been born in Singapore or Hong Kong had the status of British Subjects, but their status was

¹ This treatment, as Alois Akun (Chan Kun) points out in his petition in 1924 to Colonel John Ainsworth, "is unnecessarily harsh". The complete text of Alois Akun's Petition is enclosed as Appendix I, which gives a clear indication of how Chinese were treated, particularly on such matters as owning land, the education of children, family reunions, the authorized period of travelling abroad, resident's registration, and arrangements for business substitutes.
nonetheless denied by the administration of New Guinea.  

Between 1925 and 1941 97 wives and 130 children entered New Guinea on a temporary basis. Most of these women and children stayed for the duration of the war because of the Japanese occupation of Rabaul. After the 1937 Rabaul volcanic eruption, when Chinese craftsmen were in great demand 104 Chinese artisans were allowed to enter New Guinea on Certificates of Exemption from Dictation Tests. Many of these people also stayed for the duration of the war. However these Chinese artisans, along with the women and children who had arrived before the war on a Certificate of Exemption were threatened after the war with the possibility of repatriation. It was not until the mid-1950s that they were finally granted permission to stay.

Australian immigration policy effectively checked any further increase in the Chinese population in New Guinea. In the years from 1921 until 1939 more Chinese left New Guinea than stayed permanently. This is clear from the annual statistics which show departures exceeding arrivals. Because of an imbalance between the sexes (in 1921 1,195 males to 229 females), the possibility of population growth by natural increase was limited. As a matter of fact, the Chinese population in New Guinea decreased after 1921 and did not regain its 1921 strength until 15 years later (see Appendix II). Only after World War II did the Chinese population show a significant increase due to an increase in the number of births.

Rowley's statement about the social status of the Chinese in New Guinea during the Military Occupation actually applies equally well

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1 The 1921 census reveals 14 male Chinese were born in Hong Kong (Report 1923:138). The Chinese population in 1922 according to 'race' was 1,424, but according to nationality was however 1,402 (Report 1923:137). The difference of 22 must include some Chinese who were British Subjects.
to the period between the wars, and even up till the 1950s. He says:
"The Chinese is not in fact encouraged by the Europeans to think of
himself as a citizen of a wider country than that of Chinatown." (1958:
79). Lyng also points out (1919:70) that: "From a social aspect, the
line of demarcation between the different races is naturally far sharper
drawn. When the day's work is done each race retires into its own
distinct world, the Asiatics having no time for the Kanakas - the
Europeans having time for neither." This picture of social segregation
among people of different racial origins was still very evident in New
Guinea during my visit there in 1971. It is apparent that social and
cultural pluralism were encouraged by the Europeans, as in European
colonies elsewhere; the idea is that each race should have its own
social standing, should live in its own quarter, and should do the line
of work suitable to its rank - even the dead should be placed in
separate cemeteries.¹ Moreover, the economic pluralism described by
Lyng (1919:69) in German New Guinea has actually persisted until the
present day:

The functions of the different races engaged in developing
late German New Guinea apparently follow certain main lines. The
Europeans are the rulers, the teachers, the planters, and the
wholesale vendors; the Asiatics are the artisans and the
retail vendors; and the Kanakas primitive agriculturists,
from whose midst are drawn the lowly labourer, the plantation
hand, domestic servant, and cheap sailor.

Chinese economic activities were restricted;² they were not
allowed lease-hold land (not to mention free-hold land), nor were they
to engage in certain lines of industry, or to either live in or to open

¹ Though the Japanese were allowed to bury their dead in the European
cemetery.
² During a debate on the problem of Asiatic unemployment, a member of the
Legislative Council remarked that: "We ourselves have created the problem
by legislating the Chinese almost out of existence by restricting their
activities almost to the vanishing point (TRT, 1935, June 14)."
stores in certain locations (e.g., residential or commercial areas situated in places other than Chinatown). Their actions in most spheres usually drew either criticism or blame which was often expressed in the local newspaper by Europeans (See *The Rabaul Times*, 1925 to 1942).

Racial discrimination against Chinese and indigenes was not merely a reflection of the general attitude and practices of European residents in New Guinea. The government actually reinforced racial segregation by separating the European, the 'Asiatic', and the native, in residential quarters and in other aspects of life: 'demands of hygiene, racial inclination and variations in the standards of living' were cited in the official report (*Report* 1927:73) as reasons for this policy. In 1926 all Chinese houses outside Chinatown (except Ah Tam's place which is by the wharf) were removed (Cahill 1972:48). Racial segregation was applied in the following areas and places (cf. Cahill 1972:84-90; *Report* 1922-40):

1. Residential and commercial quarters
2. Schools
3. Public parks
4. Playgrounds for children
5. Gaols
6. Cemeteries
7. Hospitals
8. Transportation (e.g., in boats)
9. Library
10. Public baths (e.g., an exclusively European swimming pool)
11. Public theatres
12. Social and sports clubs
13. Employment treatment and opportunities
14. Wages
Although some aspects of segregation were practically abolished during the 1960s, some others have persisted until the present day. Lyng (1919:124) describes the way in which, during the military occupation, different parts of a theatre were allotted 'to the different races': "the best being set aside for the white, the next best for the yellow, and the worst for the black". These seating arrangements in the Rabaul cinema were not abolished until 1954 when a Chinese bought the theatre from the previous European owner.¹

Some Europeans were not satisfied by the confining of the Chinese to the Chinatown area - over one thousand people were crowded together in an area about the size of a quarter of a square mile. One wrote in 1928 (The Rabaul Times, 1928, September 21): "The weird, Oriental odour which always seems to have hung about Chinatown is becoming more pronounced lately." Another complained (The Rabaul Times, 1928, December 14): "Their (Chinese) present situation alongside the Botanic Gardens is absurd - one cannot smell the flowers in the gardens because of the odour that arises from the contiguous Chinese houses."

It was probably true that sanitation was not well maintained in Chinatown where Chinese were living under poor and crowded conditions. But an incident occurring as late as 1954 proved that the European complaints against the Chinese were more based on grounds of racism. When the administration drew plans for rebuilding the schools and placed schools for Europeans and Chinese adjacent to each other the Chairman of the

¹ Nevertheless, when I visited Kavieng in 1971, I experienced how segregation in a theatre was still practised. I went to the box office to buy a ticket and found three prices for seats in three different parts of the theatre. When I told the Chinese woman who sold me the ticket that I wanted a middle priced ticket for a seat in the centre, she was surprised and upset. She explained: "You must buy a ticket for a seat at the back, because we Chinese ought to sit with the Europeans. No Chinese ever sits among the natives in the front, so you cannot let us Chinese down."
Parents' and Citizens Association wrote to the responsible government department saying:

...It is the unanimous opinion of the parents that any move from the present site, especially to the proposed area, would be a very detrimental one, and the following reasons are advanced to support our contentions. 1. The proposal, which would make European and Chinese schools adjacent is very distasteful to our members and re-introduces an issue that has been fought and contested for several years. Now that the two schools are well separated and both parties appear to be happy, we would very much regret to see the present satisfactory situation upset by this move....

4. The main approach to the school would be through Chinatown and we feel that this is not altogether desirable...."1

Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s many Europeans, including readers, reporters, and editors of The Rabaul Times expressed their views on various aspects of the Chinese population in the Territory. The views were usually unfavourable toward the Chinese, accusing them of all sorts of things, although there were also some sympathetic Europeans who spoke for the Chinese. It was always the Europeans, however, who debated amongst each other how the Chinese should be treated, while the Chinese themselves always remained silent. 2

Despite the fact that they remained silent, some Chinese sought ways of circumventing the restrictions upon their activities. In the new towns of Salamaua and Wau for example, Chinese paid Europeans to act as nominal license holders of their stores, and the legal arrangements were set up with the assistance of European lawyers. Revelation of this by some other Europeans did not result in any action being taken by the

1 G.S. A30, CA 17/4/33 Subject: Rabaul Administration School.

2 The only exception was in 1933 (TRT, 1933, June 2) when a European suggested that all Asian (e.g. Chinese) traders should be banned from engaging in commerce, while 500 Australians should be recruited among the unemployed from Australia to replace the Chinese traders in the Territory. A leader of the Chinese community, Mr Tan Ching Wee, answered through the newspaper, arguing the Chinese case, and from this exchange arose further attacks and counter-attacks (TRT, 1933, June 16, August 4, August 18).
administration; perhaps because the Chinese could not be legally charged. The following quotations of European correspondences deal with this event:

...When Salamaua was first marked out, it was done so under the condition that no Chinese were to be allowed to have business of any kind in the town, and a 'Chinatown' was set for them about a mile away; but one Chinaman got a block dummied for him in the town, and has no less than four stores in it.... This same Chinaman intends to get a block in Wau dummied, and start there tailoring first, then to turn it into a store.... (The Rabaul Times, 1931, November 27, Correspondence).

...The dummy gets so much a month and goes away to work, if he can dummy for two or three he can make a good living out of it. (The Rabaul Times, 1933, June 2, Correspondence).

In fact, J. K. McCarthy's report (1933)¹ also contains evidence on this event, as six trade stores in Salamaua in 1933 had Europeans as licensees but the employers of native labourers in the stores as well as other people living on the premises were all Chinese (another six Chinese stores were located in Chinatown, Salamaua, according to the same report).

By the late 1930s a few Chinese had made the same kind of arrangements for plantations they had acquired from Europeans on New Ireland. Three wealthy Chinese families admitted to the writer that before World War II their forefathers had each acquired a plantation with a European acting as 'dummy'.²

Although commercial business was one area where Europeans had objected to Chinese participation, the Chinese provided the European community with artisans including barbers, laundrymen, tailors, cooks, bakers, lorry drivers, carpenters, mechanics, sailors, gardeners, waiters,

¹ J. K. McCarthy "Report of Inspection of Native Labour, Salamaua, 16-21 December, 1933, in Government File PMB 616, J. K. McCarthy's "Patrol Reports and Other Papers".
² Incidentally, these three families had become the richest among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea at the time when I interviewed their members.
and barmen. Within the Chinese community itself many Chinese were also conducting small businesses which served other Chinese; some were vegetable pedlars, some pork and refreshment pedlars, and some ran noodle stands, tea parlours, and restaurants. The Chinese restaurants invariably served 't'ong-fant'san' - meals suitable for both Chinese and Europeans.

Chinese craftsmen and small traders eventually became indispensable to both Europeans and natives. In addition to a large number of individual contractors, a building company - the Bay Loo Company - was organized by some of the Chinese who hired a European as their manager, and successfully tendered for many important construction projects for both the administration and for private firms in the Territory.¹ A ship building company was also established by the Chinese to build boats and to do maintenance and repair work, which became essential to ships serving the New Guinea islands.

In serving the needs of both communities, the Chinese community found a position for itself in the economic structure between the Europeans, who were the planners and managers, and the natives, who were the agricultural producers. The part played by the Chinese in the commercial life of New Guinea was the so-called 'trade stores' business - "small and not very impressive establishments in all important native villages under European control, where they sell to the indigenes their very simple requirements and receive in exchange either the products of native industry such as copra, shell, etc., or the wages earned by native labourers" (Robson 1954:29). Chinese trade stores increased in number during the inter-war period.

¹ News about successful Chinese tenders appeared frequently in The Rabaul Times during 1939 and 1941. These tenders were the Bay Loo Company, Ah Ying, Being Sung, and Cheung Thin, and they carried out constructions in Madang, Namatanai, Kavieng, Salamaua, and Rabaul.
However, in the native markets the Chinese become the customers and the natives the merchants. Salisbury (1970:49) maintains that while the New Guinea administration had claimed credit for the development since the 1920s of native markets in Rabaul and Kokopo, this development was actually the result of the demand from the expanding Chinese community for fresh vegetables, fruit, eggs, fresh fish and fowls. As late as 1961, Salisbury found that Europeans never bought eggs at the native markets, and that imported canned green beans were the main staple vegetable in European homes. What Salisbury did not mention was that in the markets more than half of the produce was of Chinese origin, introduced by Chinese pioneer gardeners. When in 1932 the Kerevat Agricultural Station - an institution designed to encourage the natives to experiment in cash crop production - produced peanuts for the first time, it was again the local Chinese who bought them (Salisbury 1970:49-50).

Although many of the Chinese were employed in a large variety of trades, they did not wish the next generation to be still restricted to those jobs which at most offered them a fixed income as well as a fixed status - so that they should remain socially and economically inferior to the majority of Europeans. Chinese parents always aimed to provide a better life for their children than they themselves had had, and with this in mind they provided them with better education and hoped that they would ultimately have available to them occupations better than their parents. This ideal clashed with the wishes of the Europeans in

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1 In 1971-2, my examination of the variety of native garden produce available at the Rabaul market found at least seven kinds of green leaf vegetables, two kinds of beans, and three kinds of melons and fruits to be of Chinese origin. As well, the Chinese bought large quantities of sweet potato and taro for their hired workers as part of their rations, and large quantities of betel nuts for resale in their stores. Fresh pork could only be obtained from Chinese butchers, which meant that only the Chinese bought native fed pigs.
New Guinea as to the self-image they wished the Chinese to have how they should accordingly act. From all accounts, the Europeans were unhappy about the prospect of Chinese betterment of their social and economic status through education, because this would mean that the Chinese would have the means to escape from the place the European had wished to assign to them. In 1927 a European correspondent wrote to the editor of The Rabaul Times (August 26) pointing out: "the whole of the Territory is suffering from a lack of carpenters and engineers, etc., but the native-born Chinaman, swaggering and arrogant, does not wish to enter and trade where he has to work..." (the emphasis is mine). An editorial article of the same newspaper in 1934 (June 1) complained about the inefficient service given by indigenous domestic servants, whereas the young Chinese were praised of their good service as waiters in hotels and at European private balls. It was then suggested that the 'irresponsible' indigenous servants be replaced by hundreds of young Territory-born Chinese who were 'an economical encumbrance' upon their fathers, uncles, or other distant relatives. In 1935 the editor of The Rabaul Times (June 7, "A Phase of Education") further put it: "They have been educated out of their natural social and economic station. ...(and) are now faced with the question as to which particular niche they may be fitted in in the economic scheme of New Guinea" (the emphasis is mine). The editor derived his impression merely from his observations of crowds on the occasions of Empire Day and the King's Birthday: his argument was based on the many well-dressed Asiatic children and youths in these public gatherings. Three solutions to the 'problem' were suggested by this editor: "lower the standard of education; persuade the present generation to enter domestic service (e.g., domestic servants for Europeans) or reorganize the administration and commercial staffs to such an extent as will allow the appointment of Asians to all subordinate positions". The last solution was considered
to be the least practical one. From these suggestions it seems that it was felt that the Chinese ought not have received even a primary education - the only level of education available to them in New Guinea - or should not ever be placed above the position of domestic servants if they had received such an education. The editor concluded by remarking: "We have no one to blame but ourselves as a result of carrying out so thoroughly the principle of educating other races to the extent of bringing them into direct competition with ourselves." He was mistaken, for the administration had never either encouraged or provided education for the majority of Chinese children. It was Chinese parents themselves who with the assistance of the missionaries had provided this, as will be shown later in this chapter.

In 1940, addressing Chinese students on the occasion of the opening of a new school building of the Yang Ching school in Rabaul, His Honour the Administrator, Mr McNicoll, further emphasized this point. He called the attention of students to two attainments - "the mastery of English and learning to become tradesmen" (The Rabaul Times, 1940, December 27). He was quoted as saying that many of the young Chinese avoided tasks which called for labour with their hands. Since most construction in New Guinea from the time of military occupation in 1914 until the 1950s had been carried out by Chinese, his statement that the Chinese were unwilling to labour with their hands seems hard to justify. It seems that it is not so much whether there was a shortage of domestic servants or craftsmen, but that the tendency of the Chinese to promote themselves in education as well as in occupation that gave rise to resentment and anxiety on the part of the Europeans. The reason given by the administration as a justification for its policy of forbidding Chinese immigration to Papua and New Guinea was that the Chinese as skilled artisans might rob the indigenes of their opportunities to learn to be
craftsmen (See Report, 1922). This administrator and the ordinary
Europeans as well had obviously forgotten this, and instead urged the
Chinese to remain artisans. Furthermore, they suggested replacing
indigenous domestic servants with 'hundreds of young Chinese men' (see
page 84 ). Had this suggestion been accepted and carried out by the
Chinese, one might then wonder whether the indigenes might not later
have blamed the Chinese of robbing them of their only chance to get a
cash wage in urban areas, as the majority of them before the 1950s had
never had any opportunity for a school education or vocational training.

The idea of keeping the Chinese 'in place' prevailed among the
Europeans during the post-war period. The editor of the Pacific Islands
Monthly writes in 1950 (December, p.81):

Those younger (Chinese) men talked eagerly of their plans
for education.... They plan to become the professional men
of New Guinea - doctors, dentists, lawyers and so on1....
I suggested gently that New Guinea really needed good
artisans, first-class technicians, useful boatmen. But at
this the gleam went out of their eyes.

The education of Chinese children between 1927 and 1940 was
reported in the annual Report on Territory of New Guinea to the Council
of League of Nations. Four Chinese schools were mentioned: the St
Theresa's Yang Ching School conducted by the Roman Catholic Mission of
the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus at Rabaul; the Chinese Overseas School of
Rabaul conducted by the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia; the
Roman Catholic Mission Chinese School in Kavieng; and the Kavieng Chinese
School provided by the Kuo Min Tang. In addition to these schools the
Maiom Native School (New Ireland), run by the Administration, opened a
morning class for young Chinese in 1939. Instruction was in English
only, and the enrolment was 17 (Report, 1940:42). There was a Lutheran

1 It is interesting to note that there is no mention of 'government
officials' or 'politicians'.
Chinese School in Madang but it was never mentioned in the Report. These Chinese schools were all founded and financed by the Chinese themselves - their organization and administration are discussed in Chapter Nine. This fact was not, however, stated in the government Report.

Enrolments in Chinese schools in Rabaul between 1927 and 1940, as set down in the Reports (1928-41), show a three-fold increase from 111 to 344. These numbers include children of Malays, Filipinos, and Japanese (and some Europeans too) who were not eligible to attend the administration's school for Europeans. The Vunapope Mission School at Kokopo - a German-English boarding school - also enrolled 47 Chinese students between 1922 and 1941.¹

Teachers in these schools included Australian nuns and Chinese teachers and priests recruited in China. The teachers were highly qualified, as indicated in the Report (1932:31; 1940:47): one was a graduate of the Queen's College, Hong Kong, another was a graduate of Canton University. In the Yang Ching School, the Curriculum in English (between 1934-40) consisted of reading, writing, spelling, grammar, composition, mathematics, geography, sewing, singing, drawing, physical culture and religious instruction. The Chinese curriculum in 1932 included reading, writing, composition, Chinese literature and Chinese history, and was extended in 1937 to embrace Chinese literature (Mandarin), Chinese history, Chinese geography, Chinese letter-writing and composition, mathematics, poetry, natural science, civics, hygiene and physical culture. The curriculum in the Overseas School was similar to that of the Yang Ching School. The Report (1939:47) notes that: "the greater part of the time

¹ This is the writer's own enumeration which is based on enrolments and the Baptismal Register of this school.
of younger pupils is devoted to Chinese; the proportion of English taught increases with the age and standard of the students". A Boy Scout Troop and Cub Pack have been part of the school activities since 1936. Chinese living on plantations and on remote islands all sent their children to Chinese schools in Rabaul, for the school received boarders whose parents were said to live at 'outstations' (Report, 1939:47).

During 1940 the Chinese constructed for both the Catholic and Methodist schools a modern and enlarged school building, which unfortunately were destroyed in the war, two years later.

In spite of such provisions, not all children were educated locally. Those who could afford to sent their children back to China or to Hong Kong for their secondary education. This happened mostly between 1922 and 1939. In the late 1930s the first three Chinese students were sent to Australia to attend high school, and there were also a few who received vocational training (e.g. accounting) in Australia.

III. The Post-War Period: After 1945

During the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945, the Chinese were sent to concentration camps and were used by the Japanese as forced labourers.1 When they returned to Rabaul after the war, they immediately joined in all kinds of reconstruction work. Many were hired as carpenters, mechanics, drivers and clerks, working mainly in Rabaul but also in other places in New Guinea. "Much of the worth-while building in Rabaul has been done by the Chinese." (Pacific Islands Monthly, December 1950, p.81). In 1957 The Rabaul

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1 The war time history has been studied by Cahill (1971). On the eve of Japanese invasion, while the majority of European residents had left Rabaul and European women and children had been evacuated with the assistance of the administration, the Chinese population was left behind regardless of their requests.
Times (May 31, p.3) quotes the New Britain District Commissioner, Mr J. R. Foldi, as saying that: "the Rabaul Chinese community deserved the highest tributes for the magnificent way in which it was helping rebuild Rabaul".

In the first edition of the Handbook of Papua and New Guinea (Robson, 1954) over half the adult Chinese population in Rabaul in 1945 were listed as artisans, and about a quarter had begun commercial businesses. It is pointed out in the Handbook (1945:29) that: "The Chinese now provide practically all the artisan service required in the Trust Territory...." However, in the early 1950s, to the surprise of some Europeans, the New Guinea Chinese began to show signs of great economic strength. They offered to buy European-owned plantations which had been lying idle since the Japanese invasion - many European planters had been reluctant to reinvest in plantations because of the uncertain future of the copra industry in New Guinea (cf. Robson 1945:29).

An article which appeared in the Pacific Islands Monthly (October 1953, p.14) described the situation of the post-war Chinese: "They own huge capital. As a result, they are now reaching out constantly after properties developed by Europeans, and their readiness to pay high prices, in prompt cash, when chances have occurred in very recent years, has caused perturbation among Europeans...." The Europeans were so puzzled about the sources of Chinese wealth that a rumour circulated that they were receiving 'refugee' money from Red China. The Pacific Islands Monthly (1950, December, p.29) gave evidence for this rumour, saying that the Rabaul Chinese "became caretakers of huge sums - no one knows how much".  

The editor of this journal investigated Chinese economic activities in New Guinea and he drew the attention of the country to the fact that three Chinese had bought plantations from European owners, that two had leased or rented plantations from Europeans and the Catholic Mission, and that eight coastal vessels had been registered by Chinese in New Guinea. Three of the vessel owners happened to be the same persons as those who had (cont'd on next page)
These circumstances clearly demonstrate the lack of understanding between Europeans and Chinese up to the 1950s. The Europeans had for years been apathetic towards the Chinese population, whose trade stores were unimpressive and whose role as artisans was considered insignificant, and when a handful of Chinese had accumulated enough money to purchase unwanted European properties it was taken as a sign of the sudden affluence of the entire Chinese population. What had actually happened was that the Chinese had been awarded war damage compensation money for properties destroyed during the war which in some cases were very valuable (See Cahill 1972:176-81). Apart from this, the small proportion of the Chinese population who had started up their businesses immediately after the war had also made good profits (See Cahill 1972:171-4). In any case, the post-war period was a turning point for the Chinese community in New Guinea; they changed from a craftsman-dominated to a merchant-dominated group.

Three main factors account for the post-war economic development of New Guinea, especially in the Gazelle Peninsula where the Chinese population was concentrated: 1. the distribution of the War Damage Compensation Fund in New Guinea; 2. the increase of Australian subsidies to the New Guinea administration; and 3. a rise in the world market price for copra. Over two and a half million pounds in War Damage Compensation was awarded to the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula (Salisbury 1970:55), of which funds the Tolai people alone were said to have collected more than half a million pounds (Epstein 1970:48). This amount of ready cash, together with rising returns from copra production during the 1950s, created

1 (cont'd from previous page)
bought or leased plantations, while another two vessel owners were shipbuilders themselves. Apparently the editor did not know that Chinese had owned coastal vessels in New Guinea since the 1880s. Furthermore, most of those on his 'black list' came from only two families - the Chan and the Chow - who were the richest in Rabaul, and who had become so since the 1920s. Incidentally, four of the men were sons and nephews of the late Alois Akun who handed in the petition to Colonel Ainsworth in 1924, requesting lease land.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Commercial Enterprise</th>
<th>Planter</th>
<th>Artisan Engineer</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Domestic Duty and Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>143 (25.09)</td>
<td>8 (1.40)</td>
<td>302 (52.98)</td>
<td>52 (9.12)</td>
<td>65 (11.40)</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>44 (21.15)</td>
<td>5 (2.40)</td>
<td>43 (20.67)</td>
<td>46 (22.12)</td>
<td>70 (33.65)</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>47 (16.29)</td>
<td>6 (2.27)</td>
<td>62 (23.48)</td>
<td>75 (28.41)</td>
<td>74 (28.03)</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>116 (22.31)</td>
<td>16 (3.08)</td>
<td>106 (20.38)</td>
<td>142 (27.31)</td>
<td>140 (26.92)</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>120 (23.52)</td>
<td>19 (3.74)</td>
<td>99 (19.14)</td>
<td>132 (25.98)</td>
<td>138 (27.17)</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a remarkable demand on the part of the indigenous people for commercial goods - goods not limited to 'Kanaka trade goods', but modern commodities and luxuries. No European was apparently prepared to act upon this demand as few did so, but the Chinese were able and willing to fill the gap, and the opportunity was a unique chance for many to establish themselves in commerce. The demand and its answer explain why in 1954 more than half of the adult Chinese population in Rabaul were artisans engaged in post-war reconstruction, yet within a decade only about 20 per cent have remained: many former artisans having gone into the trade store business. Although the proportion of Chinese engaged in commerce remained roughly the same from 1954 to 1966 (see Table 19), the actual number of stores in the Rabaul area increased, and many Chinese stores were opened in other parts of New Guinea as well as in Papua.

In the 1950s the Rabaul Chinese began a large scale migration to Lae, Madang, Wewak and elsewhere, seeking jobs and opportunities for commercial enterprises. This was especially so in 1958, when the Chinese were granted the right to take up Australian citizenship. They began for the first time in their history to migrate to Port Moresby, where retail businesses had been and still were at that time run by a handful of European firms. In the latter half of the 1960s Chinese migration and business expansion reached the New Guinea Highlands. This move followed the introduction of coffee - a new cash crop - to the Highlands and the construction of the Highlands Highway. Factors accounting for Chinese success in commercial enterprise will be further examined in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

The development of Chinese commercial activities in Papua and New Guinea, a remarkable achievement for a people so situated, was carried out in spite of great hardship. The post-war decade saw the Chinese receiving no better treatment than before the war. Racial segregation
was pronounced and the Chinese were still disliked by Europeans. Cahill (1972:367) attributes the post-war policy of discrimination to an administration in the same hands as had been responsible for the same policy before the war. Prevailing European attitudes towards the Chinese are exemplified in two incidents concerning visiting Chinese officials. In 1948 the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Rabaul refused to accommodate the visiting Chinese Consul General to Australia and his staff. In 1950 a middle-ranking officer of the New Guinea Administration refused to accommodate Mr Wang (a Chinese delegate) and Mr Carpio (a Filipino delegate) of the first United Nations' Visiting Mission to New Guinea (Cahill 1972:335). If the United Nations' delegates could be so openly abused because of their 'colour', one may imagine how the Chinese residents of New Guinea were treated.

During the war Old Chinatown was wiped out along with the rest of Rabaul. A 'temporary' Chinese quarter was allocated at Matupit Farm, where the Chinese paid year-to-year rent and built temporary shelters. "Bush timber and old corrugated iron were used to build scores of shanties amid the junk and discarded war material that littered the place" (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1955, October, p.19). It took the administration ten years to decide that the Chinese now should be allowed to lease the land there to build their new homes. A similar reluctance on the part of the administration to allow the Chinese to lease land for reconstruction of their homes was also seen in Lae and Madang. In 1953 the District Commissioner of Morobe (in Lae), Mr Nial, wrote to the Administrator, urging him to take action to make the proposed 'Chinatown area' available for tenders from Chinese. In Madang the District Commissioner, Mr Downs, also pleaded for permission for the Chinese to erect a Common Hall on the same pre-war site. It is said that the Chinese waited for five years for a decision from the government and the local official ran out of
excuses.  

The Rabaul Chinese quarter, in which lived three quarters of the total Chinese population there, was referred to in 1955 as 'derelict shantytown' (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1955, October, p.19). Despite bad living conditions, overcrowding, and an unsanitary environment, the people had established businesses and had prospered in this 'New Chinatown' in the ten years after the war. "After every big blow in the northwest monsoon season, which lasts from November to March, few nights passed without at least one family having to move in on already overcrowded neighbours because their shack had collapsed on top of them." (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1960, September, p.87). "Crowded into windowless (and often doorless) hovels that rival the worst aspects of Hong Kong's Kowloon slums, they rely on natives - whom they often overcharge - for their income.... General merchants, taxi companies, importers, and numbers of small trade stores and native restaurants crowd together in a twisting warren of activities" (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1955, January, p.127).  

Priday (1960:87, 99) accused the Rabaul Chinese of charging the native customer a higher price than a European customer, and he remarked that: "Europeans once took similar advantage of native ignorance, but this is far less marked today." Chinese traders were also accused of other sharp practises such as selling short-weight bags of sugar and rice. The European stores, conversely, were said to give the natives fair and honest weight. "Their mistake, in the business sense, is to serve European customers first and out of turn, so that the natives get off-hand and dilatory service" (Priday 1960:99). A Chinese replied to these charges (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1960, October, p.27), pointing to the fact that Europeans and especially the big firms were guilty of those very charges.

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1 G.S., C.A. 28/6/1/126.
made against the Chinese. Cahill's research (1972:372) reveals that native customers were excluded from European stores or were received only at a special 'native window' at the side of the building, while the Chinese simply opened their stores to the natives.

Aside from the rumour of 'refugee money' from Communist China mentioned above, rumours of more serious crimes were circulated amongst some Europeans both in New Guinea and Australia. Mention has been made of the coastal vessels which the Europeans believed the Chinese to have suddenly acquired after the war. This particular publicity had its purpose. Chinese were later alleged to have smuggled illegal immigrants from China into New Guinea's isolated islands, using their "large fleet of trading vessels" (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1953, October, p.14).

Fortunately, the Australian government publicly denied the truth of such charges. But when China was involved in the Korean war questions arose in New Guinea as to whether the Chinese were to be regarded as 'loyal Britishers' (this status had of course never been granted to them), or 'potential enemies' (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1950, December, p.29).

Although no evidence of potential or actual communists was found, the general attitude was not far from that expressed by the editor of the Pacific Island Monthly (1950, December, p.80): "I should be surprised to learn that there are no Red gentlemen of the Fifth Column in Rabaul."

It was further suggested that the Chinese should be watched.

The allegiance of the Chinese in New Guinea - whether they were more loyal to Britain or to China - was always questioned by the Europeans. It is hardly surprising that no expressions of loyalty were made: although many Chinese had been born and had lived all their lives in the Territory they were not given an assured status in the country until 1958. The question of their loyalty seems to have been used to justify the European's practice of racial discrimination. The following quotation from a European
editor's comment on discrimination against Chinese in sports (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1950, December, p.81) bears evidence of this. The editor said:

I, myself, introduced the problem of race discrimination. The Europeans were planning a tennis tournament in Rabaul - for Europeans only. There are some pretty good Chinese players in Rabaul, and they did not at all relish the fact that they had not been invited to enter the tournament.... It is not racial discrimination.... It is more a matter of your loyalties.... Until they are sure of where you are going, the Europeans naturally preserve the community boundaries.

This editor's claim would perhaps be justifiable were it not for a continuation of racial discrimination in New Guinea. Up until the time of my last visit to New Guinea in 1973, the Rabaul Swimming Club and the Rabaul New Guinea Club had never admitted either a Chinese or an indigene - 15 years after so many Chinese had become Australian citizens. I was told that a number of Chinese, among the most prominent citizens in terms of wealth and social status, had applied to both these clubs but had been rejected on the grounds that their membership was full.

Europeans who were sympathetic towards the Chinese or the indigenes were boycotted by other Europeans. One European sports organizer complained (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1951, March, p.29) that after he included Chinese and Malays in the Soccer Association he realized that many Europeans refused to join. In 1957 the editor of The Rabaul Times (June 14, p.2) discussing the swimming pool of 'the European community', suggesting that those young Chinese who had been educated in Australia, "many of whom have been swimming at Australian pools", should be admitted. The reaction of many Europeans was unsurprising. One writer put it (The Rabaul Times, 1957, June 21, p.2): "The logical answer, of course, is for the Chinese community to build their own pool." Other Europeans who were in favour of admitting Chinese argued that they would soon become Australian citizens, and if they be persuaded to build their own pool it will be an
'Olympic pool' which would attract all the Europeans from the European pool (The Rabaul Times, 1957, June 28, p.2). When finally the first Australian university graduate among the New Guinea Chinese - who had also earned a Master's degree in the United States - expressed his view, there was considerable hostility on the part of the Europeans. One even called for the Department of Security to investigate the meaning of this man's remark: 'the inevitable movement towards equality' (The Rabaul Times, 1957, August 2, p.9).

The 1921 policy on immigration was rigidly followed after the Second World War. This had prevented the reunion of some Chinese families since the 1920s. In January 1950 a man who had lived in the Territory for over 30 years pleaded to the administration to allow his wife and a son to join him in New Guinea. After two years the son was permitted entry as a student on a temporary basis. The resident persisted for five years and, assisted by his long term European friends, the Chinese Consul General, and his business associates in Sydney, he finally got special permission for his wife to enter New Guinea in November 1955. He is exceptional in being able to bring in his wife: a letter from Canberra referring this case to the New Guinea Administrator reads: "...an exception of policy in favour of Mrs X might be made as a gracious gesture in recognition of her husband's war services; that to avoid as far as possible an appearance of creating a precedent...."

Foreign European nationals after 15 years living in New Guinea


2 Strangely enough, the decision was made under pressure from Mr Arthur Calwell, then Opposition Leader - the reputed champion of the 'White Australian Policy'. Mr Calwell was informed of the case by an old friend of his, who had been at one time magistrate of the district where the petitioner had lived.
have been eligible to apply for Australian citizenship and they were able to get it by passing a test on almost any European language, while 'Asian' foreign nationals were not (Cahill 1972:233). All Chinese visitors to the Territory seem to have been treated as potential illegal immigrants. The case of a visiting Hong Kong businessman is illuminating.

This businessman was a Hong Kong importer-exporter who had been to Rabaul before the war, and who possessed a valid Chinese passport with a visa for New Guinea issued by the Australian Government Trade Commissioner in Hong Kong. He arrived by ship at Rabaul in January 1949, intending to visit several ports and Port Moresby on a business trip. The Rabaul Customs detained him, radioed the Port Moresby Chief Collector, and followed these actions with a letter describing his particulars. The Chief Collector then wrote to the Government Secretary asking for his advice. The acting Administrator was not acquainted with the case, and ordered the businessman to be detained in Rabaul until he could obtain instructions from the Department of External Territories in Canberra. This Department when informed proceeded to seek information from the Immigration Department and, without success, from the Hong Kong Australian Trade Commissioner. Two months elapsed before the New Guinea Administration could get confirmation from Hong Kong about the issuing of a visa to this Chinese businessman. Meanwhile the poor businessman was still confined to Rabaul. He wrote to various administrative authorities in New Guinea besides asking the Chinese Consul General in Sydney to intercede, but the authorities were still engaged in writing to and cabling each other. The businessman became so desperate that he decided not to proceed with his business trip and requested only permission to leave New Guinea. He wrote: "As I am the manager of the said firm, and I cannot be away from the company for a long time.... Please allow me to leave Rabaul by plane for Australia, where I can take a steamer for home...." In March the
Department of External Territory finally wrote to the Papua-New Guinea Administrator, advising him that this businessman should be permitted to proceed with his trip to Port Moresby. Ⅰ

The Australian Department of Territories and Immigration went to the extreme of forbidding female Chinese missionaries (e.g., Catholic nuns) to enter New Guinea, for fear they might get married in order to stay (Cahill 1972:241).

If a New Guinea Chinese wished to travel to Australia to attend school, receive medical treatment, or for business reasons, he had to go through a long strenuous process to get permission - at least six months. Despite all these difficulties and the fact that they lived in slums, the New Guinea Chinese managed to educate their children to such an extent that by the end of the 1940s several had entered universities in Australia. Chinese parents in the 1950s each year supported up to 200 Chinese students attending secondary schools in Australia which were not available to them in New Guinea.

Early in 1953, Father Dwyer - who was then a member of the Legislative Council - campaigned for the New Guinea Chinese to be granted 'a status of complete citizenship within the Territory without any discrimination on racial grounds' (Pacific Islands Monthly, 1953, September, p.40). Father Dwyer claimed that the Chinese in that year "were given the franchise for Legislative Council election but it came so late that they did not have any opportunity of exercising it in the way they might have wished" (Pacific Islands Monthly, ibid). He was referring to an incident

Ⅰ G.S. A30 CA 24/4/1/3. This businessman was so unnerved by his experience that he did not dare return to New Guinea until ten years later when he had to come to meet his clients. When I interviewed him about his experience he expressed surprise that I knew of it, declined to make any comment, and requested me not to make it known, as he believed he could face possible retaliation from Australian authorities.
in which the administration informed the Chinese that they had been
granted a franchise only two hours before the closing time for the
nomination of candidates. When their community leaders requested an
extension of time for nomination they were refused. Father Dwyer also
laid stress on the fact that the young Chinese were second or third
generation New Guinea residents, who had always abided by the law and
who were loyal to the Australian government. There was little enthusiasm
for his proposals.

In 1956 a committee appointed by the administration began to
study the free movement of people between Papua and New Guinea. This
resulted in the Thomson Report, which Cahill has discussed (1972:359-61).
Cited in this report are European views unfavourable to permitting free
entry of Chinese to Papua. Antagonism towards the New Guinea Chinese
was based on three assumptions: that they would dominate the trade store
business, that they would treat the Papuans so badly that they would give
cause for hatred among the Papuans, and that they would create a half-
cast community because their young men outnumbered their young women.
Cahill (1972:362) regards the last two points as merely excuses supporting
their main objection to the presence of Chinese. The real reason was an
economic one; the establishment of Chinese commercial activities would
deprive the Europeans of a monopoly in business in Papua.

When in 1957 the news came that Australian citizenship had been
extended to the New Guinea born Chinese by Australia, the Papua Europeans
were especially incensed. Rumours soon spread in Port Moresby that the
Chinese were not interested in Australian citizenship. They were accused
of indifference towards the news of the Commonwealth Government's move to
permit them to be naturalized. The Port Moresby newspaper reported that
Chinese did not light firecrackers or hold a dragon dance to celebrate the
news as it was thought they should. The Europeans asked: "Don't they WANT
to be Aussies?" (The Rabaul Times, 1957, July 12, p.1). The allegations were clearly aimed at discrediting the possibility of any 'allegiance' towards the Commonwealth. The administration in Rabaul defended the Chinese, informing the news reporters that Chinese leaders had indeed inquired about the news but that the government officials could not provide them with any information until they were given specific instructions by the Commonwealth Government. The Chinese were told not to make any private inquiries until the administration received full particulars. The Rabaul Times editorial (1957, July 12, p.2) criticized the Europeans for their unfounded allegations against the Chinese in order to damage the Chinese community.

In January 1958 the New Britain District Commissioner, Mr J. R. Foldi, estimated that 90 per cent of the Chinese leaders had applied for naturalization (The Rabaul Times, January 17, p.1). In the first week of June 58 Rabaul Chinese attended the first naturalization ceremony, which was attended by the then Minister for Territories, Mr Paul Hasluck, and the Administrator, Mr D. M. Cleland (The Rabaul Times, June 6, p.2). In Lae seven Chinese received their naturalization papers in time for the ceremony on June 4th, which was again attended by the Minister and the Administrator. Most of the first group of Chinese to receive Australian citizenship were among the wealthiest. As they possessed the necessary capital when naturalized, these Chinese have thus since 1959 been able to purchase land in Port Moresby.

Naturalization of the New Guinea Chinese was a rather slow process: only 400 Chinese had been naturalized by March 1959. Approximately 1,300 Chinese applied for Australian citizenship between 1959 and 1963. About 1,100 of them were naturalized, which also made 700 children eligible. About 200 of those who applied, mainly old people, were rejected on the grounds that they could not pass the English test and the interview (Tudor
1964:33). By 1966, only 282 Chinese in Papua and New Guinea (206 males and 76 females) were still listed in the Census Report as Chinese by 'nationality'.

In any review of the historical facts of the Chinese in New Guinea a great deal of prominence must be given to the discrimination practised against them. Discrimination was, after all, a large part of their harsh social environment. Against this environment and the restrictions placed upon them they have in a very short time made the transition from a social and economic position not very much different from that of the indigenes to one intermediate between the indigenes and the Europeans, and finally to an economic, if not a social, status comparable with that of the Europeans. The present day success of the Chinese in retail and wholesale businesses all over New Guinea can be understood only in the light of their history, which clearly shows the process of their adjustment and adaptability.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHINESE VIEW OF THEIR MIGRATION AND ADAPTATION
I. Introduction

Both formal interviews and participation in the affairs of the Chinese community in Papua New Guinea over a lengthy period have provided me with the information which I have used to write a history of the New Guinea Chinese from their own point of view. Although a New Guinea Chinese reconstructs history in accordance with the same time sequence used by others, he inevitably sees things differently. Events which strike an outsider as significant may be obscure to him, while events which an outsider ignores may become very important in his eyes. In this section, I will simply give greater prominence than is usually done to those events the New Guinea Chinese themselves consider significant. The organization of these events in a time sequence is largely mine.

Chinese immigration to New Guinea was not a planned or organized process, because all migrants came as individuals without any assistance from either official or private organizations. However, traditional social organizations in China - the family, the clan and lineage - and such territorial groups as the neighbourhood or village were used as units for recruiting potential emigrants at home. The migration process from China to New Guinea, in each individual case a private arrangement, has always been kept well within the limits of traditional social organization.

Long before the arrival of a few Chinese migrants in 1903 a number of Chinese pioneers in the Bismarck Archipelago, such as the well known 'Uncle Ah Tam', the Chan brothers, the Chow brothers, and Mr Seeto Dun-Yee (or Seeto Hang), had not only worked in Singapore for some years before coming to New Guinea, but also had already established themselves as trustworthy employees of German firms, the Missions, and the German administration. 'Uncle Ah Tam' was a Hakka, and originally came from Huiyang District in Kwongtung province, while all the others came from
the See Yap (Seu Yi) area - either from T'aishan (e.g., the Chans, the Chows), or K'aiping (the Seetos). There were also a few Hainanese among the early arrivals, known in the local legends to be sailors and island traders, most of whom married native women. None of the early pioneers are described as having come from Ng Yun (Wu Wan) - five districts near Canton city - so we may assume that people known to be from these districts must have been later arrivals.

Once they were established the pioneers would, when more job opportunities came up, send messages home asking their brothers or cousins to join them in New Guinea. When the construction of Rabaul began, recruitment through such invitations extended to lineage members and fellow villagers at home. By the time news spread of the 'new golden mountain in the South Seas' (some said Germany) where Chinese were welcome, even those who were neither lineage members nor fellow villagers who received the right information made their way to New Guinea.

When newcomers arrived, the established pioneers became patrons for them, acting as leaders as well as protectors; they found jobs for them, and sometimes provided them with accommodation. Under such a process of recruitment, a large number of Cantonese from T'aishan, K'aiping, and Huiyang arrived in German New Guinea, and the Seetos, the Chans, and the Chows thus became, and are still, the largest surname groups in the New Guinea Chinese community (as already discussed in Chapter Two).

II. Chinese Pioneers in New Guinea

One of the most important figures among the Chinese during the German period was 'Uncle Ah Tam' who developed his own business 'empire' in Rabaul. This empire around 1910 included a wholesale and retail store, two shipyards, a hotel, several plantations on New Ireland, and a gambling
den, a brothel, and an opium house. Although himself illiterate, Ah Tam became not only the landlord of everybody living in Chinatown, but also the employer of many of the newcomers who had to seek employment in his shipyards and stores. He paid his employees low wages and once they had become acquainted with the new environment and had found better jobs they would leave him, so there were always jobs available for other newcomers at his place.

How Lee Tam Tuck - probably the first Chinese to settle in the Bismarck Archipelago - did arrive in New Guinea remains a mystery. We also have very little information about the way Chinese pioneers were recruited to New Britain at the end of last century. But one thing is quite certain, that is that those Chinese who came before 1907 as settlers in the Archipelago were mainly those recruited in Singapore. Those who arrived after 1907, or after the construction of Rabaul Chinatown, predominantly came straight from China.

The Chan and Chow brothers were among the first Chinese pioneers to establish themselves in New Britain and New Ireland before 1907, and they paved the way for their offspring to later become the most prominent Chinese in New Guinea. The following are outline biographies of these pioneers, which give a better idea of the early Chinese immigrants' history as well as the successive gains made by a few elite Chinese families in New Guinea.

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1 A letter from Hahl to District Officer (Reichskolonialamt) dated November 13, 1904, reveals that Ah Tam in that year imported one Japanese man and three Japanese women as servants in his hotel at Matupi, on the understanding that the women were to be prostitutes serving the need of Chinese and European men (Records of the German Reichskolonialamt 2991: 74-5, German Central Archives, Potsda; courtesy of Dr S. G. Firth).
The Chan Brothers

1. Chan Lock (also known to the Europeans as Paul Ah Lock, or simply Ah Lock, and known to his lineage members as Chan Tai-hei).

Chan Lock was born in 1870 in a village called Ch'iang-Ch'ao Tsun of T'aishan county, Kwangtung province, and died in 1939 in Rabaul. He left his home to go to Singapore while very young. After working there for a short time, he was hired as a cook on a German ship, which took him in the year 1894 to New Britain, where he worked as a cook for German officers. Biskup states (1970:98) that Ah Lock came to New Guinea as a cook for 'Queen' Emma who then opened the first plantation on the Gazelle Peninsula, but according to Sister Adela (1971:109) Ah Lock worked as a cook for the German Acting Administrator, Dr Roce, in the year 1899. (In 1897 his young brother Chan Chai had joined him.) In 1901 he became an independent trader on a small island - Utuan - in the Duke of York Islands (ibid:109). When he had saved up some money he sent for his youngest brother, Chan Kun, who arrived in 1902.

As mentioned in the last chapter, in 1905 Chan Lock became the first Chinese to be granted a plantation lease in New Ireland. His plantation, called 'Lanto' (or Landowe), was about 50 hectares in size, and was developed by him and some Chinese employees. When his brother Chan Chai joined him in New Ireland in the following year, Chan Chai opened up another plantation called 'Karias' (or Calais), next to 'Lanto'.

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1. Description incised on his tomb stone in Rabaul.
2. His nephew Chan Ping At, Alois Akun's son, provided this information.
3. According to Chan Chai's memoirs which were written in the mid-1950s. However, The Rabaul Times (1939 February 3) reports that Ah Lock came to New Guinea in 1890.
4. Again, Chan Ping At's account.
Little other information could be obtained in Rabaul about Chan Lock's life, because his only son had died before the war. This son, although born of a native New Ireland woman whom Chan Lock met on his plantation, was brought up as a Chinese. During the 1930s he was sent by Chan Lock to attend High School in Shanghai, along with his cousins. He also went to England for his higher education, but was murdered after he returned to Shanghai. A daughter who was also born to Chan Lock's native wife married a Chinese and now lives in Sydney.

Apart from this, all we know of Chan Lock is that he devoted a lot of his energy and wealth to the establishment of a Chinese school - the Yang Ching School - in Rabaul. He served on the Board of the School from the time of its establishment in 1922 until his death (see Plate XI). Furthermore, he was regarded by the Catholic Mission as an 'Apostle', since the time when he was baptized in 1907. He gave many sermons in New Ireland and in Rabaul and converted many Chinese to Catholicism.

2. Chan Chai (also known to the Europeans as John Achai, and known to his lineage members as Chan Tai-fun)

Chan Chai came to New Britain in 1897 at the age of 16. He was said to have worked in Singapore before coming to New Guinea. Upon his arrival, he first worked as a cook for a German woman, Mrs Souz, for two years. In 1899 he became a trader and copra buyer on an island off Mioko. He recalled in his memoirs that there were less than 30 Chinese residing on the Bismarck Archipelago at this time.\(^1\) He went home in 1901 to get married, and stayed there for six months. Achai's position at that time in New Britain is interesting, for he was recognized by the Chinese as an

\(^1\) Chan Chai's memoirs were dictated to and recorded by Father Raphael Chow. When I arrived in Rabaul early 1971, Chan Chai was still alive. Unfortunately he was too old to be interviewed. He died on the 5th July, 1971.
independent trader who hired his own trading copra buyers. The German Annual Report (1900-1) records only that Chinese were employed by the German firms managing trading stations on the islands. Two Chinese traders murdered by natives on the southwest foot of Mt Schleinitz of Neu Mecklenburg (i.e. New Ireland) were said by Chow Ying ¹ to be two Hainan Islanders who were hired by Chan Chai to trade with and to buy copra from the natives.

Chan Chai returned from China to Mioko Island and continued to work as a storekeeper for the next year. In 1904 he became cook on a ship which sailed to New Zealand, Samoa and other places in the Pacific. The next year, when he was 25, he went to New Ireland to help his older brother Chan Lock develop the plantation 'Landowe'. He then went to his own plantation at 'Calais' and stayed there for many years, managing the plantation and a trade store.

Chan Chai became the most celebrated Chinese adherent of the Catholic mission in New Guinea. Three of his six sons, born of two wives, entered the priesthood, and two of his three daughters became nuns. The eldest daughter and the two eldest sons entered their religious life in Shanghai, where they had received their high school education at the Hsu-Chia-Hui College, run by a Catholic Mission. His youngest son and daughter, who also became priest and nun respectively, were educated in Australia after World War II.

3. Chan Kun (also known to the Europeans as Alois Akun or Ah Kun, and known to his lineage members as Chan Tai-yok)

The youngest of the Chan brothers - Chan Kun - was born in 1888 in China and died in 1963 in Hong Kong. In 1973 his wife was still alive,

¹ Memoirs of Chow Ying.
PLATE VII: Alois Akun (first from left on the second row) at a school performance at the Vunapope Mission School.

PLATE VIII: An emigrant Chinese - Mr Seeto Dun-Yee and his family. Standing at the far left is Mr Seeto Soon who is mentioned in Chapter Four.
Before World War I, his brother Chan Lock acquired a block of lease land in Chinatown from Lee Tam Tuck and left Chan Kun to build and to manage a trade store on his own. The store was named Kwong Fuck Loon, which after the Australian military occupation was renamed the Alois Akun store and began an importing and wholesale business.

There is reason to believe that when Chan Kun returned from China with his bride he also brought his mother since the three brothers had all married and settled in New Britain. A Chinese who came from the same village as the Chan brothers recalls that when he arrived in New Guinea in 1921, the mother of the Chan brothers had been living in Rabaul for some time.\(^1\)

Chan Kun's success in business can be accounted for by his education and ability, as well as by his association with the Catholic Mission. The reason for the change in his store name from a Chinese one to Alois Akun was to pander to European customers who began to patronize the store after the Australian occupation.\(^2\) Rumour attributes his prosperity in business during the Australian occupation to his running a black market in army goods. Many soldiers were said to have stolen army supplies, including dynamite, and sold them to Akun, who then sold them to Chinese and other people at a good profit. (Dynamite was in demand for fishing.) By the 1920s Alois Akun and Company had become the leading Chinese firm in New Guinea, and Chan Kun himself apparently also took over the role of Chinese community leader from Lee Tam Tuck. He was thus able to speak for the entire Chinese population in New Guinea when Colonel Ainsworth visited Rabaul in 1924 (see Appendix I).

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1 Interview with Chin Pak.
2 Michael (1957:25) notes: "In 1924...the English language was now becoming very necessary for trading (amongst the Chinese merchants)."
During the 1930s Chan Kun's importing and wholesale business was so successful that an overseas agency was established in Shanghai and Hong Kong. During the same period he sent his sons to Hong Kong and Shanghai for their education - several attended the St Joseph College in Hong Kong. One later became one of the first New Guinea Chinese to graduate from a university in China. Before the Pacific war, Chan Kun himself returned to Hong Kong; he lived there until his death in 1963. His second son, Ping At (Bernard), succeeded his father in managing the Alois Akun Company which he does to this day. Since the later 1960s the company has actually been run by Chan Ping At's sons, Chan Kun's grandsons.

Although the three Chan brothers were among the first Chinese to settle in New Guinea, only the youngest one 'struck it rich' in his own lifetime. Both Chan Lock and Chan Chai lived humble lives, spending the greater part of their time in New Ireland developing plantations, and even now their children are only moderately wealthy. Even though Chan Kun established one of the largest wholesale firms in New Guinea, he was affluent only within the limits of the Chinese community in New Guinea. It was not until after World War II that his son, Ping At, invested wisely in plantations, and one of Chan Kun's descendants became one of the wealthiest of all people in New Guinea.

The Chow Brothers

Chow Loong was the eldest of three brothers born in Puo-Luo village, K'aiaping county, Kwangtung province. He left home in his late teens, and for a few years worked in Singapore as a carpenter. He came directly from Singapore to New Guinea in the year 1899, without first

1 Reconstructed from two versions of Chow Ying's memoirs: one prepared for Professor Rowley in 1954, another recorded by his grandson, Father R. Chow.
2 Interview with his son Mr Engelbert Achock.
consulting his mother. As she had lost contact with her eldest son, his mother was worried and after sometime sent his younger brother, Chow Ying, to look for him in Singapore. Chow Ying had worked as a carpenter's apprentice for two years at home. When he arrived in Singapore, he stayed with a Chinese acquaintance for six months and worked for him making furniture.\footnote{In 1901 he received a message from his eldest brother, so he went to join him on Matupi Island. The following year Chow Loong returned home to China for a visit. Although the main purpose of his home trip has not been recorded, it is probable that he went home to marry. Chow Loong's son, Mr Achock, recalls that he and his mother arrived in New Guinea in the year 1910 when he was seven. Mr Achock was thus born in 1903, the year following that of his father's visit home.}

The following account of Blanche Bay, New Britain, in 1901 is taken verbatim from the memoirs written in the 1950s by the second brother, Chow Ying:

In 1901 about February I left Singapore for Rabaul by a German boat called the Si-jardin. I arrived Matupi in March.\ldots.

When I arrived Matupi I was first met by the late Ah Tam. He was quite well established then. He owned a store, a bar house to sell beer, and a boat yard. These were all at Matupi of course as there was no Rabaul yet at that time. Ah Tam had five Chinese employees working for him and also one cook. They all came from Singapore, Ah Tam had three children then and the oldest was about 10 years old. He told me that he came here 28 years ago, so it must be in 1873. I think it must be true as his eldest half-caste daughter was then about 10 years old. I was employed by the late Ah Tam and worked in his boat yard. The salary was 60 marks a month, equivalent to now £3 Australian money. Later on I left him and worked for Ralung store as carpenter at Toma. At that time things were very cheap. Ah Tam had also three other Chinese working for him on various out stations to trade and buy copra from natives. The German were kind and considerate to the Chinese and they looked after us well. The natives were still naked then. There were also other Chinese carpenters. Four were employed by the German Administration, two employed by New Guinea Company, two employed by Vunapope Catholic Mission, two by Mr Otta and one employed by Kokopo Ralung Store\ldots. At Duke of York there
were also two Chinese carpenters and one cook. They were all employed by a German planter. There was also a Chinese trader - John Ah Chai who ran a store of his own to trade and buy copra from natives there. The above cook Ah Lock, and he was the eldest brother to John Ah Chai. The late Ah Lock worked as cook to a German planter during the day and helped his brother in the store at night. Ah Chai employed three Hainan Island Chinese as traders to New Ireland. They sailed by dinghies to New Ireland to trade and buy copra from natives there. But two of these traders were killed by natives in a village called Misi near Kalili Plantation, New Ireland....

The German Si-jardin called from Singapore to Rabaul en route to Australia every three months....

In the second version of his memoirs, told to his grandson, Chow Ying told a story somewhat different from the one he had provided for Professor Rowley, who might have been thought to be a government official. Chow Ying admits in this version that he worked first for Ah Tam as a 'labour agent'. (This term 'labour agent' must mean a native labourer recruiter - a profession mentioned in the previous chapter, and more fully described in Long Ming's story below.) Having worked for him for a year, he left Ah Tam and was then hired by the German Administration at Kokopo (then Herbertshohe) as a carpenter. The Catholic Bishop (probably Bishop Couppe) later hired him to build a church at Matupit. After this building was completed, he became interested in plantation life and for a time took up a job as either carpenter or foreman of native labourers at Karawat (or Karave) plantation on the Gazelle Peninsula, before eventually returning to Ah Tam's shipyard at Matupit, where he worked as a shipwright.

Having saved up some money during these years, Chow Ying went home in 1905 to 'procure' a wife. He returned to New Guinea the following year, bringing with him not only his bride but his younger brother Chow Chew. Chow Chew, then ten years old, was hired by Hanson and Co. to work as a gardener. Chow Ying borrowed the capital from a German company to
develop plantations in New Ireland. He first worked at a place called 'Mululum', and later went to Balangot plantation, where he spent the years up until 1923 when he went back to Rabaul. His eldest son, Gabriel Chow Sing Yip, and his second son, John, were born on the plantation some time before 1907. Chan Chai acted as their godfather when they were baptized by a visiting priest in 1907 (Michael 1957:24). Once he had returned to Rabaul, Chow Ying opened a small store, but he also continued his trade as a carpenter until the 1950s.

Chow Ying is said to be the second Chinese in New Guinea to have become a Catholic. He was baptized in 1907. It is said that Akun gave him 'religious instruction' every Sunday when Chow Ying visited him at the Vunapope mission to learn English (Michael 1957:22; Adela 1971:111). Chow Ying's two grandsons, one the child of his first son and one of his second, became priests. One of them has practised in a Tolai village on the Gazelle Peninsula since 1972.

All of his sons attended the Vunapope mission school for a while before being educated in Hong Kong at St Joseph's College during the 1920s and 1930s. His grandsons are among the well known entrepreneurs and politicians in Papua New Guinea.

The early Chinese pioneers and the stories were well known in the community among those who arrived later. The lives of the less well known Chinese immigrants who arrived in their hundreds from China

1 According to Michael (1957:22), Chow Ying was working on Gunantambu plantation in 1907.

2 Michael (ibid:27) notes: "Gabriel Chow Ying remembers one thing very clearly about his baptism and that is that he had to wait 14 months before Fr Dicks would receive him into the church.... He insisted that Gabriel go to Mass every Sunday, which sounds fair enough till you remember that he had to come all the way in an open boat from New Ireland to Vunapope."
each year after 1907 remain to be considered. From this large influx of immigrants Chinatown began to form on Lee Tam Tuck's lease land in Rabaul. The autobiographical sketches following were told by three different migrants who settled in New Guinea after 1907; they are provided to shed light on the family backgrounds, social status, and some of the motivations of this particular group of immigrants.

Mr Long Ming's Story

"I came from a village in Pao-an county. I had three brothers and one sister, all of whom are now dead. I am now the sole survivor of my family. My father was a poor teacher, while my mother had bound feet: because of this, she could not make any extra income to help the family. All my brothers had to go overseas in order to release our family from poverty. My eldest brother became a sailor. He sailed to Hung-nou (Red-hair: means England) where he met a kuai-mui-tsai (a young devil girl, meaning a white girl). In the next ten years he did not return home once. Another of my brothers also went to sea. The ship he joined sailed around the world. He should have helped our family, but because he was keen on gambling and visiting brothels, he never actually had any money to spare. My brothers' leaving home had not improved our situation as it had been hoped, so I had to leave home when I was only 11, seeking work in town and in other villages.

"I first found a job in a lantern shop, where I was taught to paste paper lanterns. After I had worked for only three days I left, for I found the work unstimulating. The next job I got was as a witch doctor's apprentice. The witch doctor wanted to take me on as a disciple, and he taught me how to 'paint spells'. My master, who was always in bad health, happened to be an opium smoker. He became seriously sick after I had been working for him for only ten days. I had to leave him, and I
could not find another job, so I had to return home.

"My next experience of learning a trade was to become a sawyer. Our village had a population of no more than a few hundred, the majority of whom were of the surname Lung. We had a lineage uncle, a second cousin of my father's, who was the richest person in our village. He owned all the shops on two street blocks including a brick and tile shop/factory, a sawmill, a carpentry shop, and a coffin shop. Apart from the many workers he hired in his sawmill, he also hired eight Hakka labourers to work on his land. Two other labourers were assigned to his orchard. To provide some idea of the size of his property as well as of his enterprise, it is only necessary to say that he had eight 'toilet huts' on his estate. I was hired by this lineage uncle as a sawyer-apprentice at the age of 12.

"Being an apprentice does not mean you begin to learn a trade; an apprentice needs to do all kinds of chores, usually the most menial, at his master's place. It was my responsibility to carry a big load of lunch to the field everyday for the Hakka labourers. After I had done so, I was to stay in the field digging sweet potatoes, then to carry them back to feed the pigs - my master had about a dozen pigs. He also had innumerable chickens, so many that one could pick up an egg almost anywhere in his garden. Every morning and every afternoon, that is twice a day, I had to carry about a hundred times a load of potatoes and potato leaves from the field to the piggery. As well, it was my job everyday to carry 18 bucket loads of water from the well to the kitchen. Each load contained two buckets which weighed about 100 pounds each. Once every three days I had to pound rice to husk it for the kitchen. I pounded the rice with a pestle and mortar, ground it with a grinding stone, and then sieved it. You can see that as a 12-year-old boy I had a really hard job, but I worked through the one year term without realizing how hard it was. When the term
of apprenticeship was completed, my master offered me a real job in the sawmill for seven dollars a month. However, I thought I had suffered enough and decided to leave him.

"I went to a coffin shop, which was next door to the sawmill where I was previously worked. I contracted myself for two years, with the intention of learning to make coffins. Realizing this trade would not promise me a good income in the future, I quit the job soon after I had started. I left home again, travelled to Hong Kong and became a fish pedlar there. Being a pedlar's helper, I got only two dollars and fifty cents a month. I thought to myself that fate had tricked me, making me give up a seven dollar-a-month job for a two and half dollar one. All the same, I had decided not to return home. I knew that had I returned home and laboured as a tradesman I would have spent my entire life a poor man. On the other hand, I had no way out from being a fish pedlar. I thought about becoming a shopkeeper, as to do so would be the only way out of the miserable life I was leading, yet I lacked either the necessary capital or the skill to be one. For seven years I endured the poor life in Hong Kong as a fish pedlar, until I was 19 years old.

"In 1907 I got the chance to join a German ship, which brought me to New Guinea. When I left Hong Kong, I did not let anybody know, nor did I inform my parents at home. I knew my parents would not allow me to go overseas when they had already lost my two brothers. They thought I had disappeared, and when after two years they had given up hope for me I wrote to them and sent remittance money home."

Mr Chan For

"I came from a village in the vicinity of the town Kwong-hui of T'aishan. It was a big village where people of all surnames lived; the
Chens, the Hwangs, the Liangs, the Wus, and so on. I left our country in 1910; in the year I came to Rabaul I was 16. It all started when I met a 'lineage brother' of ours, whose name was uncle Ah Lock. It was uncle Ah Lock who took me to New Guinea.

"Both my parents died when I was very young. I had two sisters, one of them married: I lived with the other sister. I had two older brothers as well, one of whom was the kind of lazy person we would call a 'tai-sik-lan' (lazy big-eater), who did not like to work. I was very different from this brother from the time I was a child. I always worked very hard, and wherever I worked the boss would be fond of me and always be reluctant to let me go. I first worked as a cattle watcher for people when I was very small. When I grew older my sister told me that a 'cattle boy' had no future, and she suggested to me that I should go and learn a trade. She searched out opportunities for me and found a Chiao family in our neighbour village, who said they would like to have me as an apprentice. The master was a carpenter.

"Being an apprentice in T'ong-shan (Tang Mountain means China), as you know, I had to cook for the master's family. One day, after I had cooked the meal, I was sent to buy wine for my master at the village inn. Uncle Ah Lock had come to our village and happened to live in that inn. The inn keeper was also a 'brother' of ours, who was really close to us. I knew him well, as I used to buy wine there. When I entered the inn he was chatting with uncle Ah Lock. Without disturbing him, I just put the money on the counter and helped myself with the wine jar. Uncle Ah Lock saw what was happening and asked my 'brother' who I was. My 'brother' told him my father's name and said: 'This is uncle so and so's son.'

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1 Close in terms of collaterality of a patri-lineage.
Uncle Ah Lock exclaimed: 'Why! This is a nice young man. Without bothering you he helped himself to the exact amount of wine. He must be an honest fellow.' My 'brother' then told him that I was a diligent boy, who had been contracted as an apprentice carpenter for the following three years. Uncle Ah Lock continued his conversation with my 'brother' and asked him to ask me whether I would like to go to 'Germany' with him. They told me: 'It is a paradise for labourers in Germany. There even an apprentice earns ten silver dollars a month.'

"You know, working as an apprentice at home not only did you receive no salary at all, but you had to give seven silver dollars to your master as a guarantee. In case you quit before finishing the contracted apprenticeship period you then lost the seven dollars to your master. When I heard that there was a place where people would pay ten silver dollars a month to an apprentice, I could not resist the temptation, of course. I had started with the Chiao family as an apprentice in January, but in March I met uncle Ah Lock. I considered the meeting a turning point in my life.

"My sister agreed to let me go, and she paid my fare which cost only 15 Chinese silver dollars (the equivalent of 30 Chinese dollars in ordinary currency). There were 74 fellow Chinese passengers on the ship I took. They came from various places (villages and counties), and had been sent for by many different people in New Guinea.

"I first went to work at Tung Chong Store, that is Ah Tam's shipyard, to learn shipbuilding. At that time Ah Tam had two shipyards which hired about 40 to 50 Chinese employees each. The one (German) pound salary which uncle Ah Lock had promised me never materialized at Ah Tam's place, for during the two years I worked there I never received any wage. We were given free board and sometimes received new clothes. At most Ah
Tam allowed each of us apprentices a 'loan' of two pounds on Chinese New Year's Day."

Mr Seeto Soon

"I came to Rabaul in 1909 when I was 15 years old. Up until that time I was attending school in our home village in K'aiping. My father had already been in New Guinea for many years and my eldest brother was there too, helping him manage a store - Kwong Toon Hing\(^1\) - in Rabaul. I was the second of three brothers. At home we had my grandmother, my mother and my younger brother, and myself. I couldn't have come to New Guinea had it not been for my eldest brother who made a trip home. I was impressed by the wealth he had acquired: when he reached in one pocket it was full of silver dollars, and he reached in another it also was full of silver dollars. I thought to myself: 'I have to beg for pennies from my mother every time I need some money, but look at my brother! If I could go abroad like my brother did I would become a rich man with a lot of spare money to spend.' So I told my mother that I did not want to go back to school any more and instead would like to go to Rabaul. My mother scolded me, saying education was most important, so I should continue with my schooling. I persisted, asking her again and again, and she finally compromised. She said to me: 'Alright, if you have made your mind to go you must write to your father and ask him to send you the fare.' At that time it was very easy to go to New Guinea. You needed only two things; the fare and the entry papers, and both of these were easy to obtain. So I left home with several fellow villagers and boarded a ship for New Guinea.

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\(^1\) The store is mentioned in Rowley's book (1958:79) as Seeto Hong (or Seeto Yee).
"Before it reached Rabaul the ship first called at Madang. When I saw the primitive buildings and the natives walking around I was most disappointed, and I murmured: 'Is this what the people in New Guinea call a town?' A fellow villager who had accompanied me to New Guinea on the same ship replied: 'There is nothing unusual about a New Guinea township like this one. When you arrive at Rabaul you will be more surprised that the place isn't as good.' I thought I was a dead duck, having committed myself to come to a place like this.

'We spent only one more day and one more night on the ship before reaching Rabaul. My father received me on the wharf. I went ashore and went to his store with him. I was very surprised at the primitive methods of construction in the so-called foreign 'city' and asked: 'Do you call this a store, built of cardboard? The whole town does not look like a town at all. I don't want to stay any longer; I want to go home.' My father was angry, and said to me: I told you not to come but you did not listen. It was you who made a big fuss asking to come here. How could you think of going home now, so soon after you arrive?' I argued that I had never imagined New Guinea to be such a backward place. My father asked me to stay for a while before making any further decision. I stayed, and did not have a chance to visit home until 1921."

III. The Adaptability of the Individual Chinese Migrants

The adaptability of the Chinese to conditions in New Guinea can be first analyzed from the individual's point of view. Each individual newcomer when he first arrived in New Guinea was willing to take up almost any job, and through a process of gradual adjustment was often able to acquire a better position. He had to rely on himself, his skill, and his
ability, to compete with others. Those who had relatives to turn to had a special advantage. Those who were more adaptable to the physical and social environment could adjust themselves more quickly by acquiring a variety of skills useful in various situations, by learning the local language, and by building up good relationships with natives and with individual Europeans who held the key to opportunities, and so they were able to obtain better jobs. Those who were less adaptable had to turn to menial work, which was poorly paid and arduous, or they might even have had to leave New Guinea. As one informant put it: "Some Chinese arrived hoping to make a fortune, but they had to turn to work on the wharves like horses and cattle."¹

The ability of the Chinese to take up any opportunities that were offered, and their frequent changing of jobs (both amply illustrated in the autobiographical accounts of migrants) give evidence of their adaptability and indicate how they have managed to adjust to new circumstances.

Mr Long Ming

"From 1907 to 1914 I worked as a cook on a German ship called 'Shiala'. It was a small coastal steamer, about 70 or 80 tons, with a crew of seven lo-fan (barbarians or white men). During those seven years we had about a dozen different captains. Since I was the only old hand on the ship, and the only one acquainted with the course, every new captain had to consult me on his first voyage in order to sail along the right course and avoid shallow reefs. I frequently heard the captain shouting: 'Hi cook! Where are we now? Tell us which way we should go!'

¹ This refers to the wharf coolies who loaded and unloaded the ships, carrying the cargo on their backs and shoulders. They also pull heavily loaded carts in the same way as yoked oxen.
"This ship gave me a great many chances to make money. My salary was four German pounds a month, considered very good at that time, as the fare between Hong Kong and Rabaul cost only about two pounds. (One German pound was worth 12 Hong Kong dollars.) I was in charge of the whole food supply on the ship, including the liquor, canned meat and rice. As I did not drink myself, I could sell a few bottles each time. When we shipped native labourers who had finished their contracts back to their home islands - over a hundred each time - I sold them canned beef, secretly at first, and later with the captain's consent. As the labourers' daily ration on board consisted of only boiled rice, I sold them canned beef for one mark a can. I reported to the captain that I had sold only half the amount I had, and in that way I made four to five pounds extra a month. Fishing was another source of income. I salted fish and put them to dry on the deck, and sold them to the Chinese ashore. Because our ship sailed to all the remote islands and plantations I got to know Chinese in many places - the plantation foremen, the carpenters, and the copra buyers. They sometimes asked me to buy this and that for them in Rabaul, so I made profits again on these purchases. However, the most profitable venture at one time was to purchase opium for some of the Chinese working on the plantations. Opium was sold by the tin, and cost 25 marks a tin in Rabaul, but I sold it for five pounds a tin: those men were dependent on me to get it for them because our ship was the one and only ship to reach them. Therefore opium brought me a good fortune. At one stage I could make a couple of hundred pounds a month from it. Yet the easy money did not make me rich, as I was keen on gambling and gambled all my money away once I arrived in Rabaul. In this way, what I earned from other people eventually returned to other people again.

"Our ship was a chi-tsai "(coolies, referring to native labourers)" ship. We went to the native villages, taking seven or eight days' voyage
to reach each one, to recruit natives. All of us had shot guns for protection when we went ashore, but most of the time we needed them only for shooting birds. We took with us cases of goods, consisting of red powder, mirrors, knives, laulaus, and laplaps, which we used as attractions to recruitment. Usually there was a native who had worked outside to guide us and act as an interpreter. Once the newly recruited natives could be persuaded to come back with us to Rabaul, the wong ga would make them sign a two or three year contract. We had to teach them to speak the common language - the hong-mou's tongue: this is what we call pidgin. The Germans could not speak it well themselves, so they relied on us to teach the natives. When the labourers completed their contracts, they had enough money to purchase goods in Chinese stores. When their brothers at home saw what they had brought back, they too would be tempted to come out to work.

"In 1913, at the age of 25, I went home to get married. Just after I returned with my wife the war (World War I) started. I lost my job and went back to Rabaul. I later opened a restaurant.

"Between the two wars I had several different jobs and ventured into various businesses." (The following is a list of his ventures in chronological order.)

1914-16, Opened a restaurant in Chinatown, in partnership with a friend. The place was rented from Lee Tam Tuck for 30 marks a month.

1917-18, Opened a new restaurant at a place leased from a hong-mou, a Mr Lawley.

1918-19, Worked for an Australian as a gardener for six pounds a month.

1919-20, Signed a three year contract to work as baker for the army camp. "I had a Chinese as my assistant, who was a single man."
1920-22, Opened one of the biggest restaurants in Rabaul, he hired seven Chinese employees: a cook for Chinese food, a cook for Western food, an accountant, and some work hands, who made up the remainder. "During these two years, I catered for the daily meals of the employees of four companies: the New Guinea Company, the Forsai Co, the Lalung Company, and a flower-flag (U.S.) company. Because I was too keen on gambling, I did not look after the business, so it went bankrupt at the end."

1922-30, "I opened a small restaurant, with the collaboration of my wife's brother. It was next door to Kwong Hong Hing. The rent was £4 a month."

"Unfortunately, I once broke my leg unloading goods from a truck in 1930. The Rabaul European Doctor suggested cutting off my leg, but I refused. I went home to see a Chinese doctor. He cured me without sacrificing my leg. I spent three months at home and got a concubine, because my mother did not have anybody to look after her. When I left, she stayed home to serve my mother. (This 'wife' and my children born of her are now living in Hong Kong.) Once I returned to Rabaul, I had a quarrel with my wife's brother. My eldest son-in-law invited me to join him in Salamaua, so I left the Rabaul business to my brother-in-law. I built a store for my daughter and shortly after, in the same year, built another one for myself. In 1931 I had developed the third store, while a year later I built a fourth one at Wau. Things were cheap then, hence each store cost me merely three hundred pounds. In 1932 I moved to Wau myself and left the stores at Salamaua to my daughter and my sons. Before the Japanese attacked, I had built four stores at Wau and Bulolo. Since the timber company hired thousands of native labourers, our store business was really good. We left Wau for Papua when the Japanese began the bombing. In Port Moresby we boarded a ship for Australia."
Mr Chan For

"I left Ah Tam's shipyard and became a carpenter's apprentice for a lineage brother of mine. I was soon discharged because the war (1914) broke out. Uncle Ah Lock, who had recruited me at home, invited me to stay on his plantation in New Ireland. For the next three years I did all kinds of jobs in the 'bush': I worked as sawyer, wood cutter, gardener, fisherman, and so on. I cut down trees and made boards which were sold to Uncle Ah Lock for 25 pennies a foot, or one shilling for four feet. (At that time, 100 pennies = 1 shilling = 1 mark; 20 marks = 1 pound.) I could make about seven pounds five shillings a month. Uncle Ah Lock provided me with dynamite for fishing. I took two natives with me to bomb fish by the beach. These fish were salted and sold in Rabaul, and the profits were divided equally between Uncle Ah Lock and myself. Around the year 1917 Chan Kun acquired a plantation and hired me as manager, in charge of some 20 native labourers.

"In 1921, having saved up some money, I made my first visit home. My sister had acquired a wife for me, although I was not yet prepared to marry. In those days the wong-ga issued us with a 'paper' valid for only six months. If we did not return within six months we would lose the chance of returning to New Guinea for good. I took the ship 'Molusia' to Sydney, accompanied by several friends, and there we had to wait for five weeks at the firm Kai Yin. We then boarded the ship 'Latolaei', owned by a Chinese firm, for home. I returned to New Guinea alone, for the government would not allow us to bring in our wives. Many Chinese men at that time, therefore, had wives in China. I visited home twice when I had saved a little money, once in 1923, and again in 1934. During those years I worked sometimes as a carpenter for other Chinese contractors (such as Cheong Thin), while sometimes I acted as a contractor myself, hiring other Chinese to work for me. At one stage, I also made
furniture for sale, but could not make any profit. At one time I worked one year for an old Western couple as their gardener.

"Seeing there was no hope of bringing in my wife, I married a second wife in Rabaul in 1935. Her surname is Wong (she was part-native). In that year, I began to work for the wong-ga as a (government) carpenter. In the meantime my wife managed a small trade store at Malaguna (Rabaul); each month we had a turnover of about £60. The wong-ga sent us to here and there to repair or build houses. When the wong-ga started on the construction of army camps in Lae (in the late 1930s), I was transferred there to build houses for the soldiers. When the Japanese arrived we were still working at the army camp, but the soldiers had fled.

"Later during the war we fled to the mountains growing our own crops. The Japanese did not harm us, and they occasionally came to exchange canned food for our vegetables. After the war, I continued to work as a carpenter for some years, before opening my own trade store in Lae."

Both Long Ming and Chan For's stories tell us how they managed to adjust to changed circumstances. The lives of many New Guinea born Chinese follow a similar pattern, as their histories demonstrate. One Chinese in his early 50s, for instance, had at various times worked as a carpenter, a plantation manager, a sailor, a shop clerk, a shipwright, a bar attendant, a Chinese teacher, etc., and is now a store keeper, a ship's master, and a small plantation owner. This same man is also a licensed medical assistant.

Flexibility and adaptability thus characterize the behaviour of both immigrant and New Guinea-born Chinese. Members of either group have always tried out various jobs which became available, and rarely have they missed an opportunity which might help to advance them. Wealth was the
common goal, because it was a means of achieving other goals. The best way to acquire wealth seemed to be through business ventures, and therefore almost everybody aimed to start some kind of business for himself.

Despite the fact that they had little difficulty in finding jobs or opening small stores, the majority of Chinese in New Guinea had a very low standard of living during the times of both the German Protectorate and the Australian Mandate. Those who were single had to send remittance money home, and those who had a family with them also carried heavy financial burdens. One man recalled that before he and his mother joined his father in New Guinea in 1939, his father had worked as a carpenter since the time of the Germans. He had managed to send some money home only once a year. Many informants now over the age of 40 recalled that when they were children they had not only many siblings but also relatives of all kinds crowded into a small house and that they all shared a small quantity of food at each meal. Food is one aspect often mentioned by the Chinese as an indication of their standard of living in the early days. There was little variety and even vegetables were often scarce. Many Chinese ate as their staple diet pickled green pawpaw and salted fish. Canned beef fried with onions, which today is a common dish in Chinese homes, was at that time considered a luxury. People could not afford to have meat very often. The Chinese butcher in Rabaul had to make bookings for customers who wished to buy pork because few people could afford to very often; only once every week or so, when he could gather enough customers in town to share a pig, that he would slaughter one.

IV. Adaptability of the Chinese Population

The social organization, religion, education, commercial development and socio-political status of the Chinese in New Guinea have
all changed and been changed in the process of adaptation.

Community-wide social organization among the Chinese began with the emergence of quasi-groups which later developed into voluntary associations. During the German period, the Chinese had not established any association or community-wide organization; people relied on their kin, their fellow villagers or people who spoke the same dialect for mutual assistance and cooperation. Evidence for such a generalization lies in the division of labor in the early years along the lines of speech groups or of the migrant's home location. This is a familiar pattern common to the Nan-Yang Overseas Chinese (T'ien 1953; Li 1970). Generally speaking, the Hainnanese were sailors, the See Yap people carpenters, the Hakka cooks, and the Ng Yun people mechanics.

During the Australian military occupation of New Guinea, voluntary associations appeared very gradually in the Chinese community, but by the early years of the Australian Mandate - despite the small size of the Chinese population - a large number of voluntary associations of various natures had been organized, all with their headquarters in Rabaul. The associations functioned as meeting places more or less like clubs, and provided their members with company, comfort, recreation, and a place to talk. There are at least four distinct types of association, differentiated from one another by the nature of the association and its criteria for recruiting members: the first is the clan association; the second is the locality (or hometown) association; the third is the dialect association; and the fourth one is the semi-guild association. Most of them are known to the Chinese as the wui-kun (Hui Kwan).

Three clan associations were formed by people who belonged to Seeto, Chow, and Cheong surnames. They were:

Kau Lun Tong (Chiao Lun Tang): The Seeto Clan Association, which
even though it now has no association hall still maintains a fund for an ancestor-worship ceremony held annually at the Rabaul cemetery.

Tsao Ka Chi (Chou Chia Tsu): The Chow Clan Association, dissolved since World War II.

Wing Yin Tong (Yung Yuan Tang): The Cheong Clan Association or 'everlasting tong', also dissolved before the war.

There were four locality associations:

Toi-San Wui-Kun (Taishan Hui Kwan) for the Taishanese.

Kong-San Wui-Kun (Kangshan Hui-Kwan) for the people from Shinhui county.

King-Tsao Wui-Kun (Chungchou Hui-Kwan) for the Hainan Islander.

Kwong-Yick Wui-Kun (Kwang-yi Hui-Kwan) for the Ng-yun (Wu Wan) people.

Kwang-Yick Wui-Kun is known as the Kwong Yick Club today, and it is the only Hui-Kwan still in existence, with about 100 members in Papua New Guinea. It was founded in 1915 under the name Kwan Tai Ting (King Kwan's Hall), a society formed by the Ng-yun people to uphold 'brotherhood' - in memory of a legendary deity, General Kwan Kong, for his sincerity towards his sworn brothers.\(^1\) A few See Yap and Hakka people were recruited later. Members of this club meet regularly once a year on the occasion of 'Ching Ming' (ancestors worship day) at the Rabaul cemetery, where they make offerings to deceased Chinese pioneers.

The Hakka people established their own association called

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\(^1\) This association may warrant Topley's (1961) classification of 'religious association'.
Chung Yi Wo, which means loyalty, righteousness, and peacefulness. Like the members of other small existing Chinese associations in Rabaul, the Hakka people who belong to this organization also meet annually for a feast and for ancestor worship.

The other associations were established on a same profession basis, though people engaged in the same profession but speaking different languages or coming from different districts did not form a single guild-like association. For example, people from See Yap and Ng Yun (both considered Cantonese) who were cooks formed their own association - King Wah Kok (Ch'ung Hwua Ke), which was quite separate from those of the Hakka cooks, who all joined the Chung Yi Wo, or the Hainanese cooks who were members of the King-tsao Wui-kun. Two groups of carpenters, who with a few exceptions all came from See Yap districts, founded two semi-guild associations. Wuo Yick Tong (Ho Yi Tang) was founded by pioneer Chinese carpenters, while Wing Wuo Kun (Yung Ho Kwan) was afterwards formed by carpenters who were either later arrivals or were born in New Guinea. (The latter in the 1930s established the well known Bay Loo Building Company.) One guild type association was organized by seamen - Tung Yick Wuo (Tung Yi Ho). The last association to appear in Rabaul was the Wah Yick Wui Kun (Hwah Yi Hui Kwan), established by shipwrights in the 1930s.

That so many voluntary associations in Rabaul flourished was closely related to the fact that the Chinese population was at that time by and large made up of single men. Association halls later became hostels for the members to stay in. The hall not only provided the members with a place to live, it also facilitated the rapid exchange of information about jobs and other opportunities. The emergence and continuing existence of voluntary associations in Rabaul demonstrates one way the Chinese migrants have used organized groups in adapting to a foreign environment. Voluntary associations are commonly found in migrant societies, especially
among rural-urban migrants. This was the case among urban migrants in China itself, where in the major cities migrants from the same hometown would organize a Hui-Kwan for the sake of contact and mutual assistance. This fact indicates that the overseas Chinese did not invent voluntary associations themselves, but simply resorted to traditional modes of organization in a foreign setting (cf. W. Willmott 1970:163-4).

However, the proliferation of a large number of associations in such a small population indicates a lack of cooperation in the community as a whole. Although little physical fighting ever erupted amongst the Chinese in New Guinea as it had in Malaya (Blythe 1969) and elsewhere, competition, suspicion, and conflict were evident among members of different associations. Fortunately, the associations did not become involved in political activities within the Chinese community, or there would have been an inevitable split in socio-political functions in the Chinese population which would have had most severe consequences.

In 1922 the Kuo Min Tang or Chinese Nationalist Party was officially established, and through this organization the Chinese community as a whole expressed its group solidarity and identity. Kuo Min Tang members, along with Chinese school teachers, promoted Chinese nationalism and the maintenance of Chinese culture. In the course of the 1930s about one fifth of the total Chinese population in New Guinea joined the party when three branch offices were set up at Kokopo, Kavieng, and Madang.

Throughout the years of the Mandate and up until the 1950s the leaders of the party together with a number of wealthy Chinese merchants became the representatives of the Chinese population; through them, communication between the Chinese population and the administration of the Australian Government was facilitated. Details of their political activities will be found in Chapter Nine of this thesis.
PLATE IX: The Kuo Min Tang executives and the temporary Headquarters immediately after the World War II.

PLATE X: Contemporary Kuo Min Tang Hall in Rabaul.
PLATE XI: St Theresa's Yang Ching School students and teachers in the late 1930s. The old man sitting next to the sisters is Mr Chan Lock.

PLATE XII: Students and teachers of the Methodist Overseas Chinese School. The picture was taken in 1941 in front of their new school building.
Dewey (1970) describes the way Javanese migrants from rural Java have used traditional ceremomial groups as a means of urban adaptation in New Caledonia. In their urban adaptation the New Guinea Chinese have made a different kind of adjustment. They did not build up any traditional religious institutions: on the contrary, they adopted a new religion - Christianity. This event improved their position in the New Guinea social environment, since their change from pagan to Christian served as a sign of conformity to the European way of life and hence helped to reduce, at least to some degree, the hostility of Europeans. Like the process of Chinese migration to New Guinea, where members were recruited one by one from within the family and lineage structure, conversion to Christianity was also done within the network of kinship. Thus the Chans and Chows are still today core members amongst the Chinese Catholics of New Guinea. In 1957 the Catholic Mission boasted of having converted about 1,000 New Guinea Chinese (Michael 1957:25); this figure represented two fifths of the Chinese in the entire Territory. It is interesting to note that the second generation Chinese Catholics in Rabaul produced five priests and nine nuns.

The Methodist Mission on the Gazelle Peninsula also converted a number of Chinese in Rabaul, though its converts were fewer than those of the Catholics. Each mission from the early 1920s sponsored a Chinese school in Rabaul for which funds were raised by the Chinese themselves. By providing them with essential education not provided by the administration, the schools substantially increased the chances of the Chinese population's achieving upward social mobility. Besides, the missions - particularly the powerful Catholic Mission - acted as patrons and protectors to the Chinese when they suffered from discrimination and from restrictions imposed by the ruling Europeans. The Chinese obtained jobs and construction contracts from the missions, and sometimes acquired lease land - residential
as well as agricultural - from the missions, rather against the wishes of the administration.

The very existence of two Christian sects created hostility between their Chinese adherents. Social demarcation within the Chinese population, demonstrated in certain social restrictions, was noticeable in the late 1930s and during the post-war decade. For instance, Chinese belonging to different sects were prevented from marrying each other. The antagonism could not have originated from religious zeal, for Chinese were never so fully indoctrinated as to oppose people holding a different religious faith (Hsu 1971:57-8). On the contrary, they were quite pragmatic in their religious behaviour: several Methodists shifted to the Catholic group because of economic or other reasons. Discontent between members of these two churches was largely created by the competition among their members in the two Chinese schools in Rabaul, and further reinforced by economic and political factors. The Chinese Methodists, as the minority, resented the Catholics because of their economic domination which, unlike the Methodists, they had achieved with the assistance of their missionaries; while the Catholics were jealous of the Methodists, who allied with the non-Christian Chinese in order to control China-oriented political activities, e.g., the Kuo Min Tang. According to some Methodists, one of the reasons for the Methodist Chinese participating in group migration from Rabaul to Lae during the 1950s was that religious hostility was unbearable. Besides, Catholic Chinese had seized the better business lease land in town. Marked antagonism began to disappear among the Chinese in the 1960s, probably because of the availability to everyone of ample business opportunities.

1 Those who acquired plantations and commercial blocks in Rabaul immediately after the war were all Catholics.
Even though the two sects of Christianity had the effect of dividing the population, there were compensating advantages. The two groups of Chinese who belonged to different Christian churches formed two opposing factions, but instead of engaging in sabotage or overt violence (as did the converted natives on some Pacific islands, cf. Howard 1970:16), they expressed hostility in the form of competition, for example that between the two Chinese schools sponsored by the opposing missions. The students' academic performances and inter-school contests were closely watched and evaluated by the parents as well as other people concerned, and consequently this competition had a benign effect on the Chinese population inasmuch as it encouraged achievement and learning. Again, it seems a reasonable conjecture that any resentment provoked by the actions of outsiders (e.g. Europeans) was not so much unfelt as contained within the community by the rivalry between the two sects, and this probably minimized the danger of further external oppression.

From an outsider's point of view, the change in the legal status of the Chinese, mentioned in Chapter Three, might have been thought to be of great concern to the people themselves. However, the Chinese in general were indifferent to the manner in which the colonial government was run and the way the colonial law affected them. Although many complained of unfair restrictions from which they had suffered, they could never clearly explain the nature and extent of their suffering in legal terms. One old Chinese told me: "We had a very hard time in the old days. The Europeans would not allow us to do this or that. When we were poor they blamed us, but when we became rich they blamed us too. If we wanted to open a store in a certain place, we had to pay a European and use his name to get the licence." This old man was referring to the illegal procedure in which a Chinese pays a Europeans to play the 'dummy' and become nominal owner of a store, which procedure was mentioned in the last chapter.
Of greatest concern to the majority of immigrants, therefore, was whether or not there was any hindrance to their individually achieving their ambitions. They cared less about the effect of the community as a whole of laws or regulations. Only a few community leaders or leading merchants were concerned about the process of the law: as their enterprises were of larger scale and therefore more prominent, it follows that a knowledge of such matters was more essential to them.

Information obtained from interviews about events during the two wars provides a convincing demonstration of the versatility and facility of the Chinese in responding to changes in circumstance and assessing possible business opportunities. Ordinarily, the attack on German New Guinea and its consequent occupation by the Australian army could be considered to constitute a situation of crisis to the residents. However, as soon as the Australian troops were stationed in Rabaul some Chinese began to do business with the soldiers, peddling trolleys of soda water to the army camp in exchange for beer and biscuits. Certainly Chinatown later became a favoured spot for the soldiers to spend their money. Similarly, when the allied army arrived at the Bismarck Archipelago immediately after World War II, the Chinese were quick to grasp the chances offered. They had just returned from war camps to temporary huts built on the ruined towns of Rabaul and Kavieng, and appeared to have neither means nor opportunity to do business. Yet as soon as some of them heard that the soldiers were paying to get Japanese personal effects as souvenirs, they quickly formed syndicates to manufacture Japanese troop emblems and flags using material cut from deserted Japanese parachutes, and made windfall profits.

Despite an apparent compliance with administrative restrictions, Chinese commercial enterprises increased in number during the 1930s.
According to reliable informants, there were no fewer than 60 Chinese commercial enterprises in Rabaul and Kokopo. They included about 45 trade stores (eight of which were importing and wholesale businesses), two hotels, four restaurants, six tailor shops, two laundries, two bakeries, one construction company, and a few taxi and hire car businesses.

In addition to the early established Chinese enterprises in Kavieng and Namatanai on New Ireland, a number of Chinese established stores on the New Guinea mainland in Madang, Salamaua and Lae. Most of these stores were small scale enterprises, with capital of only a few hundred pounds, and many were run by the women whose husbands had jobs as carpenters, mechanics, or copra buyers.

The Chinese themselves isolate two factors which they feel are association with the boom in Chinese commerce: first, the growth of economic strength and purchasing power amongst the natives; second, the lack of initiative of European merchants in catering for native customers - Chinese businesses served both natives and Europeans, as well as the Chinese themselves. An additional factor, most crucial to Chinese success in commerce, was that they established stable ties with exporters in Hong Kong and Sydney, so that they became completely independent of the European wholesale firms in New Guinea. Through their Hong Kong agents, businessmen were able to import a large variety of cheaper goods, and this enabled them to compete successfully with big European companies. In the mid-1950s, those who before the war had been merchants re-established business ties with their Hong Kong agents. In the 1960s more Singapore merchants catering for international trading arrived in Papua New Guinea, and they provided more efficient services to the Chinese traders - big and small.

It is frequently remarked in the literature that the New Guinea Chinese have always been a 'law-abiding people'. They are not so much law-abiding in the sense of never breaking the law, but rather in the sense of
never having taken group action to challenge either the regulations set up by the colonial administration or the treatment they received at the hands of others. Their tolerance or lack of action in the long run has served to arouse the sympathy of other people. One elite Chinese points out that the New Guinea Chinese are 'silent grumblers', for when they make complaints they make them only among themselves. The question of 'naturalization' is a good example of this. Although the Chinese admit the advantages of their eligibility for Australian citizenship, few of them including the elite Chinese, can explain how this law came to be passed in 1957, nor can they explain why the government changed its attitude about treatment of the Chinese. The Chinese themselves never dreamed of fighting for this right and never petitioned the government for it. When I questioned them about the advantages of acquiring Australian citizenship, those born in the Territory said that the big difference between those 'naturalized' and those not is that the former are able to purchase land and travel freely between Papua and New Guinea while the latter can not. Some of the old people born in China added that once you take Australian citizenship you become a 'sai-jan' (Westerner) and can thus enter Hong Kong without any hindrance. The old Chinese recalled how previously they were forbidden to land in Hong Kong unless they paid a bond of HK$3,000: as well as this their luggage was opened and scrutinized by the Hong Kong customs. "But now, no sooner do they see our Australian passports than the custom officials exclaim: 'Oh, this is a sai-jan', and wave us in with no hesitation."

Since 1958 the Territory's annual Report to the United Nations has ceased to list the Chinese as a separate population in its statistics, and hospitals have begun to receive Chinese patients in 'European' quarters. For maternal and infant care the naturalized Chinese mother is issued a book labelled 'European Baby Record'.

V. Changing Aspirations

Having provided a historical account of the Chinese in New Guinea, I would like now to discuss the background of Chinese emigration and their changing aspirations in the host country. Many students of the Overseas Chinese have assigned reasons for Chinese emigration to foreign countries. They usually consider 'economic pressures' such as overpopulation, land shortage, economic depression, and famine to be the main cause of Chinese migration overseas (T'ien 1953; Skinner 1957; D. Willmott 1961, W. Willmott 1967). Skinner (1957) has conducted a most thorough analysis of the rates of Chinese emigration to Thailand, and he was able to correlate fluctuations in the rate of emigration in certain periods with historical events in China, for example famine and political turmoil, during the last three centuries. Apart from the fact that the method of his correlations and his consequent interpretations are not entirely convincing (cf. Hsu 1958), such an approach is inappropriate to the case of Chinese migration to New Guinea, because this mainly took place within a single decade during which Chinese arrived only in the hundreds.

Recognizing economic pressure as a constant in the emigrant provinces, we should inquire further about the type of Chinese individual who decided to leave home and come to New Guinea. We need also ask why certain individuals decided to emigrate. In other words, the immediate motivation of individual emigrants and the process of migration itself needs to be examined.

It is generally agreed that Overseas Chinese come predominantly from only two coastal provinces - Fukien and Kwangtung - where 'economic pressure' is said to be most prominent. We already know that the Chinese in New Guinea, almost without exception, came from the province of Kwangtung. Most came from rural villages, and their families were of the lowest status, the poorest sector, in traditional Chinese society,
i.e., peasants and skilled labourers. Some of the emigrants' fathers were also engaged in other professions, such as teachers, hawkers, and travelling doctors, although none was reported to be a member of the gentry (See Fei 1953). Poverty was the common scene in these families, but there is no evidence that any were actually starving. When each individual case is examined, we discover that many migrants had either the means to sustain a subsistence living at home or the possibility of support from relatives who had already gone abroad. On the other hand, many had to work to earn their own bread when very young, in order to relieve their families of some of their economic burden. Many had known hardship from childhood. The early Chinese migrants in New Guinea were young adventurers who had suffered sufficiently at home to be willing to take any risk in a foreign land, who before leaving home had heard numerous stories of promising opportunities abroad, and who had witnessed the return of their fellow villagers or relatives who had 'struck it rich'. T'ien (1953:2) emphasized the fact that despite the failure in Nan Yang of the majority, the Chinese continued to go there to seek a fortune. There is a saying in Fukien: "out of every ten who go abroad, three die, six remain, and only one comes home" (ibid:2). Yet it is this very one who returns ostentatiously that strengthens the desire to emigrate. In sum, the immediate cause which motivated individual Chinese to emigrate was the supposedly better economic opportunities available abroad.

Further to this immediate cause is 'achievement motivation', pertinent to each individual Chinese emigrant, which drives an individual to seek wealth and to promote his social standing on behalf of not only himself but also of his parents, his family, and his offspring. While achievement motivation is acquired through the socialization process during early childhood, cultural values in Chinese society reinforce it throughout a man's lifetime. Behavioural traits manifested in many of the Overseas
Chinese such as forebearance, hard work and frugality are associated with achievement motivation.

At first the Chinese took advantage of the German colonial policy of welcoming Chinese immigrants, and the pioneers sent for their kinsmen to join them in New Guinea and share opportunities not available in China. The arrival every year of hundreds of Chinese immigrants might also have been due to misunderstanding of the propaganda of Chinese recruiters in Hong Kong or the villages of Kwangtung. In the villages in Kwangtung the news spread that German New Guinea (known to Chinese as Ah-Pao) was such a great place, with ample opportunities for getting rich, that the potential emigrants believed that they were going to a new 'Golden Mountain'. Although some came to New Guinea with the modest hope of earning a decent wage, some had the idea of making a fortune (as the autobiographical sketches demonstrate). They must have felt very disappointed when they arrived in New Guinea to discover that the major town Rabaul was but a 'Yeh ian fao (Port of Savages)', where most of the Chinese were engaged in manual work. The large number of migrants returning to China before World War I reveals that the nature of the Chinese population in New Guinea can best be described as "floating".

The Chinese had no good reason to be attached to underdeveloped New Guinea during this period, except for the money which was otherwise unobtainable at home and which was gained by serving the colonial administration. As was shown in Chapter Three, by the end of the German period 13.5 per cent of the Chinese were still labourers; a similar number - 13.2 per cent - had become traders, while the majority were artisans - 43.28 per cent. Although many Chinese migrants came to New Guinea to work, few intended to settle permanently. It was only towards the end of German rule in New Guinea that a small number, having made a small fortune in trading, or having achieved the position of independent
contractor, sent for their wives and children to join them in New Guinea.

Those families who did settle in Rabaul predominantly were connected with a number of the local lineages from the See Yap villages from whence many other people had come to New Guinea. With the support of their close kin and lineage members, and assisted by their women and adult children, the settled families became more successful in developing business enterprises and many of their leading members also assumed the role of leaders in their respective kinship-based groups. In short, the more successful Chinese had an eye to establishing commercial enterprises and acquiring land, whereas the majority of the ordinary working Chinese, mostly single men, were satisfied with a stable job that offered a reasonable wage. This stage of affairs remained relatively constant until well after World War II.

It is worth mentioning that among the first community services restored by the Chinese immediately after World War II were their schools. Only a few weeks after the population had returned to Rabaul from wartime camps in various parts of the islands the Chinese built temporary shelters as classrooms, and all the children and those teenagers who had not had the chance to continue their education during the war were put into this combined single school. This shows the priority the Chinese gave to the education of their children. It is also plain from the following description, especially the statement given by a community leader on the future of the Chinese, that the population as a whole oriented its aspirations toward the welfare of the next generation.

In the early 1950s the Chinese were engaged mainly as carpenters, mechanics, and other kinds of artisans, although some families had also started 'temporary' shops. Again, some artisans also took up as a sideline the buying and selling of copra. A composition by a schoolboy in a school
bulletin of 1956 provides an example of the way Chinese children regarded what their elders had done as both an example and an inspiration. This boy, in Grade 4, says:

When I grow up I am going to learn to be a carpenter, then I will start my own business and take someone with me. I am going to take Richard with me, and two natives. Each of the natives will be paid one pound a week. Richard and I will each get 60 pounds for two weeks.

Another composition by a Chinese girl reveals the awareness of children of the commercial potential in Rabaul; this girl concluded her essay on "The (Rabaul) Native Market" by remarking:

It is very late in the afternoon before the people begin to pack up and get ready to go back to their villages, but most of them spend some of their money in Chinatown before they go.

Although the adult Chinese remained artisans and traders, they hoped that their next generation would produce a group of well educated and qualified professionals. In 1954 a young Chinese "made history as the first Territory-born Chinese to qualify in Australia as a teacher" (The Beacon 1956:67). He returned to teach at the Rabaul Public School, previously the Overseas Chinese (Methodists') School. In 1956 the secretary of the Ex-Students Association of the Rabaul Public School made the following exhortation:

We have our nurses and teachers, our commercial artists and draftsmen, our stenographers and book-keepers, our budding doctor, and now we are looking forward to the prospects of one who is shortly to embark upon an agricultural course with the University, provided he satisfies the Faculty prerequisites. What we want now is a dentist, a pharmacist and an engineer to make the picture complete. Come on, what about it? (The Beacon 1956:68-9)

When the first group of the New Guinea Chinese students to receive secondary education in Australia had returned home, one of the leading Chinese was reported to have said that "the next generation of the Chinese people in New Guinea would create a new respect in the eyes of the natives. 'Already at least ten Chinese in Australian universities are studying law, medicine, economics and other subjects'" (New Guinea Courier, Lae, April 8, 1959, p.1).
It is clear that the young post-war Chinese were apparently aiming to promote the status of the Chinese population from the working and trading class - to which their forefathers had belonged - to the professional class. This ambition reflects what the Chinese as a whole had long wished - to stay in New Guinea and to prosper. From published sources and from interviews it is obvious that at the same time as they were talking about entry into the professions they were also thinking of acquiring land. The desire to purchase residential, commercial, and agricultural land is another indication of the intention to stay permanently, and this desire is expressed in an official petition to the administration from the New Guinea Chinese Union, which represented the entire Chinese population.

This country being their adopted homeland, they naturally desire to have economic security and invest their savings in lands and plantations, and share in the development of the country.¹

In the middle 1950s New Guinea born Chinese were granted the status of 'Australian Protected Persons', while the possibility of granting them the right to apply for Australian citizenship was also discussed by the Australian government. Although by now the majority of the Chinese had acquired the legal status of residents of the country, instead of 'aliens', they still were not regarded as social equals by the Europeans. On racial grounds, education and qualifications obtained in Australia did not win them a salary equal to that received by a European, no matter whether they were employed by the administration or by private firms. For example a Chinese merchant recalls that when he worked as a clerk for the administration in the mid-1950s he received half the wage a European clerk did, yet European colleagues usually asked the Chinese to do most of the work. Even Chinese firms partly because of exploitation and partly for the sake of obeying the European rule practised wage discrimination

¹ The Governor Secretary File A30, CA44-4-4-16.
against their Chinese employees: e.g., a Chinese construction company paid a European carpenter a higher wage than a Chinese carpenter with equal, if not better, qualifications. Ambitious and well educated Chinese youths were said to have been frustrated when they returned to New Guinea. It so happened that in the mean time business opportunities had improved, and they improved still further when Papua was opened to Chinese in 1958. Many qualified Chinese professionals - nurses, teachers, craftsmen - gave up their previous jobs and became merchants. This trend has become even more conspicuous since the 1960s.

By the late 1960s, although the pattern of occupations among the Chinese was showing variety and diversification, Chinese-owned retail and wholesale business had become widely established in all known urban centres, old or new, in Papua and New Guinea. Even the highly educated Chinese, the university graduates, have since turned to light industry or trading rather than seeking white collar jobs.

At present the Chinese seem to have achieved a status which was previously only enjoyed by Europeans. However, except for the prospect of accumulating considerable wealth hitherto unavailable to most of them their achievement has been a hollow victory, since the whole socio-political structure of the country has begun to change at about the same time. Their new status brought the Chinese certain privileges enjoyable only for a few years before they realized that the rulers of the country would eventually change. This new development and how it affected the Chinese will be the subject of discussion in Chapter Ten.
CHAPTER FIVE
SOCIALIZATION, CULTURAL VALUES, AND ADAPTABILITY
I. Introduction

The previous two chapters on the history of the Chinese in New Guinea have given some indication of the overall ambition of the Chinese in seeking opportunities for a better life, and how they indeed progressively improved their socio-economic position. Although in these two chapters the way the people strove to circumvent and overcome restrictions placed upon them and the efforts made to develop commercial enterprises as a goal have been shown, it is still not clear what drove individual Chinese to their goals so assiduously. As a minority group they have accomplished a great deal in providing their children with better educational opportunities, in finding better jobs for themselves, and in establishing successful businesses in many urban centres; in all of these endeavours manifesting the kind of behaviour most usually called 'achievement-orientated'. It seems necessary to try to isolate the factors motivating this behaviour. Certainly traditional cultural values which will be discussed later in this chapter emphasize achievement in the form of the wealth and establishment of businesses, but such values alone cannot account for their behaviour, because such traditional values are only part of their motivation.

Being Chinese myself, I am particularly aware of the behaviour of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea, and of differences between them and the Chinese in China as well as in other overseas communities with whom I have had contact. It is my impression that in some ways they are not very different from the other Chinese I have lived with. One of their familiar behavioural orientations is that in New Guinea, as in other places, the Chinese seldom take any action individually or independently: they either consult each other before doing anything or they simply follow the lead of others; they usually undertake ventures with partners. This is particularly evident in their socio-economic activities, discussed in the later chapters of this thesis. Once a few people have explored a new opportunity, others
will follow in their footsteps, so that any new movement almost certainly becomes a group or community venture. In political activities, actions and interactions within any social-political organization which aims to function as a community-wide body almost always centre on a number of factions led by several leaders. Another familiar behavioural characteristic is the existence of long-lasting ties between parents and children, and the constant involvement throughout an individual's life time with family members and other kin in social events.

Although my observations were initially comparative - whether or not they resembled the Chinese I already knew, when it comes to an analysis of their behaviour I do not favour a comparative approach as such. Apart from the fact that material on the socialization process of the Chinese is scarce, a comparative approach does not enable us to understand the processes of development and change in this specific environment. To understand the process of change in their behaviour and cultural values we must examine the setting specific to this population and investigate variables affecting aspects of this particular population alone.

The interpretation of social behaviour in terms of social structure is another approach customary with social anthropologists. Familism, says D. Willmott (1960:68), is one of the main reasons accounting for the use by the Chinese in Indonesia of the family as a basis for organizing business enterprises, while they never organize a business firm of the nature of a public company. We are also told by Willmott (ibid:51-2) that Chinese business in Indonesia are often unstable because the Chinese are keen on speculative investments. However, we are not told why the Chinese often

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1 To my knowledge, such anthropological studies on Chinese child-rearing as are available are fragmentary, appearing only in studies by Wolf (1968, 1970, 1972), Diamond (1969), Hsu (1970), Ward (1970), and referred to in passing in Jordan's book (1973) on Chinese folk religion.
engage in speculative investments. What Willmott has pointed to are social behaviours of which the original causes have not been discerned. This approach is unfortunately typical of many social anthropologists who have studied overseas Chinese societies.

When adaptation is examined, we are apt to be told that the Chinese emphasize family and kinship and organize socio-political groups on a basis of kinship - this is so because the Chinese have always had a well established institution of kinship. It has become evident in recent years that there is growing dissatisfaction amongst anthropologists about the interpretation of social behaviour solely in terms of social institutions or cultural traditions. Freeman's (1974) "Kinship, Attachment Behaviour and the Primary Bond", for instance, is one of the latest criticisms of traditional social anthropology, and his argument is relevant to the present discussion of social behaviour and socialization. Agreeing with Meyer Fortes' thesis (1969) that kinship is a domain discrete and irreducible, Freeman cites Bowlby's (1969) work and argues that the attachment of an infant to his mother is of "decisive importance in the development of human social life" (Freeman 1974:110).

It is appropriate to consider my study one that examines 'culture and personality' in a micro environment. The adoption of a traditional approach towards culture and personality is less favoured here, for each individual personality is often considered to be the product of a moulding culture which has been held to be constant or static. Besides, the biological and environmental bases fundamental to personality formation are often ignored (Wallace 1970). The migrants carried a cultural tradition from their home villages of China with them when they arrived in New Guinea. How this tradition was transmitted to the next generation in New Guinea depended to some degree on individual carriers, experience in New Guinea, and the nature of decisions. Generation after generation, the decisions
of each individual have been subjected to the New Guinea environment in its social as well as its physical aspects. Behavioural variations have thus little by little altered the content of culture and cultural values, and these in turn have affected the choices and behaviour of the individual. The process of change in the Chinese population in Papua New Guinea is obvious, but how and in which form changes have occurred, especially in respect to the adjustment of individuals, and the adaptation of the population in the new environment, have to be examined in order to be understood. In order to more fully comprehend the behaviour of individuals in the context of their changing culture and environment this chapter will examine their socialization. However, in just a single chapter it is impossible to give a thorough account of the methods of child-rearing and the socialization process; the discussion will have to be concentrated on points which seem to me directly relevant to the wider phenomenon of adaptation in this thesis. My analysis will be conducted with reference to the theoretical framework postulated recently by John Bowlby in his three volumes of research, of which two have now been published (1971; 1973), both of which are of central interest to my analysis.

Bowlby's theory deals with two different yet interrelated phenomena of human behaviour - attachment and fear - both common to all humans. Attachment behaviour, of which crying, smiling, babbling, sucking, clinging and following are part of the behavioural system, is most prominent in early infancy. The manner in which a mother figure responds to an infant's attachment behaviour plays a decisive role in shaping that individual's personality. Through attachment behaviour an infant establishes a profound bond with its mother figure, but the experience of separation (short term) or loss (long term) of the bonded mother figure causes anger, distress, and

1 A mother figure is distinguished from, but includes, the biological mother.
anxiety. Separation from the mother figure is not only a key variable in determining a child's emotional state and behaviour, but is also decisive in his personality development and the behaviour manifested in his adult life. Bowlby's conclusion - which is crucial to the discussion of adaptation among the Chinese of New Guinea - is that a child who has been soundly bonded to a mother figure is less susceptible to fear of being separated from his mother; and a child less susceptible to fear will become a happier and more confident adult, who is more likely to develop relationships of mutual reliance with other people within society, and so become more able to deal with the world at large.

Bowlby's theory of the origin of attachment behaviour and separation anxiety is based on a paradigm (See Thomas Kuhn 1962) which is distinguished from the classic Freudian paradigm. Bowlby's psychoanalytic theory is based on a new paradigm derived from Darwinian evolution, ethology, and control theory. In Attachment (1971), Bowlby begins with an examination of man's background of evolutionary adaptiveness. Attachment behaviour is said to have evolved in prehistoric times when the young hominid needed protection from predators. In Separation: Anxiety and Anger (1973), Bowlby continues by showing the potential danger during man's early history in the separation of the young from the company of his mother, and of the adult from others - "Isolation often spells speedy death" (ibid:143). The anxiety of an infant when separated from his mother, or the adult fear of being alone, can be seen in the evolutionary perspective to be advantageous to survival. This concept is divorced from the traditional Freudian concept which sees separation anxiety as a sign of immaturity, and fear of being alone in adults as childish or neurotic. Bowlby thus rejects the Freudian concept that 'over-dependency' (or 'spoiling') in childhood is the cause of adult inability to be self-reliant. On the contrary, the latest research and clinical reports all
justify Bowlby's theory that a child well supported in his dependency needs will grow to be a fully self-reliant adult.

I shall now examine Bowlby's theory step by step in the context of child-rearing methods and mother-child interactional behaviour among the Papua New Guinea Chinese. The major task is to discover (1) the nature of the bond of the individual Chinese infant; (2) the extent to which Chinese children are susceptible to fear; and (3) the extent to which individual Chinese become self-reliant adults. Information obtained from both my own observations and from interviews with mothers are used as data for this analysis. In Rabaul and Kavieng I interviewed altogether 32 Chinese mothers, of whom 16 were locally born of non-mixed descent, 10 were born in China or Hong Kong, and six were locally born of mixed descent (indigenous). Reports by different mothers in each category will be compared in order to detect any differences, but the mixed-descent mothers' answers will not be included because of insufficient numbers. Questionnaires were constructed on the basis of those developed by Sears et al. (1957) and revised and applied in other societies by Landy (1959), Wu (1968), and Lloyd (1970). Interviews were predominantly conducted in Cantonese; some in English, and some in both languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 20: AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTIONS OF SAMPLED CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Mother</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. The Socialization Process

The Development of Mother-Child Bond

Few traditional Chinese taboos related to pregnancy and childbirth were observed; instead, the modern Western idea of regular medical checks was valued by almost every mother, and babies were mostly delivered in hospital. Most babies were breast fed for a period of from a couple of weeks to three months, their mothers believing human's milk to be more nutritious than cow's milk. The overall consensus derives partly from tradition and partly from the teaching of the physicians or nurses in the hospital. However, the majority of mothers gave the same reason for an early termination of breast feeding: that they had to work - many of them worked in their stores - and a scheduled bottle feeding would not interfere with their work as would breast feeding. In this matter, as in others, environmental factors have changed the mother's values and practices on child-rearing.

All the mothers indicated that they themselves were the major caretakers when the child was an infant. But answers to further questions on the amount of caretaking actually performed by the mother - holding, feeding, bathing, changing the nappies are part of this - indicate variations in the degree of mothering, as shown in Table 21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practically none</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About half, with considerable help during the day</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than half, but still with considerable help</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most, but some help</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearly all, help rare</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was observed that the majority of the mothers took most of the responsibility for caring for the baby when it was less than six months old. When the baby grew older, a large number of persons gave a hand. These included the father, a native nurse, and other adult family members. The number of caretakers of a child under the age of one is shown in Table 22. The significance of this great number of caretakers for some of the children will be dealt with later.

**TABLE 22: NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO REGULARLY OFFERED HELP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Persons Offering Help</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Persons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Persons</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Persons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Persons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Persons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Persons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Persons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that nine of the locally born mothers reported that there were two persons who offered help regularly. In most cases one of these helpers turned out to be a native nurse. These native nurses are not in the same position as a nanny in England (cf. Freeman 1974:113) who takes almost the entire responsibility of bringing up the child, and to whom the child is bonded, instead of to its own mother. The native nurse in a Chinese family of Papua New Guinea serves as a standby caretaker whose main duty is to give a hand when the child's mother is preoccupied at that particular moment. They are not usually given a large share of the
responsibility for the child until after it is eight or nine months old. Bowlby (1971) believes that it is at this time that a child begins to discriminate between a mother figure and other people. Whether a native nurse affects the bond between the child and his mother is of special interest here. Chinese mothers in the majority of cases expressed reservations as to the amount of freedom in handling the baby allowed to a native nurse. First of all, when the child is less than two years old few mothers allow the nurse to carry it out of its mother's sight or hearing. Secondly, none of the mothers reported that they left the child to sleep with the nurse at night. The mother invariably looks after the baby after dark. Thirdly, I observed on many occasions at private parties or holiday gatherings that many native nurses accompanied the mother and child. The mother would seldom leave the baby or young child at home in the care of the nurse while she herself went out to attend social functions. It is thus likely that in most cases the nurse does not seriously affect the child's bond with his mother, whereas the nurse certainly becomes a substitute attachment figure (cf. Bowlby 1973:22). Furthermore, Chinese children possibly develop bonds with a number of substitute attachment figures, given the fact that the number of caretakers is large. It is undeniable however, that a few mothers did leave their child entirely in the hands of the nurse, because other mothers pointed out to me that so and so neglected her duty as a mother and let the native nurse look after the child most of the time. "I feel sorry for her now that her own child wants to be with the meri all the time, and does not want her own mother". These reports correlate with the fact that three mothers reported that their children when small showed no signs of a strong tendency to cling to them (see Table 23).
TABLE 23: EARLY TENDENCY TO CLING TO MOTHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tendency</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Never showed such a tendency</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To some extent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Went through a stage of being very clingy</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of care mothers give to their infants can best be judged by their response to their infant's crying. The mothers were asked to report whether or not their child cried a lot as a baby. As shown in Table 24, the majority of the mothers answered that their baby was a good one who seldom cried. Many of them believe that a healthy baby does not cry very much: "Only when they were sick, hungry, or wet do they cry". If a baby is reported to have cried a great deal when it was not sick, it is most likely that it was not promptly attended to when it cried.

TABLE 24: HOW MUCH DID X CRY AS A BABY?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Seldom cried X was a very good baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cried a bit, especially at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cried more than the average baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cried a great deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cried almost all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I observed several mothers who remained "on guard" after putting their babies to sleep in a room other than the one they were working in. Whenever she heard a faint noise which she suspected to be from the baby, any one of these mothers would rush to the baby and check. However, when they were asked how they responded to their baby's crying, many did not indicate a highly responsive attitude, perhaps because they answered my question in terms of what they thought they ought to do rather than what they actually did. The variation in individual mother's reports on their attitudes is shown in Table 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Unresponsive: never pick up when crying</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Respond only after the baby has cried for a while, or allow the nurse handle the problem</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conditional response: pick up only when she knows the baby is hungry or something might be wrong</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Very responsive: pick up in most cases</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Highly responsive: pick up immediately whenever baby cries</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many mothers told me that if they know for sure that the baby was not hungry, or sick, they would let it cry for a while. The majority of them said they were taught to do this by a doctor or a hospital nurse. As one mother said: "The Chinese habit of picking up the baby whenever it cries is a bad habit. The Western doctors have taught us the better way of letting the baby cry. Sometimes nevertheless I would not have the
heart to let the baby cry for too long". Asked why it was good to let the baby cry, two mothers remarked specifically that it was good for the baby's lungs. Another mother believed that crying would help the baby grow faster. "The Western doctor said so", she added. In Kavieng one locally born mother's answer is most interesting. She said: "We Chinese (tong Jan) believe that it helps the baby to exercise its lungs to let it cry once in a while". This mother apparently had mixed up the origin of this value and believed that it was a traditional Chinese cultural value to let the baby cry. It is plain from these examples that adhering to different cultural values the mothers made different kinds of choices on what they should do with their children. Those who had accepted the new values of the doctors and nurses in the hospital tended to respond negatively to an infant's crying, while those who had not accepted the new values were apt to pick up the baby to nurse and comfort it when it cried.

In addition to cultural values, environmental factors also played a part in determining the mother's behaviour. A mother who had to work in a store, and who was not able in these circumstances to respond promptly to her baby's demands, had to delay her response or get somebody to act in her place - e.g., a native nurse. The new cultural value of "letting the baby cry for his health" becomes a good excuse to justify their altered behaviour.

Bowlby concludes from many observations and experiments that "when a baby is not hungry, cold, or in pain, the most effective terminators of crying are, in ascending order, sound of voice, non-nutritive sucking, and rocking" (1971:352). "Rocking a baby, it is found, is effective not only in terminating rhythmic crying but in delaying its onset" (ibid:353). Many Chinese mothers, some fathers too, were observed to rock their young infants a lot when holding them in their arms. This rocking of the infant
seemed habitual, and was done whether or not the infant was crying -
indeed in most cases it was not. The Chinese usually rock their infants
in a rapid up and down (shaking) manner, about two cycles a second.
Rocking the infant from left to right is less commonly seen. It is
interesting to know that experiments have shown (Bowlby ibid:353) that
to terminate a baby's crying "rocking must be at 60 cycles a minute or
above". This explains why the Chinese way of rocking the infant is
effective, and perhaps accounts for the mothers' reports that their infants
seldom cry. I cannot recall ever having myself heard any prolonged crying
by an infant, in spite of my frequent participation in the people's
activities.

Mother's reports on the frequency of nappy changing when their
babies were about six months old are also indicative of the level of their
responsiveness toward their infants. It will be evident that the higher
the frequency of changing the baby's nappies, the more chances a mother
has to contact and comfort the baby - after changing the nappy the mother
usually holds the baby and plays with it for a while. Both Table 26 and
Table 27 show the differences between mothers in this matter.

**TABLE 26: FREQUENCY OF CHANGING NAPPIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Only a few a day</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Over a dozen a day</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. More than two dozen a day, or too many times to count</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 27: FREQUENCY OF CHANGING NAPPIES DURING THE NIGHT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Never</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seldom, or less than two times</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Often, or several times</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is understood that frequency may vary, depending on the weather and the biological capacity of each individual infant. However, the emphasis is on whether the mother actually does check and change the infant. Several mothers told me that they believed Chinese mothers change their babies' nappies far more frequently than European mothers do: "because the lo-fan women are generally lazy". Whether their observations and comparisons are accurate or not needs to be studied.\(^1\)

The extent to which attachment behaviour is developed between an infant or young child and its mother can also be examined in respect to sleeping arrangements. Of concern here is whether or not the child is allowed to sleep in the same bed or in the same room with its parents. From birth, more than half of the children slept in a separate baby's bed, but this cot, in most cases, was in the same room as the parents' bed and was usually placed beside it. Only three mothers reported that their child from birth was assigned a room separate from the parents'. However, in all

\(^1\) Both Sears' (et al, 1957) study of the Patterns of Child Rearing of Americans in general, and the Fischers' (1963) study of child-rearing of New Englanders have not included in their research the frequency of changing nappies for infants. It is also worth mentioning that toilet training for Chinese children begins very early in most cases - usually at about six months.
three cases the infants were put into a room in which their elder siblings also slept. The various arrangements are listed in Table 28.

**TABLE 28: SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS: TIME OF SEPARATION FROM MOTHER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Separation</th>
<th>From Mother's Bed</th>
<th></th>
<th>From Mother's Room</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local Mother</td>
<td>Hong Kong Mother</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Local Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Birth</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6 months</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1 year</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 2 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not separated yet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those children who still slept in the same bed as their locally born mothers were two boys aged eight and eleven and one girl of five. These two boys were both the last born. The girl along with her younger siblings slept with her mother in one bed while her father slept in another bed. Of the children of the Hong Kong mothers, the two children who did not yet sleep separately from their mothers were one boy of three and one girl of nine. Neither of them was the last born. While the boy slept with his parents and a younger brother all in one bed, the girl slept with her mother in a room different from her father's, where he slept with her younger brother of seven. The eight children who had not been moved out of their parents' room were four boys of the ages five, six eight and eleven, and four girls of three, five, five and seven. The five children born of Hong Kong mothers were two boys, one three and one two, and three
girls of the ages five, six and nine. It is proposed that children allowed to sleep in the same bed as their parents or in the same room will have the bond between them reinforced; besides, they are likely to be less susceptible to fear. This idea will be further discussed in the following section.

Situations that Arouse Fear and the Susceptibility to Fear

It has been demonstrated that the growth of attachment between a young child and its mother figure is well formed by the latter half of the first year (Bowlby 1971:383); withdrawal from a fear-arousing situation is also developed at the same time (Bowlby 1973:120). The most fearful situations for children of ages one to three according to experiments and clinic reports are noise, rapidly approaching objects, strange people, a strange environment, darkness and, most fearful of all, being alone (Bowlby 1973:101-18). It could be argued that those experiments and clinical reports cited by Bowlby are to a great extent derived only from modern European and American societies, where in a normal family the mother is the only attachment figure and the young child is unlikely to be very frequently exposed to novel situations or a large number of people. In such a cultural environment the young child is fearful of novel situations and strangers, and separation from mother usually means being left alone or being left with a non-bonded figure, whereby stress and anxiety are more likely to be aroused. In a different cultural or social environment where the child is exposed to constant noise of all kinds, a large number of people - familiar or unfamiliar - and is used to being carried around to different places, it is likely to be used to such situations and should be less prone to fear. Bowlby asserts (1973:138):

The heart of the theory here advanced, which derives directly from ethology, is that each of the stimulus situations that man is genetically biased to respond to with fear has the same
status as a red traffic light or an air-raid siren. Each is a signal of potential danger, none is intrinsically dangerous. (my emphasis)

Two variables, indeed, affect the condition of the degree of fear (Bowlby 1973:97). When more than two stimulus situations are presented together, e.g., being alone in the dark, the fear may be intensified. On the other hand, the presence or absence of an attachment figure, or some other companion, makes an immense difference to the intensity of fear aroused.

In very few situations are the ordinary Chinese children in Papua New Guinea prone to be fearful, for they are almost always accompanied either by their parents or by other attachment figures, and they have from early childhood been familiar with a great variety of noise, people, and novel environments. An average child below the age of four or five is taken by his or her mother wherever she goes: shopping, visiting, and to social gatherings or celebrations. A European, commenting on Chinese parties, said they must be very boring, both because of the participation of a lot of children and because adults' interactions were disturbed by the children. Interestingly enough, I also heard two young Chinese mothers say that they would not want to go to the Europeans' parties because European hosts ask the guests not to bring their children with them. No Chinese social gathering, even of an official nature (i.e., annual meetings of the associations), is without a great number of infants and children running up and down laughing and shouting and adding to the noise which certainly does not exist in any comparable European gathering.

The extent of noise in Chinese life was best described by a

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1 At a big wedding feast in Rabaul where a buffet dinner was served, I noticed that while no table had been prepared for adult guests, there were tables set up in one part of the hall for children, many of whom were looked after by their parents.
European visitor to Rabaul: "One assumes the Chinese to be totally deaf. They shout to each other throughout the day and night, undaunted by the blaring of gramophones, radios at top strength, the crowing of roosters, and the barking of dogs" (Pacific Island Monthly, 1960, September, p.99). This statement does not greatly exaggerate the actual situation. Similar impressions of the noise accompanying Chinese life elsewhere have been reported by anthropologists. Anderson (1972:145-6), for instance, gave the following explanation on the Chinese concept of noise:

Significantly, the Chinese phrase for desirable activity, excitement and good times is ie-nào, "hot noise" (cognates are known in all Chinese languages; I have used the Mandarin form here). Noise in a household is the sign of life and action, and household moves in a shimmering ambience of sound from waking to sleep.

In middle class Euro-American society it is common to find that children are forbidden to make a lot of noise at home. But Chinese children have no such restriction on making noises in the presence of adults. Table 29 indicated mothers' answers to questions about this matter. Several mothers said that it was alright to let the children play at home and make a noise, as long as they were happy and not quarreling. One father's story was interesting: he said he had always listened to the six o'clock evening news on the radio, but the boys made such a noise that he could not concentrate. He said he had asked the children to stop but they took no notice, so he decided to tape-record the news every evening and listen to it after the children had gone to sleep.

Chinese children in Papua New Guinea do not lead a separate life from that of adults. Children fully participate in almost all of the adults' activities except productive work - and even here children are to some extent involved. Visitors to Chinese trade stores might find a bassinet behind the counter in which an infant or young child is sleeping or playing. Older children about eight or nine attend customers after school. On several
occasions and in various towns, I saw a child of only nine or ten controlling the cash register machine and supervising the native clerks in the absence of adults. The children read or do their school homework beside the register, stopping to attend customers, and to receive and give change to the native clerk.

**TABLE 29: SEVERITY OF RESTRICTIONS ABOUT NOISE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No restriction at all</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occasional interference, but do not expect the children to conform</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Some restrictions, but not severe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rather severe restrictions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Very strict, any noise is followed by punishment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Chinese visit each other in the evenings and on Sunday afternoons, children and aged family members are never left out of social gatherings. Many of my interviews were carried out either in a store during the day or in the middle of a gathering of visitors at night. Because our visits were seldom differentiated from those of other friends and relatives, we were often joined by visitors. My field notes from one mother-interview exemplify this:

**Time:** Monday evening between 8 p.m. and 11 p.m., December 3, 1971.

**Interview Conditions:** (at their residence) "Our (my wife and I) interview did not begin until 9 p.m., because the father was having a bath
while the mother was feeding the baby and running to and fro between the living room and the kitchen, supervising a son and two daughters cooking Chinese snacks. No sooner had the interview started than the husband's brother dropped in; he had his five year old son with him. (He asked whether I was selling insurance.) At 9.30, a couple who were friends dropped in with their three children, aged from two to eight. The party was soon joined by another couple, cousins of the husband, and their son who was two years old. We continued the interview in a room filled with eight children, some sitting on their parent's laps, some roaming about and some playing. Suddenly one of the children urinated on the floor and caused a small disturbance among the parents, which was followed by another when a child broke a glass. It was in this noisy but cheerful atmosphere that we finished our interview. The host then began to serve Chinese snacks - flying fox soup and fried dumplings.

Parents usually do not expect young children to go to bed at a certain hour. Children go to bed whenever they feel sleepy, although those of school age are encouraged by their parents to go to bed early so that they can get up in time for school. When there are visitors, or when their parents are going out for a visit, children are almost always allowed to join the party and stay up late. I have frequently seen children fall asleep in their parent's laps or on a sofa, and at the end of the party having to be carried to bed or carried home. These practices are illustrated in Table 30, which shows mothers' reports on their children's bedtime restrictions. Eight mothers specifically mentioned that they allowed a child who slept with siblings in a room separate from the parents' to have a dim light on throughout the night: "Because they are afraid of the darkness".
TABLE 30: STRICTNESS ABOUT CHILD'S BEDTIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not at all strict - no particular rules. Child goes to bed when sleepy, may have lights on if he wishes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A few limitations. Parents have a particular bedtime in mind, but allow deviations fairly often; they consider child's special needs at the time</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Some limitations. Child supposed to be in bed at a certain time, but parents allow some leeway. Mild scolding for not conforming</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fairly strict. Will not stretch bedtime very much or very often; considerable pressure for conformity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Very strict - no leeway</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 10 26

1 The rating scale in this table is adopted from Sears, et.al (1957:295).

It is difficult to ascertain the origin of one habit associated with the children's sleeping. As indicated in Table 31, many of the locally born mothers provide the child with a pillow, other than a head pillow, for him to hold while sleeping.

TABLE 31: DOES YOUR CHILD HAVE THE HABIT OF HOLDING A PILLOW?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several mothers explained that the pillow is meant to be a security measure; when the child has a nightmare he has the pillow to hold to and will not be frightened if the mother is not immediately available. Four Hong Kong mothers reported that they were taught by their mothers-in-law or other older women to provide such a pillow for their children, but the other Hong Kong mothers said that their children did not need it. Several old women whom I consulted agreed that this habit is not found in China. The habit possibly developed when some of the mothers began to adopt the Western custom of removing the baby from the mother's bed at birth or from a very young age, and the pillow is intended as a substitute mother figure for the child to cling to at night.

Thus there are very few occasions when Chinese children are left alone. Moreover, most parents show great concern for their children's protection and avoid all possible risks. Young children are often confined to their home or the store, although some have been entrusted to the watchful eyes of a native nurse, while older children - over nine or ten - are not encouraged to visit their peers unless they are in the company of older siblings or other children. Not only are children not encouraged to roam about by themselves, but they are also frequently warned to keep away from possible danger - particularly cars in the street and 'wild natives'. Table 32 illustrates the degree of restriction placed by mothers on the child's physical mobility. Many mothers continuously keep track of the whereabouts of their children less than five years old. Table 33 shows the range of behaviour reported by the mothers. About half the sampled children included in categories 1 and 2 are already over the age of eight.

Extreme caution towards possible danger is exemplified by the non-participation of Chinese adults in sports associated with possible loss of life. On holidays, while many Europeans, both adults and children, are to be found swimming and practicing sailing, few Chinese go near the
### TABLE 32: DEGREE OF RESTRICTION ON CHILDREN'S PHYSICAL MOBILITY WHILE ALONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No restrictions at all; the child can go out by himself without consulting parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A few restrictions; the child can visit his or her nearby friends alone, but must have parent's consent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Some restrictions; the child is allowed to go as far as the neighbour's place</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A lot of restrictions; the child is not allowed to go as far as the neighbour's place</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Extreme restrictions; the child must stay indoors all the time</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 33: KEEPING TRACK OF THE CHILD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of Child</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>5-</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Do not bother to check; believe that the child can take care of himself</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Check occasionally, want to know the whereabouts of the child</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Check frequently; once about an hour</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Constantly check; but the child is allowed to be outside mother's sight or hearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The child is never allowed to be outside mother's sight or hearing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many Chinese do go to the beach on Sundays, but as soon as they arrive on the beach, always in a big group - they set up chairs and tables for feasting and playing *ma-chong* games. While young adults might fish from the shore, the children just watch the activities of the adults or play children's games in the company of adults. Many appear to share the attitude expressed by Bowlby (1973:140) as "better to be safe than sorry". It is interesting that when the Papua New Guinea Chinese take holiday trips overseas they almost always travel with a group of people, such as family members, relatives, and friends.

The fundamental point in Bowlby's account of fear is that its origin lies in the persistence of fear or anxiety caused by separation from the mother figure, not so much in the actual or possible fear-arousing situation in the environment. The accessibility of the mother is one of the crucial factors which intensifies the loving bond between the mother and the child, and the child's experience of confidence in the availability of the mother during childhood should remain relatively unchanged throughout the rest of his or her life.

We have shown that a large proportion of New Guinea Chinese mothers keep their children in close proximity day and night, especially children below the age of five. However, the actual behaviour of each mother still needs to be scrutinized in order to be accurately assessed. Since I did not conduct fieldwork under optimum conditions, which would have included long term systematic observations, I have to base my conclusions on interviews and less systematic observations. There were a few mothers who had occasionally left their children for various periods of time or had

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1 Of course, there are other reasons for the lack of interest in sailing. The Chinese do not want to 'waste' money on a boat which being used for non-productive purposes. Besides, Chinese were not permitted to join the sailing club until very recently.
otherwise neglected them, the 'anxiety clinging' or 'alienating behaviour' towards the mother as a result of such separation was very clear.

Although none of the local mothers, and only one Hong Kong mother, volunteered that they had ever been separated from the sampled child for more than a day, it seems reasonable to assume that some of the mothers had occasionally spent periods in the hospital. One Hong Kong mother was found to have been separated from her daughter (who was less than three years old) for three whole months. This little girl is the same one mentioned earlier in the context of a neighbour's comment that she wanted her native nurse rather than her own mother. My own observations on one visit to this family support the neighbour's view:

When we arrived at the store in the evening, the child was playing with her native nurse by the door. When we went inside her mother wanted us to meet her, so she called her name and asked her to come to her. The mother called her twice but she did not answer; instead, she moved closer to the native nurse and reaching her, asked to be held. The mother did not insist and began to talk with us. I noticed that the girl continued to play with her nurse until bedtime.

Besides the accessibility of the mother there is a further consideration. A key variable in a secure attachment (in contrast to an insecure attachment) which needs to be examined is the availability of the attachment figure. "Only when an attachment figure is both accessible and potentially responsive", notes Bowlby (1973:201), "can he, or she, be said to be truly available". "Responsiveness" means the attachment figure is willing to respond to the child in a desirable and appropriate way.

Another area under investigation concerns the degree of 'dependency' behaviour exhibited by the child and the mother's responses to this behaviour - that is whether she is rewarding or punitive. The mothers were asked the extent to which a child could look after himself, washing, dressing, bathing, etc., and the extent to which he (or she) sought attention and assistance from his mother. The answers of these mothers are tabulated
behaviour was also studied and mothers' answers rated (see Table 35).
The age of the children is the crucial variable; the mother usually responded positively to a younger child's needs, while whether she responded to an older child, say of eight or nine, depended on whether she was busy. While they expect the child to learn to do jobs for himself, mothers seldom respond with punitive behaviour to the child's 'care soliciting' behaviour. The two mothers who replied that they would respond negatively toward their child's request for help indicated that they would put it this way: "You are big enough; why don't you learn like the other kids would".

**TABLE 35: MOTHER'S RESPONSE TO DEPENDENCY OF THE CHILD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly positive response; rewards and praises the child for his dependent behaviour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Positive response; whenever the child demands help or attention the mother responds no matter how busy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Depends on situation: attends the child if not busy or in good spirits</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Negative response; expects the child to be able to do certain jobs or learn to do them. Sometimes scolds the child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Strongly negative response; punishes the child for dependent behaviours, or shows anger</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Young (1972) studied the socialization of Hawaiian Chinese children with particular regard to achievement motivation and behaviour.
She discovered that responses by Chinese mothers to the independence training questionnaire used, which was formulated by Euro-American psychologists, failed to support any expected correlations between overall independence training and the children's achievement behaviour. The questionnaire was invalid in this context, because certain areas of 'independent behaviour', such as demands on the child's separation from mother, physical mobility, and sociability, are (as with the New Guinea Chinese) delayed until a much later age than is usual with other ethnic groups (mainly Euro-Americans). Young found that irrespective of whether they were immigrants or had been born in Hawaii, the Chinese children's achievement-oriented behaviours were not significantly different from that of other ethnic groups. She (1972:637) believes that the explanation lies in the fact that Chinese cultural values govern the Chinese mother's decision on her expectancies of her children's achievement behaviour. However, following Bowlby, it can be argued that it is the theory on which this researcher has based her 'independence-achievement model' is inadequate and misleading. The model is based on European notions stemming from psychologists who supposed that the early separation and independence of children is conducive to achievement motivation and achievement behaviour. Yet this model has never been verified by behavioural studies (Bowlby 1973).

Bowlby also emphasizes the point that a mother's threat to leave him may be taken by her child as real and thus cause distress or anxiety. In his view the threat of separation, which is often used by mothers as a means of discipline, may have the same effect as actual separation. Many Chinese mothers admitted that they had sometimes threatened their children when they misbehaved. Commonly used phrases are: "I don't want you any more; if you don't stop crying I will give you away"; or "if you don't listen to mummy this instant the highland natives will come and take you away". However, most mothers said that they would sometimes add: "if you
stop this and be a good boy I won't do this to you". Table 36 shows the range of mothers' responses to my questions in this regard.

TABLE 36: FREQUENCY OF DIRECT OR IMPLIED THREAT OF SEPARATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of application by the mother</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total 26 Cases</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discussion thus far has amply documented variations in the behaviour and attitudes of Chinese mothers but it is also evident that the majority of mothers show care, concern, and protection in their treatment of their children. Most Chinese children, and those below four or five in particular, are almost always gratified in their needs for attachment and security, and are seldom placed to a situation where fear, or fear of separation from mother, are likely to be aroused. On the basis of observations, interviews and general participation in the affairs of this community, there is little reason to doubt that the majority of mothers establish an affectionate and secure bond with their children. The bond is firm and lasts throughout life; seldom being jeopardized by the transition from childhood to adolescence, or from adolescence to adulthood. The parents continue to worry about the future of their children as they grow up; arranging their marriages, and helping them to set up business or continuing to share a business with them. The parent's constant willingness to answer the child's call for comfort and assistance, is a major reason why many Chinese in Papua New Guinea still honour the concept of filial piety - of looking after old parents and respecting aged relatives - and of living together. Ancestor worship which is still conducted annually at the graveyard has little meaning in the generalized context of kinship and social organization, but becomes meaningful when one considers this life time bond.
The ceremony is a memorial, rather than worship in the religious sense (cf. Freedman 1957:218). Although many Chinese are devoted Christians, the traditional pagan ceremony of burning incense and candles, and offering liquor, cooked rice, roast chicken and roast pork and under-world currency to the deceased, is invariably performed at the parent's and grandparent's tomb. This ceremony symbolizes the desire to continue succouring and provide support for aged parents.

It is also necessary to consider that from infancy a child is in contact with a large number of kin and other caretakers. Bowlby makes only passing reference to the fact that familiarity with a large number of caretakers helps to mediate a child's anxiety and distress in the absence of his mother figure. However, research team of the laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, on the basis of cultural studies of child-rearing, developed a hypothesis which supports Bowlby's theory. As Whiting (1963:9) asserts:

Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability.

Although the primary bond of security and affection is established through the loving care of the mother figure, it is believed that in an environment where many other caretakers as well as other familiar persons (e.g., kin in frequent contact) are present, the child's life can be said to contain many supplementary bonds. While the secure bond established with the mother figure provides the sound base from which the child can confidently explore the outside world, any supplementary bonds can be viewed as extended bases from which the child can make confident excursions into the outside social world. The following field record of an 18 months old boy illustrates the way in which bonds with a number of different persons gives the child confidence to leave his mother for short periods to explore the outside world.
PLATE XIII: A mother and her child.

PLATE XIV: Ancestor worship at the Rabaul cemetery.
PLATE XV: A typical Chinese party. Note the number of children present.

PLATE XVI: A native nurse feeding a Chinese baby.
"At the family store, the child (aged 18 months) spent most of the time running around inside the store, playing with people or toys. He played five times with the indigenous store assistant, each period lasting approximately ten minutes. The assistant chased him, played hide and seek with him, and sometimes held him in his arms and tossed him into the air. The boy laughed joyfully and obviously enjoyed these games. During this morning the child returned to his mother and demanded to be held by her four times. His mother held him each time for a short period - not more than about five minutes. After he had been held by his mother the child then demanded to be put down onto the floor again and to play. Also during this time the boy's mother's sister's daughter (aged ten) and son (aged seven) both came to visit and stayed about two hours. They played with the child each time he approached them and demanded attention. The boy was cuddled twice by his MZD. He also played twice in a model car with his MZS for about ten minutes, pretending to drive the car. He was fed a bottle of milk and one of water.

At 11 a.m. the boy's father's younger brother (aged 13) visited the store and played with the child for about 20 minutes, holding him and tossing him into the air.

The boy's father came home for lunch. At the same time the boy's mother's sister and her husband also visited the store. His MZH held him in his arms for about 15 minutes, and then put him into his bassinet (behind the counter). As the boy's parents were busy serving the customers, both his mother's sister and her husband dominated his play during this period.
The boy slept in his bassinet.

When the boy woke up, his mother held him in her arms for about ten minutes, when the boy's father's younger brother dropped in, he took him from his mother and played with him for a few minutes, then he took him away to the boy's father's parents' shop (about two street blocks away) for about 20 minutes. The boy left willingly with his uncle.

When the boy returned, he was immediately claimed by his MZD (the same one as had come in the morning). She put him in his pram and pushed him away to her parents' store, three blocks away. The boy again left joyfully when his mother said good-bye and waved him away. The boy returned at about 4.30, at which point observation of his behaviour was discontinued.

Saturday, December 23, 1972

The boy had been playing with his father, mother, and the indigenous assistant before the observer arrived. He continued to play with them for the rest of the morning.

The boy demanded to be picked up by his mother three times. He was fed milk once while sitting in his bassinet.

(Between 1.30 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.)

(Between 2.30 p.m. and 3 p.m.)

(Between 3 p.m. and 4.30 p.m.)

(Between 11 a.m. and 12 a.m.)

(Between 12 a.m. to 1 p.m. the field observer was absent.)
(Between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m.)

The boy played freely with a number of people; his father and mother, his mother's sister's daughter, the field observer and the field observer's wife. He spent most of the time playing hide and seek in the store.

(Between 2 p.m. and 4.30 p.m.)

The boy's mother's sister's daughter took him away in his pram. His mother prepared a bottle of milk for him which the girl took with her. They went to her parents' store, and it was understood that there the boy would be playing with his MZ, MZH and MZD herself.

(Between 4.30 p.m. and 5.30 p.m.)

The child was sent back and stayed in the store with his mother.

(Between 5.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m.)

The child was taken away again by his mother's sister to her house, where he played with her, her husband, and her two children (i.e. the same girl who took him away earlier, and her brother).

(Between 8.30 p.m. and 10 p.m.)

His parents visited his MZ's house. From the time she arrived the boy demanded to be held by her. He was held in his mother's arms for most of the evening. He finally fell asleep in his mother's arms, and was carried home to sleep.

On other occasions this boy was taken away by his father's parents or his father's siblings. As he had begun to understand the meaning of words, he was consulted by the adults on each occasion. He was asked, for instance: "Do you want to have a ride with me in my car?" "How about
"Aunty wants to take you out to have fun. Would you like to come along?" If he was willing he would offer his hand and walk towards the door, and his mother would say goodbye to him. While visiting his home, I twice observed him willingly taken to a cinema by his grandmother or his father's brother. Occasionally he was taken away expressly to release his mother from caring for him during a busy day in the store, although ordinarily his relatives volunteered to take him simply because they liked to do so. It is interesting to observe that older children and adolescents, even teenage boys, were very fond of playing with and amusing young children and younger siblings; they enjoyed holding children and carrying them around.¹

In sum, a normal Chinese child establishes an 'interpersonal intimacy' (Hsu 1971b) with a wide range of people during his very early childhood. The Chinese child's cognitive organization, and his developing perception of the social world thus comprises a wide range of people, who not only provide the child with comfort and protection (and indeed give him a wider range of experience most of which are pleasant), but who also interfere with his wishes and his behaviour. In other words, these people also serve as agents of sanction toward the child when he or she displays disapproved behaviour. The mother usually expects and approves their laying a hand on her child - teaching him and correcting him - just as she expects them to protect and nurture her child. It was frequently observed that

¹ This is in contrast to what Fischer and Fischer (1963:946) observed amongst the New England Americans: "Older children may enjoy trying to amuse the baby if they happen to be confined with it, but in free situations they usually desert it for their own pastimes. We frequently observed a couple of fifth-grade girls wheeling some neighbour's babies, but they seemed to interact little with the babies and to be interested primarily in earning pocket money. If the baby has an older sibling, however it will see this child around a fair amount of the time and probably sleep in the same room with it, even though the sibling may do little either for or to the baby. This lack of interaction with older siblings is reinforced by the parents...."
while the mother did not punish her child herself, she used these people with whom the child had already established an intimate relationship as agents of punishment, and thus reinforced the image of these people as controlling as well as loving figures. The following events in the life of the same 18 months old boy demonstrates this:

"The boy displayed rage while he was being held by his mother who was sitting by the dining table. The mother's elder sister went and got a duster, and she banged on the table with the duster handle and shouted loudly: 'Who is so daring as to make such a noise' and fuss. I must find out who this is and beat him...' Although she was sitting nearby on the opposite side of the table, she did not look at the child but simply shouted into the air. The boy quickly stopped his noise; his facial expression changed from anger to mute sufferance. His mother held him but did not say a word (she was controlling her laughter). About five minutes later, when he seemed to have regained a good mood, his mother asked him: 'pin-go (who) nau (show an angry aggressive expression) lei (you) a?' The child still dared not look at his tai- yi (mother's older sister): but, aware of where she was, he quickly raised his hand and pointed his finger in her direction, and then rapidly withdrew his hand. Every onlooker burst into laughter, including both the mother and the tai- yi, and the boy followed the others and laughed too".

In many occasions, a mother will tell her child something to the effect that: "Look, uncle is angry with us. We had better be good or he will be so angry with us". It is implied that if the child does not behave himself or does not conform to other people's demands, even his mother may not be able to protect him and so they would both be hurt as a result of his wrong doing. Sometimes other people may act as the child's rescuers

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1 This refers to the noise of rage.
when a mother becomes angry and is about to slap a child, one of the close kin may take the child away for a while. The child learns on the one hand that these other people are trustworthy and that he can rely on them when venturing into the outside world, and on the other hand that these people can exercise sanctions and are not to be offended. In my view, in the Chinese child's cognitive organization of the world he or she is not the centre of the social world, but is only part of a social network of individuals who are intimate yet variously dominant. The Chinese concept of 'personality' is very closely associated with such a world.

Hsu maintains (1971b) that the concept 'personality' is culturally biased toward individualism in the West, while the Chinese equivalent jen is based on a different conceptual frame of reference and emphasizes the idea of psychosocial homeostasis - "the central ingredient in the human mode of existence: man's relationship with his fellow men" (Hsu 1971b:23). This central ingredient is said by Hsu to be missing in the Western concept of personality.

Having isolated the possible cognitive organization of the Chinese child toward the social world, we may now consider the mother's and other adults' punitive behaviour and its consequences for children. We have shown that the majority of the young children can be certain of mother's care and attention. Although few young children, especially those below four or five, can expect to be physically punished, they are not exempted from the threat of punishment (as the above case demonstrates). There is a Cantonese word 'kai', meaning naughty, misbehaving, and bad, which is often used by mothers to refer to their children's bad behaviour which requires correction. As indicated in Table 37 the interviewed mothers considered the most serious kai to be aggression and disobedience. There is a certain amount of inconsistency between the mothers' stated ideal punishment and their reported actual behaviour. As the following tables
(38, 39, 40 and 41) indicate, the mothers reported themselves to be highly intolerant of a child's anti-parental aggression or disobedience (Table 38), and said that they were quite severe in dealing with the child for such offences (Table 39). Although they almost unanimously agreed that beating is the best way to punish a child - a revelation of prevalent cultural values (Table 40) - the majority of mothers turned out to be very lenient towards their children in terms of the reported frequency of physical punishment actually employed (Table 41). According to their own reports the Hong Kong mothers beat their children more frequently than the locally born mothers. I observed, however, that in reality these reports were exaggerated: no mother severely beat her child, for most of them one slap was regarded as serious punishment. Furthermore, many mothers admitted that they usually only put on a 'beating' performance to scare the child, rather than actually hurt him. Indeed, I have observed on many occasions that the mother simply threatened to beat the child and seldom actually did so, particularly in the case of younger children. A duster was the most commonly used symbol of punishment. Ordinarily, before the mother had actually raised the duster the child quietened down or the mother had decided that she had taught the child a lesson sufficient to make him conform. It is possible that Chinese children have been conditioned to this 'ritual' of threatened punishment in the very early stages of their cognitive development. The child thus reacted to this ritualized sanction of a parent's demand, and also reacted to other people in similar situations. To conform in silence, instead to contend with other people, seems to be an adaptation learnt from early childhood.

A further significant feature of the parents' punitive behaviour which needs to be considered is the giving of 'love reassurance' after a scolding or physical punishment. Chinese parents usually teach the child that it is because of his wrong doing that he was punished, not because of
### TABLE 37: WHICH BEHAVIOUR DO YOU CONSIDER THE MOST SERIOUS KAI?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Never being Kai</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aggressive behaviour toward siblings and other children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Disobedience</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Messiness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Showing rage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Demanding to be held by others all the time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Swearing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 38: MOTHER'S PERMISSIVENESS FOR AGGRESSION TOWARD PARENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Never permit any verbal or non-verbal anti-parental behaviour; instantly interfere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do not permit, but few punishments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sometimes permit; the child is allowed to talk back</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Frequently permit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Always permit (children have the right to beat parents)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 39: SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR ANTI-PARENTAL AGGRESSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No punishment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mild scolding</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Serious scolding; sometimes physical punishment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Severe punishment (&quot;the child will never do it again after a beating&quot;)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The child has never shown anti-parental behaviour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 40: HOW GOOD IS BEATING?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Unconditionally good</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mostly good, but depends on conditions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mixed feelings</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not good, but sometimes efficient</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Absolutely no good</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 41: FREQUENCY OF (REAL) PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Local Mother</th>
<th>Hong Kong Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Never used</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Only once or twice since birth; or about once a year</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. About once a month</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. About once a week</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Almost every day</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the adult's own distress. On many occasions after a mother had scolded a child or performed a 'beating ritual' she would order the child to apologize to her for his misbehaving, and she would assure the child that she would love him again as long as he would be good. Mothers with young children usually held them more affectionately after contention situations, and the children seemed to quickly forget the punishment.

On the basis of their early childhood socialization and following Bowlby, I would like to suggest that the Papua New Guinea Chinese children will predominantly become confident adults. They will almost certainly as adults have the confidence to explore their environment. I would like now to proceed with the sub-section of this chapter on values of commerce and the adaptability of the Chinese.

III. Commercial Values and the Adaptability of the Chinese

In traditional Chinese society where as the Confucian scholars disparaged the merchant profession, the peasants who constituted the majority of the Chinese population took every possible opportunity to become traders
and storekeepers. This inconsistency between the cultural ideal and people's actual behaviour is still very much in evidence in contemporary Chinese society in Taiwan. Recent research conducted on Chinese society in Taiwan indicates that while high school students in Taipei have a low regard for merchants (Olsen 1972:292), almost every farmer in southwestern Taiwan has tried to start some kind of commercial enterprise (Crissman 1972). Olson attributes the Taiwan Chinese students' dislike of merchants as a "survival of the low value placed on commercial activities in traditional China" (Olsen 1972:292). However, commercial development in Taiwan has resulted in a very high incidence of shops throughout the country. In large towns the ratio is 15 persons to one shop; in small towns, 25 to 50 persons to one shop; and in villages, 140 persons to one shop (Crissman 1972:233-4). It is also noteworthy that in the small towns of Ta Ch'eng where the shop-to-population ratio is 1:21, "the bulk of its population of approximately 5,000 are farmers indistinguishable from those who do not happen to live in a town" (ibid:219). Despite Taiwan's special history of being occupied by the Japanese for 50 years and being heavily exposed to modern Western economic systems, there is here clear evidence of Chinese farmers seeking opportunities in commerce.

Having reviewed clan history and social mobility in traditional Chinese society, Eberhard (1962:167, 240) has emphasized two significant aspects of participation in commerce by farmers. Firstly, it is common for farm boys to set up a stall or shop at the outskirts of a town, or to operate as hawkers in cities; secondly, it is also common for sons of farming families to emigrate in the hope of making a fortune abroad. While farmers who become city vendors or pedlars have little chance of improving their lot either socially or economically, those who emigrate sometimes make a fortune overseas. Indeed many such cases are found among the Chinese of Southeast Asia, where they had what Eberhard calls 'the colonial chance' (also see Skinner 1963).
Eberhard's examples of Chinese social mobility are drawn from Chinese in South China only, and especially those who have settled in Fukien or Kwangtung - a province from which the majority of the overseas Chinese migrants are drawn. Incidentally, the Taiwanese discussed above also originally came from these two coastal provinces. There is an extensive ethnographical literature on the commercial consciousness of the Hokkien or the Cantonese, examples being Lin Yueh-hwa's (1948) illuminating report on the rise and fall of the peasant families involved in commerce and Potter's (1968) study of the capitalism of Hong Kong peasants. Potter (1968:43) explicitly points out: "Economic gain is perhaps the central value of the village culture and a major goal for every individual. In fact, desire for wealth is the driving force of the society".

Perhaps the Hokkien and the Cantonese are particularly interested in the commercial activities because for centuries they have been exposed to the experience of international trading and have seen many emigrants return home as retired merchants. The point I want to emphasize here is that Chinese peasants in general, and Hokkien and Cantonese peasants in particular, are interested in commercial activities, and becoming a merchant is considered one of the most efficient ways of acquiring wealth. Given the fact that the Chinese emigrated mainly because they had limited opportunities of earning a decent living at home, it is not unreasonable to assume that overseas Chinese generally aimed at becoming wealthy, and one of the best methods for acquiring wealth known to the peasant emigrants was to become merchants. As T'ien (1953:8, 21) has noted, only a small number of overseas Chinese actually made their fortune by becoming merchants; the majority of them barely earned a living as labourers and farmers. Because of the very scarcity of opportunities to become a wealthy merchant, the average Chinese labourer and clerical worker strives after such opportunities.
The Chinese emigrants' readiness to take up any opportunity of starting a business - small or big - is an adaptive advantage, if they are living in places where the indigenous people have only recently adopted a modern cash economy but lack the knowledge and skill to operate commercial businesses. While the European established the large scale enterprises, the Chinese started the small shops. This is what is meant by the 'colonial chance'.

That the Chinese immigrants in such colonial countries as Papua and New Guinea developed a kind of small shop which all looked alike, unlike the large-scale commercial enterprises each monopolizing a certain line of business (or carrying a particular line of goods) is again an adaptive characteristic which, I believe, has enabled the average Chinese to move successfully from the labourer and artisan to that of the merchant. One can trace this adaptive characteristic of Chinese commercial enterprises to China. De Glopper (1972:300) describes the business complexity in Lukang, Taiwan as follows:

There are no large factories or wholesalers. The streets are lined with many small and totally independent businesses, often selling or manufacturing the same thing. There are, for example, 29 grocery stores, each selling canned goods, seasonings, flour, sugar, and the like.... One finds the same multiplicity of apparently identical small shops that Barbara E. Ward discussed in her article on cash and credit crops.

Crissman (1972:232) agrees with De Glopper and maintains that this common feature of replication of small business units is fundamental to Chinese business practices. Crissman finds that in the same places numerous shops at all levels of enterprise, from small retailers to big wholesalers, offer identical goods. The replication of Chinese stores and the multiplicity of lines of goods or services a single store can provide are characteristic of the kind of Chinese commercial enterprise - usually trade stores - one finds in Papua New Guinea. Since every Chinese can open the same kind of store or to offer the same kind of
lines of goods and services, every Chinese has an almost equal chance of pursuing any business opportunity which has been proved to be profitable for others. The very nature of the Chinese trade stores in Papua New Guinea enable an indigenous customer to get almost anything he needs from any of the Chinese shops - a feature which facilitates success in retail business. It is appropriate at this point to consider the attitudes of the Papua New Guinea Chinese toward wealth and commerce and the development of their businesses.

On first acquaintance the New Guinea Chinese appear to be very 'money conscious'. One may argue that anybody who lives in the modern world is 'money conscious', but the New Guinea Chinese are different in that they take this consciousness to extremes, frequently using words such as 'money', 'making money', 'profit' and 'investment', in their daily conversation, and judging the success of a man's life and his achievement in almost purely monetary terms. What Ryan (1961:14) says of the way the Indonesian Chinese he studied valued money and wealth holds true also of the New Guinea Chinese: "The (Modjokuto) Chinese conceptualize the acquisition of wealth as the basis of achieving a very wide range of those things which are defined as goals of the good life. It is common for members of the community to discuss their goals as if they were purely monetary goals". This attitude was clearly demonstrated by the attitude of the New Guinea Chinese towards my research.

Many of the young Chinese, when I first explained to them that I wanted to write a thesis on the New Guinea Chinese, immediately asked me what I would do with this thesis: could I have it published and would the book attract many buyers? Since I had 'invested' a lot of money on the field trip for collecting the material, could I get the money back, or even make money, from selling this 'book'? The old Chinese, on the other hand, were less interested in the matter of my thesis and questioned me about who
I was working for. Despite my efforts to explain my status - a graduate student in an Australian university - the old people (and this always happened) would reach the conclusion that I worked for the government and commented: "It is good to work for the 'wong pa', for the wage must be higher than that you can get from a private firm". Similarly, any subject of conversation, no matter how unrelated to money and wealth became directed by them towards questions about these subjects. When Hawaii was mentioned, I was surprised that instead of commenting as many other people of Australia or Taiwan would on the beach or the hula girls, several New Guinea Chinese on different occasions asked only the same questions about whether wages were higher there than in New Guinea or Australia. As well as this, a Chinese woman of about 30 spoke about one of her sisters who had married and lived in Darwin and said that she had once visited her. To questions about how she enjoyed the trip to Darwin her only reply was that she did not like it "because the airfare was extremely expensive: it costs more to travel from Sydney to Darwin than from Sydney to New Guinea".

When friends meet in the street or at a social gathering, the prevailing topics of conversation are associated with money and ways of making money. Once the writer witnessed in a restaurant the unexpected meeting of two Chinese who had not seen each other for months. For half-an-hour they excitedly exchanged information on nothing else but who had bought a flat in Brisbane at what price and who had bought a second house and paid such an amount of cash. The focal themes of conversation in many of the familial or informal social gatherings (implied by context) were centred on such topics as how to invest in land and houses in Australia, the market situation and business profit in town or elsewhere, and the recent transfer of store ownership within the town or elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. Regardless of their age or sex people talked about the same
subjects again and again. Whereas one might argue that perhaps this is a phenomenon peculiar to the present situation owing to the political change in Papua New Guinea - people were uncertain about their future in the country and therefore were greatly concerned about investing and acquiring a means of security in Australia - it is still safe to say that money and investment remain popular topics of daily conversation in this community. During my visits to Papua New Guinea from 1971 to 1973, I discovered that everybody in the Chinese community was fascinated by the activities of any other Chinese in his business expansion or new investments. Such a business transaction as taking over a shop was very quickly known to the entire community while the seller and the prospective buyer were negotiating between themselves. As soon as a new store was set up people became interested, and very shortly afterwards found out how the holding of shares was arranged and whether the shares were held by parents and children, siblings, or husband and wife. The community thus kept a very keen eye on the investments of its members, their opportunities and their economic gains, and the exchange of information on such matters was everybody's business.

Although some conversations were directed towards something irrelevant to the local business scene, the New Guinea Chinese would usually revert to discussing economic interests. At an evening party where five Chinese couples between the age of 25 to 40 were present, this was once again the case. First they talked about Australian society in general, but the conversation soon shifted to the situation of industrial shares in Australia. Then they talked about the recent real estate prices in Australia, comparing various prices in different cities, and commenting on whether the return rate was higher if invested in land or in buildings. The subject of the conversation was later shifted to the local scene when someone mentioned the dried scallops recently imported from Hong Kong and available in one of
the Chinese shops. They realized that everybody had noticed the extremely high price for dried scallops - A$9.50 per half-a-pound. With a studious air, they exchanged ideas on why the price was so high and why, given the fact that New Guinea waters produced scallops, nobody had thought of setting up a fishing and exporting industry. After a lengthy discussion on scallops, the conversation finally came round to the subject of betting on horse racing. It was reported that so-and-so by using the long distance telephone obtained reliable 'tips' from Sydney and hence he had had good wins from the local bookkeepers. Conversations about horse racing and betting, and other forms of gambling, are most frequently heard at a Chinese gathering, especially among the men.

Among the New Guinea Chinese gambling becomes a means to an end, not an end itself. That is, people enjoy gambling because they win quick and easy money, otherwise unobtainable by ordinary earning methods. The Chinese do not admire a confirmed gambler, but they admire someone who has the luck or the skill to win a large amount of money and then use the money for business investments. The legendary and most successful Chinese in the community, such as the leading merchant in Buka and one of the leading merchants in Rabaul, were said to have started their businesses in the 1920s by using the money they won at a game (see Chapter Eight, the Hsing Lung family). More recent examples were seen during the 1960s when one Chinese artisan's wife won a £15,000 lottery prize which enabled them to purchase a plantation and start a transport business, and when one Chinese mechanic won a $10,000 lottery prize which he invested in a car service business. This man earned the nickname "Ten Thousand Dollars" following this lucky event.

In the Papua New Guinea Chinese community money or wealth is an indicator of one's social standing. A person who gains wealth gains not only social prestige but also political power, as is demonstrated in Chapter
Nine on political structure. Many people in the community, once they learned that somebody had acquired a good return from a certain kind of investment, would promptly join the venture. Such behaviour as joining the pursuit of opportunities may serve to promote commercial development, but it may also result in disaster, as the following example illustrates.

In 1971 a young Chinese businessman living on an island of the Bismarck Archipelago discovered that an oil search company stationed on the island had suddenly increased the number of its employees from six to eleven. He telephoned his uncle in Rabaul to discuss this discovery and added that in his opinion the company might have discovered something worth investing in. His uncle excitedly told the story to his close friends and relatives, added his own conjectures, and the whole story was taken up as being inside information from the company. When the news spread and more friends and relatives heard the so-and-so had got inside information about the oil company's expansion, many of them rushed to buy shares in the company, each buying anything from a few hundred to a few thousand dollars worth. As the information circulated within the Chinese community, the price of the shares went up, and this was taken as confirmation of the fact that 'the inside information' was correct. By the time the news spread that the shares of the first group of Chinese to buy them had doubled their value in just two weeks, the people who had bought shares in small quantities bought more and those who had not yet joined the venture were tempted.

A woman revealed that after discussion she and her sister-in-law (HBW) both decided to invest all their savings which totalled about $30,000 in this company, with the expectation of collecting twice the amount of the investment within two weeks. A young man who worked as a mechanic and, with his wife, jointly ran a trade store with relatives, initially invested $800 in the shares, but later decided to invest all his capital of $15,000
plus another several thousand dollars borrowed against his expectations (implied). Before all the late comers had had a chance to collect their profits, the share price suddenly dropped, and to such a degree that before long a share was worth only one tenth of the peak market price. The shares never recovered their value and the company withdrew from the island soon after. The woman mentioned above said that for some considerable time she had been unable to sleep because of her regret over the hard-earned money she had lost, while the young man was reported to have burst into tears when his mother blamed him for his careless investment.

A similar event occurred in Rabaul in 1966, when an Australian solicitor representing a real estate company arrived in town to recruit investors. He persuaded a number of Chinese people to invest money in his company, and shortly afterwards these investors received exceptionally high dividends from the company. As a result, when the solicitor came to town for the second time to recruit more investors, many Chinese, having heard of the good return received by the early investors, were willing to give money into his keeping: some invested as much as $8,000. He disappeared after this trip with a very large amount of money he had collected from the Chinese and was never heard of again. For many years his victims tried to locate him without success, and when after six years he was finally located in Australia there was no way to get the money back.

Earlier in this section and using these examples, I have stressed the extent to which the Chinese value money and their obsession with investment and quick profit: however, this does not apply to everybody in the community. I would like to emphasize the fact that I have provided these examples in order to demonstrate the way people seek economic opportunities. Because this is a community where people are very close to each other (even though they also compete each other), and communication
is carried out largely by means of gossip, an opportunity once it proves
to be a good one attracts many people. Thus, those who are the first to
grasp an opportunity are more likely to be successful.

While previously I have dealt with those Chinese who had some
spare capital and were interested in speculative investments, most indulged
in speculation only in their daydreams and paid more attention to their
jobs and businesses, seeking improvements in their way of living or doing
business. Those who could improve themselves by making a step forward
from their previous position and in so doing initiate a new way for the
others, are here referred to as 'innovators'. Let us examine the trade
of mechanic, which among New Guinea Chinese, dates back to German times.
The young Chinese in Rabaul since the 1950s have not only initiated a
number of practical changes, and so dominated the trade in town despite
European competition, but have also formed companies.

Because old fashioned Chinese mechanics all learned their
techniques through an informal apprenticeship, they possessed neither a
certificate nor the school qualifications. During the 1950s the old
mechanics either sought employment from the administration or gave up their
profession and started their own retail stores, while a number of the big
European firms moved in and provided mechanical services. At this time a
number of young Chinese mechanics, while working as apprentices for European
firms, took correspondence courses in their spare time from overseas schools
(e.g., the British Engineering Institute of Technology) and acquired both
a knowledge of the theory of motor engines and certificates of qualification
as mechanics. During the 1960s they were able to leave their employers and
to form a company, catering for automobile and other motor engine repairs.
By the early 1970s these mechanics had split up and formed three independent
firms, each hiring about half a dozen indigenous apprentices and, together
with an old Chinese repair shop, dominated the repair business in Rabaul. In the late 1960s, inspired by their success, a number of young Chinese men began to be aware of the opportunities in other fields of mechanical engineering, and having completed their secondary education they attended technical colleges in Australia, studying in the fields of marine engineering, radio and television mechanics, refrigeration mechanics and plumbing. Once they became qualified mechanics they were able to open their own workshops, and combine these with retail businesses of various lines of associated goods.

Again, in the 1960s a young Chinese shipwright who had received his education in Australia after the war and then taken formal apprentice courses in a ship building company in Brisbane, initiated the establishment of a modern shipyard in Rabaul. Dissatisfied with the small-scale family enterprise nature of the Chinese shipbuilding industry - for it had been that way since the 1890s (see Lee Tam Tuck's case in the chapter on History and Migration) he recruited share holders on a wider basis from among the Chinese and formed a company, built modern facilities, hired marine engineers from Japan, and thus set up one of the biggest ship building industries in the Territory.

The Chinese as a whole are always on the move in economic activities, and it seems that the individuals are making frequent adjustments. Visiting Kavieng in New Ireland, I was able to observe the way one woman started a restaurant and vegetable importing enterprise. As she later explained, she had for sometime noticed that there were no restaurants in the town, the only exception being food served to the boarders at the local hotel, a (European) club, and a haus kaikai (Chinese run) which however served only tea and simple tinned food to indigenous customers. Despite the fact that her husband owned a trade store and they were economically well off, she experimented with a take-away food service. After about a fortnight,
when the business had attracted quite a lot of European customers, she decided to build an extra room in front of their house in which to open a restaurant. She invited a neighbour part-Chinese housewife to join her in the venture by working as her assistant. She also experimented in a small way with the importing of fresh vegetables from Goroka by air with the collaboration of a cousin who lived there. Both the restaurant and the fresh vegetable shop were in demand in Kavieng, as locally produced vegetables were not sufficient to supply the town. It was she who had seized the chance of starting these businesses first.

From this town also four Chinese families sent lorries daily to villages along the Kavieng-Namatanai highway to sell consumer goods, in addition to running retail shops. Both the driver and the salesman of the lorry were indigenes. Each morning, supervised by the Chinese storekeepers, they loaded the lorry with certain quantities of goods (usually ten of each item so that the owner can easily check the sale) and drove away. They came back by nightfall, sometimes bringing with them small quantities of copra obtained from those villagers who were short of cash. Such an innovation as the itinerant lorry indicates how some Chinese businessmen, under the pressure of competition, do not just wait in the store for customers to come but actively seek out ways to reach customers. (A store which has itinerant lorries means a lot more work for the storekeepers, although they usually get better businesses than the ones which do not have lorries.)

Having described socialization, values on wealth and commerce, and the adaptability of the Papua New Guinea Chinese, I shall turn the focus of my analysis in the following three chapters to the activities of the Chinese in commerce.
CHAPTER SIX

CAPITAL, FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND THE ECONOMIC ADAPTATION
I. Introduction

I shall discuss in this chapter the way the New Guinea Chinese, with a peasant background who (when they first arrived in New Guinea) worked predominately as skilled and unskilled labourers, who possessed no special training in commerce, and were restricted in their activities by the colonial administration, and were either ignorant of or prevented from participating in banks or credit societies run by Europeans - but nonetheless with a strong entrepreneurial drive - have utilized and manipulated the simple type of rotating credit association in such a way that they have accumulated the necessary capital for developing commercial enterprises which are now comparable in size and outlook with contemporary big European enterprises. From a basis of field material, I would like to hypothesize that it is the way in which the members of a society handle a financial institution, rather than the complexity of the institution itself, that is crucial to economic (especially commercial) development. Data from New Guinea shows that although the peasant Chinese from South China brought a knowledge of only the simplest form of rotating credit association to New Guinea, they were able to utilize this knowledge to create intensely active and complicated financial networks, which in turn led to a pooling of the capital resources of the entire Chinese community so that they were able to join the merchants' venture.

The enormous increase in the number of Chinese commercial enterprises (especially retail and wholesale stores) and their expansion in size and complexity did not begin until the 1950s and has accelerated only since 1958 when the Chinese first became eligible for Australian citizenship. Only since then have they been allowed to move freely to the New Guinea mainland and, for the first time in history, to immigrate to Papua. In the 1950s and the 1960s the Chinese from New Britain (who were concentrated in Rabaul) and from New Ireland (where they were concentrated
in Kavieng) began large scale migration to Lae, Madang, Wewak and - most conspicuously - to Port Moresby, seeking jobs and opportunities for commercial enterprises. Chinese migration and business expansion reached the New Guinea Highlands during the later half of the 1960s. While these migrations continued, many Chinese artisans from Rabaul took over old stores left by emigrants or set up new stores in Rabaul, despite the fact that the ratio of those engaged in commerce and other professions did not change significantly during these years. Conducting fieldwork between 1971 and 1973, I witnessed many cases of wage-earning Chinese artisans or clerks joining in merchant ventures and I believe this to be a continuing trend. (See Chapter Seven on commercial activities.)

According to my own figures gathered while travelling through the territory of Papua and New Guinea during 1971 and 1972, there were over 450 Chinese commercial enterprises, as shown in Table 42.

A question therefore arises: as the majority of storekeepers came originally from the working class, how did they initially acquire their capital? An ordinary (small) trade store in Rabaul required a capital outlay of A$5,000 to A$20,000, provided the store site was either privately-owned or rented; a trade store in Port Moresby required capital of A$20,000 to A$50,000 for its initial operations. A general store, carrying luxuries, was said to need at least A$100,000 as capital. On my first field trip in 1971, I became aware that the Hui - or the Chinese rotating credit association - operated as a means of financing business among the Chinese. Questions about the Hui, such as what percentage of businessmen in any one location were involved, how many Huis were organized there, and to what extent businessmen depended on the Hui rather than other kind of financial institution, could not be answered, despite persistent enquiry. In the first place, the Chinese declined to divulge any information about their business and financial transactions to an outsider; in the second
place they were to some extent suspicious of my inquiries, possibly thinking that I might have been sent by the government to check on them because of the impending political change in Papua New Guinea. It was not until my second trip to New Guinea from 1972 to 1973 following the sudden complete collapse of all the Huis in Rabaul that some people, who had become my friends, volunteered to provide information about the structure and complexity of Chinese rotating credit associations operating there. Before presenting details of the nature and function of the Hui in Papua and New Guinea, I must first delineate the factors concerning the development of the Hui and the growth of Chinese commercial enterprises.

II. Hui and Commercial Enterprises

When a number of Chinese storekeepers were asked the general question: "How did you start off your businesses?" several replied: "I owe what I have today to the Piao-Hui" or "If it were not for the Hui I
could not have started my enterprises." They also commented that the Hui had made it possible for Chinese merchants to move to Port Moresby and elsewhere in the territory to set up new businesses, giving as an example: "So and so manipulated the Hui so well that he was able to expand to the Highlands and was prosperous there." An interesting point is that my informants made no mention of economic concepts like market demand, price and profit margin, communication networks, managerial skills, and social factors in business. Their chief concern was with the obtaining of capital, the accumulation of capital, and the manipulation of liquid capital. And so in answering my general questions on the way they managed to start a business and subsequently prosper, they gave credit only to the Hui.

For the reasons described below the Hui has become the main institution for loans, savings, and finance in the New Guinea Chinese community: they have had no alternative source of finance; the Hui was adequate in providing for their economic development; and the risk of default was extremely low.

Until recently the Chinese have made little use of banks apart from depositing money and drawing cheques, for the older generation Chinese were, and still are, "afraid" of dealing with institutions - including banks - run by Europeans. This can be explained partly by the peasant background of the Chinese and partly by the way they have been treated in New Guinea. Coming exclusively from rural areas in South China, first generation Chinese immigrants lacked any formal education in either Chinese or English, and moreover most of the pre-war New Guinea-born Chinese had only a grade school education. As many of them worked only as artisans in New Guinea, the Chinese were ignorant of the functions of a bank. Again, the history of the Chinese in New Guinea is a history of European discrimination, as revealed by studies of historians and
anthropologists (Rowley 1958:72-84; Biskup 1970; Salisbury 1970:40-1; Wu 1970, 1973; Cahill 1972). Before World War II, because the colonial administration in New Guinea emphasized the development of European economic interests and placed the Chinese under restrictive regulations, the Chinese could not receive any assistance from European "national institutions". According to Chinese informants, the first bank loan was not granted to a Chinese until the 1950s. During the last two decades, the colonial administration has initiated aid projects to assist indigenous people in their economic and industrial development, but the Chinese have not only been left out of these projects but also were discouraged from participation in any economic developments (cf. Epstein 1968:121, 131).

Chinese indifference to European banks is best illustrated by the account of a European informant. He told me that in 1952, for instance, the owner-manager of one of the two biggest Chinese wholesale firms, which traced its history back to the 1920s, had no knowledge of systems of modern book-keeping, debt-collecting, shipping and insurance arrangements, or what a bank means to a business. When this man had trouble collecting debts owed him by Chinese retailers distributed among the Solomon Islands, New Ireland, and New Britain, which debts had got him into financial trouble, he hired a white man as clerk to help him to sort out the accounts. The clerk was surprised to find that the firm carried on an importing business the annual turnover of which amounted to A£80,000 in 1952, but that the owner-manager had no idea of the revolving credit system and other facilities available from a bank, for the firm always did business on a cash basis.

In addition, the traditional Chinese value of being ashamed to borrow from professional money lenders (Yang, L. S., 1952:5-6) has also affected the attitude of the New Guinea Chinese towards bank loans. In traditional Chinese society a Chinese, though he might be ashamed to do
so, would borrow from a money lender in case of emergency, but seldom would any Chinese borrow from such a professional money lender in order to start a business or undertake a business expansion. Most Chinese in New Guinea have frequent dealings with the banks, yet if a businessman were to negotiate a substantial loan from a bank the news would be circulated rapidly throughout the entire community and that man's reputation would be ruined. In 1971 for instance, a rumour circulated in Rabaul that a big Chinese family firm (The Hsing Lung Family discussed in Chapter Eight) was having financial problems, because the family had taken a big loan from the local bank. What had actually happened was that the loan had been taken and secretly invested, together with surplus capital from the family's old store, in a business expansion of constructing one of the biggest Chinese stores in Port Moresby. The nature and direction of the rumour demonstrate the way the Chinese regard a bank loan as a sign of failure.

Although the younger Chinese had a better understanding of banks, either they did not have the tangible assets required for a bank mortgage or they too were scared away because of the problems involved in negotiating a loan. To the young Chinese as well as to the old the Hui appeared a familiar, simple, and sufficient method for financing their businesses, as the following case reveals.

A young Chinese who had had a secondary education in Australia started his business in Rabaul in the early 1960s. Before he went into commercial business he had worked for two years in a European firm; however, he was dissatisfied with the fact that although he had the same qualifications and was doing the same kind of work as the European employees he received only half the wage they did, and therefore he resigned. Initially, his father organized a Hui on his behalf. With the A£3,250 he collected

1 (see next page)
the young man got married and acquired a coconut and cocoa fermentary which had been built by a Chinese on sub-leased land. When he wanted to start a copra-cocoa buying and selling operation he found he lacked the necessary liquid capital. Against conventional Chinese practice he sought assistance from the bank and negotiated permission for an overdraft of A£750 per month. This was apparently the amount he had been in the habit of depositing in his account, so the bank would not give him an overdraft (with 5 per cent interest) for an amount greater than that. His business enterprise was, however, greater than the bank could have conceived, for he purchased copra in such large quantities that he had overdrawn A£5,000 in two months; the bank therefore terminated his overdraft privileges. The young man resorted to the Chinese system and from then on until 1968 he depended solely upon the Chinese rotating credit association to finance his business. After 1968, he became rich enough to withdraw from Hui activities, and he now handles a copra and cocoa buying business with an annual turnover amounting to more than a million dollars.

Until recently no public companies had been established by the Chinese in New Guinea. All Chinese enterprises, big or small, are family businesses, registered in the name of the family head or a partnership of family members. This is true of all companies of the proprietary, limited, type. As investment is of a private nature, the Hui can conveniently serve the purpose of financing it.

The last factor, which deserves discussion at some length, concerns the problem of default. If the risk of default were very high, the credit association would not flourish, nor would it be able to function

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1 (from previous page)
The Hui had 36 members each of whom subscribed A£100 per month, with his father as the organizer. The young man was the first to collect on the bid of A£10 at the first monthly auction.
as desired. Kurtz reports (1973:5) frequent default in the cundina - rotating credit association of the American Mexicans in California - and accepts default as the crucial factor in preventing the association either from promoting capital formation or from functioning as a bank. It seems that one can infer from this that if default is not a problem, the rotating credit association could function in developing capital formation; whether or not it functions like a bank depends not on the way the rotating credit association itself operates, but on the way the people involved behave. Since the 1950s, only three individual Chinese are reported as having been defaulters in Huis in which they participated. Considering this long time span and the fact that very many Huis are organized each year, it is clear that only a negligible percentage of Hui members actually default.

The maintaining of such a good record in the Chinese community is apparently due to the people's moral values, rather than to the enforcement of the law, because none of the defaulters were brought to court, nor were they even publicly exposed. The Chinese were well aware of legal discrepancies in Hui contracts and of the difficulty of prosecuting defaulters in court, as will be demonstrated when the case of Mr Seeto is considered. Furthermore, they have been at some pains to conceal any information about their commercial activities, and so even the victims of defaulters have been reluctant to make any revelations. The successful Hui requires a strong system of moral sanctions. As Firth notes (1964:32): "The whole question of seeking of credit and repayment involved a theory of obligation not comprised merely in terms of economic and legal sanctions. In the simpler economic systems sanctions of a social, moral and even ritual order may be invoked."

In pointing to the fact that overseas Chinese merchants in general can be counted on to fulfil contracts and honour their debts (a crucial
factor for their success in trade) Dewey (1962:181-4) maintains that the nature of the social structure of a Chinese community ensures the operation of sanctions over its members. She argues that sanctions in the Chinese community are non-legal, in the sense of being not enforced by police or governmental institutions, and that the low incidence of default in business transactions can best be understood in the light of Chinese social networks. I agree with Dewey but would like to add that while no legal sanctions have been imposed on the people, social ties alone could not have stopped the people from default, because the possible material gain was so great that it could overrule the desire of maintaining the tie. There must be some kind of force acting as a reinforcement behind moral values and social relationships. I am, therefore, prompted to suggest that because of the minority situation of the Chinese population in New Guinea, where they have had to struggle had to achieve their goal of getting a better place in the country's social and economic structure, individual Chinese have learned to support the group in order to ensure individual's survival and success. Such behaviour ensures the continuation of the Hui and the success of their economic achievements.

III. The Operation of the Hui in New Guinea

Both Yang (1952:77) and Fei (1947:207) distinguish three types of Hui in China: the Lun Hui (rotating Hui), the Yao Hui (dice-shaking Hui), and the Piao Hui (bidding Hui). The differences between these lie in the way in which the order for the members to draw on the fund is determined; Lun Hui is determined by prescribed contract, Yao Hui by lot, and Piao Hui by auction. Only the third type of Hui, which is known in Cantonese as piu wui, is found in New Guinea. Though Piao Hui in New Guinea operates largely in the same manner as it does in traditional China (cf. Kulp 1925:190-6; Fei 1947:267-74; Gamble 1954:260-71), it is as
simple in rules and operational principles as those organized by poor Chinese labourers overseas which have been described by Jacques (1931) and Freedman (1959). The man who organizes a Hui is the wui-tao (Hui Tou) - the head of the Hui - while those who join as members are the wui-geuk (Hui Chiao) - the legs of the Hui. The head, who initially collects the fund, is responsible for organizing subsequent meetings, collecting the money from the members in each meeting, handing the money over to the one who wins the auction, and ensuring that the Hui operates without obstacles during its term. There are usually 24 to 36 members in a Hui and the complete cycle thus lasts for two to three years unless, as happens in some cases, more than 36 members are recruited. The amounts of monthly shares in Huis recorded in Rabaul in the period from 1971 to 1973 were A$200, A$400, and A$500. The A$500 share was found to be quite popular in Lae. The highest monthly share of A$1,000 was recorded for a Hui organized by the Port Moresby Chinese in the same period.

The operation of a Hui can be summarized as follows. If the members, say 36 of them including the head, agree each to subscribe $100 a month, its head will initially collect the sum of $3,500 at the first meeting in the first month. In the following 35 months, the head has to pay back $100 each month into the Hui, while the other members bid against each other in order to draw on the fund. The one who bids the highest amount, i.e. the one who is willing to pay the highest interest, will draw on the fund in that particular month. Given a highest bid of 15 per cent interest ($15) in the second month, the other members will each pay the successful bidder $85 (i.e. $100-$15) except the head, who has already drawn: he must pay $100. The successful bidder would thus draw $2,990 ($100 from the head plus $85 from each of the other 34 members). In the next month, if the highest bid is still 15 per cent interest, the bidder draws $3,005 (i.e. $100 each from the head and the first drawer plus $85
from each of the other 33 members). By the end of the entire Hui cycle, the last to collect the fund gets the full amount of $100 from everyone, thus collecting $3,500. (We realize that he has paid $100 on the first month, and $90 or less, depending on the bid in each month, from the second month to the 35th month.)

With such an arrangement, the interest tends to be highest during the initial months when there are more people needing the money and competing with each other to collect the fund, whereas during the later stages of the Hui cycle, with fewer people bidding against each other, the interest rate tends to drop. However, there is usually an agreed minimal interest rate. Among the Chinese in New Guinea it is 10 per cent. The idea is that if the highest bid is under 10 per cent, the member who bids the highest amount still has to accept 10 per cent as the minimal interest rate for that particular month, except that the last collector is exempt from any interest.

Throughout the Hui cycle, those who draw during the initial months are in the same position as they would be if they were making a loan and paying interest in advance; on the other hand, those who draw at the end are in the position of saving money in small amounts each month but drawing a total sum, plus receiving interest during the previous months paid by the earlier drawers. A Hui 'leg' who has yet to draw on the fund is considered to have a 'living Hui', whereas the 'leg' who has already drawn is said to have a 'dead Hui'.

The New Guinea Chinese follow traditional methods of operating the Hui. In former times, members had only verbal contracts among themselves, and relied on the organizer to manage the operation and guarantee security, but a few years ago some Chinese brought back from Hong Kong printed Hui books (in Chinese) which give the Hui rules and provide spaces
for listing members' names and recording monthly bids and results. The book is for record keeping rather than for official or legal documentation, because none of the members need to sign their names. The organizer in New Guinea does not as in China provide a feast to entertain the members, nor are ma-chong games an inseparable part of the meeting as is general in Hong Kong and Taiwan nowadays, but many organizers do provide the members with a novel entertainment - cinema shows at home. At least four of the long term organizers in Rabaul with whom the writer had contact provided regular movies once or twice a week in their homes. Apart from Western films from the local film distributors, they rented Chinese films, mostly in Cantonese dialogue, from distributors in Hong Kong or Singapore. These Chinese films circulated in the Chinese communities of Port Moresby, Lae, Mount Hagen, Rabaul, Kieta, Buka, and other places. As the audiences included people who were not Hui members, some organizers collected a small levy to cover the cost of renting the films.

The method of recruiting members for a new Hui, especially in the case of a junior organizer, is not unlike that of a village in China described by Fei (1947:268-9): immediate kinsmen are often the first to be approached, and then their friends or more distant kinsmen. However, whether a person is recruited depends upon his wealth and social status, not on his relationship with the organizer or other members. A common saying among the Chinese in New Guinea went: "While the head chooses the legs, the legs choose a head too." Although the head approaches persons whom he considers trustworthy so that defaulters can be avoided, the legs join a Hui only if they consider the head sufficiently responsible and wealthy. The kinship relationship of the members of a small Hui in Rabaul between 1971 and 1972 is shown in Figure 2.
Recruitment of Hui members through channels other than kinship and friendship is found in Rabaul, and one of these is the tie developed over the past ten years among men who have acquired Chinese wives from Hong Kong. As outsiders in town the Hong Kong brides, totalling about 50 in Rabaul, stick together in small groups and so bring their husbands together. As the Hui in Figure 2 shows, some of the members were recruited through this channel, formed by the association of the Hong Kong wives.

A third channel of recruitment can be described as a type of patron and client relationship formed between Chinese wholesalers and retailers. A retailer who is a constant customer can rely on the wholesaler to provide better services and lower prices and to extend extra credit periods so as to ensure that his business runs smoothly. In return, the retailer is invited to join a Hui organized by the wholesaler, in recognition of their special relationship. Fei (1947:268) reports that in traditional Chinese society the subscribers to a Hui are considered to have rendered financial help to the organizer. However, the status of
patron and client between a wholesaler and a retailer can be reversed, in that the wholesaler may be obliged to join a Hui organized by a retailer who is also a good customer and who is in need of additional capital.

It is worth noting that recruitment of non-Chinese to a Hui has not hitherto occurred. A Sino-Niuginean is considered Chinese and may be recruited, but no native Niuginean has ever been recruited because they are not regarded as merchants. Some Europeans who know about Hui operations and who have been interested in participating have been unable to do so, which is, in the main, a result of lack of private financial cooperation between Chinese and Europeans. Some Chinese are uncertain about the character of Europeans - doubting whether they would fulfil their obligations throughout the two to three year term. Again, in admitting an outsider the Chinese would run the risk of revealing crucial information about their business activities which (from the Chinese point of view) might possibly lead to actions against them by the Europeans.

The reluctance to recruit Europeans is also partly due to a confusion in the English name for a Hui. While most of my Chinese informants referred to the Hui as the 'Chinese bank', which indicates its functional role, some other informants called the Hui the 'Chinese lottery' because of its similarity to a lottery. One informant stated specifically that the piu-wui (Piao Hui), like the pa-ga-piu, is a game in which one subscribes a small sum of money and tries to get a large sum in return, and thus it is a form of gambling.\(^1\) Pa-ga-piu is an illegal gambling game (cf. Laycock 1972) which has been common for some time among

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\(^1\) In the village of lower Yangtze valley where Fei (1947:274) found several kinds of Hui in operation, the villagers disliked Piao Hui - which is believed to have originated in Kwangtung - because of its 'gambling' nature. Incidentally, the New Guinea Chinese are all originally from Kwangtung.
the New Guinea Chinese, and which has been the subject of police raids and court prosecutions. As a result some Chinese consider the _piu-wui_ illegal and would not make it known to outsiders - especially to Europeans who always have associations with the ruling white administration.

Since the organizers recruit members through various social channels, and since they provide members with recreational and other services, the Huis in New Guinea have latent functions for the Chinese community which extend far beyond their economic function. People who are business opponents, or who belong to antagonistic political or religious factions (Catholics vs. Methodists), can be recruited to one and the same Hui; therefore the Huis serve to intensify social interactions of the Chinese in a non-commercial sphere, and so strengthen the solidarity of the society. Furthermore, the entire Chinese society, both locally and in the Territory as a whole, is integrated through an interlocking network of Huis.

Analysis of Hui participants and non-participants in the Rabaul Chinese community uncovers the presence of several groups in the society. The first group is composed of people who neither sponsor nor subscribe to Huis. These people can be divided into two sub-groups: first, members of the poorer sector of the Chinese community, mainly low-paid employees who do not have business interests and who are not qualified to participate in Huis organized by the merchants; second, the extremely rich, who do not need to engage in such business operations and who draw incomes from their plantations and other investments several times the size of that earned by any storekeeper. Both groups are minorities. Although the very wealthy do not rely on, or give aid to, mutual financing institutions, I discovered, when I interviewed them, that all of these 'new rich' had at some time in the past before they acquired their wealth been connected with the Hui.
The second group consists of people managing small enterprises — usually trade store businesses — many of whom are still beginners in commerce and still in need of financial assistance. The Hui 'legs' are in the main made up of members of this group, the majority of the present Chinese population.

The third group is made up of middle or upper middle class merchants in the Chinese community who are engaged in bigger enterprises. They are usually big wholesale dealers who can afford to organize several Huis and thus they become the most popular Hui 'heads'. Table 43 shows background of the popular organizers of Rabaul. We shall learn about their activities in the discussion which follows.

IV. Operational Complexity

It would appear from the discussion earlier that the sooner a 'leg' draws from the pool the higher is the interest he pays. In Rabaul, for example, the bid during recent years, has frequently got as high as 20 per cent to 25 per cent in the initial months, then it will drop to 20 per cent or lower, and by the end of the period it can be as low as 10 per cent to 15 per cent. However, unusually high bids occurred during 1971, for the Chinese were uncertain of their future in the Territory and everybody rushed to secure land and houses in Australia when it was announced that Papua and New Guinea would be granted self-government in 1973. By the end of 1971, regardless of whether it was the beginning or the end of a Hui, all the rates had risen to over 25 per cent: for a $400 (monthly share) Hui the bid was over $120, and for a $500 Hui it was over $160. (This means a bidder would collect $280 or $340 from each of the other members, but pay $400 or $500 in each of the succeeding months.) These abnormally high interest rates eventually brought about the total collapse of all the Huis in Rabaul, and it was then that the writer was
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Business engaged in during 1971-72</th>
<th>Estimated Annual Turnover</th>
<th>Present Ownership</th>
<th>Owner's Occupations During the 1950s*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Transport and Service Station</td>
<td>A$50,000 or more</td>
<td>Husband and Wife</td>
<td>Husband was an artisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail in Rabaul &amp; elsewhere and plantation</td>
<td>A$1,000,000</td>
<td>Parents and Children (all Married)</td>
<td>Parents were small storekeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Retail and Wholesale</td>
<td>A$200,000</td>
<td>Husband and Wife</td>
<td>Husband was an artisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Retail stores in Rabaul and elsewhere, plantation owner</td>
<td>A$300,000</td>
<td>Parents and Sons (Married)</td>
<td>Father was a store-keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Manufacturer in Rabaul and elsewhere</td>
<td>A$400,000</td>
<td>Parents and Sons</td>
<td>Parents were storekeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Wholesale and Transport</td>
<td>A$300,000</td>
<td>Brothers and Cousins</td>
<td>Artisans and clerks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Transport Co. plantation owner</td>
<td>A$100,000</td>
<td>Parents and Sons</td>
<td>Father was an artisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail in Rabaul and elsewhere, plantation owner</td>
<td>A$1,500,000</td>
<td>Brothers and their children, plus relatives</td>
<td>Brothers were clerks in European firms and artisans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Retail and plantation owner</td>
<td>A$50,000 or more</td>
<td>Husband and Wife</td>
<td>Husband was an artisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Retail and other agency business</td>
<td>A$50,000 or more</td>
<td>Husband and Wife</td>
<td>Husband was an artisan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Artisans listed include barbers, carpenters, mechanics, automobile drivers and photographers.
able to learn about the structure and function of the Hui in Chinese communities in Papua New Guinea.

This general financial collapse which occurred in March, 1972 centred on Mr Seeto - a Chinese businessman in Rabaul who had for many years been a reputable Hui organizer and subscriber, who announced that he was unable to pay back debts owed to the Huis from which he had collected funds. At the time that he made this announcement, he was involved in more than a dozen Huis, as an organizer in some and as a member in others, and he had collected funds from all the Huis he had joined - each with 24 to 40 members, each with a monthly share of A$400 to A$500. It was also revealed that he had subscribed to two or three shares in each Hui, registering the shares in his own name, the name of his company, and in his wife's name. He had therefore collected two or three times from each Hui. It was alleged that he had drawn nine funds - each with the highest bid in Rabaul Hui history, in the month prior to his unofficial declaration of bankruptcy. By the time people became suspicious the damage had been done.

Mr Seeto explained to people that his sudden collapse was caused by Mr Yip, a businessman in New Britain, who had defaulted a month earlier in many of the Huis either headed by or participated in by Seeto. According to several informants, Yip swindled the Hui money deliberately, for by the time he was exposed he and his family had moved to Australia and his wife was alleged to still possess $10,000 in her Australian bank account. When Mr Yip revealed to Mr Seeto his intention of declaring himself bankrupt, Seeto realized that he would be greatly in debt. He therefore asked Yip to be quiet and proposed that he should pay Yip's share. Seeto said, threateningly: 'Since it involves the entire Chinese business community in Rabaul, if you collapse the sky will fall down (T'ien-sha Ta-luan)' - meaning that a disastrous chaos would follow. Yip
thought that Seeto's intentions in helping him were good (according to the informants), however, Seeto quietly acquired nine funds in various Huis in the following month before he too declared himself bankrupt.¹

According to my informants' calculations, Mr Seeto had collected the sum of more than A$150,000 in the course of a year. Table 44 gives a partial list of his debts.

**TABLE 44: MR SEETO'S DEBTS TO HUIS IN RABAUL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Starting Date of Hui</th>
<th>Organizer (see Table 43)</th>
<th>Monthly Share</th>
<th>Numbers of Members</th>
<th>Collapsed After No. of Auctions</th>
<th>Debts Owed to the Hui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1970 Self Xi</td>
<td>A$400</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>$13,200=A$400x3(shares)x11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1971 Self Xii</td>
<td>A$400</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>$12,000=A$400x2(shares)x15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1971 Self Xiii</td>
<td>A$500</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$27,400=A$500x3(shares)x18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1969 A</td>
<td>A$400</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>$9,600=A$400x3(shares)x8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown B</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown D</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This incident reveals one important structural feature of Hui organization among the New Guinea Chinese. A subscriber to a Hui is usually a member of another Hui, and he may also simultaneously subscribe two or more shares in any one Hui. Mr Seeto, for instance, organized three Huis between February, 1970 and October, 1971, and also joined the Huis organized by A, B, C, D, and E as well as a number of others. In A's Hui, for example, B, C, D, and E were members, while all of them were also members

¹ These bankruptcies were unofficially made known to only the Chinese.
of E's Hui; in addition, A and B joined the first Hui of Seeto (i.e., xi), while C and E participated in Seeto's third Hui (i.e., xiii). It is evident from this example that an interlocking relationship exists among the organizers of Huis. This is shown diagramatically in Figure 3. Even if an organizer were to join only one Hui in any single month, he would need to attend several meetings belonging to different Huis in any given month, since each Hui has one auction meeting a month. If he acquires the fund from each Hui he can accumulate a large capital sum of up to several hundred thousand dollars in a single month and then use it for investment purposes.

Most of Hui organizers, as shown in Table 43, had been engaged in large businesses, and they cooperated with each other by subscribing to each other's Huis, so forming financial cliques. The small storekeepers, whose businesses had an annual turnover of between 20 to 40 thousand dollars, were able to join any of the associations through various channels, and most were simultaneously members of at least two Huis. Given that six
Hui heads formed a financial clique (as the date from Rabaul reveals), that each Hui has an average of 30 members, and that each 'leg' at the same time joined two Huis, the entire cooperative financial network can be seen to have involved 78 businessmen - about half the Rabaul Chinese commercial community. The interlocking cooperative financial organization, whose structure is shown in Figure 4, was built on the foundation of that very simple form of rotating credit association derived from a traditional Chinese peasant model.

**FIGURE 4: AN HYPOTHETICAL INTERLOCKING FINANCIAL NETWORK**

Having analyzed the Hui network I must explain why a storekeeper needs to join more than two Huis simultaneously. The following case history
of a Chinese entrepreneur of Rabaul will make this clear:

"After I was married in 1963, I worked as a clerk with a European firm for the salary of £28 per week, while my wife earned an extra wage from her parents' store, working as an assistant. My parents-in-law then owned two stores: a general store dealing mainly with European customers and a trade-store dealing with native customers. A year after our marriage, having saved up some money, we began to think about starting our own trade-store business. Meanwhile, my father-in-law being old, wanted to give up the trade-store, and allowed us to rent the place and take over the business. To take over the stock in the store would have cost us £2,000, which was far more than we could afford. My parents-in-law let us have the store on the understanding that we would pay back the money in one year's time without their charging us any interest.

"As wholesalers usually gave credit (of between 30 to 60 days) to a retailer, I did not need extra capital to cover payments for the fresh goods I purchased. Though the volume of our business was kept small due to our lack of liquid funds, we did well during the first year and managed to build up our reputation among the wholesalers. I continued to work for the European firm while my wife attended to the store. The wholesalers asked me several times to expand my business by carrying more goods in my store, but I was cautious of taking on more than I could pay for. Realizing this, the wholesalers talked to my father-in-law and suggested that I organize a Hui with them as the sponsors (i.e., legs), as this would attract other members. I got $7,000 from the Hui, which required me to pay back $200 monthly.

"Once possessed of adequate capital, which was deposited in a bank, I ventured to order more goods each time. Not only this, but also I realized that if I were to order goods direct from exporters in Hong
Kong the stock would cost much less than it would if ordered from the local wholesale dealers, and so I began to try importing for myself. I ordered each time about two to three thousand dollars worth of goods from each overseas exporter and I had to pay cash upon the arrival of each shipment. Sometimes when three different orders happened to arrive at the same time the bill would amount to a large sum, more than the money I had in the bank. By then, however, I had joined a second Hui, and as the first 'dead' Hui was about to be paid off, I could collect the fund from the living Hui to pay the overseas bills. Otherwise I might have overdrawn from the bank, if the bank had allowed it. If I had overdrawn a large amount from the bank with its agreement I would still have had to pay it back by a certain date in order to maintain my reputation with the bank; and if by then I had not got enough money I would have needed to collect funds from the living Hui anyway. The idea is always to keep a 'living Hui' and a 'dead Hui' so that a businessman can maintain the necessary capital, absorbing interest from the yet needed living Hui as a way of saving, and maintaining his reputation with the bank - 'to kill three birds with one stone'."

As I further discovered, this young Chinese expanded his business in 1969 by investing $20,000 in a new enterprise; he then resigned from his clerical job and became a full-time merchant. By 1971, he was able to invest in real estate in Australia worth $60,000, for which he paid $20,000 deposit, and he planned to pay the rest off during the following five years. It was almost certain from this that he would have continued to be an active member in the Huis had socio-political conditions not changed.

Let us return to Mr Seeto, the defaulter I have discussed and see what went wrong with him. I discovered that his financial troubles arose from the type of enterprise he was running: a taxi company which
The Chinese at first did not believe that Mr Seeto had spent all the money he had collected, and suspected that he must have secretly invested the money somewhere outside the country (a measure many wealthy Chinese have taken), but they failed to find any evidence of such investment. He was reported to have attempted suicide following the incident, an act considered by some Chinese to have been prompted by his shame of financial mis-management, and which act indicates that it was not his intention to swindle anyone. Although about half the Chinese businessmen in town were adversely affected by Seeto's collapse they did not take him to court, nor did they publicize the case; instead, they made private arrangements for overseeing his business, allowing it to run in its usual manner in the hope that at least part of the funds might be recovered from any favourable returns which were to be equally divided among the victims.¹

V. Concluding Remarks

For over a decade anthropologists have discussed the rotating credit association - a very flexible economic institution found among simple and industrialized societies. Both Geertz (1962) and Ardener (1964) have summarized the organization of the rotating credit association and its function in various societies all over the world. Geertz believes that the rotating credit association is a 'middle rung' which makes possible movement from a traditional, peasant society to a modern, commercial one. Firth (1964:30-1), on the other hand, has doubts about whether such a simple institution could contribute substantially to capital formation or significantly promote economic growth, although he also emphasizes the

¹ In January 1974, after the draft of this chapter had been written for several months, the writer received a letter from a friend in Rabaul, saying that Mr Seeto had been declared bankrupt in December 1973 by the local court.
important role of the rotating credit association in a peasant economy, and the association is said by Firth to have the function of a credit union, an insurance scheme, and a savings club.

In this chapter, I have discussed the process of capital formation, by means of the rotating credit association in an overseas Chinese community. As T'ien points out (1953:88), there is nothing mysterious or incomprehensible about the Overseas Chinese, and their socio-economic conditions can be studied and understood. At the same time, I have attempted to display the operational complexity of the rotating credit associations - which hold the key to commercial development. It would seem that many writers have failed to see, and Geertz among others failed to explain, how a very simple type of rotating credit association fulfils its function as a financial institution in an urban, modern commercial environment. I believe that the explanation cannot be arrived at by describing the rotating credit association from the point of its structural features alone, for the entire context of socio-political environment, cultural values and economic motives have also to be delineated.
CHAPTER SEVEN

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES
I. Searching for a Store Site and Negotiations

Unless he himself owns a house in the appropriate business area (and this is very hard to come by now) a prospective storekeeper or a small storekeeper wishing to expand his business by moving to a better commercial area must first find a suitable store site. The good opportunity to do this exists only if one has the right channel for obtaining necessary and correct information at the right time. Since neither party in a business negotiation uses any means of public communication, such as a newspaper advertisement, the Chinese rely solely on the passing of information from person to person within the Chinese community itself.¹

A landlord with a house to rent or a storekeeper with a premise to lease has only to inform his relatives and friends in various places in order that the message reach the ear of someone interested. Whoever is interested and approaches the owner first is given the first chance of negotiating with the owner. If they cannot come to terms, a second person may begin negotiations.

A man looking for a store site has actively to seek information about it, and to act on any information by going out in person, examining the place, and inquiring about the conditions of transfer. A young man who in 1971 was sent by his wife to 'search' for a store site found it necessary to travel for several weeks looking at possibilities in Rabaul, Lae, Port Moresby, and in Highland towns, before finally he was able to decide on a store site in Rabaul itself.

The change in ownership of a Port Moresby general store is a representative example of who and how is involved in this process. In 1971

¹ However, since 1972 Chinese properties for sale have been advertised in the New Guinea newspaper. Such advertisements are taken as a measure of uncertainty, when New Guinea was approaching self-government.
the store belonged to a middle aged widow, Mary Chee, who had lost her husband the previous year when he died suddenly and left her with three stores in different parts of the town. She was able to run one store herself, rented one, and managed the third in collaboration with her brother-in-law. She soon found the arrangement with her brother-in-law unsatisfactory, as he had his business as well and neither of them was able to give sufficient time to their joint venture. She finally decided to lease it. News of this reached a young man whose older brother was then managing a store on a remote plantation on one of the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. The young man knew that his brother was not happy about his business and that he wished to move to a town which could offer him a better future, so he told his brother about both Mrs Chee's store and another Chinese store that was available. By the time his brother Mr Ning arrived with his wife in Port Moresby to examine business prospects, the owner of the second store had broken his promise to allow Mr Ning to be the first negotiator and instead had settled a deal elsewhere. Mr Ning was left with the option of considering only Mrs Chee's store. Mrs Chee demanded $800 a month rent in addition to a payment of $10,000 for the stock in the store. Though it was far beyond Mr Ning's ability to pay this amount he considered that his father, a wholesaler in Rabaul, would probably be able to assist him financially and so, without first consulting his father, he decided to take over Mrs Chee's store. Once negotiations had been completed, Mr Ning returned to the plantation to close down the old store, which he had on lease, leaving his wife to do the job of 'taking over' and signing the contract. When he was informed by his son of the Port Moresby deal, Mr Ning's father carefully made calculations based on the amount of capital required and the potential of the store, and concluded that his son and daughter-in-law, both of whom were inexperienced in business (he had been a carpenter and his wife a factory labourer from Hong Kong),
would not be able to run the business successfully. He refused to give his son financial backing. Without the necessary capital, Mr Ning had to tell his wife to withdraw from the deal already made with Mrs Chee. Mrs Chee of course was very angry because the Nings had had the store for three weeks before changing their minds, so she took them to court. She demanded compensation from Mr Ning, but Mrs Ning alone, and not her husband, had signed the contract and since she had no money or assets of her own, the court could not take any action against her.

Before the dispute had been settled, Mrs Ning passed on information about the store to a friend, Mrs Liang, who was also seeking the opportunity of starting a business in Port Moresby. Apparently Mrs Ning told Mrs Liang the terms she herself had been offered by the landlord Mrs Chee: that a 'taking over' fee of $10,000 was needed in addition to the monthly rent of $800. Mrs Liang sent her husband from Rabaul to investigate. As they had only a little capital, a combination of savings from the husband's wages as a mechanic and a small sum from their previous trade store business (Mrs Liang had had a store for two years but had recently closed this down), they could not afford to take over Mrs Chee's store. Meanwhile a Mr Seeto, who managed several businesses in Rabaul but was interested in moving to Port Moresby, heard about Mrs Chee's store from his wife's brother, a businessman there. By now Mrs Chee was getting tired of the dispute, for her business had produced no income for weeks, and she was willing to rent it at a lower price. She offered Mr Seeto, when he came to negotiate terms a rent of $650 a month: the additional $10,000 for the stock was withdrawn from the conditions of lease. Mr Seeto happily accepted these terms and began arranging to have somebody take over his Rabaul businesses.

Mr Seeto and his wife corporately owned and ran three separate enterprises: a trade store, a haus kaikai, and a butchery, the first two of which were run in stores rented from Chinese landlords while the last
was run in a house built by Mr Seeto himself. (It is a way of saving to run a butchery and a haus kaikai together, for one can save money by using unsaleable pork fat for cooking and the unsold meat in the haus kaikai kitchen.) Since he had heard of Mrs Liang's previous interest in the Port Moresby store, Mr Seeto approached her about taking over his Rabaul store. As he was anxious to get rid of his old store so that he could move, he set the terms in her favour, and in the end she gladly took over the trade store, paying a monthly rent of $120 to the landlord (the store being in a good commercial area).

Mr Seeto then negotiated with another Chinese businessman, who already had an auto repair shop and a haus kaikai in a less favourable spot, to take over his other two businesses. This man - Mr Lee - had the help of his wife and an adult son and was glad to expand his business, although he was required to pay $2,000 for the old equipment and furniture in the haus kaikai and the butchery, a price he considered rather high but was forced to pay because it was the custom. In the end Mr Ning, although unable to start a business in Port Moresby because of insufficient funds, was not badly off - a year later he took over from his sister's daughter a trade store in Rabaul, which was certainly a better prospect than a store 'in the bush'.

The process of searching for a store site and negotiating the taking over of a business goes on continually all over Papua New Guinea, and will continue as long as the Chinese are upwardly mobile in society from non-traders to traders, from small storekeepers to big storekeepers, and from general merchants to wholesalers or big industrial enterprise owners.

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This point will be explained in the following section on "Counting the Stock". Besides, Mr Lee's auto repair shop was an enterprise jointly owned by him and his brothers. He took this opportunity requesting to be independent from his brothers.
II. Counting the Stock

Of major significance in negotiations for the transfer of a store is whether or not the prospective buyer is asked to take over stock belonging to the previous storekeeper. This condition is called ti:n fuo (Tien-Huo) the literal English translation is 'counting the stock', it also refers to the actual process of counting the stock item by item. The imposition such a condition on the prospective storekeeper is an additional burden on him and is based not on legal grounds but on what has become customary among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. The legal procedure for taking over a business are a simple matter of transfer of tenancy, but ti:n fuo, if imposed, costs the new storekeeper a substantial amount for goods and furniture which in many cases are unwanted. Once the terms of ti:n fuo are set, the person who wishes to take over the store is in no position to reject them, for there are almost always competitors who are willing to pay whatever is asked. Competition has given rise to, and maintains, this practice. In Mrs Chee's case, the demand of $10,000 ti:n fuo had to be set aside because of the problems arising from failure to reach a quick settlement. This sum, although high, was not excessive: in Rabaul during 1971 and 1972 ti:n fuo ranged from $2,000 to $10,000. Even though ti:n fuo is agreed upon when settlement is being negotiated, there is a great deal of bargaining when the actual stock taking is going on.

As a rule, once the terms of transfer have been settled between the principals, and a 10 per cent to 20 per cent deposit has been paid, each holds a key to the store and they begin counting the stock and recording prices. Until ti:n fuo has been finalized, no one other than the principals is permitted to enter the shop, which is locked at night and reopened for counting when the parties meet again in the morning. Cases of ti:n fuo are described below:
Case 1

In 1972 a trade storekeeper who had decided to move to Port Moresby settled a price of $5,500 for a couple, John and Susan, to take over his old store in Rabaul. It was agreed that John and Susan should pay a deposit of $800 on the first day of ti:n fuo, and the rest after the checking of stock was completed. Before ti:n fuo commenced, however, the storekeeper told John and Susan that if they were willing to settle outright he would give them a $200 discount, since he needed the money to pay for his own store transfer to Port Moresby. The couple considered this a bargain and because they were anxious to get the store they paid the total amount of $5,300 thus settling the deal without first either checking the goods or the prices charged. Although they were supposed to have been charged wholesale prices, John and Susan later found that they had been charged retail prices for some items. They were annoyed, but as ti:n fuo is a custom only, they had no legal redress: they could do nothing apart from complaining to their relatives and friends. They were heard to say: "They are fellow Christians. How could they do a thing like that to us?"

Case 2

The second case concerns Peter, a young clerk in a public firm, who acquired a wife from Hong Kong in 1970. Immediately after their honeymoon the wife, Mary, got a job as cashier at a relative's general store. She soon proved herself a smart and hard working woman, so the family (which consisted of Peter's parents, who were storekeepers, and Peter's siblings) together with Peter's grandfather and uncles (MF and MB) had several discussions. It was decided that with help Mary should be quite capable of managing a store. A chance came when a good friend of Peter's, who had recently built a residential house as well as a shop on the outskirts
of Rabaul, decided to move his business from the present store in town to the new site in order to oversee a nearby plantation owned by his family. Peter heard of this and, after discussions, settled a monthly rent with the owner, but left *ti:n fuo* to be settled at the 'counting'. Mary had no experience of *ti:n fuo*; she was not only too shy to bargain with people but was also embarrassed because of her husband's friendship with the store owner. They finally decided to let Peter's mother do the counting and bargaining. During the *ti:n fuo* (counting), Peter's mother pointed out to the owner that some of the cloth had been stored for over ten years and was rotten and that some of the old firecrackers would not explode when lit, and she asked the owner to take these off the list. The owner was sympathetic towards the request, but he had to consult his mother and his wife. He explained to them that Peter was not well off and that Peter and his wife should be spared from buying the old stock. While his mother accepted this, his wife berated him saying: "You have great sympathy for others but little regard for us", before leaving in a rage. By the time the counting had been finished, because of her mother-in-law's help, Mary only needed to pay $2,000 - a very low price - for 'taking over'. The owner took the unwanted old goods to his new store.

**Case 3**

When Sylvia took over Thomas' store she asked her mother to participate in the *ti:n fuo*. During the counting, they had an argument over certain goods. Thomas counted three pieces where Sylvia's mother recorded only two. After the resulting unpleasant confrontation Sylvia's mother would not speak to Thomas for some considerable time. After Sylvia had been settled in the store for two months, she discovered that none of the customers were interested in buying a lot of the old stock she had obtained from Thomas, so she complained. Thomas agreed to take it back and returned her the money.

PLATE XVIII: The exterior of a Chinese trade store in Rabaul.
PLATE XIX: The interior of a Chinese trade store.

PLATE XX: Prospective customers rapt in the merchandise available at a Chinese trade store.
From these examples, it is possible to draw the general conclusion that *ti:n fuo* is a custom which enables the previous storekeeper to dump unwanted old stock, or get rid of large quantities of goods to a new storekeeper. There remains room for bargaining between the two parties involved, however, when it comes to the actual process of 'counting'. While bargaining is an essential part of the stocktaking process, it frequently causes arguments and gives rise to bad feelings between the two parties, who not infrequently are relatives or friends. *Ti:n fuo* is yet another example in this community of economic gain being sought at the expense of harmonious social relations. Actual behaviour is here inconsistent with cultural ideals, for harmonious social relations have been emphasized as one of the traditional values of Chinese society.

III. Doing Business in a Chinese Trade Store

Early in the morning a little after dawn while the air is still cool, the Chinese storekeeper opens the front door of the house, which is also the entrance to the family store. Already there may be a couple of native customers waiting to buy bread, butter, tea, and canned food. So begins the day. A trade store usually has one or two front doors, and alongside the door there are small and heavily wired windows. Many Chinese trade stores are small, commonly being about 20' by 30'. Despite this, they carry a large range of goods. Inside facing the door are three rows of glass show cases which are arranged in a U-shape with the open end facing the entrance. Above the empty floor space in the middle of the room, clothes such as shirts, trousers, women's wear and children's dresses, hang from bars on the ceiling. This arrangement enables the customers to look at the clothes, but prevents them from taking them down themselves. Whenever a customer wishes to try on or buy one of the dresses the storekeeper has to be asked to take it off the bar. He uses a long stick with a special hook
on one end. It seems likely that this arrangement is designed to prevent shoplifting. It has the additional merit of saving valuable floor space.

Luxuries and more expensive goods are laid out in show cases, while other goods are arranged on shelves lining the walls. On the shelves on one side of the room may be found such things as pots and pans, cups and saucers, plates and bowls, kerosene lamps, kerosene stoves, bush knives, axes, shovels, rope, fishing equipment, a sewing machine, a tricycle or two, bicycle tyres, and all kinds of tools. In show cases on the same side of the room cosmetics and costume jewellery, thread and needles, scissors and combs are displayed. The grocery shelves are on the other side; cans of meat and poultry, sea foods, vegetables, soup; packages of rice, bread, butter, sugar, tea, biscuits, and cakes; tins of coffee, milk or milk powder, and jars of jam. There are also bars of soap and boxes of detergent, rolls and boxes of toilet paper and napkins, batteries of all sizes, and patent medicines from both the West and from China. The showcases contain underwear and household linen, while bolts of cloth are arranged along the top of them. Towards the rear of the shop are bags, suitcases, shoes, slippers and toys, and in the show cases in front of the shelves there are radios, record players, tape recorders, tape and films, photo albums, watches and clocks, and fountain pens. In the refrigerators, there are boxes of ice cream, bottles of soda water, frozen meat, chicken, and sometimes fish.

A trade store may carry as comprehensive a range of goods as a modern big city department store. While customers usually come to a trade store to buy food and drink, basic necessities and clothing, some of them may ask for items which seem trivial. Customers ask for, and are given, such minutiae as a single razor blade, two cigarettes (1/5 of the smallest pack), one fish hook, a pin (with spring) for connecting a watch belt to a watch, and one spoon of vegetable seeds. In the pink pages of the classified
telephone directory for Papua New Guinea in 1972 a Chinese general store in Wewak claimed in its advertisement to carry more lines of goods than the BurnsPhilp Company, which was one of the biggest European chain stores (17 stores) in Papua New Guinea. This Chinese store had as its business slogan: "Anything you want to buy we supply".

Trade store customers seem to be well aware of such a philosophy, and they expect to be able to buy a wide variety of goods, as may be seen in Tables 45 and 46, which were compiled in different stores and at different times. Table 45 lists the sales of a store located in the business area close to the native market in Rabaul, during a morning in mid-December, 1972. Table 46 details the sales of a store close to the wharf of Rabaul, on an afternoon in mid-October, 1972. Table 46 also contains the estimated profit margin for each item sold.

The indigenous customers of Chinese trade stores in Rabaul go each day to the nearby stores to buy food and other daily needs, but they usually leave their shopping for major items and "luxuries" until such time as they can visit the shops in the Chinatown area where, especially on Saturdays, they can enjoy the excitement of joining the big crowd, many of whom seem to have a festive air. Some neighbourhood storekeepers are able to retain regular customers by giving them credit. A customer who has a charge account is required to clear his debts each pay day, or once a fortnight. One trade store maintained about 30 regular customers each of whom held a charge account in this way. Any risk involved seems worth taking. Given that each customer spends an average of $20 in this store each month, then the total money spent amounts to $600 a month, which is about one third of the monthly sales. The charge account is thus a substantial

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1 Department of Posts and Telegraphs, Papua New Guinea (1972:213), Telephone Directory.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Total Price A$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proxido (Medicine)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicks powder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bex powder</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handkerchiefs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firecrackers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laplaps (waste cloth)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towels</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>10 yds</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brassiere</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slippers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrellas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy's trousers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's dresses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy dolls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports shoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 68  **SUM TOTAL $83.85**
### TABLE 46: SALES IN A RABAUL STORE DURING A SINGLE MORNING; 8 A.M. TO 1 P.M. (TOTAL SALES AND ESTIMATED PROFITS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Sale Price/Unit</th>
<th>Total Sale</th>
<th>Profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soda water</td>
<td>12 dozen</td>
<td>10c/bottle</td>
<td>14.40</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice cream</td>
<td>2 dozen</td>
<td>10c/each</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb chops</td>
<td>5 packs</td>
<td>50c/pack</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$1.80/each</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$2.00 or $3.00</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorts (trousers)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laplapa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>12 loaves</td>
<td>10c/loaf</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betel nuts</td>
<td>30 packs</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish (canned)</td>
<td>14 cans</td>
<td>20c/can</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corned beef</td>
<td>6 cans</td>
<td>35c or 45c can</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>0.40 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>30 packs</td>
<td>20c, 35c, 45c/pack (plus free matches)</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>0.79 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuits</td>
<td>12 packs</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0.18 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish hooks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5c/each</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing line</td>
<td>1 roll</td>
<td>20c/roll</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.06 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tape recorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$47.00</td>
<td>47.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$2.00/each</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marbles</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10c/20</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light flints</td>
<td>1 pack</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass beads</td>
<td>2 spoons</td>
<td>5c/one spoon</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batteries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10c/each</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.20 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>1 bottle</td>
<td>10c/bottle</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.02 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches</td>
<td>5 boxes</td>
<td>2c/box</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.01 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco twist</td>
<td>6 sticks</td>
<td>10c/stick</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>(no profit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.20 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>20 packs</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.20 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>2 packs</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.05 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 packs</td>
<td>10c/pack</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.10 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese pops</td>
<td>3 packs</td>
<td>16c/pack</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.15 est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small suitcase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$3.00/each</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.50 est*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lock</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40c/each</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.30 est</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUM TOTAL**

$112.28  $31.78 est

* This was manufactured by the storekeeper; the cost of labour is not included.
weapon of competition against other storekeepers.

Trade store sales are also subject to seasonal boosts caused by the indigenous customers' purchasing more and different goods for annual festivals such as Easter and Christmas, and their receiving extra cash income during September-October when the copra and cocoa producers receive bonus payment for products sold to the Marketing Board. This is especially so in the Bismarck Archipelago where the stores receive markedly good business in April, September or October, and December.

IV. The Economics of a Trade Store and the Expenditure of a Chinese Family

In major towns in Papua New Guinea other than Rabaul, many of the Chinese storekeepers claim to have migrated there from Rabaul because of economic difficulties. The Chinese in Rabaul constantly sought store sites in Port Moresby or elsewhere for themselves. Emigration from Rabaul is a continuing trend. The reasons for this are not immediately obvious, and on first acquaintance with the situation the complaints of the storekeepers seem quite unreasonable. However, the facts do justify such complaints. Notable among these are long hours for little return. In many trade stores the storekeeper has to work from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m., with no breaks during the day or during the holidays, while the customers "come to spend only their shillings". (A ten cent coin is still referred to as a shilling in New Guinea.) Stores in particular locations (e.g. along the streets on the Matupit Farm and on the Malaguna Road opposite the end of the Rabaul market) opened for some 15 hours a day but sold mainly food stuffs with a comparatively low profit margin. The stores close to the market had better business. Some stores along Blanche Street towards the inland side of Rabaul had, however, a monthly turnover of from only $1,000 to $2,000 dollars. From an enormous number of transactions of varying size
the storekeeper would receive a profit of between $300 and $600, and after the deduction of tax, the cost of store rent, electricity, and shop assistants' wages, there was not much left for the storekeeper himself. So little in fact that the return from long hours worked may justly be claimed to be poor; even a low ranking public servant with shorter working hours could have earned a comparable income.

Why then so many Chinese are eager to go into the trade store business? To answer this question it is necessary to first understand the Chinese concepts of family and marriage. After marriage, a couple (though they may work at different jobs) have one main goal - to establish a prosperous family and to offer a good future for their children. I found that in many families a trade store is but a side-line enterprise which, although it is looked after by the women while the men are employed outside the family as clerks or craftsmen is jointly owned and managed by all family members. Such an arrangement involves much work for all members of the family, including the men, who already have regular jobs outside. The income from the store, no matter how meagre it is, contributes to the family budget in a useful way: for instance, the income from the store is usually sufficient to cover food expenses and the family can therefore save other earnings for use in other ways.

Again, to run a small trade store becomes a means to an end. Running a trade store enables a Chinese to gain commercial experience, skill, and knowledge, and he or she is thus able to turn to enterprise of larger scale and to become a more substantial merchant. A man relies on his wage-earning job to give him security, both psychological and economic, when his store under his wife's management is not making progress, but when the opportunity comes he can always give up his employment and expand the family enterprise. As studies of their background show, many of the big businessmen started as artisans while their wives ran a small trade store.
The most successful Chinese entrepreneur in Lae owns and runs with his wife an enterprise which consists of a wholesale firm, a retail store, a transport company with three light aeroplanes, and a real estate company in Australia. They have founded all these enterprises in 20 years, from the time they first came to Lae in the early 1950s. The husband first worked as a truck driver and part-time carpenter, while his wife ran a small trade store. Many similar examples could be given. Multiple occupations, and replication in business and services, are thus characteristics shared by many overseas Chinese, and are advantageous to their becoming successful entrepreneurs.

Information about the business operations of many trade stores in Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, and Kavieng was obtained through daily conversations, observations, and casual inquiries. This information has facilitated the presentation of figures of the earnings and expenditure of an average trade store. The estimated accounts of trade stores in Port Moresby and Rabaul are representative of the upper and lower limits of the trade store budgets in the country. The figures presented are for trade store businesses only. The income of any stores in Papua New Guinea would fall within the range of the two extremes in Table 47.

Investigations carried out during 1971 and 1972 showed that about one third of the Chinese trade stores in Rabaul had monthly sales of about $2,000. These stores earned a profit of about $300 to $500 a month, although about a dozen of them also earned an extra income from a sideline - a haus kaikai (a restaurant catering for indigenous customers). Despite the small income a family makes in its trade store, each family is in a position to be able eventually to expand its business or invest its money in a profitable way. The success of the Chinese in business, and the fact that they always have ready cash for further investment results not from the making of high profits but rather their practice of accumulating savings while maintaining a very frugal
standard of living. To illustrate this point, let us examine family expenditure and the Chinese style of life in Papua and New Guinea.

Table 48, shows the earnings and expenditures of a Chinese couple in Rabaul who jointly ran a trade store in 1972, while the husband also worked as a carpenter for a private firm.

**Table 48: A Family's Income and Expenditure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income per month:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Profit from the trade store (before tax)</td>
<td>estimate $500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's salary from his employment</td>
<td>$200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's extra income from private work and wife's extra income from selling home-made cakes</td>
<td>$200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$900</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Expenditure:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House rent</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store rent</td>
<td>$110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>$20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food (for two adults and two children)</td>
<td>$150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social expenses (includes church donations)</td>
<td>$30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amusement</td>
<td>$20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>$20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car expenses and maintenance</td>
<td>$30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowance to parents</td>
<td>$50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>$10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical expenses</td>
<td>$10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$450</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Savings (before tax):</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income - Expenditure</td>
<td>$450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An explanation of this family's expenditure is required. House rent is nil, because they shared a house with their aged parents and several...
adult but unmarried siblings. Had they chosen to live separately from their kin, they would have had to spend at least an additional $100 on the rent of a house. Expenses for food are calculated on the price of essential food items only, excluding of liquor and cigarettes. Like many other New Guinea Chinese, this couple and their family members as well neither smoke nor drink. I have inquired about the average consumption of liquor and cigarettes of several European residents in Papua and New Guinea and conclude that this Chinese couple saved about $80 a month by non indulgence in these habits. Again, their social and amusement expenses are very low. Since they spent their time from morning till late in the evening in their store seven days a week, there was no time left for recreation. The most they could enjoy was a gathering of relatives or friends and gossiping while making special Chinese food. The amount spent on clothing is again negligible, for they used to wear clothes obtained from their own store, or made of material acquired from the store. Only once or twice a year, they would wear special dresses when participating in the elaborate community parties or weddings.

The family expenditure presented here is fairly representative of that of the majority of the Chinese families I contacted. I noticed that European residents in Papua New Guinea earning the same amount of money spent their money in many other ways. If this Chinese couple lived up to the 'European standard' in Papua New Guinea as it has been observed, their monthly expenditure would be increased as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House rent (living separately from parents and siblings)</td>
<td>$100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor and cigarettes</td>
<td>$ 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>$ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club and sporting expenses</td>
<td>$ 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining out and other entertainment</td>
<td>$ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A house keeper</td>
<td>$ 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total extra expenditure</strong></td>
<td><strong>$326</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This amount of extra expenditure is equal to the amount earned from keeping a small-scale trade store. Besides, the turnover and profits calculated are based on the assumption that the storekeepers keep their shops open for at least 15 hours a day, seven days a week. Should the Chinese trade storekeeper maintain European working hours, that is eight hours a day and five or six days a week, the trade store would never be profitable, as it would not get half the amount of business it does with longer working hours. Only those big general stores which cater for European customers can afford to follow European business hours.

The Chinese family's low expenditure is a critical contributory factor to the fact that neither the Europeans nor the indigenous people could successfully run a trade store and make a living by doing so. Living in New Guinea, the writer heard many tales of the way the older generation Chinese lived an extremely frugal life. One of the most popular stories, oftenly cited by parents as a good example for the young, tells of the way a man, his wife and their eight children used to make a meal of plain boiled rice and one salted egg. The children were required to do hours of work, making straw rope each evening, before going to bed. This man is now one of the managing directors of a shipbuilding company. Another old man told me: "When we were running our trade store, my wife and I had never stepped into a picture theatre once in ten years. We did not dare to eat fresh pork very often so that we could save up more money". When interviewed he was retired, having given a store and a piece of land each to his three sons. Another well known story is of a Chinese millionaire's wife who used to buy cut-price meat of inferior quality at the supermarket in order to save money. Although this story is presented sarcastically by the people, it is undoubtedly true: the writer observed this same millionaire's wife give her daughter-in-law as a Christmas gift an out-of-fashion dress she had bought at a clearance sale in a store in Australia.
Although the Chinese of the younger generation now partake of better food in their daily meals, they still keep their expenditure to a minimum. Wealthy Chinese may spend more money on 'luxury' items, but these 'luxuries' are regarded as necessities by average Europeans. The New Guinea Chinese lived such a simple and unimaginative life that a middle income European resident commented thus on Chinese living conditions: "I am very surprised to find that these Chinese, who are known to be so rich, live in houses the interior of which looks to me like a junk yard". One European employee of a Chinese plantation owner lived in a much better house and enjoyed a much higher standard of living than his Chinese employer. Changing circumstances do not alter living standards: the 'rich' Chinese families do not live very differently from the 'poor' Chinese families and the only way one may tell the difference is that the 'rich' save more money than the 'poor'.

From this discussion of Chinese trade store businesses and family expenditure it may be seen that Siregar's (1969:354) remarks on the Indonesian Chinese also apply to Chinese business families in New Guinea.

...The Chinese generally display a remarkably low propensity to consume. Social needs do not play an important part in determining their pattern of consumption. An average Chinese family with the same income as an Indonesian one generally lives much more simply than its native counterpart. Moreover, conspicuous consumption is usually of negligible importance to the Chinese. The marginal utility they attach to present consumption is so low that savings, particularly for precautionary and speculative motives, dominate their family budget. In fact, frugality can be considered a characteristic of the Chinese, especially among the middle and lower classes.

V. The Relationship Between a Retailer and a Wholesaler

Like Chinese trade stores, Chinese wholesale dealers are found in all major urban centres in Papua New Guinea, except Port Moresby where wholesale businesses are dominated by Burns Philp and other big European
companies. The absence of Chinese wholesalers in Port Moresby is due to both the fact that most of the Chinese stores do their importing directly from overseas Chinese salesmen, and the fact that Burns Philp, as the importing agent of the People's Republic of China in the Territory, can get Chinese goods - these are most popular among the retailers - for a much lower price than can be got from Hong Kong or Singapore agents. A knowledge of the relationship between a Chinese retailer and a Chinese wholesaler is essential to the understanding of Chinese business behaviour.

For the purposes of discussion I have drawn examples mainly from the Rabaul Chinese community. Although all eight of the full time Chinese wholesalers in Rabaul carried similar stocks, each of them specialized in certain commodities. One wholesale dealer specialized in foodstuffs and thus charged a lower price on certain foodstuffs than any other dealer, while another wholesaler specialized in linen and was able to do the same with this. When several Chinese retailers were asked why they had decided to buy goods from a particular wholesaler, they all immediately answered: "We buy from whoever charges the cheapest price". A retailer buys different kinds of goods from different wholesalers, usually in small quantities at any one time. For instance, in one day a trade store took delivery of the following goods from several wholesale dealers: several cases of bottled soft drinks from one dealer; bread and cake from another (there were three bread distributors); three dozen towels, two boxes of flash light bulbs and six rolls of fishing lines from another; several cartons of cigarettes from another; and two cases of tinned fish and meat and two bags of candies from yet another.\footnote{The last delivery was worth $27.50. Judging by the small value of this purchase, it can be concluded that some of the wholesalers use delivery (free of charge) as one of the means for competing with other wholesalers.} Although the storekeepers made comparative checks of different...
wholesalers' prices, other considerations induced them to give their
custom to certain wholesalers only, even though they meant paying a higher
price. Factors other than price alone accounted for any decision to buy
in large quantities from a given wholesale dealer. The long term credit
offered by a wholesaler to a retailer is one such factor, while a retailer's
need for better service, especially at those times when he needs to 'fight'
for goods in popular demand, is another.

According to the convention accepted by both European and Chinese
businessmen, a wholesaler allows 30 days for payment after delivery of the
goods. A Chinese wholesaler will tolerate non-payment from his Chinese
customers for 60 days or even longer. Some wholesalers said that they
allowed a longer period especially to old patrons. One wholesaler explained
that though he was most unhappy if a customer did not pay his bill within
two months, he could never urge that customer to pay or he might offend
him and thus lose his custom. The patrons he referred to were long term
patrons who were in the habit of making large purchases. For example, in
1972 a storekeeper bought $5,000 worth of cloth and was allowed to pay one
third of it within the standard credit period and the rest in the months
that followed.

Apart from the relationship built up on business dealings, there
is an extraordinary financial connection between retailer and wholesaler,
which connection has accounted for the success in capital development of
the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. As discussed earlier, I discovered in
Rabaul the existence of a complicated mutual financing organization which
was based on the traditional Chinese rotating credit association. This
organization was also found in other major towns in Papua New Guinea where
Chinese merchants were concentrated.

The relationship between a retailer and a wholesaler by no means
stops, as one might assume, at the formal business level, wherein a retailer pays to get what he wants while a wholesaler supplies the goods. In Papua New Guinea a retailer who does not have a good relationship with a wholesale dealer, even though he possesses sufficient capital, may face difficulties in obtaining desirable stock from a wholesaler. Three inter-related factors have led to this state of affairs. Firstly, since there are hardly any locally produced commercial goods in Papua New Guinea, everything has to be imported, and each shipment takes a very long time to arrive - from three to six months after the order has been sent to the overseas exporters. Secondly, the Chinese wholesale dealers do not wish to take the risk of importing certain items in large quantities; as a result, any shipment of these goods can become insufficient for distribution if there should happen to be an unforeseen demand for them. The reluctance of wholesalers to take a risk is partly related to the fact that many of the bigger retail stores also purchase goods directly from overseas exporters and so have narrowed the wholesale market. Thirdly, trade store customers, mainly indigenous people, tend to buy things that are fashionable - though whether the phenomenon of fashion has arisen recently or is a traditional behaviour with them is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, as many Chinese storekeepers explained, indigenous customers like to shop at stores where they can get fashionable items: if on several occasions they are unable to get these things in one store they take their custom to another store and will not again patronize the first store.

A shortage of goods was particularly problematical during the post-war decade when from time to time the government imposed a quota on overseas imports. Under such circumstances a good relationship between a retailer and a wholesaler is crucial for the retailer's continuing success.

During the 1950s when Australian import quote restrictions were in effect in New Guinea and when only a limited number of wholesale dealers
received goods in limited quantities from Hong Kong and Australia, many Chinese trade storekeepers could not get enough goods for sale, although they intended to pay cash for them. One Chinese shipwright who gave up his trade and started a small trade store in New Ireland became the only lucky one to receive sufficient supplies from the biggest Rabaul Chinese wholesale firm. He also enjoyed the privilege of long term credit. During the 19th this man without large capital resources did a bigger retail business than any one else in town. By the 1960s, he was rich enough to purchase a plantation and a small cargo ship, while his children were also able to establish new stores in Madang. His success had its beginning during the war when the New Guinea islands were occupied by the Japanese and the Chinese were confined in camps. The shipwright looked after a family who had an aged mother. When the old woman died soon after the war had begun, he made a coffin for her and in this way provided her with a decent burial. After the war the old woman's daughter, who had left home before the war and married - her husband was the biggest Chinese wholesale dealer in New Guinea - learned about this man's kindness to her mother and her kin and decided to repay him by treating him as a privileged customer. With what little capital the shipwright-turned-storekeeper had, he was able to overpower other businessmen, mainly because of his special relationship with the major wholesaler.

Even today, a store which carries fashionable merchandise and has plenty of it in stock during a busy season will almost certainly make a quick and handsome profit, whereas those who are short of such goods will lose such an opportunity. Whether a trade store gets the right goods in sufficient quantities at the right time might well depend on whether or not the wholesale dealer will supply him. When a shipment of goods arrives, a wholesaler first informs his close relatives and those retailers who have special relationship with him. The special relationship is known as Chiao
Ch'ing - a good relationship established between two persons who are neither relatives nor long term friends. Before the wholesaler informs other ordinary retail buyers, he unpacks newly arrived overseas packages in the evenings and invites his relatives, and those who have Chiao Ch'ing with him, to examine the goods and make their selections and reservations. By the time the other retailers get to hear about the arrival of the stock, either they get the goods only in small quantities, or they are too late to get any. Since there are seasonal variations of business, the retailer who has to wait until the arrival of the next shipment to get the goods he desires may find that the good season for business has gone or that the fashion has been modified. A woman whose family used to run a wholesale business, but has run a supermarket since the late 1960s reports that when they were wholesalers she had to get up 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning to unpack the newly arrived stock and to put it on the shelves, for the retailers would rush into the shop first thing in the morning to buy the new goods.

The writer observed that 'fighting for goods' among the retailers at the wholesale stores was becoming a notable part of the scene in Rabaul. As soon as the news spread in town that a new shipment had arrived at a certain wholesale store, many retailers, most of them women, would rush to the store to wait for the cargo to be unpacked. No sooner had the packages been opened than all the women would 'dive in' to grab as many goods as they could, and within minutes the whole package of goods had gone. Some women had their dresses torn in the melee. In 1972 a certain type of cloth made in China, in five different plain colours, became the fashionable material for laplaps. The cloth was available on wholesale only from Burns Philp Company at 25 cents a yard, while it retailed for 45 cents to 50 cents a yard. One young woman storekeeper told of how she had gone to the company with her mother-in-law and a neighbour woman to fight for this cloth. Since
she was very shy, and not strong enough, she was assigned to the sidelines while her mother-in-law and the neighbour participated in the battle. When the packages were unpacked, the two women rushed into the crowd, grabbed as much as they could, came back to her on the sideline, and rushed back for more. After two trips, the neighbour was breathing heavily and felt exhausted, and was forced to rest, but after the mother-in-law made the third trip the cloth had all gone. They divided the cloth into equal shares. The young woman's share lasted her through the Christmas and New Year seasons in her store, and so she made a good profit from it.

From 1972 to 1973, fighting for goods became more evident, many retailers became aware of the likelihood of economic inflation and the possible eruption of physical violence as the indigenous people acquired political autonomy, and they stopped their usual practice of ordering large quantities of goods from Hong Kong and Singapore exporters directly, relying solely on wholesale dealers to get new stock. It became essential for a retailer to get inside information about the date of arrival, as well as the content, of every shipment at the wholesale stores. The storekeepers who had Chiao Ch'ing or, preferably, had a very close kinship tie with a certain wholesaler had the advantage of being able to obtain the correct 'secret information' about the shipments. Other retailers who were peripheral customers had to be alert all the time.

Kinship, while it is an important link between wholesaler and retailer and helps to ensure favouritism and the exchange of information, does not necessarily exclude the possibility of business dealings outside its bounds. On the contrary, a retailer may buy from whichever wholesaler he wishes. In fact he usually had dealings with several wholesalers because certain lines of goods are cheaper from certain wholesalers. Thus price, service, the credit system, market demand, and relationships based on
kinship, friendship, and financial considerations can be all considered factors which account for decision making and business transactions between two Chinese businessmen in Papua and New Guinea.

VI. The Role of the Overseas Chinese Salesmen

The success of the Chinese in retail and wholesale businesses also depended to a great extent on their sophisticated handling of the overseas exporters and direct importing of merchandises. The efficient services of the Chinese exporting representatives from Hong Kong and Singapore, which have worked on a door-to-door basis since 1961, have been most helpful to the Chinese in building up their enterprises in Papua New Guinea. Although the Chinese storekeepers also purchase goods from Australian and other overseas exporting agents, a large proportion of the goods on sale in the trade stores are mainly from Hong Kong and Singapore. For example, according to some of the salesmen, shirts and trousers made in Singapore have since 1971 dominated the entire men's wear market in Papua New Guinea. As the quality of the Singapore-made wear matches that of garments made in Australia or the United States and its prices have always been much cheaper, even the European retail and wholesale companies began to purchase them from the Singapore salesmen. Many good quality but cheap goods, from sewing machines to toys, are made in China and imported to Papua New Guinea through Hong Kong exporters. I shall therefore confine my discussion on the subject to the part played by Hong Kong and Singapore salesmen alone in Papua New Guinea.

Prior to 1960 a small number of Chinese wholesalers in Rabaul had established ties with some of the exporters in Hong Kong, mostly through long term business dealings, friendship, and kinship and marriage ties. The New Guinea Chinese wholesaler relied on the Hong Kong exporters to
decide the variety and quality of the merchandise and to determine the prices. The ordinary storekeepers, especially the trade store owners, then had no choice other than either to purchase in small quality or in bulk from European companies or to do so from the Chinese wholesalers. They had to pay the prices demanded, and they had little choice and few varieties of goods.

In 1961 a Singapore businessman who acted as a Chinese film distributor in Southeast Asia was informed by his client in Rabaul, a KMT executive, of the business opportunities in New Guinea. He decided to send an employee to Rabaul to investigate the potential of the market. To the employee's surprise, he immediately received about a million dollars' worth of orders from amongst the Chinese storekeepers in Rabaul, and furthermore most of them paid in advance. He was later reported to have said that he had the feeling that he had struck a gold mine. As soon as this employee returned to Singapore, he resigned from the firm and, with friends, established a new exporting firm for himself, which catered to the New Guinea market only. However, when one of his employees accompanied him to New Guinea on the next trip to take orders and in his turn discovered the business situation amongst the New Guinea Chinese, he later also rebelled against his employer and organized his own firm. In like manner, other Singapore exporters one by one joined in the pursuit of the New Guinea market. When the Hong Kong exporters learned the news (probably because their own businesses were affected) they began to send salesmen to New Guinea to take orders in person. Between 1971 and 1972 there were about 40 overseas salesmen visiting Papua New Guinea urban centres regularly, that is twice a year. The Singapore salesmen made up about half of this number, while Chinese, Indian, and British salesmen from Hong Kong and elsewhere made up the rest. Owing to competition and the kind of disloyalty on the part of employees discussed above, the Chinese exporters from Hong
Kong and Singapore either visit Papua New Guinea themselves or send only their relatives as representatives: usually sons, brothers-in-law, and other close kinsmen.

The salesmen on each trip carry with them dozens of suit cases containing all the samples of their merchandise. In each major town there is a Chinese family who takes these Chinese salesmen as lodgers, and where a semi-permanent base for the salesmen has become established. Upon arrival, a salesman stays with such a family, making contact with his previous clients and organizing a time for 'inspections' and ordering. He then delivers all the samples as arranged to the store (usually at night) and there the storekeeper examines the samples piece by piece. As competition amongst the salesmen is great now, a salesman usually takes orders for each item of goods, however small. A trade store owner may order two dozen shirts, three dozen pairs of short pants, one dozen travel bags, several dozen pots, two suitcases, and so on. Even though a salesman takes orders worth only a few hundred dollars from each store he still can, if he manages to do business with a sufficient number of stores in each port, receive orders worth from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars on a single trip. Each order of goods from a store is shipped in a separate cargo case from Singapore or Hong Kong to Papua New Guinea. In the early days the storekeepers were required to pay cash upon arrival of the shipment but recently, because of competition amongst the overseas exporters as well as the good reputation of the Papua New Guinea Chinese businessmen, some overseas exporters have come to allow up to three months' credit, calculated from the time of arrival of the shipment. With such an arrangement, the storekeepers, if they can sell most of the goods within three months, are thus able to do business without needing extra liquid capital. In other words, in a sense the Singapore exporters have provided the capital for their clients in Papua New Guinea.
The salesmen admit that 'Chiao Ching', or friendship with individual storekeepers, is most crucial in maintaining business with them, whereas a slight difference in prices does not matter very much. Many salesmen thus have to cultivate friendship with their patrons by participating in their *ma-chong* and other gambling, as well as providing other services when their patrons visit Hong Kong and Singapore. Several young Chinese men in Papua New Guinea have acquired a wife in Hong Kong or Singapore through the match-making of their acquainted exporters.

Although the more overseas salesmen entering the Papua New Guinea market the more the storekeepers benefiting from the competition, there is after all a limit on the quantity of merchandise the Papua New Guinea market will demand. Especially was this so in 1972, when many storekeepers in Papua New Guinea decided to curtail their orders due to uncertainty over their future after Papua New Guinea's self-government. Five out of 20 Singapore exporters were said to have been 'squeezed out' of the Papua New Guinea market - unable to get enough business, they decided to postpone their trips to Papua New Guinea for the time being. Nevertheless, as so many of the Hong Kong and Singapore exporters have become familiar with Papua New Guinea that their active roles in this country, no matter what happens to the Chinese storekeepers, will probably remain for years to come.
CHAPTER EIGHT

FAMILY, KINSHIP AND BUSINESS EXPANSION
The general pattern of Chinese family structure and family life, both in China and overseas, is readily accessible in numerous sociological accounts. But sociologists or anthropologists study the social institution of 'family' from various angles, define it for their own convenience of analysis, and discuss it to demonstrate certain theories.

Discussions contributed to the book recently compiled by Professor Freedman on *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (1970) have greatly increased our understanding of Chinese family and kinship. However, these discussions have also raised further problems and some confusion. For instance, Taeuber (1970) in this volume applied a demographical and statistical approach when analyzing the family or household in eight regions covering over half the total provinces of China. He was able to construct a 'family size' and was also able to make generalizations about the 'ideal structure' of the Chinese family (p.75), and he concluded by saying that: "social and economic factors were highly significant in family size and structure (p.85)". Freedman (1970:1) supports Cohen's (1970) argument that the term 'family' is indeed one of the vaguest in sociology and anthropology. The word Chia - usually treated as the Chinese equivalent of the English word 'family' - can mean a group (kin group), an estate (of property), or an economy (a set of economic activities). Cohen reviewed all the major sociological literature on the Chinese family, but he could only come to the conclusion that:

the property-holding unit known in Chinese as the chia - which has generally been identified as the 'family' - was actually a kin group that could display a great deal of variation in residential arrangements as well as in the economic ties that bound its members together. These variations could appear within the history of a given chia in such a way as to make it equivalent at certain times to what is usually regarded as a family; but the chia could also exist as a social unit in the absence of a single family-like arrangement of all its members. (Cohen 1970:21)
The very inconsistency of anthropological treatment of the 'family', as well as the variable and flexible nature of the family, leads me to choose an analytically unconventional approach to the Chinese family in New Guinea. Instead of trying to show what the family is among the Chinese people in New Guinea, perhaps a more fruitful line of approach is to ask what the significance of the family is to the people. In this chapter the significance of family and kinship to the New Guinea Chinese, particularly as regards their economic activities, will be discussed. This will be done firstly by discussing the ways in which families are involved in commercial enterprises, and secondly by showing the behavioural variations of the individual members of a family and the way these variations have contributed to the fission and fusion of both family and enterprise. It is the intention here to delineate the actual process of cooperation and collaboration among family members so that the way these processes have influenced commercial organization among the New Guinea Chinese can be more clearly indicated.

Collective efforts by family members and familial organization characterize the commercial activities of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. One of the most crucial factors accounting for Chinese success in commercial and industrial ventures has been the cooperation and collaboration between kin in capital pooling, production, exchange, and sharing the risk as well as the profit. Family members are to be found sharing both work and profit in any of the small trade stores or big industrial corporations, in any one of which ventures a wider range of kin may have directly or indirectly supported the business enterprise. Although an extended family\(^1\) may break

\(^1\) Looking at the Chinese family from a developmental point of view, Freedman (1970:2) distinguishes three types of extended family. A family which consists of three generations, with an old couple and their married sons, their wives and children but excludes the married-out daughters, is called (cont'd on next page)
down into smaller residential or economic units, these units can simultaneously be parts of an integrated economic corporation which owns business enterprises, properties, and real estate. It is interesting to note that many New Guinea Chinese believe that a bachelor without a wife can hardly start a retail shop on his own; likewise, a family without many sons will be unable to develop and maintain a large scale enterprise. This indicates the importance the New Guinea Chinese place on family and agnatic kin for their commercial development.

Emphasis on family and kinship in commercial enterprises is not merely the reflection of an ideal, but is actually revealed in their practices. The number and type of Chinese enterprises formed on the Gazelle Peninsula is listed in Table 42. When the retail and wholesale stores in Rabaul and its vicinity are distinguished and their ownership analyzed, the significance of 'family' in business becomes very plain (see Table 49). About half of the stores concerned were registered as having joint ownership by husband and wife, about a quarter were corporately owned by various forms of family, and another quarter were registered as having single owners. Further scrutiny of these 'single' owners reveals that some of these could have been registered as a partnership of husband and wife were it not for legal circumstances. Four women in whose names these businesses were registered as singly owned were known to be wives of men employed by the administration. Although these men also shared managerial responsibilities in the store they were legally not supposed to do so for they were on the government payroll and certainly were forbidden to hold trading licences. Another five women registered as store owners

(cont'd from previous page)
a 'joint family'. If a three generation family has only one married son it is called a 'stem family'. When the old couple die and the family is composed of several married brothers with the wives and children, it is called a 'fraternal joint family'. The term 'extended family' is used in the present thesis in a non-specific sense to mean any of the three forms distinguished by Freedman.
TABLE 49: TYPES OF OWNERSHIP OF THE CHINESE RETAIL AND WHOLESALE STORES IN RABAUL AND ITS VICINITY (GAZELLE PENINSULA, INCLUDING KOKOPO) (AS AT SEPTEMBER 1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ownership</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single Owner:</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(24.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Husband and Wife as Partners:</strong></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>(49.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Corporation:</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>(22.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent (or parents) and sons</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents and sons and daughters-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of extended family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Information:</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were widows. The male owners were all married with wives assisting in the store, with the single exception of one man who was still a bachelor - only this bachelor among 136 business concerns single handedly ran a general store. This man had been a partner with his brothers in a business enterprise, but (getting old) had recently become independent.

The practice of allowing a wife to be officially registered as her husband's business partner is quite recent, having developed within the last decade or so. Two factors have accounted for this: firstly, a recognition by the younger generation Chinese businessmen that a business with joint ownership pays less tax than one with a single owner; secondly, the acquisition by wives of the status of business partners (because of
their own efforts and demands). That the altered status of wives is a new trend is shown by the fact that all pre-war Chinese business concerns were either registered in the husband's name only, or as having joint ownership of only the agnates in the family.

The significance of the extended family becomes more obvious when big enterprises are considered. Among the eight big general stores and six large scale wholesale firms there was only one single owner (the bachelor discussed above) and one husband and wife partnership; the rest of them - 12 enterprises - were all companies organized by extended families. Likewise, family corporations dominate the larger enterprises in the field of transportation, manufacturing, construction, and recreation, as listed in Table 50.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 50 : TYPES OF OWNERSHIP OF THE BIGGER CHINESE ENTERPRISES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and Wife as Partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra-Kinship Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is generally accepted that the Chinese family is fundamentally an economic unit in which the pooling of essential resources and services is practised (Yang 1959:137; Freedman 1957:19; Cohen 1970:25). Freedman's study of the Chinese family in Singapore (1957) is one of the few sources of information about the overseas Chinese family. Freedman's main concern, however, is with the household - families whose members live under the same
roof and share in the provision of food (Freedman 1957:40). Yet residence by itself does not generally constitute a criterion for defining the Chinese 'family'. Although members of a family may reside in different towns for reasons of employment, or may live in separate households for any one of a number of other reasons, they still constitute a family in the sense of both an economic unit and a kin group. This also is the case with many families among the overseas Chinese in Papua New Guinea. Moench's (1963:72) account of the 'dispersed family' of the Tahiti Chinese can be understood in this light; that is, by taking into account only the economic nature of the Chinese family. Cohen (1970:25) maintains that: "Some of the problems encountered in dealing with 'family' units might be clarified if first the corporate and developmental features of the chia as such are understood". This is certainly true, but it is necessary also to emphasize that the essential meaning of family among the Chinese concerns a group of persons bounded by kinship ties who corporately hold an estate. The New Guinea Chinese families in the following examples demonstrate the working of such an arrangement.

Case 1

This family was a broken extended one (cf. Freedman 1957:35) which consisted of an old widow, her son and daughter-in-law, and an infant grandson, all of whom lived together in one house. The son was employed as clerk in a Chinese firm, while the daughter-in-law worked as a stenographer in a government department. Both were in their middle twenties. The widow usually helped by keeping the house, assisting with the cooking, and taking
care of her baby grandson. They had a housemaid who did the heavy housekeeping chores as well as looking after the baby. The son and his wife put their combined incomes into one bank account and were jointly responsible for the family's expenditure. This family had an 'inclusive-economy' (cf. Cohen 1970:28).

Case 2

This family was composed of a couple both of whom were over 60, four adult children and a daughter-in-law (it fits Freedman's definition of an unbroken extended family through one son). An interesting feature of this family is that although its members all lived under a single roof and shared at the same time a single kitchen, it has five sources of income and its members each make a separate investment.

The old parents were retired and were supported by the four children who provided them with food and a regular allowance. The first daughter worked as an independent Customs agent; she also earned extra income in the evenings and weekends as a part-time cook in a restaurant. A trade store (a joint venture) belonged to the eldest son and his wife: none of the other family members had any financial interest in, or worked in, this store. Besides this, the daughter-in-law worked as a stenographer for a European firm and was therefore only able to assist with the store work outside office hours. The second son worked in a bank as an accountant. The younger daughter was employed by the administration as a secretary.

In this household the members lived together, sharing the housework and many social activities. Nevertheless, this family was not the
kind of inclusive economic unit where everybody's income and expenditure was pooled without reservation. Instead, each of the children was able to freely use his or her own income. In 1972, for instance, the first son had invested his own and his wife's money in the trade store; the second son was holding industrial shares valued at a couple of thousand dollars; and the two daughters, with two of their girl friends, had bought a piece of land in Queensland. Over and above all these individual investments, however, the family as a whole corporately owned a block of flats in Australia, in addition to the house they were then living in. The block of flats in Australia had five units, the title to each of which had been assigned to one of the economic units in the family (note that the daughter-in-law did not share this property): although the money for purchasing this block of flats was contributed equally by all four children, the parents were given title to one of the flats.

A further example of joint investment and saving is also seen when between 1970 to 1972 the members subscribed one share of a $400 Hui: the eldest daughter contributed $200 each month, while the mother and the youngest daughter each subscribed $100.

Case 3

This was a family headed by an old couple who had six sons. The two eldest sons were married men with children, while the other four sons were still single. The family was split into four residential units. The parents, the first son with his wife and children, the third son, and the
fourth son all lived together. (The eldest son occasionally spent nights in a village where he managed a trade store.) The second son with his wife and children lived separately from the others because they ran a trade store in a rented house. The fifth son worked as a shop assistant for a Chinese firm in another town. He seldom came home to visit. The sixth son attended University in Australia and visited home only once a year during the long school vacation.

The family members had organized four different business enterprises with divided yet overlapping partnership among themselves. The old parents with the assistance of the third son ran a trade store (a). The second son (with his third and fourth brothers as partners) and in addition to his own trade store business which was looked after by his wife, had set up a motor garage, catering mainly for repair jobs. This enterprise was registered in the names of these three brothers as a 'brothers' company. The eldest son, sometimes with his wife's help, managed another trade store (b) in a village outside the town, to which all his brothers except the youngest had contributed part of the necessary capital and in which they considered themselves his partners.

Although the members of this family were dispersed as described, those who were in town met each other almost every day, and on such occasions as major celebrations they sent for everybody for a formal family gathering. They were a united family: the second son, though he ate and slept at his store, referred to his parents' house as 'home' and to his own house as 'the store'.

Apart from receiving any dividends (from any enterprise) to which he was entitled, each member who worked in any one place also drew a salary. This means that the parents and the third son drew salaries from the trade store (a), the eldest son (and occasionally his wife too) from the other
trade store (b), while each brother who worked in the garage reckoned his salary on the number of hours spent there each day.

Case 4

This extended family contained the shareholders of a commercial company - "Ah Ming and Sons Company, Proprietary, Limited". The male family members of the family, who were the company shareholders, corporately held four business enterprises in Papua and New Guinea and some real estate in Australia. The family was divided into three residential units and formed four divisions of production. The parents, the eldest and third son, their wives and their children lived together upstairs in a two storey building in one of the main streets of Rabaul and the adults all worked in the general store downstairs. The second son and his wife lived, for most of the time, on a plantation owned by the family. Here they supervised the workers, bought copra from the neighbourhood villages, and ran a trade store. The fourth son and his wife managed a general store in Port Moresby. The youngest son had returned recently from Australia, having completed a degree in pharmacy, at which time the family divided the Port Moresby store into two parts of which the smaller half was assigned to the youngest son so that he could open a chemist shop.

This particular family was an integrated economic organization with the father acting (with authority) as managing director. That successful expansion of the organization in recent years in terms of both size and locality had been possible, lay in the fact that the earnings from each of
the enterprises had always been put aside for future investment and not distributed among the family members. Each member, of course, received a monthly salary from the company. The father disclosed that at the end of 1971 a further joint investment had been made in a block of flats in Sydney. The family had bought (in the company's name) a six unit flat building which was registered as having co-ownership of the father and his five sons. The units had been let as flats ever since.

There was a need for cooperation and collaboration to be carefully arranged and maintained, as it was to the mutual advantage of the members of the family not to have to hire any shop assistants. Whenever any one business required more hands than had been assigned to it, people from the other businesses were temporarily transferred there to help. For instance, during the Christmas season in 1972, the mother was called in to the Port Moresby store and was joined a week later by the first daughter-in-law from Rabaul. At the end of a month, even though business was still exceptionally good in Port Moresby, the first daughter-in-law wanted to go home. She was relieved by the second daughter-in-law, who stayed for the following month. When the daughters-in-law went to Port Moresby, they took their children with them.

The different economic and residential arrangements of these families illustrate the actual range of possibilities at any particular time. It is also desirable to know how the actual process of division or expansion occurs within a family, and whether patterns can be drawn from the range of possibilities. Apparently, this can only be done by examining the developmental cycle of the families under study, as developed by Fortes (1958) for the study of the domestic group in general, and Cohen (1970) for the study of the chia.

The above four New Guinea Chinese families have supplied examples of most of the features of development possible. Case 1 represents the
beginning of an elementary family, for when the family is denuded of its senior generation members an inclusive residential as well as an economic unit will result, which will be composed of a married couple and their young children. Case 2 is illustrative of the next stage of development. When the children grow up, one of the sons will get married, bring in a wife, and stay in the household with the parents and any unmarried siblings. Like the family in Case 3, each member has his or her own job or enterprise: they may still live together or, if there is more than one married son, separately, but in the meantime they still maintain the corporate estate as well as their own business enterprises. Case 3 examples the possibility of continuing to hold together the brothers' joint business venture after the death of the parents. This possibility is very likely because the business was formed by the brothers themselves, not inherited from the parents. Case 4 is that of a family reaching the end of a cycle, since sooner or later it will break apart. Each of the small units will then form an elementary family, and each may evolve into the next stage as in either Case 2 or Case 3. Further development into a state like that of the family in Case 4 is also possible.

From the New Guinea Chinese families observed it seems clear that the family definitely breaks apart with the third generation. At no time has it been found among the New Guinea Chinese that several fraternal cousins, all descended from the same grandfather, hold an estate or an enterprise corporately. Here a problem arises as to why the partition of a family on a corporate enterprise takes place, and in what form.

Students of traditional Chinese society usually take the death of the senior male member of the family, whether father or grandfather, as the point at which family partition begins. Usually it is at that time that division of residence and arrangement of inheritance become necessary.
A formal division of the family property is known to Chinese as 'Fen Chia', which Freedman (1970:2) calls 'partition of the family', and Cohen (1970:25) translates it as "to divide the chia". Students of the traditional Chinese family are prone to remark on the normative nature of social actions but this does not indicate all the variations possible or reasons for those variations. For example, Yang (1959:140) and Freedman (1957:38) both suggest that among the peasant Chinese once the old parents die the family tends to break apart (in terms of residence and property holding). This is also reported by Freedman (1957:38) to be the case with the Chinese in Singapore. On the other hand, Fried (1953:52-63) maintains that a wealthy merchant's family tends to hold together and form a fraternal business corporation. As far as corporate family property and enterprise is concerned the case is different with the New Guinea Chinese because its partition may take place long before the retirement or actual death of the senior (male) head of the family. From the above family cases it can be seen that sons may set up separate residence and establish independently properties or enterprises. More field data reveal that even among well to do Chinese men who have let their sons participate or hold shares in their business, a formal partition of the enterprise or a division of the family may still occur at a stage which in traditional Chinese society would be considered to be unnecessarily premature. 1

Both social and ecological environments have influence patterns of family fission among the New Guinea Chinese. First of all, the traditional value of cohesiveness within the family has declined in New Guinea. A son may demand a division or partition while his father is still active and the

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1 Yang (1959:140) "(In traditional Chinese society) A son might not have his share (of family property) without the father's consent or until the death of the father."
business prosperous. In many cases, an early division is possible mainly because of the large number of opportunities available to the son for the successful development of an independent business. Without such opportunities, the strong will for independence from the family could not alone pave the way for family partition. Secondly, both Australian law and the legal requirements pertaining to business enterprise create situations in which the Chinese have to organize or divide the family enterprise, either to conform with the law or to enable them to take advantage of the law to better exploit the chance for economic gain. For instance, those wealthy Chinese who had the resources to purchase land in large quantities have been until recently confined by regulations permitting them to purchase only a limited amount of it, and so have had to register any further acquisitions separately in their sons' names. To avoid payment of higher individual income or inheritance tax, some of the well to do Chinese have been accustomed to registering their enterprises as a corporation of the entire family, or to register each enterprise separately in the name of each son. In some cases the sons are only nominal title holders of the property or the enterprise, but sometimes this legal arrangement marks the beginning of a real family partition which occurs long before the death of the family's founding father.

It is noteworthy that a unique practice in relation to partition has developed among Chinese families in New Guinea. In many cases, sons have had to purchase shares from their parents in order to take over the corporate family enterprise. The main reason for this is again due to a predominance of European custom and practise in commercial organization as well as to legal requirements for the transfer of share holders. In some cases, for example that of the Hsing Lung family discussed below, the sons have had to pay the parents to gain a majority control over the family company; there are on the other hand cases where father or parents have
volunteered to sell his or their shares to sons. By doing this parents are able to secure a fund for their retirement without needing to ask for their sons' support later. Furthermore, a parent is likely to ask a fair or lower price than the real value of the shares: the sons are benefited not only by this aspect of the transaction but also in their exemption from inheritance tax when the father eventually does die.

Each member's claim on, and title to, the family property or enterprise and his use of the family funds is specified, as also are the kind and amount of cooperation and collaboration required of him. The principle seems to be that a member can enjoy only as much as he has contributed. With the exception of the family's younger members who have yet to reach the age of production and who in most cases are still at school and supported by the family, every member has to work (or nominally work in the case of the old) in order to get his wages or his share of the dividends. Otherwise a member gets nothing from the family, for kinship alone - even that of father and son or brother and brother - does not necessarily entitle anyone to financial support. The traditional custom that under a head's control one member may spend at the expense of the others, and usually against the will of the others (cf. Lin Yueh-hwa 1948) - has fallen out of practice among the Chinese in Papua and New Guinea.

These new trends are most advantageous for the Chinese in their successful transition from a predominantly artisan to a commercial community in the New Guinea environment. For instance, issuing regular wages only to those who work becomes a way of encouraging the family members to work hard. In addition, the specified legal arrangements of the members' titles and claims minimize family disputes at the time of distributing wealth and property. Minor quarrels in a family are still inevitable, but no report has ever been made of a family dispute over inheritance or division of family having been brought to court (whereas court cases over family partition are
frequently reported in both contemporary Chinese society in Taiwan and in pre-revolution China).

Chinese success in commerce in Papua New Guinea may be attributed to the fact that in pecuniary terms the family members have a specified relationship among themselves. Members of a family have no automatic economic claims on each other apart from reciprocal help. A son may receive a salary from his father, but he cannot expect his father to give money freely to him. Likewise, a father may expect to receive a regular allowance from his sons but he has no direct control over their income and expenditure. Between close kin, a payment is a payment and a debt is a debt; in many instances the situation does not differ very much from that between two strangers. Several times the writer observed an aged parent come to a son or a daughter's store in order to buy something, and pay cash for it. The practice of cash payment is more easily understood if the transaction involves a lot of money, but it was common to observe such incidents as an old woman buying less than one dollar's worth of biscuits from her daughter-in-law, and paying cash.

The very nature of financial dealings among kin, no different from those among strangers, has ensured the success in business of the New Guinea Chinese, for it has released them from the possible burden of kin upon commercial development as has often been described as the case in the family situation in traditional Chinese society. The New Guinea Chinese themselves are quite aware of this: they often point to the fact that a lot of the bankruptcy among indigenous trade storekeepers is caused by the automatic claims of kinsmen on goods, and the refusal to pay by kinsmen. The Chinese say: "the native trade stores can never survive long simply because they usually are 'eaten' by the relatives of the storekeeper before he could make any profit".
Any detailed account of the developmental cycle of a single family will show the nature, composition, and dynamics of a Chinese family and its members. The Lin Yueh-hwa’s *The Golden Wing* (1948) and Margery Wolf’s *The House of Lim* (1968) are examples of such accounts. Although my data on Chinese family life in New Guinea makes possible a similar report, a long chapter on family is less relevant, because my study is less concerned with this aspect. An outline of a family and the interaction of its members is included however, to demonstrate that the course of a development cycle produce further evidence of variation and adaptation among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea.

**The Hsing Lung Family**

```
 +----------------+            +----------------+            +----------------+
|                |            |                |            |                |
| Father         |            | Mother         |            |                |
|                | +----------------+            +----------------+ |
|                |    No. 1 Son    |            | No. 2 Son     |            | No. 3 Son     |
|                | +----------------+            +----------------+ |
|                |                |            |                |            |                |
```

Hsing Lung, or Prosperity, is the name of a department store and supermarket in Rabaul. It is one of the largest supermarkets in Rabaul, catering for both European and Chinese customers. Hsing Lung is jointly owned and managed by a family which is referred to by the Chinese as the Hsing Lung family. "The Hsing Lung Brothers" was the actual name of the company of which the registered share holders were the parents, who each held about five per cent of the total shares, and the three sons, who each held about 30 per cent of the total shares. The family in 1971 consisted of an old couple and their three sons, two of whom were married. The 'Number One son' of Hsing Lung, for so he was more often called than by his own name, had been married for ten years and had two children. For
the ten years prior to 1971 the old parents, the Number One son, his wife and children, and the Number Three son (who was single) had all lived together in the one house which had been built by the parents. The Number Two son lived separately with his wife and three children. Apart from being one of the co-owners and managers of the Hsing Lung store, he with his wife separately owned a trade store to which was attached a 'haus kaikai' and which was managed and controlled by the wife. The Hsing Lung parents also had three daughters who had all married and moved away from New Guinea. To understand the significance of the family enterprise we have to trace the family's history back about 70 years.

At the turn of this century there lived in the vicinity of Hu Lung Hsiang (protecting the dragon Hsiang), in the district of Lung Hsing (Dragon prosperity Li), in the county of Kaiping, Kwangtung province, China, some 500 people who all shared the same surname - Cheong. The Cheongs were believed to have descended from a single ancestor who had immigrated some 200 years before to Hu Lung Hsiang from a place called Hsia Kang. Being an 'immigrant' group who lived amongst the more than 10,000 'indigenous' people in the district who all belonged to the Teng lineage, the Cheong were discriminated against and frequently insulted by the dominant Teng. Outnumbered, and faced with the necessity for self protection in such a hostile environment, the Cheongs required all their male members not only to learn but to master the martial arts from childhood. They were thus regarded as a group of fierce people, and this reputation later was found to be advantageous when they were to migrate to New Guinea.

Among the Cheongs in this village was a family which had five sons. The eldest son, Cheong One, shared the same fate as many other fellow villagers in that he could not make more than a subsistence living
at home when he had grown up. Having seen many villagers leave home to seek their fortune in foreign countries, Cheong One decided to join a group of Chinese labourers and boarded a ship bound for Mexico. When the ship arrived at Mexico, he was unfortunately refused permission to land because it was discovered that he had not been vaccinated against smallpox. He was sent home, but before long received a letter from a fellow villager who had arrived in New Guinea. This fellow villager - and lineage member - told him that there were plenty of jobs available in New Guinea and advised him to come there. Cheong One did so, and on arrival in Rabaul, he without much difficulty found work as a carpenter. Discovering that more skilled artisans were in demand, he sent for his brother, Cheong Two, who came to New Guinea at the age of 18 in the year 1907. His brother was hired by a Chinese foreman of the German government (who was known as namba-uan or bosi:). Cheong Two, who was to become the Hsing Lung father mentioned earlier, was a smart young man who became a trusted worker for this foreman, who in his turn was trusted by the Germans and provided with many opportunities for construction jobs. As the foreman was too busy to supervise all construction projects himself, he recommended Cheong Two as a new foreman, to act rather like a contractor, in charge of new building projects. Being now a 'number one carpenter' of the German government, Cheong Two was in a position to enlist Chinese artisans and labourers to work under him, and so he was able to recruit his lineage and village members from China.

One by one Cheong Two recruited his cousins and other lineage kin from China. He soon had over 20 men, all Cheongs, working under his command. Since he had done the Cheongs a great favour by inviting them to New Guinea and providing them with jobs, they repaid him by contributing free labour to build residential houses for him. Not only did they spend their Sundays and leisure time building these houses, but also they stole
material from German construction sites for his use. Possessed of houses and power, the Cheong brothers became patrons and leaders of the Cheongs in Rabaul. Both went home to get married, and on their return to New Guinea they brought with them their younger brothers, Cheong Four and Cheong Five. Cheong Five, who later attended the Chinese school in Rabaul, was only a boy.

When the Australians occupied New Guinea, Cheong Two tendered successfully for the construction of several houses for the Australians and became a favoured contractor of the Australian administration. When interviewed, he claimed that at one time he had had as many as 200 Chinese construction workers under him. The brothers took advantage of their position as patrons of the Cheongs and the other artisans and operated a gambling house which had the Cheongs as its patrons and protectors. At that time there were several gambling houses in Rabaul, but the brothers' establishment was the most successful. The gambling houses were continuously feuding with each other, and each of them tried in turn to force the others out of business by competing for the patronage of gamblers. Because nobody dared to make a disturbance in the Cheongs' house and nobody dared to refuse to honour his gambling debts for fear of the Cheongs, every one of whom was a good fighter, the Cheong brothers were able to regularly extort a percentage of the gamblers' winnings from them. They saved up their money so earned and were able to send their youngest brother, Cheong Five, to China for his secondary education (beginning in 1922 to 1923). Cheong Five was one of the first New Guinea overseas Chinese to attend the Ling Nan University in Canton.

In the early 1920s, having saved up enough money from their income as carpenters as well as from their proceeds from the gambling house, the Cheong brothers decided to open a shop. They bought a store in Chinatown from Lee Tam Tuck (Ah Tam) for more than £1,000, and began a trade store
called the Hsing Lung Brothers' store, which was a joint venture. In a short time they were able to add to this business those of importing and wholesale, importing goods from Hong Kong and Japan. When Cheong Five returned from China equipped with a good knowledge of both Chinese and English he was a great help to the store. During the 1930s all the Chinese trade stores in New Ireland, Buka, and the New Guinea mainland had to order goods from Chinese wholesalers in Rabaul. The big European import and wholesale companies could not or would not cater for such Chinese shops, partly because the storekeepers being unable to read and write orders or invoices in English\footnote{This information was provided by a Chinese community leader in Rabaul.} and had to do their ordering and correspondences in Chinese. Of necessity then the storekeepers did business with the Hsing Lung store as well as with a couple of the other major Chinese importers. The Hsing Lung brothers had a further advantage - Cheong Five had become a smart businessman who saw a great future in the cheap goods the Japanese exporters could supply which better suited the market in New Guinea than expensive Australian or European goods, and he concentrated on imports from Japan. During the 1930s, the Cheong brothers every year sent Cheong Five to Japan to personally order goods. Because of his awareness of his customers' needs and wants, he was always careful to select the design of cloth, for instance, which would appeal to the New Guineans. The brothers' store became the biggest Chinese wholesale dealer in Rabaul, since it specifically imported goods with designs and prices calculated to appeal to the trade stores. Its advertisements regularly appeared in the Rabaul Times during the 1930s, and its business was bigger than both the other Chinese importers (The Alois Akun Company and Siu Loon Company) and the biggest European firm (The Steamship) in Rabaul. The brothers built a two storey residential house - one of the largest in Rabaul - behind their store, in which the Cheong family all lived together upstairs while the
When the Japanese army landed in New Britain in 1942 each of
the four brothers took his family and fled from Rabaul, hiding on different
plantations on New Britain. Despite their precautions, tragedy overtook
the Cheong family when three of the four brothers and the fourth brother's
entire family as well were massacred by the Japanese as suspects for
committing anti-Japanese acts. Only Cheong Two, his family, an adopted
son of Cheong One and the children of Cheong Five survived the war.

Immediately after the war Cheong Two and his family went back
to Rabaul. In 1946, accompanied by a pre-war shop assistant who acted as
interpreter, he went to Sydney to apply for war damage compensation.
Cheong Two became the first New Guinea Chinese to get this payment, and
it was the biggest - £40,000 - ever granted to a New Guinea Chinese. He
kept half the money himself and gave the other half to the children of
his deceased brothers; this half was divided equally between the only son
of Cheong One and the children of Cheong Five. This meant a formal division
of the Cheong family property, or a division of the (extended) family
itself.

In the same year, with the compensation fund, Cheong Two started
a store. The store still carried the name of Hsing Lung Brothers and still
carried on the same line of business - importing and wholesale. Once again,
the Hsing Lung store became one of the biggest Chinese wholesalers in town,
this time firstly because Rabaul was the only port in New Guinea where
cargo ships anchored, and secondly, because of a shortage of goods after
the war in Australia. As a consequence of this shortage, Australian
companies only made contracts with a select few of the larger importers in
New Guinea, with whom they had had previous dealings before the war, and
they supplied goods only to these importers. The Hsing Lung store, for
instance, obtained a monopoly on the import of Bushell's tea, Nestle's
milk, and several brands of cigarettes. Later on in the 1950s the Australian government for several years imposed a quota restriction on overseas imports into Australia and the territory of New Guinea. Under this quota only a few registered importers in Rabaul could obtain goods in limited amounts from foreign countries: the Hsing Lung store enjoyed the privilege of importing from Hong Kong. As well as this the store was assisted by a Hong Kong exporter who had been a pre-war clerk in the Hsing Lung store in Rabaul.

From 1946 on the Hsing Lung father - Cheong Two - sent his three sons to Australia for their secondary education. His eldest son was among the very first group of New Guinea Chinese students to go to school in Australia. Although the sons all entered university they did not complete their degrees, leaving when their father wanted them to help in the store where business was increasing every year. Equipped with the good English and a knowledge of modern commercial business practices, the sons were better able to cope with those problems which had bothered their father, such as dealing with the Australian export companies, the shipping companies, the local administration, and the taxation department.

In the late 1950s the three sons of Cheong Two actually took over the management and the business became a pure family enterprise which did not need to hire outsiders to help it, with the exception of lower ranking clerks. The store was then registered as a company corporately owned by the parents and the three sons, although the parents held a bigger share. The company profits were accumulated and reinvested in other areas. Around 1965 the Hsing Lung family purchased two big plantations in New Britain, one jointly with Cheong One's son.

Both the sons got married around 1960, but the third son remained single after an unhappy love affair with a girl whom his parents disliked.
By this time the parents were getting old and were unable to do any useful work in the store. They did, however, interfere with the sons' managing of it. The mother was said to be a special problem to the sons, for she fussed about, quarrelled with the clerks and sometimes the customers, and interfered with everything the sons had decided to do. The old father still tried to exert his authority over the other members of the family, while his wife always disagreed with him on principle. The daughters-in-law (one of whom also worked in the store) added tension and conflict chiefly because of the mutual antipathy between them and their mother-in-law.

Finally in 1966, when they had saved enough money from the high wages they earned, the sons purchased part of their parents' shares in order to gain control in management. In the meantime they had, as major shareholders, decided to give up the wholesale business; they rebuilt and redecorated the store and started a modern general store as well as a supermarket. As the European population in Rabaul was increasing each year, their store and supermarket did very good business in the years that followed. The old parents, though they had been bought out, had been given a title in the company and each drew a big salary every month. Not being assigned to any particular job, the mother just prowled around the store every day, while the father sat all day long in front of the warehouse behind the main store, watching the labourers and shop assistants come in and out and consider himself the best possible guard against any thievery.

Before the diversification of the family enterprise in 1971 the three sons, who held the title of managers of the Hsing Lung Brothers' Company, were actually responsible for managing the store, although the parents were also listed as managers. They each drew a monthly salary of $1,000; the father drew $200 and the mother drew $600; the first daughter-in-law who also worked in the store as an 'assistant' received a monthly
salary of $350. The company hired three clerks (both European and Chinese) each of whom received $200 a month, while the half a dozen indigenous labourers who worked in the store each received from about $35 to $45 a month. In addition to their regular salaries, members of the family who were also 'company employees' received every two years two months vacation with pay, and apart from that the company would pay their fares for trips to Hong Kong or Australia.

Any members of the family who wanted anything from the store had to pay cash, with a ten per cent discount on the retail price, or register the 'purchase' in his or her charge account. Whether the grandmother (the Hsing Lung mother) wanted a tin of milk or a grandson wanted a bar of chocolate it had to be paid for. Only the sons held a key to the store and the warehouse.

While all three were responsible for keeping company books, the eldest was mainly assigned to set the retail price, the second to deal with the Customs Office and the loading and delivering of cargo, and the third to order necessary goods from overseas exporters. All three were entitled to give orders to the clerks and labourers. The first daughter-in-law did various kinds of work on different occasions, for she sometimes joined the cashiers, sometimes marked the price on each item of goods, and sometimes she unpacked the cases of food - in other words, she was not entrusted with any managerial responsibilities. As mentioned earlier, even though the mother was not assigned any specific jobs in the store, she snooped about, checking on the cashiers and the customers and occasionally scolding the shop labourers when she found them 'lazy'.

The family was divided into two residential units and had been since 1961: the old parents, the eldest son and his wife and children, and the third son all living together in one household; the second son and
his immediate family living separately in another. The second daughter-in-law had been running a trade store at her residence for more than ten years, while her husband spent most of his time working in the Hsing Lung store.

The family's obvious prosperity obscured the tensions and conflicts within which were a constant threat to its cohesiveness. Whereas they lived and worked together, the members of this family were basically divided: at any minute disagreement could flare up over questions of business management or company expenditure, or suspicion arise about possible manoeuvring for economic gain by some at the expenses of others, or one of them could simply feel uneasy about the behaviour of others at a meal. A description of the personality characteristics of individuals will be a useful source of information here, so that the dynamics of interpersonal relationships will make more clearly understood how contentions arose and how quarrels started, before actual conflicts are delineated.

The father, Cheong Two, was an authoritarian old man. When young he must have been alert, shrewd, cunning, and hard working - otherwise as an illiterate he could not have established such good relationships first with the Germans and then with the Australians and so become the leader of the Cheong lineage members in Rabaul. At over 80 years of age he could hardly manage to stand because of a chronic illness. Although he had had to withdraw from active participation in the business, he had never given up the exercise of authority within his family. His sons still respected him and usually yielded to him, or at least avoided confrontations with him. His wife, however, had in recent years frequently challenged him and deliberately sought trouble with him. She would refuse to cook meals for him whenever they quarrelled. The old man expressed as his last wish before leaving the world to see the family enterprise, established by him single handedly, remain undivided. His eldest son had requested several times to
be allowed to withdraw from the company and be compensated with the worth of his shares, but the father each time not only refused him this request but also threatened to 'take his share back'. On these occasions the son yielded to his father, even though there was no legal basis for the father's threatened action.

The mother had for many years been regarded amongst the Chinese as one of the most formidable women in town. She was aggressive, rude, and cantankerous: she quarrelled with all the neighbours, scolded the employees (especially the native labourers), checked and annoyed the customers, and contended with everyone in her family. At the time of my arrival in Rabaul she was reported as having been on non-speaking terms with her husband for many years and with her second son for two years. The reason for the sustained conflict with her son was mainly because of her long term hostility towards his wife. The breakdown of relations with her husband could not be discovered as having a single focus, except that she had complained to people that she had been mistreated by him when she was young and she wanted revenge now. Her eldest son, his wife and their children, had lived with her for the past ten years. This son and his wife appeared to be submissive in her presence. The fact that they had tolerated her had made it possible for them to go on living together for so long.

The only son she really got on well with was the third and youngest. She also seemed to be more affectionate towards her married daughters, as she had been heard to say to many people that this or that daughter had invited her to live with her, but she had talked about visiting her daughters (none of whom lived in Papua New Guinea) without actually going.

The eldest or Number One son of the Hsing Lung family was at that time in his late 30s. Some of the Rabaul Chinese thought him arrogant or snobbish, for he seldom went to other people's private parties, or to
public social gatherings. From my observations he was indeed socially isolated, with few intimate friends other than his immediate kin. This was probably because of his better education and tastes different from those of the majority of New Guinea Chinese. He collected records of, and enjoyed listening to, classical European music; he subscribed to and read international news magazines and journals of industry and commerce; and he never gambled. It seems that he did not feel like socializing with people with whom he had few shared interests apart from business. He spent most of his time, including his evenings, working in the store. He was not easily provoked. Whenever his mother or his wife attempted to antagonize him, he would either remain silent and at most throw a few words back in protest, or he would simply leave and avoid trouble.

His wife, known as the First daughter-in-law of Hsing Lung, was born and brought up in China, and married in Hong Kong. She said that she believed strongly in traditional Chinese cultural values and moral codes, which she could hardly find among the Chinese in New Guinea. She was raised in a big family where many collateral agnatic kin lived together and collaborated in business. As well as this, she was educated in China. Her father regularly sends her Chinese newspapers and magazines from Hong Kong by air mail. She thinks she would otherwise have gradually lost contact with the 'true' Chinese culture.

She appears to be an amiable woman to her friends and her family. She said that she would like to see the (extended) family members living harmoniously, and so she has tried since she married into the Hsing Lung family to maintain a good rapport with her husband's kin. She said she has tried to serve her parents-in-law, to cultivate friendship with her

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1 If a New Guinea Chinese gambles, he or she has many opportunities to meet other people; likewise, if he bets on horses, he has ample topics for conversation.
brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and to please her husband, considering these things her duty as a married woman. But she was not happy living in a family whose members were fundamentally antagonistic. She was dissatisfied with the fact that her husband, as the eldest son, did not have greater control over the family enterprise and that she herself was not entrusted with any managerial power.  

Her husband did not normally discuss the details of any business transaction with her, for fear that she might be careless and reveal information to outsiders. Although she had worked very diligently both at home and in the store, she felt the other family members did not appreciate her efforts.

Like his elder brother, the second son was taciturn and introverted, but as he was also calculating and thrifty, he was potentially a better businessman. He was, however, easily offended. Frequently, he would not speak to his mother or brother because of an argument with her or him. Sometimes his hostile silence was their only indication that something was wrong.

The second daughter-in-law was a very capable woman. Her successful managing of a trade store and a haus kaikai simultaneously was a clear demonstration of her diligence and ability. Born in Rabaul, she was pretty, aggressive and quick tempered. Several stories about her circulated among the Chinese, telling of how she had fiercely fought a woman on the street whom she suspected of having seduced her husband. (It is interesting to note that her husband is not at all handsome.) So jealous

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1 Fried's report (1953:63) in the business community in central China indicates that eldest sons usually are in the position of controlling a business shared by several brothers. This is also illustrated in Lin Yuch-hwa's book (1948).

2 It is interesting that such revenge behaviour as refusing to speak was common amongst the New Guinea Chinese. It so happened that the Number Two son of Hsing Lung used this method of revenge more frequently than others.
was she, in fact, that if ever she found her husband talking to any woman she made an embarrassing scene by shouting and swearing at her. Once a native clerk of the Hsing Lung store who for some reason had come to her store mentioned in passing that he had just seen her husband and one of the (part Chinese) female clerks going together to work in the freezer. She became furious, ran to her car and drove to the Hsing Lung store. On arrival, she made a tremendous fuss, looking for her husband and telling people that her husband was having an affair with the clerk in the freezer. Everybody was amused, and one of her brothers-in-law commented: "If he was really having an affair with her, couldn't your husband find a better place than a freezer?"

Sociable and congenial, the Number Three son of the Hsing Lung family was quite different in temperament from his brothers. However, some people said of him "While his mouth is sweet, his heart is bitter" - pointing to an inconsistency between profession and practise. Superficially he got on well with every member of the family, but he often stuck together with his second brother and fought his eldest brother in matters of business. This might have been partly due to the fact that he and his eldest brother lived together and therefore the chances for friction were higher. Furthermore, he often brought different European girl friends home rather than considering getting married and starting a family; his eldest brother and the other family members did not approve of such behaviour. He had few contacts with the Chinese of his peer group; apart from his girl friends, most of his friends were European.

Tensions were inbuilt into the Hsing Lung family situation, then, because of psychological, environmental, and cultural disparities. Actual conflicts or disputes were most often sparked by a difference of opinion about the financial or managerial arrangements of the family enterprise - mainly, they had an economic focus.
The company was a corporate property, but each family member expected to have a greater advantage, a bigger share, of company profits, and each at the same time tried to prevent the others from having this. The arrangement that each family member pay for whatever he or she took from the store was probably instituted in the interests of fairness, yet each suspected the others of 'stealing'. The mother-in-law checked on the daughters-in-law, and the brothers checked on each other. The Hsing Lung mother even accused her own husband of spending against her wishes. For example in January 1972, on the occasion of the old father's birthday, the sons took advantage of their mother's absence in Hong Kong and gave a party to celebrate. Food and liquor for this party, to which about 50 guests were invited, were taken from the store and the cost was charged against the parents' joint account. When the mother returned, she sensed that something unusual had happened, for she discovered that chairs had been moved from their original positions. She checked and discovered that her sons had given a birthday party for her husband. She was very angry and made a tremendous fuss for quite a few days.

Although the sons considered the company a corporate property, the mother considered it to be hers and her husband's. The formal legal organization of the company was meaningless to her: she always referred to the store as 'my store' and she patrolled diligently every day to ensure that nobody stole from her. She drew a salary two to three times that of a store assistant, but she was unable to do anything but upset everyone else. Her sons and daughters-in-law were most unhappy about her receiving such a good wage, and also about the fact that the company had additionally to pay her holiday expenses once every two years. At the end of 1972 rumours spread in New Guinea that as self-government approached the indigenous people might riot and kill the expatriates. She was particularly worried when she heard this as she had always been harsh to the indigenous people who worked
in the store and in her house. The sons took this opportunity to threaten that the natives might attack her at any moment and they advised her to move to Australia. Though she was afraid, she decided to stay and risk danger rather than move to safety and give up her monthly salary.

From 1967, the first daughter-in-law regularly visited Hong Kong on her 'official' vacation. Since she took her children with her, she demanded that the company pay her children's fares as well. Each time the brothers-in-law rejected her request. In 1968, however, the father decided to have a vacation in the Far East, and the first daughter-in-law volunteered to accompany him and look after him. Because of this, she and her husband considered this trip an official one and so she continued to draw her salary from the company. However, after two months, the third brother (in charge of salaries) refused to issue her salary until she returned. Her husband, the eldest brother, was angry but did not want to confront his younger brother. He asked an employee to represent him and to talk to his brother. The youngest brother insisted on his decision, claiming that it had been taken jointly with his second brother, and that he alone was powerless to alter it. Although issuing salary to and paying vacation fares for each of the family members were practiced because they were tax deductible - and released the company from paying higher income tax - the members would not tolerate any one more than any other of them spending more of the company's funds.

Many unpleasant confrontations among the sons arose also because of differing views on company expenditure. The eldest brother regarded it as necessary that the company improve its conditions by regularly purchasing new equipment and furniture. The second brother, often backed up by the third brother, maintained that the company should save in every possible way. When the eldest brother, sometimes without first consulting the other brothers, bought something for the company, such as a typewriter or a desk,
the second brother would be so upset that he would refuse to speak to him for weeks.

Since company expenditure was tax deductible, they sometimes purchased things which were for the use of the family but which were claimed to be for business purposes. The company owned a Mercedes Benz sedan which any of the brothers could use. An expensive car which is a status symbol among the expatriate community in New Guinea could be justified as a necessary luxury. Each brother also had his own private car. However, because they had to pay for these themselves, all their private cars were small and inexpensive. The eldest brother and his wife drove a Volkswagan 1200 - one of only four driven by the Rabaul Chinese, the other three being driven by a barber, a private firm clerk, and an administration clerk, who were considered by people in the community to be rather 'poor'.

Although all three sons of the Hsing Lung family were responsible for managing the store, management was not efficient. Each son might give different orders to the same clerk, who would be confused as to whose order to follow. The first daughter-in-law further contributed to the confusion as did the mother - they might even be said at times to have acted against the company's interests. One incident will make this clear. One day the mother went to the store and saw a European clerk, the cashier, dealing with a customer. She suspected that the clerk had charged the customer less than she should, as the customer was a friend of hers, so she (in Pidgin English) demanded an explanation. The clerk was annoyed and told her to 'shut up'. The mother became angry and told the clerk that she was fired. When one of the sons arrived, he was forced to back up his mother's decision, even though he was unwilling to discharge the clerk. At that time a satisfactory replacement for this clerk was hard to get. (The clerk found another job somewhere else that same afternoon.) After her victory,
the mother added in Pidgin English in front of the other employees: "If I could speak English, I would have fired you long ago". Apparently the mother had disliked this clerk for some time.

At each day's end, the three brothers together counted cash and cheques received from the sales of the day, and they recorded the amount in the cash book. As there was no systematic method of checking the stock and so the sales of each line, they did not know the exact amount of each line of goods sold that particular day. The cash register was the only indication of the store's daily income (yet errors caused by the faulty operation of the machine were inevitable). They did not trust each other to count the money alone, and they particularly forbade the mother or the daughters-in-law to check the sales. Only the brothers knew the daily turnover, but they kept it secret from the women. ¹ The cash box concept has accounted for many family disputes among Chinese business enterprises. Daughters-in-law, more frequently than any other family members, are accused of stealing money from the cash box.

In early 1971 the Hsing Lung family was on the verge of a crisis in that it seemed likely to break apart. From the reports of several informants, events were as follows. The Hsing Lung company had accumulated substantial liquid capital over the preceding few years. Matters now reached a point where the family members had to decide what to do with this capital, and they realized that several possibilities which had been presented were impractical. Due to uncertainties about the future of Chinese in the Rabaul area, reinvestment or expansion in Rabaul was not considered. Investment in plantation land had previously been profitable; however, since 1969 the indigenous people had established political organizations which demanded

¹ D. E. Willmott (1960:69) mentions that an Indonesian Chinese businessman told him that "in his group even the best of friends rarely give each other information about their business dealings".
that the expatriate-owned land be returned to them, and so few people wanted to buy plantations any more. Besides, the world market price of copra and cocoa had fallen considerably. The Hsing Lung family already had two plantations; their profit had dropped. Purchasing real estate in Australia was practical, yet it was usually regarded as a security measure only, and not as an ideal business investment. The only possibility was to open a new business in Port Moresby. As Port Moresby was growing and new residential and commercial settlements were developing, many Rabaul Chinese businessmen talked about its prospects while some did actually move their businesses there.

The decision to expand to Port Moresby was not taken without some pre-arrangements. The company had six years previously bought very cheaply a piece of land in a then undeveloped area on the outskirts of the city. At the time many Chinese had ridiculed them, saying it was an unwise move to purchase a piece of waste land in such a desolate location. After six years, however, construction had proceeded to such an extent that several indigenous and expatriate residential settlements had been built in its vicinity. This concentration of several thousand people provided a great chance for commercial developments.

When discussions about investment and business expansion were taking place in the family, the first daughter-in-law once again took the opportunity to push her husband towards becoming independent of the family. It so happened that her father arrived in New Guinea on a business trip, looking at possible future investments. He was asked to mediate between the Hsing Lung father and his son about the son's request of 'Fen Chia'. The visiting father explained to the Hsing Lung father that a partition of the family enterprise was not such a bad idea since the family members were not working harmoniously together. However, the Hsing Lung father refused to listen to any suggestions of a division of the family or the enterprise:
he again threatened that the Number One son was free to leave the family as long as he gave up his share. As well as negotiating with his father, the Number One son also negotiated with his two brothers. Both of them rejected the idea of Fen Chia on the grounds that this would cut down their capital as well as their power of investment. The eldest brother offered to sell his shares to an interested outsider so that the integrity of the company could still be maintained. This the two brothers also rejected. They simply did not want to incorporate any outsider with their business. Once again the Number One son's proposal of Fen Chia became abortive, and he was forced to go along with the new investment project in Port Moresby.

The incident speeded up the Number One son and his wife's firm decision to move from the parents' house, although they used their children as an excuse, saying that the children were big and needed more room. In 1972 Number One son and his immediate family found a house to rent, and they moved out. The Hsing Lung family for the first time in many years was split into three residential units (as shown in Figure 5D).

The three sons used the capital they had accumulated and with a bank loan as well they built one of the largest supermarkets in Port Moresby. They excluded their parents from shares in this company which was registered in the three sons' names only - a new brothers' company. In mid-1972 when the new supermarket in Port Moresby was near completion, the third brother was sent there ahead of the others to supervise the interior work. (Incidentally, a residential house was built for the family at the back of the supermarket.) The brothers agreed that the eldest would join the youngest in preparing the opening and managing of the new supermarket, leaving the second brother in Rabaul to run the old store. From that time on the Hsing Lung family would have its headquarters in Port Moresby. As a consequence of this business expansion, several residential
FIGURE 5: RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE HSING LUNG FAMILY: 1945-73

LEGEND
Residential Unit In
Rabaul  Pt. Moresby  Sydney

POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT
units were formed between Rabaul and Port Moresby at different times and for different reasons (see the charts E to J in Figure 5).

In August the eldest brother went to Port Moresby, with the idea of permanently settling there and with wife and children, who would soon join him. But only after two weeks he returned to Rabaul, telling his wife that he had had several quarrels with his brother over the arrangement and management of the store. His wife, who was very interested in getting away from his parents, urged a reconciliation with the youngest brother so that they could move to Port Moresby. Meanwhile, the mother claimed that she wanted to take care of her youngest son and went to Port Moresby before them, making it impossible for the first daughter-in-law to go to Port Moresby, since she refused to live with her mother-in-law again, and it was almost impossible to rent a house in Port Moresby because of a housing shortage.

Before long, the brothers decided to let the second and the third sons be stationed in Port Moresby, so the second brother went to Port Moresby in October. The second daughter-in-law was happy about her husband's accepting this new offer for she had investigated through relatives in Port Moresby the prospects of a new business for herself there. While her husband was away, she began to make arrangements to close down her trade store in Rabaul, seeking potential tenants to take over the business as well as the house, and arranging to sell their furniture and some equipment to any storekeepers who wanted it. The second brother arrived in Port Moresby, but as usual could not get along with his mother who, by the end of October, returned unwillingly to Rabaul.

In November the eldest brother was sent on a trip to Australia to purchase a block of flats for the newly established brothers' company. This was bought with a bank loan. The move coincided with the political
development of a definite date - the end of 1973 - for the self-government of Papua New Guinea. The brothers' investment was a precaution taken with regard to their future security. After his stay in Australia of one week, the eldest brother was again temporarily sent to work in the Port Moresby store for a fortnight, during which the second brother was transferred back to Rabaul and took the opportunity helping his wife to close down their trade store.

December saw the Hsing Lung family forming four residential units in two cities. In Rabaul, the old parents lived in their own house, the eldest son and his immediate family lived in a rented house, and the second daughter-in-law lived in her house with her children. The second and third sons were living in Port Moresby.

During Christmas and New Year, because business in Port Moresby was extremely good, the second daughter-in-law was called in to assist with the work. She went back to Rabaul afterwards, as the disposition of her house and store there had not yet been settled.

In February 1973 the family members finally reached a settlement over divisions of work and residence. The second son, his wife and children, and the third were all to settle in Port Moresby, and were to be joined by the father. This meant that the mother was left alone, but she was fearful of living alone and persuaded her eldest son and family to move back. The first daughter-in-law agreed because she was much happier now that her status in the store had been lifted to that of the 'big boss's wife' or, as some jokingly called her, 'the manageress'. On top of that, she was only too pleased to save $100 a month on house rent. The second daughter-in-law put off her previous project of opening a small restaurant in Port Moresby. Instead she worked in the family supermarket as an assistant.

This decision was not unrelated to the fact that she discovered that a woman whom she had at one time suspected of being her husband's mistress happened
to be running a shop right next door to the supermarket.

The family remained split between Port Moresby and Rabaul until November 1973. The mother at last decided to leave New Guinea when so many people became uncertain about the consequences of a change in government. The eldest son asked her to take his two children with her to continue their schooling in Australia. The grandmother now lives with her two grandchildren in Australia.

The Number One son had earlier announced publicly in Rabaul that the Hsing Lung store was for sale. How long the Hsing Lung store can last is now questionable, and it is quite likely that the next few years will see the end of a family enterprise in Rabaul which has lasted for over 50 years.

We now can conclude that in the Papua New Guinea situation, apart from the undeniable psychological bonds among family members established through the process of socialization (see Freeman 1974), the Chinese are by and large motivated as well by the necessities of economic gain to continue to hold together a large number of members in a family through the long time span of a generation or two. It usually happens that this same force of economic gain which has bonded the members together causes the members to separate in the end. This can be seen in the case of the Hsing Lung family. C. K. Yang (1953:137-41) believes that the family ensures a collective security for members in traditional Chinese society, but in New Guinea business opportunity adds another dimension to the family which may be called its 'collective prosperity'. As D. Willmott (1960:68-9) points out, the Chinese immigrants have come from areas where poverty and population pressure have made them used to competition as a factor of survival. "They felt a minimum of obligation towards other people and to each other. Their sole purpose was to advance the economic prosperity of their own families."
Discussion in this chapter has so far focussed on the 'family' in the narrow sense in that it does not consider kinship of a wider range. On the other hand, cooperation and collaboration among kin beyond the immediate elementary or extended family have certainly also been exploited by the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. As in the 'family' situation, there is no such thing as a well-defined range of kin, nor are there defined jural rules and obligations amongst a certain range of kin. Depending on situation and motivation, various kinds of kin may be found collaborating in commercial ventures, or on the contrary may be found competing against each other. One further aspect of kinship among the Papua New Guinea Chinese which deserves special mention and discussion concerns the role of women in this community.

Firth has pointed out (1969:31) that the role of women in economic activities has been disregarded in ethnographic studies and he attributes this to the bias of predominantly male anthropologists. The intention here, in reporting on the significance of Chinese females in commercial and social activities, is not an attempt to redress this bias but is a revelation of ethnographical fact. In several places in this thesis the importance of Chinese women has been already demonstrated, such as the participation of women in various occupations, in the detailed statistics of Table 15; the dominant role of women in trade store managements in Chapter Seven; and the holding of title and partnership in commercial enterprises as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Because of the limited space available here, I cannot go into the details of all possible aspects of the role of Chinese women in Papua New Guinea, but the following cases will reveal at least one most significant aspect of this - the degree to which female kin are relied upon in business expansion.

Many informants spoke of the way a daughter helped her father,
a sister helped her brother, or sister's husband cooperated with another sister's husband, in seeking opportunities for business expansion. The following examples are cases in point.

Case 1: Business expansion from Rabaul to a highland town and partnership of brothers-in-law

In 1969 Mr Lee became one of the first Chinese to migrate from Rabaul to one of the newly developed Highland towns and establish a branch store for both retail and wholesale trade. He left his Rabaul store in the hands of his daughter and one of his brothers, while he himself occasionally returned to see that all was well. Before long Mr Lee realized the almost untapped and promising business potential of the Highlands and sought further investment and expansion. Since his other children were young and still in school, he had to seek partners from amongst his other kin. One of the investment possibilities considered was the establishment of a cinema, the need for which was then potential and likely to expand when the town grew. When his wife first heard of this idea, she suggested that they consider her youngest sister's husband - a contractor - as a partner. In this way they could provide the capital and leave the brother-in-law to build the theatre. The brother-in-law, Mr Wong, was accordingly recruited to this investment project. The partnership was established on the understanding that Mr Lee provide the necessary capital while Mr Wong supervise the work, and both were to be partners holding half of the shares. After the completion of the theatre, Mr Wong and, of course, his wife decided to settle in the same Highland town and open a trade store. The theatre became a novel attraction for both the towns people and the villagers from miles and miles out of town. It proved to be an extremely profitable enterprise for the partnership of the two brothers-in-law.
Case 2: A daughter helping her father and brothers in a business expansion from Rabaul to Kimbe, West New Britain

John was a Rabaul Chinese businessman in his early 50s. He had been a carpenter before he went into the trade business about 15 years previously. His eldest daughter was married to a young man who had inherited a plantation on the Gazelle Peninsula from his father. In 1972 when the world copra and cocoa price was still falling and when the indigenous people were threatening to take over expatriate-owned land, John's son-in-law decided to seek another way to make a living. In mid-1972, he leased the plantation to his own brother, who had inherited a trade store from their father, and with his wife and children moved to Kimbe to open a trade store. He did so as the result of information provided by a maternal cousin who had recently moved there himself.

After settling in Kimbe, John's daughter discovered that the business potential there was more than adequate to allow for the existence of more trade stores. So she several times sent messages to her father, encouraging him to consider opening another store there. John however was already tied up with the work of managing two trade stores in Rabaul, one of which was run by his wife, while the other was looked after by his eldest son aged 22. John himself had to look after all orders from overseas exporters, the handling of Customs when goods arrived at the port, and the keeping of all the accounts of both stores. Under such circumstances, he did not think that he would be able to expand to Kimbe. However, his daughter urged her father to move because she knew that her father, being an experienced trader, would make more profit at Kimbe than he ever could in Rabaul. Eventually the thought occurred to John that if the business potential was really as good as his daughter insisted, he should consider opening a store for his second son (age 19) who was then in his last year of high school.
By November of the same year John, having acquired all necessary information from his daughter and son-in-law, decided to send his eldest son to Kimbe to investigate. He also took the opportunity of his wife's sister's visit to Sydney to ask her to see his second son there in order to find out whether or not his son was in favour of becoming a storekeeper after his education was finished. The second son accepted his father's suggestion and agreed to return the next year. The family was then able to proceed with the daughter's suggestion and open a third store.

In January 1973 John himself arrived at Kimbe and stayed for two weeks to set up the new store. After successfully arranging everything for the new store, he sent for his eldest son to come to Kimbe to temporarily manage the business until the second son could take over. John then returned to Rabaul and continued to run the two stores there.

Conclusions about Chinese family and kinship in Papua New Guinea can now be drawn. I believe, and in this agree with Freedman and Cohen, that the Chinese family as a kinship as well as an economic group displays a great deal of variation. The flexibility of the Chinese family in Papua New Guinea does not, however, obscure the significance of kinship as the foundation of all other activities. Chinese economic activity in Papua New Guinea has always been characterized by the collective efforts of family members, and membership of the family varies in size, depending on each particular family situation and on the stage of the developmental cycle of that particular family. Although no specific rule can be drawn as to which particular course a family cycle might follow, it is generally observable amongst the Papua New Guinea Chinese that the family as an economic unit almost never includes lineal kin beyond three generations or collateral kin beyond siblings. Students of Overseas Chinese societies agreed that patri lineage has never been a salient aspect of Overseas Chinese society - this is also true in Papua New Guinea. The lineage indeed functioned as a channel
for Chinese immigration to New Guinea in the early part of the Chinese history; it also provided a basis of cooperation when the Chinese migrants initially started their careers in New Guinea. Yet the lineage itself has never perpetuated in New Guinea, nor has any kind of lineage based group. Even the commercial enterprises based on the 'lineage' type (e.g. extended family consisted of more than three generations) organization which being found in other Overseas Chinese communities (e.g. W. Willmott's Cambodian example 1970) have not been formed in Papua New Guinea. On the contrary, cooperation or partnership is very often built on kinship ties established through female links. The important role of females in many aspects of the family and commercial lives is also apparent. In short, although the Chinese exploit kinship ties beyond their immediate families, such as in the occasion of seeking commercial opportunities, the family unit itself has been kept well within the patrilineal stem-family ideal.

Other features of significance to the Chinese family in Papua New Guinea are the early partition of the family and the clearly defined rights and obligations of members in financial arrangements. Socio-political conditions have, at least in part, given rise to both of these features, which have positively contributed towards the success of the Chinese in their commercial development.

A main portion of the present chapter has been devoted to the portrayal of a developmental cycle within a single family. Such a presentation is aimed at showing one example of the way in which, among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea, immediate family members and other kin interact, make decisions, and institute actions in the conduct of their businesses. It is aimed also at showing the way different variables within their environment - cultural, social, political, economical, psychological - as well as the physical environmental itself, affect the development of an individual family and of a range of kin extending beyond this.
CHAPTER NINE

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS BEYOND THE FAMILY
I. A Conscious Model of Political Structure and Leadership

When I first arrived in Papua New Guinea and lived among the Chinese, I found both the way they addressed the administrative officials of the New Guinea Government and the way they perceived the structure of the government rather peculiar. The District Commissioner for instance was then, and is still, called in Chinese 'vun kun' or prefectural magistrate, a term used during the imperial dynasties in China but abandoned since the revolution of 1911. The Administrator or Governor of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea was called marshal - 'ping tao' - or 'head soldier'; again, this term has no precise English translation and is not in current use in contemporary China. The term which puzzled me most concerns the concept of 'government' or 'country'. Both the Australian Government and the local administration were called wong ga (literally, Royal Family), while the government in China was 'ching fu' which may be distinguished from wong ga as discussed below. When they spoke of "our country" or "our government" in ordinary conversation I discovered further confusions. "Our country" - gok ga - was most frequently used as an all-encompassing term for China as both a cultural and a geographical entity, while "our government" - ching fu - was often used to mean to the Nationalist Government in Taiwan. When the people wanted to refer specifically to either the Chinese Government in Peking or to the Australian Government, they had to indicate this in such words as "the communist government" and "the Australian Government", for "our government" without such modifiers meant the Nationalist Chinese Government.

Such confusion about their identity was echoed in the terms covering their legal status, racial and social classification and cultural affiliations, as can be seen in the following example. In July 1971, a news item entitled "Chinese convicted in court" appeared in the New Guinea Post.
It was disclosed that two Chinese merchants in Rabaul had been convicted and fined for importing certain food stuffs - red beans, Chinese sausages - forbidden under quarantine regulations. The case had aroused excited discussion among the Chinese even before the court ruling. Most opinion expressed regret that the 'lou-fan' still took a biased view of Chinese food, and that the Chinese were still subjected to discrimination, after all these years.

Several Chinese told me a similar story about a Chinese brought to court some years before on a charge of importing Chinese sausages. The customs collector had charged this man with illegal importing, basing the charge on a suspicion that manufacturers of the sausages in China might have used human flesh to stuff them. The European lawyer representing the Chinese, however, argued and won the case on the grounds that no item of Commonwealth law listed the manufacture of sausages from human flesh illegal. Irrespective of how much truth there is in this story, it does indicate the Chinese feeling of being discriminated against by the Europeans.

Further inquiries and observations revealed a number of interesting points in connection with the 1971 incident. First, the food import restriction was considered by the Chinese to be a discriminatory law set up by the wong ga to be observed by the Chinese community alone and not by all residents. Second, although the Chinese realized that they themselves were treated differently they did not take any action either as individuals or as a group to attempt to lift any 'unfair' restriction, such as a petition or a law suit. Third, the majority had become naturalized Australian citizens. In theory, they could have exercised their rights as Australian citizens to challenge the administration if they had so wished, but nobody had ever raised any voice as a 'citizen'. Further to this, when I questioned them about their reluctance to take any action against the 'wong ga' some
of them replied: "We as commoners are not in the position to fight the 'wong ga'; it is the Kuo Min Tang's job to do something for us". The Kuo Min Tang in Rabaul is an official branch of the ruling party of the Nationalist regime in Taiwan, and it has nothing to do with the Australian Administration. It is interesting that some of those making such comments were young New Guinea-born Chinese, many of whom had received a secondary education in Australia.

To an outsider, the above discussion contains indications of confusion in the use of different terminologies to refer to the political system, and in the perception of political systems in New Guinea; however, the use of all these terms is part of a New Guinea Chinese' comprehension of a political system which is organized in terms of a cognitive order.

Having studied the usage of words such as 'wong ga', 'ching fu', and 'gok ga', I realized that any one of these terms can be used in daily conversation to refer to things at different levels of the cognitive (semantic) domain (cf. Tyler 1969) of the political system. For instance, the Chinese talked about the 'big wong ga' in Canberra, the Rabaul wong ga, the wong ga vehicle (a Mini Moke belonging to the Australian National University which I drove while doing field work in New Guinea) and so forth. Such usage is difficult for an outsider to understand without a knowledge of the ethno-semantic connotations of the term wong ga. In Figure 6 I provide a semantic paradigm of the domain 'political system-government' - as it is recognized by the New Guinea Chinese, which demonstrates an apparent division in meaning between wong ga and ching fu, though both refer to the English word 'government'.

As is shown in Figure 6, the Chinese in New Guinea understand 'government' to be a dual political system. As citizens of China they are supposed to show allegiance to the Chinese government, even though thousands
FIGURE 6: A SEMANTIC PARADIGM OF THE 'GOVERNMENT'

- **a 1**
  - **Wong Aa** (British)
  - **b 1** British Empire
  - **b 2** Australian Commonwealth (Canberra)
  - **c 1** Australian government (Gov. Gen.)
  - **c 2** Hong Kong government (Gov. Gen.)
- **a 2**
  - **Ching fu** (Chinese)
  - **b 1** Taiwan Government (Kuo Min Tang)
  - **b 2** China Government (Communist Party)
  - **c 1** New Guinea government (KMT branch)
  - **c 2** Public (of the government)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Europeans)</th>
<th>(Europeans)</th>
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<th>(Chinese)</th>
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of miles away, but as residents of New Guinea they are under the jurisdictional control of the host government. **Wong Aa** or 'Royal Family' denotes anything related to the British (colonial) political system in which the Chinese are always underneath that stratum occupied by Europeans; while **ching fu** represents the Chinese system, including the New Guinea Kuo Min Tang, which until 1972 was the New Guinea representative of the legitimate Nationalist Government. It becomes evident, when the framework of this dual political paradigm is considered, why the Rabaul Chinese commented on the court case as they did - even though they already had become Australian citizens.

The above mentioned 'peculiar' terms of reference to officialdom symbolize a traditional Chinese model of political structure which has been applied in New Guinea to denote the local (colonial) government. It is a fact that the New Guinea Chinese have so far perceived any of the modern political systems either in China (paradigm d, a 2) or overseas (d, a 1) in terms of the traditional Chinese political model, which recognition is
In traditional Chinese society, as many sociologists and historians have pointed out (see Fei 1953; Hsiao 1960), most of the peasants who made up the majority of the population never had any direct contact with government officials. The ordinary villagers thus had no chance to deal with the officials unless on occasions of law suit or criminal conviction, with either of which the peasants in the village had little wish to be associated. By and large, Chinese political structure is based upon a model of authoritarian government in which the elite in society participated: simply, there was no provision made for the village peasant or city commoner to take any action in the political process. The peasants always accepted their fate as subjects of the Emperor, who was represented by officials of various ranks within the bureaucratic hierarchy. At the bottom of the administrative hierarchy was the magistrate of a prefecture or county, who represented the
Emperor and acted for him, gave orders and collected taxes. Communication between a magistrate and the commoners, necessary only on a few important occasions, was carried out through intermediaries such as the scholar-gentry or the merchant-gentry, so these intermediaries became the local political leaders. Direct participation in any political activity was as unthinkable as unavailable to ordinary people in China. With such a tradition behind them, and provided with the kind of socialization which emphasizes obedience towards parents and elders and extreme caution towards possible danger in the environment, it is not surprising that until recently the Chinese in New Guinea did not react to any discriminatory practice against them by asserting their rights as Australian citizens.

Like overseas Chinese elsewhere, the New Guinea Chinese were regarded by the ruling Europeans as a law-abiding people: law-abiding in the sense that they never challenged their treatment and never offended the administration by provoking any political demonstration or movement. This image of the Chinese reflected the fact that the Chinese were very fearful of the administration. In the old days in New Guinea the ordinary people, when they had any dealings with the wong ga such as applying for a trade licence, instead of seeing the official in charge usually turned to their own leaders and asked them to speak to the officials on their behalf. Thus the community leaders were those who were qualified to be so not only because of their language ability but also because they had the social prestige to represent the ordinary people. They served the wong ga by acting as interpreters and explaining the government regulations. There were also community leaders of another kind whose authority rested on their semi-official positions in the Chinese political hierarchy (e.g., d, a 2, b 1 in Figure 6): they served as intermediaries between the Chinese government in China and the overseas Chinese abroad. In both cases the traditional political leaders in New Guinea Chinese society become the
state's agent (either for wong ga or ching fu) - leaders in the equivalent position with "Kapitans" in Southeast Asian Chinese communities.

In an article on leadership in Chinese communities in Southeast Asian countries Skinner (1968) discusses the dual roles of Chinese community leaders in terms of the paradigm of the Kapitan - "the community's influential leader and the state's indirect administrator" (Skinner 1968: 293). Like the Chinese chef of Cambodia, the Chinese Kapitan officer in Thailand, the Kapitan of Malaya, and the Kapitan of Dutch Java, the key leaders of the New Guinea community acquired their legitimate authority from the host or colonial government and exercised power within the community itself. Skinner stresses the dual roles of the leader, the intermediary who acts as the representative of two different power hierarchies.

There is, however, one aspect of the Kapitan paradigm which Skinner's discussion does not explore. Skinner looks into the leader's relationship externally vis-a-vis the host or colonial government without exploring the possible influence of the government in China. The Chinese government also provides part of the legitimization of the lead's power to exercise his authority in the overseas community, since the overseas Chinese are either still regarded as Chinese citizens or have dual nationality. My earlier analysis of the Chinese semantic paradigm of 'government' and their application of the traditional cognitive political model is sufficient to support my view that this should be so. I also suggest this is so because my own field material on the political structure of the New Guinea Chinese reveals the existence of the de facto leaders of the Kapitan type, although the Kapitan system as such has never actually operated in New Guinea. The fact that the Kapitan model of leadership and political structure is common to Chinese communities in states and countries which have considerable geographic and political diversity suggests that the development of a
dualistic structure did not originate in any Western colonial circumstance but rather had its root in traditional Chinese society. The 'Kapitan paradigm' originates from a traditional Chinese political model, which being recognized by Chinese immigrants is naturally accepted by them as 'the model' regardless of any variation in political structure in host countries as long as the Chinese community is allowed to keep to itself and to maintain its own peace and order.

While I have outlined the cognitive model of the political system maintained by the New Guinea Chinese, one might well ask whether they maintain this model in life or whether they are conscious of a separate "action model". In order to understand the kind of structure they perceived and the way they reacted we must consider political structure at a local level. Figure 8 shows both the local political structure and

![Figure 8: Political Structure and Social Strata in the Colonial Plural Society of Rabaul](image-url)
the social strata as they were conceptualized by the New Guinea Chinese. Three power groups were recognized which though they held no office in the administrative body nevertheless transcended the local 'wong ga' in power: the Catholic Mission, the Returned Soldier's League, and the big commercial companies, all of which were controlled by Europeans. The informants considered that:

...the RSL members, most of whom were also members of the Planter's Association, hated us Chinese most and oppressed us most. It was they - who until we were naturalized - deprived us of the right to purchase land in New Guinea by influencing the wong ga to put restrictions on us, although the wong ga had never set up a law forbidding the Chinese to buy land. The big companies (Burns Philp, Carpenter, Steamship, etc.) disliked us because we were competition in business.¹

A Chinese marine mechanic, who was a ship's skipper as well, commented: "Before the war, no Chinese was allowed to get a licence as skipper of a ship over 50 feet long. Only the white men could get the licence for a big ship. This was again the idea of the RSL members". Contrasted with these examples of discriminatory practices the Catholic Mission acted as a protector for the Chinese, and Chinese Catholics generally admitted that they had received great assistance from the church in the provision of schools and the acquisition of land leases. The power of the Catholic Mission was even more readily admitted, though in a negative way, by non-Catholic Chinese, one of whom said: "In the old days, if you had committed a crime and you were a Catholic, you could certainly depend on the priest to talk to the judge who would allow you to be discharged". This could be an exaggeration, but the Catholic Mission certainly exercised its power to influence the European community in many ways beneficial to the Chinese.

¹ A European long term resident of New Guinea pointed out that during the 1950s when the Chinese had to buy wholesale goods from the big firms they treated them badly: they never gave them credit, and they provided them with second class goods. Interestingly enough the Chinese themselves never complained about that to me.
community. The Methodist Mission, on the other hand, was not reported to have ever had such influence.

The administrative process itself was completely controlled by Europeans. The Chinese recognized three independent parts of this process, the administrative offices, the courts, and the Customs, and each of these affected the daily life of the Chinese in various ways. The first were headed by the Administrator of New Guinea and the District Commissioner of New Britain, as they both resided in Rabaul before the war. The former was known as the ping tao and the latter the yun kun. The courts were headed by the local judge, or sam-shi kun, while the Customs was headed by the local Collector of Customs, who was known as the sui-kuan tao. Of the three parts of the local 'wong ga' the one which concerned the Chinese most was the Customs. As well as issuing permits to import goods and merchandise, the Collector of Customs had the power, before the Chinese were naturalized, to issue overseas travel documents and permits for internal travel (e.g. between New Britain and New Ireland).

If one accepts that the above political and social framework existed in Rabaul and elsewhere in New Guinea, then one can see that the Chinese feeling that there was no place for their participation in politics was justified. Only on rare occasions were leaders of the Chinese political organization consulted by the administration on matters which concerned the Chinese community as a whole.

II. The Political Factions: Catholics and Methodists

One of the common features of the socio-political structure in urban Overseas Chinese communities, as Crissman has pointed out (1967), is the segmentary structure of a community. Each Overseas Chinese society in Southeast Asia is commonly described as politically fragmented along the lines of voluntary associations formed on the basis of clanship, home
origin, dialect, professional specialization, and political affiliation; political coordination is therefore achieved only through the interlocking leaderships between various groups. Such a structure is exemplified by the Chinese community in Thailand described by Skinner (1958). Patterns similar to the type of the 'organizational structure' described by Skinner occur in the Rabaul Chinese community, although the interlocking structure there is on a much smaller scale than other Overseas Chinese communities.

During the German period and the initial Australian occupation when the Chinese community was still at an early stage of development, the Rabaul Chinese society showed a tendency to break down into a number of cliques or factions\(^1\) which in many cases paralleled the voluntary associations - or Hui Kwan - established in Rabaul. Reference has been made in Chapter Three to the organization of the Hui Kwan. Each had from one dozen to a few dozen men as members, and each varied in its criteria for recruiting members, for some were clan associations, some dialect or home origin associations, and some semi-guilds. All of them functioned as social clubs rather than as political organizations per se, but they formed the basis on which political factions were formed. I have also discussed how several Chinese pioneers, the heads of the first families to settle in New Guinea, established themselves as community leaders. These leaders attracted followers from different Hui Kwan, and recruited a large number of relatives from within their own lineages in China. The leading families included the Chen and the Chow of Taishan and the Seeto and the Cheong of Kaiping, each of whom established a close tie with either a trading

\(^{1}\) In referring to 'cliques' or 'factions' I have followed Nicholas' (1965) usage in his article entitled: "Factions: A Comparative Analysis". Factions are conflict groups, but are not corporate groups, whose members are recruited by a leader on diverse principles. Factions may be built up from several 'cliques', composed of lineage members, fellow villagers, friends, and persons bound together by economic ties, as in employee-employer relationships.
company owned by Europeans or the administration's works department, acted as trading agents or the labour force foremen. As has also been discussed in Chapter Four, the Chans and the Chows became the favoured adherents of the Catholic Mission, while the Seetos and the Cheongs remained unconverted by either the Catholic or the Methodist Missions. The emergence of prominent families marked the beginning of the political divergence and the division of leadership within the Chinese community, as the following discussion will reveal.

Ever since the Chinese population centred in Rabaul had become stabilized in the early 1920s, the Chinese community has been divided into two major political factions - the non-Catholics who were predominantly the Kuo Min Tang members, and the Catholics who were the non-members. The rivalry between these factions was closely associated, before the World War II, with the two church-run Chinese schools, and later with the two major political organizations - the Kuo Min Tang and the New Guinea Chinese Association. 'The Catholic' and 'the Methodist' became the metaphorical emblems for the two factions in a situation where everyone has to belong to either one or the other; consequently, all Chinese who were not Catholics, including non-Christians, had to be classified as belonging to the Methodist faction.

Both factions sought leaders from among the members of the prominent families, hence it was these families, or by extension the lineage-based groups, that formed the backbone of the political factions in opposition. This is very similar to the example of the transition of lineage politics to faction politics reported by Gallin (1968) for contemporary village level politics in Taiwan, where Western democratic politics have only been introduced in the past 20 years. I would like to argue that one of the most significant characteristics of Chinese political structure in Rabaul is that the organization has a formal institutionalized outlook,
whereas its operation has the essential nature of factionalism. When I arrived in Rabaul in 1971 I could easily sense the residual antagonism between people previously affiliated with these two factions, although the boundaries between them have become obscured and the hostility between them is now latent.

The first group of New Guinea Chinese joined the Kuo Min Tang in Sydney in the year 1921, when 22 of them went on a visit home to China and made a stop in Sydney. Nineteen of the 22 original New Guinea KMT members were from the Seeto clan of Kaiping, while none of the Chans or Chows who had associated with the Catholic Mission were among this KMT group. The Seetos returned to New Guinea after the visit to China and established and took control of the KMT organization in New Guinea which they still hold.

The New Guinea branch of the KMT was officially established in 1924, when a representative was sent to Rabaul from the KMT Australian headquarters in Sydney to organize the New Guinea Branch Office. Dr Sun Yat-sen - the party Chairman - also sent a special delegate, Mr Chen An-jen, from China to participate in the official opening of the KMT office.

The emergence of these two political factions was closely associated with the establishment of the two rival Chinese schools in Rabaul: the Methodist "Overseas Chinese School", set up in 1922; and the Catholic "St Theresa's Yang Ching School", opened in 1924. However, differences between the groups date back some time before the establishment of these two schools, as is shown by the following account from a report of the Vunapope Catholic Mission (Michael 1957:25):

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1 I use the term 'factionalism' in the sense of its general usage in political anthropology, as in an article by Nicholas (op. cit.) and in a more recent article by Burja (1973).
The pagan Chinese community had their own school in an old pagan temple which was in between the stores of Seeto Tack and Kim How today (meaning 1957). The first teacher was Seeto Mun Shiu. Later a Sydney teacher arrived, Seeto Kow. Some of the Catholic Chinese were disturbed by some of the things the children were being taught and they decided to set up their own school in the two storey building (belonged to Chow Ying). They had as teacher Chan Pak Fun.

Seeto Mun Shiu is the cousin of Mr Seeto Mun-Yee, whose son was amongst the first New Guinea Chinese to join the Kuo Min Tang. The reasons for this split in the school are not disclosed here, but it was probably as much due to hostility between the Seeto faction and the Catholic faction as to objections by the Catholic Mission to having its adherents receive education in a Kwan Ti Temple. Teaching in the language Chinese only might also have contributed to dissatisfaction of the Catholic parents, many of whom spoke German and English. In any event, whatever its immediate cause, the split took place before 1920, because we were told that (Michael: 25): "By 1920 the building (of the Catholic Chinese at Chow Ying's place) became too small and the entire house was moved free of charge by a friendly non-Catholic Japanese, by name Komuni". This Catholic school was known as "Akun's School" (Mother Flavia: no date:2) which was distinguished from Mr T. C. Wee's school. "Mr Akun's school developed into the St Theresa's Yang Ching School and the T. C. Wee School was taken over by the Overseas Methodist Mission" (Mother Flavia:ibid). Mr Tan Ching Wee later became one of the leaders of the 'Methodist' faction, and was at one time appointed Honorary Consul to the Chinese Consul General in Sydney.

In 1924 Reverend Father Madigan arrived in Rabaul from Australia in charge of the Rabaul Parish. "He was very concerned that there was no Catholic school for the fast increasing Catholic Chinese population" (Mother Flavia:ibid:1). It was in this year, when the KMT was officially

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1 It is said that this temple was built by Lee Tam Tuck.
established and the "Overseas Chinese School" was set up, that the Catholics pushed forward a Catholic Mission School. According to Mother Flavia (ibid:1):

Father Madigan, Mr Gabriel Chow Ying, Mr Alok and Mr Akun had many conferences about a school - a Catholic school. They were militant Catholics, and knew that a thorough Catholic education was the only thing that would stand by their young Catholic families. They were the first School Committee and the first Parish Council of Rabaul. After much deliberation it was decided to open the first school for Chinese under the auspices of the Church. Father Madigan arranged with Bishop Vesters for Australian Sisters - the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart - to come from Sydney to take over the English section of the School, and two Chinese teachers were brought from Canton to teach Chinese. The first Chinese school was situated in Casuarina Avenue, near Malaguna Road.... It was a two-storeyed building, with one large room upstairs and one downstairs. There were rooms at the back to accommodate the teachers. The large room downstairs was also the Parish Church until 1928.... On the 25th January, 1925 the school was opened by Bishop Vesters amid great rejoicing and jubilation by the Chinese. It was named St Theresa's Yang China School. The initial enrolment was 90.

When the new Catholic school was set up it attracted many non-Catholic students. We learn that (Michael 1957:25): "The children of the school made such a good impression by attending Mass frequently and their good conduct that many pagan children had asked permission to go to the Catholic school".

Another factor accounting for the increased attendance at the Catholic Yang Ching School was perhaps that the teaching of English, which has not been emphasized at the Kuo Min Tang School, which was appreciated by more Chinese parents. Moreover, conducting the school in the Kwan Ti temple, a building with limited space, perhaps limited its development. It was not until 1930 that the Kuo Min Tang Overseas Chinese School sought sponsorship of the Methodist Mission in Rabaul, at a time when the Mission extended its work amongst the Chinese population. An account of this event appears in the Rabaul Methodist Mission's report of 1930 entitled "Our Chinese work in Rabaul" (The Missionary Review:XXXIX:13:4-5):
There are about 1,300 Chinese in the Territory, and of these some 1,000 live in and around Rabaul. The Roman Catholics have a school for Chinese children, with a nun and a Chinese Priest at work. For some years a day school has been conducted by the Kuomingtang - the Chinese Nationalist Party - but recently this school has come into our hands, and the Board some time ago appointed Mr John Ha, a young Chinese Christian, as teacher. The Chinese pay two-thirds of Mr Ha's salary, and the Board finds the balance. We were impressed with the earnest desire of the Chinese to have their children educated, and this was evidenced by the surprising fact that they cheerfully pay the following rate per month as school fees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Fee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Class</td>
<td>13/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Class</td>
<td>12/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Class</td>
<td>11/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Class</td>
<td>10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance Class</td>
<td>9/-</td>
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At present a building is being rented as a school, and the parents pay £60 a year for this unsuitable cottage. The Chairman has secured in Chinatown, through the good offices of the Administrator, General Wisdom, a suitable site for our Chinese work; and a deputation of Chinese called upon us to see what could be done in regard to the erection of a permanent building as a mission school. These Chinese evinced a very laudable desire to be no burden upon the Missionary Society, and regretted that owing to the serious drop in the price of copra, the Chinese community had suffered so considerably from financial depression; they promised, however, to raise £150 amongst themselves if the Mission Board would lend them £250, to be repaid at the rate of not less than £50 per annum, so that a building (the plans of which were submitted) could be erected at a total cost of £400.

We feel that this is a case where people are anxious to help themselves, and not to be charge upon the Society, and we shall recommend that the Board advance the money required on the terms suggested.

We are of the opinion that we should extend our work amongst the Chinese, for they are friendly disposed toward our Mission, and are people of considerable importance in the community. Among the women and children especially a great service waits to be rendered, and it is suggested that as an experiment, one of the Sisters shall live in the guest house at Malakuna, and undertake Missionary work amongst the Chinese in Rabaul. We are confident that this movement will be warmly welcomed by the Chinese, and will be liberally supported.

The European minister at Rabaul gives some help in English in the elder classes of the school, and church service is regularly conducted in Chinese each Sunday morning.

As a result, on 29 July 1930, a new school building of the Overseas Chinese School was officially opened in Rabaul. The money for
constructing this building was advanced by the Methodist Mission, and the Chinese Committee undertook to refund this loan in annual instalments, spreading over only a few years.

From that time on, rivalry and competition between the two factions, centred at the two schools, entered into a new phase. At the end of each year, both schools held student concerts and exhibitions of students' work, and these occasions became the scene of competition between not only the students of the two schools, but also the parents and other people indirectly associated with the schools. Performances were closely watched, as were the results and the responses of the society in general - especially the European community. Antagonism between the two competitive groups gradually built up through the 1930s. In 1936 an official inter-school sport competition was held in Chinatown for the first time under the auspices of the administration. Results of this and succeeding sports contests were publicized in detail in *The Rabaul Times*, and had a far reaching effect on the Chinese community in reinforcing the antagonism between these two groups. For instance, between 1935 and 1937 both schools held their performances at the Kuo Ming Tang Hall, the centre for Chinese social activities, but in 1939 and in the years following the Catholic school moved to a private theatre owned by a European to conduct its annual school performance, leaving the Methodist school to continue using the KMT Hall. This is one of the first signs discernable in the records of the Catholic Chinese breaking away from the KMT controlled non-Catholic Chinese activities.

There were other factors, such as the different interests and attitudes of the two factions, which might have also contributed to the conflict between the Catholics and the non-Catholics. Chinese Catholics worked more closely with the church and the church personnel, and so they
would probably have been inclined to promote the interests of the church and the Europeans. On the other hand, the Methodists worked more closely with the KMT organization than with the church, and since 1928 the Methodist school had had a Chinese minister from China as headmaster - because of this Chinese nationalism, Chinese cultural tradition was consequently emphasized in the Methodist school. News items in The Rabaul Times of the late 1930s reveal that when the Catholic school held concerts or sports competitions, many prominent local Europeans would contribute to the work of preparation and would also donate trophies for the students; whereas for equivalent events in the Methodist school, the sponsors were mainly Chinese, especially those KMT executives including the Chairman, Mr Leong Yao-Ning (who was executed by the Japanese during the Second World War). The Catholic Chinese would donate generously to the cause of the church, while the enthusiasm of the Methodist Chinese was for the cause of either the KMT or the Chinese Government in China. Further evidence of this contrast between the two schools is revealed by newspaper critics' comments on students' concert performances; the Catholic students apparently had a better training in English than the Methodist students. The newspaper critique of the Methodist Overseas' Chinese School concert in 1941 says: "Few of the artists (i.e. students) appeared to be able to give a clear enunciation of the English language; yet on the other hand the Chinese songs could be distinctly heard. This makes one wonder whether English, as a part of the school curriculum, is not being neglected" (The Rabaul Times, February 7, 1941). However, the critique of the St Theresa's Yang Ching School concert in 1939 states: "The influence, naturally, of the Western stage dominated nearly every item which was given in English, and the perfection with which even the youngest members of the cast delivered their lines was most pronounced" (The Rabaul Times, December, 1939). My own experience of interviews with the middle-aged or older Chinese who had been
educated in Rabaul leads to a similar conclusion, in that those who attended the Catholic Mission school speak better English than those educated in the Methodist Chinese school, who speak little English.

In 1939, the New Guinea Chinese organized a New Guinea Relief Association in Rabaul for the purpose of defending China from the Japanese invasion, and this association became the predecessor of the post-war New Guinea Chinese Union. The new organization was designed to provide an opportunity for everybody including the Catholic Chinese to participate in China-orientated activities, since the Catholic Chinese resented the domination of the non-Catholics in the KMT organization. At that time, the KMT's power in New Guinea had reached its full strength. Over 300 Chinese had been admitted to the KMT, and four sub-branch offices had been set up in Kokopo, Kavieng, Madang, and the Solomon Islands, respectively. The Chinese community was thus permeated by this organization, a semi-official organ of the Chinese government exercising its power within this overseas Chinese community.

Between 1942 to 1945, during the Japanese occupation of New Britain, both of the Chinese organizations, of course, ceased to function. While the KMT faction suffered a great deal of destruction when its official leaders were executed and its members purged, the Catholic faction enjoyed better treatment because one of the Catholic leaders (Mr Tung in Figure 9) was recommended by the Chinese, and accepted by the Japanese, as the official head of the Chinese population of Rabaul. (This appointment supports the interpretation that the Catholics were accepted as being neutral in their relationship with the Chinese government.) In the period immediately after the war the Catholic leaders continued to exert an influence on the Chinese community, for they represented the Chinese in their dealings

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1 The entire Chinese population in New Guinea was then only about 1,800.
with the colonial administration in matters of war compensation and acquiring land in Rabaul. One of the Catholic leaders, Mr Yang (see Figure 9), an affinal kinsman of the abovementioned leader, was elected

Chairman of the New Guinea Chinese Union, which in 1949 was renamed the New Guinea Chinese Association. On the other hand, the KMT did not lag behind. It organized many activities for the Chinese youth to participate in. One of the activities was the establishment of the 'San Min Chu-Yi Ch'ing-Nien T'uan' or the Three People's Principle Youth League to promote patriotism and loyalty towards the Nationalist Chinese Government.

The presence of the political faction in the Rabaul Chinese
community became more obvious after the war, and especially during the 1950s. The two rival Chinese schools were reopened immediately after the war, and children were educated in temporary buildings. The opening of the schools brought back the tradition of hostility, for students of different schools would fight each other when they met in the street. They must have been influenced by the adults, for the pre-war school children had by now grown up with their bad memories of the people of the 'other side'. The Methodist Overseas Chinese School was soon dissolved under pressure from the administration, partly because of its emphasis on a Chinese education, and partly because of the unwillingness of the Methodist Mission to sponsor the school. Although the school was changed into a public school, the Chinese people continued to identify it as "the Methodist school", and only non-Christian and Methodist Chinese would send their children there, hence the school children and their parents were classified as 'the Methodists'.

Competition and hostility continued to escalate between the two political factions led by the KMT and the NGCA, representing respectively non-Catholic Chinese and Catholic Chinese. By the mid-1950s, both organizations had constructed an official building - each could be boasted of as the most noticed building in town - marking the peak of the competition between the two factions. The building belonging to each organization contained a large ceremonial hall, offices, recreation rooms, and a bar. Both buildings were similar in outlook, except that that of the KMT was more spacious. An interesting point about the two buildings which is relevant to our discussion of opposition is that both buildings were built on two blocks of land next to each other in the same street, but the entrance of the buildings faced in opposite directions, the KMT Hall facing north and the NGCA one facing south. Members of each faction would hold their social ceremonies, such as weddings or birthday celebrations,
in the official building of their own faction; therefore, in a Catholic wedding party, non-Catholics seldom appeared and Catholics were seldom invited to a non-Catholic party. Though the two organizations were active in promoting social activities within the Chinese community, both represented more or less different interests. The KMT was China-oriented; it promoted activities led by the Nationalist Government in Taiwan, such as the celebration of the Double Tenth anniversary, Chiang Kai-shek's birthday, and the holding of charity balls to raise money to be sent to Taiwan for the purpose of supporting the army. The New Guinea Chinese Association promoted locally oriented activities, such as local sports contests (within and outside the Chinese community), social balls, and functions to raise funds for the use of local social welfare, such as building a house for aged men. The leaders and core members of the KMT had a strong sense of Chinese nationalism and they identified themselves as loyal citizens of the Nationalist Government, but the core members of NGCA, dominated by the Catholic faction, were more interested in seeking recognition of their status as subjects of the Commonwealth Government. This contrast explains why the majority of the first group of New Guinea Chinese who received Australian citizenship in 1958 were Catholics (50 out of a total of about 60 people).

Whether or not the ordinary Chinese supported the Nationalist's activities wholeheartedly is open to inquiry, but it is almost certain that they were enthusiastic in participating in all the KMT functions in order to demonstrate their 'attitude' of anti-Communism. When one considers the socio-political environment of the 1950s, it would seem that they judged it expedient to do this. Perhaps this was indeed a strategy emphasized by the Chinese leaders to counteract suspicions on the part of the administration as well as the European residents on their possible sympathy towards the People's Republic of China. This also explains why until the Australian
PLATE XXI: Chinese boy scouts parade through a Double Tenth celebration arch in Rabaul, 1953. The inscription reads: "Donate generously to fill up our treasury: To counter attack the (Chinese) mainland is the duty of every overseas Chinese".

PLATE XXII: Chinese youth celebrating Double Tenth Day in Rabaul, in the early 1950s.
Labour Government recognized the People's Republic of China in 1973 the Chinese in Rabaul continued to 'celebrate' the Double Tenth Day.

From its beginning, every president of the NGCA was elected from the Catholic faction, but no president ever gained control of the executive committee since the other two members were Methodists who had control over the association's money. As well as this, the Methodists balanced the power of the Catholics in the higher level structure: a young Methodist (Figure 9, Leader 3), who was also a member of the young elite in the KMT organization, was appointed a permanent treasurer of the association during the 1950s, and since then he had become one of the two authorized cheque drawers for the Association. The reason for such an appointment was that the foundation money of the Association was received from a war compensation fund paid to the Methodist Overseas Chinese School, destroyed during the war but never rebuilt afterwards for the reasons previously discussed, and since the NGCA in theory represents the entire Chinese community the fund was naturally given to it. Two opposing cliques were thus formed within the Association; the Catholics who got hold of the office, and the Methodists who held the funds. Not even the smallest amount of the fund's money, which was invested in real estate and amounted to several hundred thousand dollars in 1971, could be spent without the agreement of the leaders of both cliques.

In theory, every Chinese in New Guinea belongs to the NGCA, and this is what the Association claims, but in fact no register of members has ever been kept. Besides, the president and the executive committee are appointed not by election of the members - since every Chinese is a member yet nobody is an official member - but by negotiation among the elite Chinese, who are the rich merchants in the community. Like political operations in traditional China, that of the New Guinea Chinese community was the concern of the elite, not of the common people.
As the result of the last so-called association election, which was held in the early 1960s, Mr Chen (see Figure 9) was 'elected' the president of the NGCA. He has served as president until the present day because no other election has been held since. Under this last president, the NGCA has declined in its function of sponsoring social activities; by the mid-1960s the association building had been leased to the Rabaul administration, and all Chinese celebrations, private as well as official, have since been held at the KMT Hall.

During this same period the community, especially the young Catholics, began to complain that the association was not serving the community and the money was being spent in areas about which nobody had any knowledge. In 1969, a group of young Chinese Catholics, led by a young priest, organized a meeting to discuss possible ways of overthrowing the old committee, replacing the old executives with young ones, and restoring the actual social function of the NGCA. Having failed to achieve anything after discussion with the NGCA leaders and power holders the young Catholics, about 30 of them, resolved to form a new "New Guinea Chinese Association" among themselves, which aimed to "really do something for the people". The new association, under the leadership of a young merchant, organized a fund raising committee which managed to collect $2,500 for high school scholarships supporting 50 native students - a measure designed to improve race relations between the Chinese and the natives in Rabaul.¹

Despite the activities of the young radicals, the 'old' NGCA continued to carry on its usual function in speaking for the Chinese community, and its leaders acted for, and were considered to be, the representatives of the Chinese population. The 'new' NGCA, on the other hand, became only a

¹ This action may have been stimulated by the Matungan uprising among the Tolai people near Rabaul.
sporadic movement, owing to its lack of formal organization and funds.

Contemporary political structure in Rabaul seems to indicate that the non-Catholics have surpassed the Catholics in political representation. This, however, is not so: there is a third Chinese political organization in Rabaul - the Yang Ching School Foundation, which is an exclusively Catholic political group. During recent years, this Catholic school foundation has become the official representative body of the Catholic faction, and members of the foundation have been consulted by the other faction and the local government administrator on every event concerning the Chinese community, since the foundation members included all the prominent Catholic leaders, young and old. The Catholics' lack of control of the NGCA, especially its money, was compensated for by their control of this foundation, and their desire to manipulate the politics of the Chinese community was also fulfilled. Like the Methodist Chinese school, the Catholic Yang Ching school was destroyed during the war. When members of the school board - actually members of the Chen and Chow families - received war compensation money, they spent part of it on the reconstruction of the Catholic school, the name of which had been changed to the Sacred Heart School, and part of it on investments, such as the purchase of plantations and commercial sites in town. As a result, this fund is said to be larger than that of the Overseas Chinese School.

In 1968 the foundation organization was amended and the seven most prominent Catholic Chinese merchants were registered as subscribers, according to the TPNG Companies Ordinance, 1963-67. Figure 10, provides a diagram which reveals that this political group had become a kin-based enterprise.

The four senior members are from the Tung, Chi and Yang families,¹

¹ Like the names mentioned hereafter, these are pseudonyms.
while the three junior members are sons of three of the senior members.

Mr II is the overall community leader shown in Figure 9 as Mr Tung. Mr I on Figure 10, who is the chairman of this foundation, is designated as Mr Yang on Figure 9. Mr III is the same person shown in Figure 9 as the managerial leader 5, who is the executive secretary of this foundation, and he is also the director of the amended Sacred Heart School board. Outsiders normally do not distinguish the existing Sacred Heart School board from the foundation of the non-existent Yang Ching School, and thus they take the two organizations to be a single Catholic organization.

The KMT in Rabaul has also declined since the late 1950s, insofar as its actual function in the Chinese community is concerned. Two main events have accounted for its downfall: (1) Since 1958, many Chinese have begun obtaining Australian citizenship and thus have avoided open demonstration of their loyalty to an official party of the Chinese Government; (2) The communist regime has become firmly established in China, and so the Rabaul Chinese are reluctant to side with the Nationalist Government. In 1958, the KMT members decided to set up a club which, though it maintained the name of Kuo Min Tang, functioned as a social congregation rather than as a political body. Under this new arrangement, members of the club were to be able to enjoy the facilities belonging to the KMT, such as the bar,
the ceremonial hall, the billiard tables, and the newspapers and magazines, without risking the possibility of being accused of affiliation with the nationalist government. The first group of 80 Chinese admitted to the club were all official KMT party members. Because membership was made available to all within the wider society, the KMT club has over 200 members today, and among these members are some Europeans. I was informed, however, that profits received from the bar were used as funds for the KMT party, as were the funds collected in the annual Double Tenth Ball and the New Year Lion dance performance.

The KMT party still carries on its normal functions, even though no new members have ever been recruited and no election of officials has been held during the past decade. It continues because the KMT is answerable to the central committee of the Nationalist Party in Taiwan, not to the overseas Chinese in Rabaul; and as long as there are people who assume positions in the party and maintain contact with Taiwan the 'party' will be in existence. Actually, since the Chairman of the New Guinea KMT (Mr Sutu in Figure 9) took office in the late 1950s, he had done more than just maintain the organization in name. As an extreme loyalist of Nationalist China, the Chairman organized the annual Double Tenth celebration (anniversary of the Republic of China) and the celebration of Chiang Kai-shek's birthday (which celebration had been dropped in Rabaul in the late 1960s), donated money to the Taiwan Government upon request,¹ and sent delegates to Taiwan to participate in important KMT conferences. Whenever a high ranking Taiwan Government Official arrives in Rabaul, the Chairman organizes a big reception committee which includes leaders and core members from both the KMT and the NGCA organizations. A ball might also be held on

¹ The Overseas Chinese Economy Year Book (Chiao-wu. 1958-70) acknowledges the following donations made by 'the New Guinea Chinese': 1952-57 US$1,065.20; 1959-60 NT$200 (i.e. US$5); 1963 NT$5,575.50 and US$175; 1964 AE354/16/2; and 1970 US$25.
such occasions, in which members of the entire community participate.

To my knowledge, such functions have, for the past three years, been
sponsored jointly by the KMT and the NGCA.¹

It has been possible to maintain the KMT because the core
members were the Chairman's cousins, nephews, and lineage members: his
orders were obeyed and carried out not because of his party position but
because of his seniority within his lineage. Moreover, because his father
was one of the Chinese pioneers in Rabaul and he had brought in all the
other lineage members and provided them with job opportunities, people
felt indebted to him on his father's behalf and thus would not let him
down.

Because of the ambiguous boundaries between the KMT party and
the KMT club and because the KMT building has served as the centre for all
Chinese community activities, one who is not familiar with KMT structure
and has no inside information about it would mistakenly suppose that it is
still a powerful organization and that its managerial leaders are the most
powerful political figures in the Chinese community in Rabaul. At least
some Taiwan Government Officials who have visited Rabaul have arrived at
such misapprehensions - which exactly served their purpose when they
reported their impressions to the authorities at home.

Since the Chinese obtained Australian citizenship, since the

¹ Many Chinese speculated that these two organizations were willing to
sponsor such activities simply because they could usually make a good profit
from selling the tickets and from selling liquor. People were enthusiastic
to participate for fun, not because they support the cause of the Nationalist
Government. Furthermore, as these parties were invariably participated in
by local European administrators, high ranking officials, and prominent
European merchants, many people considered them prestigious. This is very
much the same situation Tien (1953:86) described, and such reasons are very
close to his answer as to why many Sarawak Chinese joined the KMT: "it has
thus become generally understood that one joins a political party not for
reasons of political conviction but solely in order to gain 'face'".
government in China split into two, and since there began a large scale Chinese migration from Rabaul to elsewhere in Papua and New Guinea, the actual function of the two political organizations - the KMT and the NGCA - which formerly represented the Chinese community as a whole, have both declined. Paradoxically, hostility between members of the two factions has gradually decreased. This has especially been so since 1969 when political unrest arose among the local native population, and when leaders of the disputing factions reached an agreement that they would jointly oversee the operation of the two associations - decision making about community affairs rested upon negotiations between both parties. Thus, the executive officer of one organization has been appointed at the same time as an officer in the other organization. Each organization is actually composed of different bodies, just like the KMT party and the KMT club within the KMT organization, and a person could serve as an executive for both bodies, as was the case with the secretary of the KMT. It is through the interlocking managements of political leaders that unity within the Chinese community was achieved.

Burja points out (1973:144) that in the politics of factionalism, temporary unity of an entire group can be reached before a crisis occurs, especially when such a crisis forms a common external threat which might affect both sides in a factional dispute. In the Rabaul Chinese community, temporary unity of the two political factions arose on the eve of the Japanese invasion, and has arisen again on the eve of Papua New Guinea's independence. On the first occasion the Chinese were left to fend for themselves by the administration who fled for safety, and now on the second occasion Chinese are afraid that they may again be abandoned.

III. Leadership and Authority

It is possible to distinguish three types of leader in the Rabaul
Chinese community: the overall leader, the leader in office, and the managerial leader. In addition to the differences in criteria for the different types of leader, the power and authority possessed by each type of leader also varies in degree.

The leaders in office, including the overall leader who was a retired leader in office, are the true leaders of the political factions existing in Rabaul. Despite their formal structure - in the form of an association (NGCA) or a political party (KMT) - Chinese political organizations are loosely organized, ambiguous in membership and group boundaries, and they fall short of their constitutional rules in operation. It is the disputing factions, controlled by the leaders, that have maintained the political functions in the community.

In Rabaul there is one overall community leader designated "Mr Tung" on Figure 9, who was the uncrowned king - the real leader behind the scenes. Mr Tung has not held any formal position in community-wide organizations since the 1960s, yet his power and authority in the Chinese community have always overshadowed that of other political elites. Skinner (1958) and Willmott (1970) both have argued that there are no overall leaders in the overseas Chinese communities they have studied, however, it could be argued that such claims have been based on evidence derived from the observation of the leaders in office, and one might ask whether it is possible to find the overall community leaders behind the political scene. Besides his wealth - the most important criterion for leadership - Tung's power resided in his position in his lineage-based faction, his previous political experience, and his rapport with the colonial administration. His followers were among the political elite, such as the leader B (who is also his lineage cousin) and C (who is also his maternal uncle). His leadership was partly ascribed and partly achieved.
I refer to those who held the highest positions in the political organizations as the 'leaders in office'; as decision makers of the community affairs, they are the Chairman of KMT - Mr Sutu (see Figure 9); the President of the NGCA - Mr Chen; and the Chairman of the Catholic school foundation - Mr Yang. Their language ability, a characteristic which they all share as leaders, enables the leaders in office to act as intermediaries between the state (either wong ga or ching fu) and the people themselves. Each of the three leaders in office had received a formal education available to few of his peer group: specifically, Mr Sutu had a formal schooling in China; Mr Chen was the first New Guinea Chinese student to go to Australia for a secondary education; and Mr Yang received a German education at the Vunapope Catholic Mission at the turn of this century. Both Mr Chen and Mr Yang are millionaries.

The managerial leaders are those appointed to executive positions in the political organizations, who do the work, run the organizations, and often act as spokesmen for the Chinese population, and yet who lack the power to make decisions. Five managerial leaders could at that time be distinguished in the Rabaul Chinese community, each of whom took one or two secretarial positions of the following organizations; the KMT, the NGCA, the new NGCA, and the Catholic school foundation. Although they had frequent contacts with the wong ga or ching fu, the managerial leaders were responsible to the leaders in office (who as a rule were not necessarily active in public) and not directly to any power groups external to the community. The European and indigenous residents, who were not familiar with the political structure of the Chinese community, would usually mistake the managerial leaders as the overall community leaders and when the Chinese people were not satisfied with the organization decision, it was usually the managerial leaders who would get most of the complaints and blame.
While mention has previously been made of the interlocking managerial relationship among the organizations, this relationship has not been explained - this may be best done by delineating each managerial leader's actual position. Leader No. 1 is the first (Chinese) secretary of the KMT organization (both for the party and the club), and also the second (Chinese) secretary of the NGCA. Leader No. 2 is a member of the executive committee of these two organizations. Leader No. 3 who serves on the board of executive committee of the KMT club, is the treasurer for the NGCA, and the official cheque drawer for the overseas school fund. These three men are all Methodists. Leader No. 4, a young member of the Catholic elite, served as the first (English) secretary of both of the NGCA and the Catholic school foundation. The last one, leader No. 5, is the young rebel who organized the so-called new NGCA; however, his leadership is now recognized by the political elite: after all he is a millionaire - one of the new rich in Rabaul. Whenever an official meeting is arranged by the leaders he is invited, although he holds no position in any of the formal organizations. He was asked to act as one of the managers organizing the NGCA activities during the 1971 Red Cross fund raising and the 1972 Highland famine relief fund raising.

Students of Overseas Chinese societies (Baker 1968:149; Wang 1968:210, D. Willmott 1960:135; Yong 1966:22) generally agree that community leadership tends to be vested in a limited number of wealthy families (usually leading merchants) although in some cases managerial leaders may have achieved their high positions through skill and long term service. W. Willmott (1970:166) suggests that: "overseas Chinese exhibit a strong belief in the efficacy of combination, a belief that makes individuals willing to give considerable power to their leaders. Even among merchants struggling to get ahead of each other, the power of leaders to determine policy appears to be accepted readily". He further suggests that the Chinese
merchants' submissiveness to powerful leaders is not an overseas innovation, for it was present in the Hui Kwan in the cities in China. It could be argued that submissiveness within politics is a Chinese cultural tradition which has deep roots in the minds of Chinese people and is not just a trait exhibited among the merchants. It was observed that the New Guinea Chinese rely very much on their community leaders to decide what they should do in times of crisis.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Skinner observed that overseas Chinese community leaders possess dualistic roles. New Guinea Chinese leaders maintain triadic roles: as leaders of the local Chinese community, as subordinate agents of the host (colonial) government, and as subordinate agents of the Chinese Government. The combination of these three roles makes the leader an intermediary between the Chinese community and external dominant powers. In New Guinea the leaders occupy a position similar to that of leaders in the 'Kapitan' system found elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The leader's authority rests in their wealth, kinship status, social prestige, and managerial power, and they maintain their power through the leader-follower relationship, which is essential in factionalistic politics. The power structure in the New Guinea Chinese society is very similar to that reported by T'ien (1953:70) for Chinese in Sarawak and by Ryan (1961:14) for the Chinese in Indonesia. The Indonesian (Modjokuto) Chinese, according to Ryan (ibid), "portrays a leader not as a fearless fighter for an ideal but as a business tycoon or a power figure dispensing summary justice and practical beneficences to his opponents and followers". As in Indonesia and Sarawak, in New Guinea decisions on matters concerning public affairs were made as results of either concerns or power struggle amongst only the leaders. As T'ien (1953:73) maintains, therefore, the ordinary Chinese sometimes appear apathetic in matters of public concern, while the community leaders have almost the complete monopoly of control.
over the public affairs of the entire Chinese population.

IV. Crisis in Political Identity

The prospect of early independence has come very suddenly to Papua and New Guinea. On my first field trip there in 1971 very few people thought seriously that Papua and New Guinea would become independent within ten years, although the issue of self-government and independence had been debated in the first House of Assembly and publicized in the press. When I went back again in 1972 the date for self-government had been settled for the following year, and by the time the Australian Labour Party was elected to power people realized that independence in the Territory was inevitable within a year or two. The prospect of such drastic change caused great anxiety among the Chinese and brought a crisis to the Chinese community as a whole. The crisis concerning the political identity of the Chinese affects two aspects of politics: the leadership and their appreciation of their situation.

The first crisis is the absence of a new leadership. The Chinese in New Guinea usually look for leaders within the terms of the 'Kapitan paradigm', therefore all the established Chinese leaders, namely the overall leaders and the leaders in office, are either an intermediary between the Chinese and the colonial government, or between the Chinese and the Chinese Government. The traditional leaders are excluded from the context of the new political circumstances, and the Chinese have not been able to adjust to the new criteria and find a recognizable way to identify their leaders. Like the old leaders, the KMT organization itself is out of context, for its leaders, being in a privileged position, had always wished to maintain the status quo and no reform of the organization was ever sought.

In the face of the emerging crisis a number of the young elite,
specifically managerial leaders 4 and 5, began to work in a new direction. Leader No. 4, for example, became active in political and social activities within the wider society, and was very close to the emerging native politicians. His career in the past few years should have qualified him to be the new overall Chinese leader, at least from the point of view of an outsider, for he has served in the Rabaul Town Advisory Council, was elected Chairman of the first Rabaul Town Council in 1971, and has become the director of the Rabaul branch of a new Papua New Guinea national party, yet the Chinese have so far never recognized him as THE leader, for he is still a third ranking leader in the Chinese community, and his achievements within the new political system do not qualify him for promotion to a higher rank leadership in the political structure of the Chinese community. When the ABC Broadcasting and Television Company interviewed him in 1972 about the future of the New Guinea Chinese, he answered questions on behalf of the Chinese community as a whole. This action aroused disapproval in all sectors of the Chinese community on the ground that he had no right to represent the entire community. Both his parents and his wife complained that his recent political involvement has been something which makes "no sense" - their comprehension of the political system is still based on a 'Kapitan model', with the Europeans as the 'masters'.

One might think that the two members elected to the Second House of Assembly who bear Chinese surnames and who actually participate in the new political system in Papua and New Guinea are the new Chinese leaders. However, careful examination reveals that this is not the case. In the first place they both were elected by the indigenous population in rural electorates; in the second place they have never claimed to represent the Chinese community, and if they were to do so they would be committing political suicide.
The second crisis arises from their cognitive model, and this crisis is more fundamental than any other so far discussed. In addition to the issue of Papua New Guinea's independence, which has had great impact on the Chinese community, the recognition of the Peking Government by the Australian Government has also caused concern to the New Guinea Chinese. Even though both events are related to a change of government, the average New Guinea Chinese conceive of their significance as very different.

When the news reached Rabaul that the Peking Government rather than the Taiwan Government was to represent China in the United Nations, leader No. 4 told me that: "We (the leaders) had a meeting, and we also telephoned (leader) Mr Tung in Sydney to seek his advice on what action we should take about the KMT organization. We agreed with Tung that we should not take any action until the Australian Government recognized the Peking Government. Mr Tung said that, in any event, we would sooner or later have to change the name of the KMT". By the end of 1972, when the Labour Government in Australia took office and recognized the Peking Government, the Chinese in Rabaul had become very interested in what would happen to the KMT. Again and again, I heard people say: "the name (of the KMT) should be changed now"; though nobody every suggested that the organization itself should be dissolved. In other words, the Chinese accepted "a change of label" as the best solution for this political crisis, not any modification of the structure of the political organization itself. Though the 'label' was to be changed, the structure of this political organization was to remain unchanged, at the level of either cognition or of actual operation. It was thought that the relationship between the New Guinea Chinese community as a whole and the Peking Government would also remain relatively unchanged, and as represented diagrammatically in Figure 6 the position of the community compared with its previous position with the
Taiwan Government certainly does appear unchanged.\(^1\)

When, however, we consider Papua New Guinea's independence, we see a change which has nothing to do with the change of labels in the Chinese cognitive model. In terms of the cognitive model, the Chinese were confused on two counts: (1) The Papua-Niugininians have never had any place within the Chinese cognitive model of the Papua New Guinea political system, simply because until recently they never occupied a place in government - it is extremely difficult for the Chinese to adjust to a new system where the indigenes, previously outside the context, are to replace the *wong ga* at all levels of the government; (2) In politics at the local level (see Figure 8) the natives have always been at the bottom of the political hierarchy, they now have to be put on top. This move upsets the entire cognitive model, since it turns the entire system upside down.

Living in such a political environment as theirs, the ordinary Chinese people are non-committal about politics and they appear to be largely indifferent towards new developments. The old leadership is no longer adequate, and they realize that the entire political system in terms of their cognitive model is about to be overturned. In the light of this awareness everybody suddenly feels vulnerable, helpless, and uncertain, like the old man who said to me: "I survived the Germans, I survived the Australians, and I survived the Japanese, but now I cannot confidently predict that I shall survive the natives".

\(^1\) It is now plain why T'ien (1953:79) predicted that the recognition by the British Government of the Chinese People's Government in Peking "would not in itself alter the existing power structure in the Sarawak Chinese Community".
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION: THE CHINESE AFTER 80 YEARS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA
PLATE XXIII: A wedding ceremony of a European bride and a Chinese groom.

PLATE XXIV: The 1972 Red Cross fund raising ball in Rabaul organized by the Chinese. Few indigenes were present.
PLATE XXV: A Chinese woman acting as Godmother for indigenous children at a Roman Catholic church ceremony.

PLATE XXVI: The 'last' Chinese lion dance performance during the 1972 New Year's Day in Rabaul.
I. Introduction

The foregoing analysis has shown the way the Chinese, although a minority group, have adapted to their socio-economic environment and have come to occupy a position in it intermediate between the governing Europeans and the governed indigenes. The relationship of Chinese and European has been extensively discussed, particularly in Chapters Three, Four, Six and Nine. We know that in the course of about half a century the Chinese have improved not only their socio-political status but also their economic condition so radically that both are now very similar to those of Europeans. However, apart from the business dealings of the Chinese with the indigenes very little has been said about their relationship. It is in the light of this relationship that the changing position of the Chinese vis a vis the European should also be examined in order that the overall adaptation of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea may be understood: to do this is the aim of this chapter. The latest political events in the country, namely self-government and the movements towards independence of Papua New Guinea, must also be taken into account. Before proceeding further, I would like first to summarize the nature of contemporary Chinese-European relationships in this country, for this will shed some light on the deteriorating relationship between the Chinese and the indigenous people.

Although the Chinese have acquired a 'European' status in this country and are treated in the same way in legal matters as Europeans, social interactions between a Chinese and a European are even today limited to formal transactions in business, law, and government. In their daily lives the boundary between members of the two ethnic groups is still quite distinct. Today the Chinese and the European no longer resent each other in social life as they did in the early days, but cultural differences are still a hindrance to intimate interpersonal interactions. Many Chinese youths admit that despite the fact that they speak fluent English and were
educated in Australia they find they have little in common with Europeans. For this reason they are not interested in participating in European parties and other gatherings. A different way of life may also account for the lack of mutual social life. After working hours and on holidays many Europeans can be found drinking in their sports clubs and social clubs, while the Chinese are still at work in their shops. Few Chinese have joined these European clubs, even though they are now eligible for admission.

Chinese and Europeans seldom invite each other to private parties or family gatherings. If a Chinese intends to cultivate friendship with a European, he usually 'throws' a party for European friends alone. I have participated in some of these parties, which were given by Chinese and to which mainly Europeans were invited. In Rabaul a Chinese family which owns a supermarket customarily provides a feast at the end of each year to entertain its regular customers to show gratitude to them for their patronage. Although both Chinese and Europeans are regular customers, this particular party was understood to be one for Europeans only, and only Europeans came. Another Chinese, the owner-director of a construction company, habitually gives a feast on New Year's Day, which again is usually attended only by Europeans. I found similar big parties in Lae, given by the wealthiest Chinese merchants. These are all lavish by local European standards, for limitless food and drink is provided by the host during the day, and any European can walk in and enjoy himself without even knowing the host. ¹ This is a typical example of a feast to show off; this man wanted to show off the large number of Europeans he was acquainted with -

¹ There was a story about a European who when introduced to a Chinese thanked him for a most enjoyable time at his party sometime previously. The Chinese did not understand, for he had never given such a party. It was later discovered that he was taken to be another Chinese of the same name (both English given name and Chinese surname).
an indication of the legacy of unequal social status and lack of intimacy between Chinese and European. Until my last field trip to Papua New Guinea in 1972 a 'Kapitan' model relationship was still maintained between prominent Chinese and the European administrators. When there is a community-wide Chinese party, high ranking European officials and leading citizens are invariably invited as guests of honour; whereas when the administration gives a formal ball only a few Chinese leaders are invited.

In the post-war period many Chinese women began to marry European men, though in the last decade the trend has been reversed with more European women marrying Chinese men. Only those Europeans who marry Chinese have any intimate contact with the Chinese; otherwise, interactions between Europeans and Chinese usually stop at formal dealings and greetings. Intermarriage between these two ethnic groups cannot therefore be considered evidence of complete acceptance or assimilation. The long-term European residents in Papua New Guinea by and large still maintain some antipathy towards the Chinese while the newly arrived Europeans - though probably less prejudiced - usually do not understand them. It is against this background that we can comprehend the present socio-political situation in this country, and the way in which it has affected the ethnic relationship of the Chinese to other people.

II. The Relationship Between the Chinese and Indigenes

Both Chapter Three and Chapter Four demonstrate how the Chinese, from the time of their first arrival in New Guinea, adapted to the European colonial economy: they rendered services to the European colonists that were unavailable from the indigenous people. The Chinese pioneers travelled widely to places never previously visited by Europeans, and they brought to the indigenous people European goods and new ways of life. It is reasonable to assume that the Chinese built up good relationships with the New Guinea
Islanders, otherwise they could not have been so successful in the copra trade and other businesses. One of the best examples of an individual's success in winning the trust of the indigenous people was the late Lee Tam Tuck, who is said to have been fluent in the Tolai language, and who was much loved by the Tolai of Matupit Island. Lee Tam Tuck married two Tolai wives.

In addition to marriage ties established with the indigenes in various places, the Chinese must have done more than merely introduce a cash economy and European goods. Evidence of this in island and coastal New Guinea is found in the acceptance by the indigenes of Chinese medicine and healing methods. Those Chinese who lived in rural areas usually had a long term friendship with the local people, and until this day many Chinese still maintain amicable personal relationships with the indigenes. At a Chinese funeral I attended in New Ireland both Chinese and indigenes were present. Several indigenes, who I was told were friends or family members of friends of the deceased man, wept at the funeral. Interestingly, the dead man's family later published a note of thanks in Pidgin in the newspaper, which expressed their gratitude for their indigenous friends' concern. New Ireland is one of the rural areas where I discovered long term friendships between the Chinese and the indigenes; it is not surprising that when I was there two Chinese House of Assembly members and one Chinese Town Council Association chairman were elected by the indigenous population.

The Chinese are reported to have got along well with the Tolai on

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1 One New Ireland Chinese, for instance, was told by his father - an island trader since the end of last century - that he became a good friend of a local chief on Neu Hannover while the people there were still practising cannibalism. His father recalled that once he was entertained to a feast by the chief in the course of which he discovered that human flesh was amongst the food they were eating. We can now only guess whether this particular story is real or has been invented. There is, however, no doubt that the Chinese did travel to areas which had had little or no contact with Europeans.
the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, when they established their first settlement. Scarlett Epstein (1968:123) points out that many people considered the behaviour of the Tolai in the late 1950s and early 1960s - who on the one hand outwardly resented Chinese copra-cocoa buyers, who they said were 'milking' cocoa from the Tolai cocoa project, but on the other hand secretly sold cocoa to them - as a sign of 'plain irrationality', or 'sheer contrariness'. The Chinese copra-cocoa buyers themselves, however, explained that they each had established trustworthy ties with the people, advising them and adjusting prices according to market fluctuations, providing instant cash, and providing credit for the producer to acquire merchandise at the copra-cocoa buyer's store. Several of the established copra-cocoa buyers are descendants or kinsmen of marriage between Chinese pioneers and Tolai women, and their families have for decades maintained trustworthy ties with the elders of local Tolai clans.

In spite of such ties, it is true that since the 1950s the Tolai people as a group have turned against the Chinese. This was especially so in the 1960s when tension between the Tolai and the European administration increased and the Tolai demonstrated and resorted to violence, which antagonized both Europeans and Chinese. The acquisition of plantation land on the Gazelle by a few rich Chinese families was against the interests of the indigenes who for years had been fighting bitterly with Europeans to get their land back. I often heard Chinese people say: "In the early days the Tolai were very friendly, and we could go for a picnic, or go fishing or hunting birds wherever we wanted to. They have become so hostile recently we would not risk the danger of going out too far away from town". There are several factors behind the mounting hostility and resentment on the part of the indigenous people.

In some regions of Papua New Guinea indigenes have become sufficiently sophisticated in the workings of a cash economy and in capital
accumulation to attempt to develop their own commercial enterprises and light industries. As several studies of this commercial development have been made by specialists on the subject (e.g., T. S. Epstein 1968, 1970; A. L. Epstein 1969; Finney 1968, 1969, 1973; Salisbury 1970; Strathern 1972; Moulik 1973), I shall confine my discussion to factors other than indigenous economic development, which have put the Chinese in the position of competitors and potential rivals. Other factors which have accounted for a deterioration in the relationship between the Chinese and the indigenes are: (1) racial segregation resulting from European prejudice and the European colonial system, which has prevented the Chinese from accepting the indigenes as equals in social life; (2) achievements by the Chinese themselves: the accumulation of wealth and a change for the better in their socio-political status, which have widened the gap between them and the indigenes; (3) in the course of the indigenes' seeking political autonomy, the Chinese were used as scapegoats because of their resentment and hostility towards the European, and some of the Europeans deliberately spurred on such ill-feeling toward the Chinese.

With New Guinea's long tradition of racial segregation, social demarcation between different racial groups - European, Chinese, mixed-race (formerly half-caste), and indigenes - were like castes. Although caste distinctions between European and Chinese have been largely eliminated, that between Chinese and indigene remains. During my stay in Papua New Guinea I never on any occasion saw an indigene entertained at a Chinese home. Only towards the end of 1972 were a few indigenous politicians entertained at Chinese parties, in a deliberate attempt by elite Chinese to please the elite indigenes. The Chinese are not racist in the sense that they discriminate against people on the grounds of racial difference: the

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1 See Bellam (1970:68).
best evidence for this is the fact that all mixed descent Sino-Niuginians have been raised and accepted by the community as Chinese. They are simply snobbish, ignoring most indigenes because they are employed as either labourers or servants.

The transition of the Chinese from 'non-indigenous natives' (in German times) to Australian citizens has also contributed to the alienation of Chinese and indigenes. Indigenes feeling it unfair were jealous of the new status of the Chinese, while their achievements in commerce triggered further resentment. As Nelson points out (1972:90), the indigenes began to be aware of the fact that Europeans and Chinese had acquired big cars, big shops, big houses, and big plantations while the Niuginians had remained servants, labourers, and pedestrians.

It remains true, and indigenes agree, that the Chinese now provide many of the essential services in the country; retail and wholesale businesses, transportation and coastal shipping, repair and service workshops, and manufacturing industries. One also finds Chinese doctors, pharmacists, agriculturalists, teachers, and administrative clerks, who are serving the people of all communities. However, the Chinese, as elsewhere (T'ien 1953:69), have always been identified as a single entity and their image amongst the indigene is one of storekeepers whose chief function is to exploit their customers has nullified all other merits. Had they lived in a non-colonial, industrialized country, they could well have been absorbed into society at large. Here their economic success has stranded them in an awkward position, in an underdeveloped colonial country where the indigenes live in comparative poverty.

Until 1970 the majority of Chinese were indifferent to political trends in the country, having always looked to the Europeans for instructions. While they lived in a land belonging to the indigene and made profits from
the indigene they rarely saw the need to cultivate friendship with the indigenous people. Many Chinese made efforts to impress their fellow Chinese with their intimacy with Europeans, or to impress Europeans in order to be accepted by them, yet it seldom occurred to them that they needed to do the same with the indigene. A great number of the Chinese accept the colonial ideology of their European 'masters'. Like many long-term European residents in the country they do not understand what is wrong with colonialism; many have wondered, along with Europeans, why indigenes, being so backward, should be granted political autonomy. Among the Chinese I have talked with, not many were sympathetic towards the cause of the indigene seeking self-government and independence.

It is therefore not surprising that the Chinese felt that the granting of self-government to Papua New Guinea was too sudden; that the indigene openly displayed antagonism towards the Chinese; and that the Chinese became fearful and uncertain.

III. Hostility of the Indigenous People Towards the Chinese

Before illustrating the kind of actions and thoughts by which the indigenes have displayed their hostility toward the Chinese, I would first like to discuss the controversial position of the Chinese in economic development during past decades. Since the immediate post-war period the Chinese have become aware of the resentment of the indigenes, and have known that their commercial developments have inspired jealousy and hostility; however, the dependence of the Chinese on commerce increased as the political atmosphere became less and less favourable to them, and many Chinese - as has been pointed out - gave up any other professions to become merchants. The question is then; why did the majority of Chinese choose to do so? Is this not an example of irrational, or maladaptive behaviour?
It has been shown that until the 1950s the Chinese had never been given a definite status in New Guinea, and as a minority 'alien' group they always felt vulnerable and insecure. Once they became Australian Protected Persons and Australian Citizens, however, they felt they had been accepted as permanent residents of the country, and thus they felt safe to plan their future in the country. They worked hard, invested their earnings, and aimed at establishing a prosperous future for themselves and their children in Papua New Guinea. At that time the colonial status of this country did not worry them, for in the 1950s neither the administration nor the ordinary European seriously believed that the indigenes would be able, or would be allowed, to govern their own country within the next few decades - or even within this century.¹

During the 1960s, while the majority of the Chinese were still very confident about their future in Papua New Guinea, a few rich Chinese began to make preparations for migrating to Australia - purchasing houses and business interests there. It was not, however, until the end of the 1960s, when East New Britain became the stage for political contention between the indigenes and the administration (cf. A. L. Epstein 1970), that the New Britain Chinese - over half the entire Chinese population in the whole country - began to realize that their future in the country was uncertain. Contributing to their anxiety was the tragic fate of minority immigrant populations in many newly independent countries during that decade: the nearest example being the deportation and slaughter of the Chinese in Indonesia.

¹ Davidson (1973:160) notes: "Even in 1962, at a luncheon in Canberra for Sir Hugh Foot who was here as the Chairman of the United Nations Visiting Mission of that year, the Senior Assistant Secretary of the Department of Territories, asked by Foot how long he thought it would be before self-government would be attained by Papua New Guinea, said 'We shall still be there in the year 2000'."
Although they sensed their vulnerability in Papua New Guinea, the Chinese felt uncertain about their future in Australia also. For generations they had lived in Papua New Guinea, and many Chinese had no desire to leave the country where they had spent their entire lives; besides, they had no idea how to go about starting a new life, or a new career, in Australia. But in any case, it became obvious to them after 1970 that they had to be prepared for the worst and to recognize that they might be compelled to move to Australia.

Australian citizenship did indeed provide the Chinese with a sanctuary, but sanctuary does not mean security. Many of them believed that the only permanent security was wealth. With enough money they could plan a new life in Australia, purchasing a house and investing in real estate or possible business interests. Money came to mean security. As one Chinese woman put it: "Look, so and so now has plenty of flats in Australia, and he also has plenty of money. So he should have nothing to worry about now". Except for spending their money on the purchase of real estate, the average Chinese still maintained a minimal standard of living. It should be reiterated that in their daily lives in New Guinea they still practiced frugality, for it was only money either saved or invested - not money spent - that meant security.1 In conjunction with such factors as cultural values, achievement behaviour, and economic opportunities, their idea of security helps us to understand why given recent political events they were continuing, in an escalated manner, to seek business opportunities, in the face of increasing indigenous hostility.

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1 The only noticeable exception in their daily life in Papua New Guinea is the purchase of big expensive cars. In Rabaul alone I counted about three dozen Mercedes Benz cars belonging to the Chinese. Although the car has become a status symbol, the Chinese look on it as a kind of investment. An expensive car is usually more reliable and needs less care. After it has been used for three years it can be shipped to Australia and still be sold at the original price paid in Papua New Guinea, because of the high import duty in Australia on new foreign cars.
The more the Chinese relied on wealth as their last resort, and the more they were involved in commercial ventures, the more envy or hostility they attracted, particularly after the date of self-government was decided.

My own observations and reports by the mass media provide many examples of expression of hostility by indigenes towards the Chinese between 1971 and 1973. The analysis of numerous incidents, both large and trivial, suggest that the expressions of hostility can be usefully divided into the following categories: (1) threats; (2) causing trouble at Chinese shops; (3) assaulting individual Chinese; (4) planning actions to be taken on self-government day or independence day. Much of this behaviour reflects notions prevalent amongst the indigenes concerning self-government or independence: that after independence individual indigenes will be entitled to take 'justice' into their own hands and thus seek personal vengeance against the expatriates.

On several occasions indigenes walked into Chinese shops and deliberately spat betel nut juice (looking like red paint) onto the show cases. One shopkeeper told me that he chose to take no notice in order to avoid confrontations. On other occasions, indigenous customers used obscene language to Chinese female attendants. One notoriously provocative indigene, purchased a packet of cigarettes and requested the Chinese storekeeper's adolescent daughter to light a cigarette for him. When she pretended not to understand his request and her mother intervened (her father was absent) the customer got angry and threatened that he would ask an indigenous political association to 'take care' of this store. By the end of 1972 one often heard that indigenes deliberately went to Chinese shops to make trouble. If a storekeeper dared to confront them they would threaten to kill him or to take over his shop when 'the day' came.
In late September, 1972, ABC radio reported that five Rabaul Chinese merchants (incidentally the wealthiest Chinese in Papua New Guinea) had received letters demanding that they pay $20 a week for two years to 'the Tolai people', who were said to own all the land in town. Although the District Commissioner, Mr Carry, was quoted condemning the letters as 'a joke in bad taste', no legal action was taken against people who signed the letters.

Many confrontations occurred between Chinese employers and their employees. In part it was the fault of the Chinese, especially the women, who are in the habit of scolding their employees. Where previously the indigenous employees had been submissive, they now challenged their bosses - both European and Chinese. Immediately after the assassination of the East New Britain District Commissioner Mr Emanuel by Tolai people, one Chinese woman was warned by her housekeeper that if she ever scolded him again he would chop her head off like the Tolai had Mr Emanuel's. This pattern was repeated whenever indigenous employees disagreed with their employers: the indigene now talked back, saying in effect, "You realize whose land you are living on, and yet you dare to order me to do this and that". Some threatened that they would either kill their employer or would ask such and such an association to close down his shop. One often heard phrase was: "bai liklik taim yu save (it won't be long before you realize what is going to happen to you)". It is said that the housekeeper of one Chinese family gathered his friends to drink and sing in the backyard until well after midnight. When the Chinese asked them to stop and allow the family to sleep, the housekeeper angrily retorted that this was their land and challenged him to a fight. This story soon circulated around town and most Chinese agreed that from now on they would never interfere with their 'boy's' singing at night, no matter how late it might be. I heard one man comment: "It is true that this is their land. Now that they are in power
what we should do is keep quiet".

What scared the Chinese most was a rumour started in Rabaul in October, 1972. It was said that the indigenes had had a meeting and had made plans to loot Chinese shops and rape Chinese women when 'the day' came. The source of the story was a Chinese woman, a trade storekeeper, who was said to have been very kind to her indigenous customers and to have made friends among them. One day a native woman came to see her to reveal a secret, and advised her for her own safety, to leave before self-government, saying that the native men had decided that on self-government day they would hide their own women and come to town to loot the Chinese shops and 'get' the Chinese women. The story was supported by another, that of a migrant indigene who told his employer that they had all learned about the plan to take over the shops and women belonging to the Chinese. Yet a third story was that an indigenous employee had told his employer that they had assigned certain Chinese shops and houses to certain natives, specifying which man should take which Chinese woman. It is possible that there was some truth in all these stories, because some indigenous politicians openly admitted that many indigenes held the mistaken view that self-government or independence meant the transfer of the expatriate's government, power, enterprises, and properties to indigenous hands.

These stories had a marked effect on both Chinese and Europeans. The Chinese decided that before self-government took effect in December 1, 1973, they should send their women and children to Australia for safety. If the situation turned out to be better than expected, they could return. They began to make travel plans accordingly. At the same time the 'localization project' - replacing European public servants and teachers by indigenes - began to take effect, and many Europeans also prepared to leave before self-government. As early as November, 1972, many Chinese in Rabaul were aware that all seats on the Australia-bound passenger ships
sailing from then to August 1973 had already been 'booked out'. In December 1972 one of the most common topics of conversation, especially amongst women, was whether or not they had secured a seat on a ship or an aeroplane for the exodus the following year. In January 1973, for instance, one Rabaul woman told my wife that she had not only booked seats for herself and her mother-in-law with both airlines to leave in November, but she had actually paid the fare and confirmed their seats.

Apart from the travel plans, which were only meant to be a temporary measure against a probable short period of chaos, many Chinese seriously considered giving up their businesses and migrating to Australia. By the end of 1972 many had advertised their properties and business interests for sale. Some established merchants persuaded some wage earners (some of them part-Chinese) to lease their shops: the idea was while these owners could live in safety and collect rents, those who leased the shops, though they took a risk, could make quick money they had never previously enjoyed. Many predicted that the Chinese had at most two more years of business in Papua New Guinea.

These panic actions may sound somewhat absurd to an outsider, but the Chinese - especially those in Rabaul - had good reason to be frightened. Other factors reinforced the alarm raised by stories of the indigene's antagonism. Firstly, when the Chinese consulted the Europeans - government officials, police officers, and missionaries - for advice, they all favoured the exodus for safety's sake. "Nobody knows for sure, but there has got to be a period of chaos and riot following self-government" was the usual kind of advice. One Catholic Chinese family, for example, could not make up their minds as to whether they should stay or follow the others. When a priest told them that the church had resolved to evacuate all its nuns when the time came this family hesitated no longer but booked their tickets for 'going down south'.
Secondly, some Europeans further provoked the indigenes' hostility or hatred toward the Chinese, and used the Chinese to draw attention away from themselves. The following news items are examples of the way Europeans picked up issues against the Chinese during a period of crisis: (ABC radio broadcast, January 5, 1973, 7 p.m. news) "A Mount Hagen European businessman said, in association with the news about a Chinese trade store owner's moving away, that some trade store owners treat indigenous customers as less than sub-human. He said the trade store owners must improve their manner of treating the indigenous customers". On the same day a letter written by a European in Port Moresby to the editor of the *Papua New Guinea Post Courier* was published, in which it was suggested that a special fire-cracker tax should be imposed on the Chinese. It was suggested that the residents were disturbed and the streets littered by the burning of fire-crackers lit on New Years' Day celebrations in which the Chinese performed a lion dance.

Thirdly, some Chinese believed that if they did not make plans well ahead they might be stranded in isolated towns (Rabaul was a major one) when a riot suddenly erupted. Some argued that the Australian Government would send troops to protect the expatriates, but others reminded people of what had happened to the Chinese during World War II - only Europeans were evacuated. Some believed that even though the government might evacuate all expatriates, it must be Europeans first and Chinese second: by the time it was the turn of the Chinese they could already have been slaughtered. "Your Australian citizenship won't protect you, it is only the skin colour that counts".

Further rumours added to the confusion and panic, among women in particular. Some women developed the idea that since the number of flights was fixed, those who had not reserved a seat would be left behind; unless
they were to leave the country a few months before self-government when the group exodus had not yet started. However, a few Chinese held the view that all the rumours and stories were sheer nonsense, and criticized the actions of others as 'self-scaring'. This sounded reasonable enough until it was discovered that those who made such comments had themselves made provisions to settle in Australia.

All the talk and preparation among Chinese and Europeans alike about leaving Papua New Guinea gradually caught the attention of both the government and the indigenous politicians. Although some politicians, who did not favour self-government, used such incidents to prove the prematurity of the country's autonomy, others concluded that the Chinese were irresponsible and their leaving was damaging the process of independence. When the Chinese became aware of the extent of ill feeling amongst the indigenes towards their planned exodus, the community leaders resolved to cover up their fear and their preparations; they told other Chinese not to reveal their true motives in going to Australia. After this, many Chinese began to talk about their plans for a vacation, or for their children's education in Australia, or for medical treatment. They did so especially when they were questioned by any outsider about their scheduled travels 'down south'.

In April 1973, a Chinese community leader in Lae made a public statement to the news reporter which was published in the *Papua New Guinea Post Courier* (1973, April 12, p.4):

Mr Seeto, president of the Chinese Club in Lae and a member of the city council, was commenting on a report circulating the city that the Chinese people would pack up and leave Papua New Guinea by the end of November this year. Mr Seeto said: 'I must make it clear that this is definitely a rumour. There will be a few going finish but most of the Chinese people will be taking their children south to enrol them in secondary schools. This will have to be done later this year or early next year'. Mr Seeto said this had been 'mixed up' by people who had the wrong impression. 'I myself have to find a school for my child', Mr Seeto said. 'This means I have to travel to Australia even though I am committed to my business interests.
Mr Seeto said the Chinese people had lived through different rulers - from the British and German Governments, through the Japanese occupation and to the first Papua New Guinea Government - with few problems.

By the first of December - the day set for self-government for Papua New Guinea - many Chinese women and children, and some of the men too, had arrived in Australia on various excuses. On that day a Special Issue of the same newspaper had an article about the Chinese position in the country, in which was shown a picture of a Chinese - "One of Papua New Guinea's foremost citizens, he left for Australia recently for health reasons (my emphasis)" (Post Courier, 1973, December 1, p.104).

IV. Latest Adjustments Before Independence

I have so far told only part of the story of what has happened among the Chinese at the time of independence for Papua New Guinea. Although they were frightened and uncertain, and many fled for safety, the Chinese also sought ways to remedy, or at least to improve, their relationship with the indigenous people. In point of fact, they had begun to make readjustments in relation to the changing political environment in 1969, when the Tolai's Mataungan Association led a large-scale demonstration protesting against the newly proclaimed Gazelle Multi-Racial Council, and great tension mounted on the Gazelle Peninsula (cf. A. L. Epstein 1970).

In early 1970 the Rabaul Chinese made a donation of 50 scholarships to indigenous students who intended to go on to high school. The Chinese involved in this action, especially the man referred to previously as managerial leader No.5, told me that the idea was conceived and developed by the Rabaul Chinese themselves. However, a Chinese politician from New Ireland, who is now a House of Assembly member, claimed that it was all his idea. When he participated in a Chinese meeting following the Mataungan
incident, he criticized the Chinese for their selfishness, and warned them that unless they were to share their profits with the indigenes and find ways of improving their relationship with the indigenes, the Chinese would not have a bright future in that country.

During my stay in Rabaul I participated in two fund raising activities, one for the Papua New Guinea Red Cross and one for the Highland Famine Relief Fund. Both were organized, and enthusiastically participated in, by Chinese. By that time the Chinese had learned the importance of publicity and took the opportunity to have reports of their efforts and of the substantial amount of money they had collected for the welfare of the indigenes published in the local press. Several individual Chinese made separate donations of large sums and their names were also published. One Chinese leader told me that although the community had previously donated to indigenes' charity whenever they were called upon to do so, the money had always been sent to the charitable organizations, which were usually organized by Europeans, without specifically making it known that such donations were from the Chinese. The Chinese were therefore blamed unfairly of their selfishness. The leader said: "From now on we must make known whenever the Chinese have contributed to the cause of helping the indigene".

Since 1970 many young Chinese have also changed their attitudes towards participation in political activities. While the older generation of Chinese have adapted to the colonial system and maintain a view of non-involvement and non-participation, some of the young Chinese have begun to think that having been born in the country, they are entitled to participate in its affairs. When the 1969 Mataungan demonstration broke out, Chinese leaders in Rabaul had a conference, discussing what the community should do in the circumstances. As they were all 'Kapitan' type leaders and most of
them were also Kuo Min Tang members as well, they reached the conclusion that the Chinese as a group should express no opinion, should not take a stand on either side and should do nothing but follow the administration's instructions. Their sole advice to the ordinary Chinese was to shut their stores earlier than usual (while it was still daylight) and to stay inside their homes. The idea of non-involvement in politics was still prevalent among the older leaders and the majority of older people; they saw the Chinese as the 'third party' who should never get involved in any confrontation between the indigenous people and the Europeans.

The young Chinese, including the participants of the new NGCA mentioned in Chapter Nine, disagree with such a view. They did not want to be relegated to a passive role at a time when their future was in danger. In the 1971 Town Council election in Lae and Rabaul several Chinese candidates contested seats. While the two successful candidates in Lae were Chinese community leaders (leaders in office and managerial leaders), in Rabaul only one among the seven elected Chinese councillors was a known (managerial) leader. None of the known Rabaul Chinese leaders showed any interest in the election, because they did not want to get involved in the transition to self-government. The newly elected young Chinese councillors (who were mostly in their twenties and thirties) were enthusiastic about the possibility made available to them by their election of helping the Chinese - at least in checking Europeans and the indigenes from passing laws unfavourable to the Chinese. They also wanted to demonstrate, by their participation and involvement, the willingness of the community to support the indigene in working towards successful Papua New Guinean self-government and independence.

By the end of 1971 a mixed-descent Chinese, who had been a Second House of Assembly member (1968-71) and was subsequently not only voted back to the Third House but assumed a ministerial position in the first Papua
New Guinea Coalition Government, appealed to the Chinese for their financial support and participation in his newly organized national political party. This appeal brought new hope to the Chinese elite of improving the position of their people in the country after self-government and independence. With a Chinese assuming power at the level of national politics, the Chinese elite now thought that their people as a whole would be offered fair treatment when the Papua New Guinea Government set up new policies guaranteeing the role of the expatriate in economic development.

As a result, a number of the Chinese and particularly the young political elite who were predominantly rich Catholics, joined this new political party. It was suggested by some that to support or to form an alliance with a national political party is similar to joining in an insurance scheme; it is also a measure guarding against possible future loss. In 1972 both leader No. 4 and leader No. 5 assumed the position of regional executives in this party, while the other old leaders of the Catholic faction became financial sponsors in the background. Since all these activities were conducted in private, other Chinese who learned about them were dubious about the meaningfulness and benefit of such participation.

Some pointed out that the mixed-descent Chinese member was merely being 'used' by the indigenous politicians to temporarily fill in the gap during the transition period when the indigenes had not yet acquired enough experienced personnel to assume the job, and that his position was like that of "a clay Buddha crossing the river" - a Chinese saying meaning: "One who is not in the position to protect himself, let alone protect others". The high hopes placed by the Chinese community on this member faded away when the date for Papua New Guinea self-government was decided in mid-1972, at which time he endorsed several new policies, and presented several new ordinances to the House which guarded only the interests of the indigene: e.g., higher taxes on expatriates and more limitations on the
nature of occupations able to be undertaken by expatriates. The Chinese became anxious that by the time self-government came into effect they would almost certainly be restricted in their economic activities. As rumours and stories about indigenous hostility were still in the air they worried not only about their business interests, but also about their future safety in the country.

Although both young and old Chinese began to accept the view that in the future they must expect to share both their responsibilities and their profits with the indigenes, they were quite convinced that the future government could not protect them if disorder were to erupt, and that the indigenes would take radical action to completely prevent the Chinese from pursuing in the kind of small enterprises they were engaged in. As several Chinese put it: "We don't mind, as expatriates, paying higher tax or taking certain numbers of indigenes as business trainees, but we are afraid that they might forbid us to hold trading licences or, worse upon worse, simply to take away our property and our businesses after independence".

Apart from all these worries, their future status in the independent country posed a further dilemma: if they chose to stay, did they have to give up their Australian citizenship or could they maintain dual citizenship? Before the Constitutional Planning Committee began to study the nature of future Papua New Guinea citizenship, many expatriates who held Australian citizenship wished to hold dual citizenship, at least during the initial period of Papua New Guinea's independence. Their main concern was safety and equal treatment. To the Chinese, and many Europeans as well, it was not simply a matter of deciding which citizenship to maintain, but whether they would be treated as equals or would be protected if they chose to retain Papua New Guinea citizenship. By 1973 it became quite clear that both the Australian and the Papua New Guinea Governments would not allow a
dual citizenship scheme, and those who were qualified for both Australian and Papua New Guinean citizenship would have to choose one and give up the other. The Chinese believed that this would create a dilemma for the Chinese alone, not the Europeans, for a white man who gave up his Australian citizenship could in the future always return to Australia and reclaim his Australian citizenship if he found it necessary. One said, "Their white skin is their protection and guarantee. Once we give up our Australian citizenship we would never be able to reclaim it and if in trouble we would have nowhere to turn to". Their worry was not unfounded, as the fate of many African Asians was still fresh in their memories.

However, by mid-1974 (when I was about to complete my thesis) it was revealed that the Papua New Guinea Constitutional Planning Committee is to propose very exclusive conditions, based on racial criteria, for qualification for Papua New Guinean citizenship. "The committee, it has been reported, defines a citizen as someone with at least three grandparents born in the country and grants automatic citizenship to the children of a Papua New Guinean father and a non-indigenous mother but denies the same rights to the children of a non-indigenous father and a Papua New Guinean mother" (Canberra Times, 1974, April 8, p.7 and May 25, p.7). If such a proposal becomes law, not only are all Chinese, but also all mixed-descent Niuginians - including several cabinet ministers - excluded from becoming Papua New Guinean citizens. Thus the prediction of the Chinese people as long as two years ago about the mixed-descent Chinese minister - "who cannot even protect himself, let alone the Chinese" - seems to be confirmed.

While hoping all would turn out for the best as far as their future in Papua New Guinea was concerned, the Chinese had to be prepared for the worst, and had to make plans for a new life in Australia. In their plans for a new life, they took a realistic and practical view: they knew
that they would have to start all over again from scratch. Most of the trade storekeepers after they had secured a house in Australia would have little savings left. If they intended to start a business in Australia, they understood that apart from the problem of allocating capital, doing business in Australia would require a kind of expertise very much different from what was required to run a trade store in Papua New Guinea. Although trade stores look like small grocery stores in Australia, the Chinese said they would be no match for the Greek and Italian immigrants in this line of business. Many Chinese with whom I discussed this, therefore, were thinking of jobs that require more labour and less capital, experience or skill.

Some said they would start a fish-and-chip shop; some were ambitious enough to think about a restaurant. Others thought of a newspaper agency, a milk delivery run, a kiosk or a position as bookkeeper, and so on. Even the richer Chinese began to encourage their children to learn a trade just like their forefathers had been advised to do before leaving their home villages in China. During 1972 and 1973, many parents talked their children into taking up apprenticeships training them to be auto mechanics, printers, electricians, plumbers, refrigerator and radio and television repairmen, bookkeepers, and secretaries. From all these plans, it seemed that the young Chinese were prepared to start from where their forefathers had started after World War II - being tradesmen they had the security of occupation wherever they were to go.

V. Concluding Remarks

In this thesis I have examined, in a historical perspective, the adaptation of a group of Chinese people to the Papua New Guinea environment. I have also attempted to delineate the impact of their environment as well as their socialization, cultural values, their economic organization, family
and kinship ties, and the political organization of the community. I consider that all these things have contributed to the successful development of their commercial enterprises. But it is clear that successful adaptation to a specific socio-political and economic position in the colonial system has jeopardized the possibility of their remaining in Papua New Guinea in the future.

Until very recently, the Chinese occupied a niche in the economic structure which had not been filled by the indigenous; thus there was little direct competition between Chinese and indigene. The Chinese in Papua New Guinea have always been an industrious and ambitious people, they have always sought upward social mobility, and, in a plural society where the Europeans were accorded right and privileges in terms of their elite status, the Chinese naturally saw the European as a model to be emulated. Accordingly, the Chinese were never moved to identify with the indigene. As Skinner (1960:90) rightly remarks in discussing the similar situation of the Chinese in Indonesia, assimilation was almost impossible for the Chinese prior to the country's independence for there too the indigenes had low social status as well as political and economic disabilities. However, Chinese residing in a non-colonial country have tended to assimilate with the indigenes; this has been the case in Thailand. Skinner points out (1960:90): "Since in Thailand the elite was Thai, this meant movement in the direction of Thai society. Since in Java the elite was Dutch and Eurasian, this meant social movement away from Javanese society". A similar situation accounts for the paradoxical position of the Chinese in Papua New Guinea during the transitional period towards the country's independence.

Although the Chinese have attempted to make readjustments on the eve of the country's independence and it has always been the intention of a great many of them to stay in Papua New Guinea after its independence, it
is still doubtful that they will be able to achieve this goal. Yet, taking their new awareness and their new identification into account, it is not improbable that many of the Chinese will eventually be absorbed in Papua New Guinea: after all, the Chinese population remains a very small minority in the total population of Papua New Guinea. As the abovementioned Mr Seeto maintained, "the Chinese people had lived through different rulers with few problems": they may well succeed in achieving their goal of staying in Papua New Guinea. We have to wait and see.
APPENDIX I

Alois Akun's Petition to Colonel John Ainsworth, 1924

Rabaul, 11th June, 1924

Colonel Ainsworth,
Rabaul.

Sir,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Chinese residents of the Territory of New Guinea, to bring under notice some of the disabilities and grievances under which we residents are at present labouring.

In doing this, I wish to assure you, sir, that it is not our intention to in any way embarrass the Administration, our aim being to assist in every way possible the Government, recognizing, as we do, that in a country such as this it is to everybody's advantage to work together harmoniously. All we wish to do is to place certain facts before you in the hope of obtaining recognition of what is considered the just rights of the Chinese.

1. The Land Question - This question is most vital to the Chinese. Very many applications for land are now lodged in the Lands Office in accordance with the provisions of the Land Ordinance. With each application the sum of Ten shillings has to be lodged, and, in addition, an amount equivalent to one-quarter of the survey fee, the amount of which is arrived at by reference to sliding scale. The majority of these applications have now been lodged for twelve months or more, the fees amounting to well over one thousand pounds have been paid in, yet at the time of writing not one single application has been dealt with, and, on inquiry, we are informed that no promise of satisfaction can be given pending a declaration of the land policy. Surely, sir, we are not asking too much when we request that
we be informed what is to be the policy of the Government regarding the Chinese land question, and whether or not we are to be allowed to hold land, and if so, under what conditions. As I have stated, the question is indeed a vital one. For months we have waited, and still the end seems to be no nearer, our business enterprises are being held up, and the prosperity of the Territory is being sadly affected.

2. Many Chinese residents of this Territory are married men, with wife and families in China. Permission is refused to these people to bring their families into the Territory. We would suggest that this treatment is unnecessarily harsh. Men who have built up business and plantations are faced with the problem either of giving up their families or of surrendering their interests in the Territory and returning to China.

Again, should a Chinese woman die leaving young children, as has happened often here, it is impossible for the father to provide a female guardian for them. He is unable to devote the care and attention on them that they should have, and consequently the children themselves are the sufferers.

While on this question, it is pointed out that should wives and families be allowed to come here, the money which now leaves the Territory for their support elsewhere would remain here, thus, from the commercial aspect alone, showing the advantage of withdrawing the embargo. Inquiries at the Commonwealth Bank would convince you that no small sum of money is lost to the Territory monthly on this account.

3. Permission has been sought to bring to the Territory a qualified male teacher for the instruction of the Chinese children. In response to this request, a reply dated the 22nd August, 1921, was received from the then Government Secretary, intimating that "a scheme of education is now under consideration, and under the circumstances approval cannot be given
for the importation of another teacher."

Although many months have elapsed since the writing of that letter, no scheme of the kind indicated has yet been inaugurated, and at present it does not seem that any steps are being taken in the matter.

In the meantime, the Chinese children are suffering, and their chances of being useful citizens in the future are being greatly impaired through lack of educational facilities.

We ask that this deficiency of teachers be rectified, and seek permission for three or four qualified Chinese teachers to enter this Territory for educational purposes.

Again sir, we are sure you will agree that our claims are not unreasonable. We regard our children's welfare just as much as Europeans, and it rends our hearts to think that their future is jeopardized on account of the restrictions imposed upon our race.

4. Permits - Permits are issued to Chinese who wish to visit their homeland. The time allowed under these permits is twelve months from the time of embarkation in Rabaul to the time of disembarkation in Rabaul on their return. The voyage to China including time of waiting transport from Australia occupies approximately two months, and the return voyage, of course, would occupy a like time. This leaves only eight months to be spent in China.

In Australia the total period allowed between departure and return is 36 months, which I submit is not an unreasonable time for such a journey, when one considers the expense attached, and the long periods which must elapse before a man is able, for pecuniary reasons, to undertake such a journey.

We request that the Territory be brought into line with the
Commonwealth by extending the period of the permit to 36 months.

5. Chinese residents, before entering the Territory, are required to impress upon their exemption certificates the imprint of the full hand, whereas in other cases the imprint of the thumbs only is asked for. For the purpose of identification, even in legal circles, the imprint of the thumb is regarded as infallible. We ask that the treatment accorded to Chinese be brought into conformity with that accorded to other Europeans and Asiatics, and that the imprint of the thumb be treated as sufficient for identification purposes. Trivial as this complaint may seem to you, sir, we would point out that to the Chinese it is an important matter. In China the imprint of the full hand is only required from convicted criminals, and the Chinese feel that they are being disgraced by being forced to submit to regulations only applied to criminals in their own country.

In Australia the imprint of the thumb is only required.

6. Many Chinese residents in this Territory are the owners of plantations. In the event of their wishing to visit their homeland, they find it most difficult to do so, because they are unable to find any one who can attend to their interests in the Territory during their absence. White overseers it is impossible to obtain. We would like, therefore, to be assured that, on such an event happening, no objection would be placed in the way of securing the services of a fellow countryman from their homeland, to act in their stead during their absence. We do not ask for unlimited permission to import assistance from China. We would suggest that any Chinese wishing to visit his home be empowered to engage the services of a countryman to act for him, and the person so appointed be allowed to enter the Territory for a limited time, say three years, under such bond as may be considered necessary under the circumstances.
The foregoing are some of the most important matters I, representing the Chinese public, wish to place before you, sir. We feel that you will be able to assist us in your position, and with your long and valuable experience of tropical matters, and your extensive knowledge of Chinese in other parts of the world. The Chinese are, and always have been, amongst the most loyal supporters of the Administration, and we feel sure that our grievances have only to be mentioned, and that they will receive consideration. It is in the hope, sir, that you will recognize the justice of our complaints, and that any recommendations that you may make will be along the lines suggested herein.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Alois Akun
### APPENDIX II

**Chinese Population: 1921-57, Territory of New Guinea**<sup>*</sup>

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<td>惠脚</td>
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<td>會館</td>
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<td>wui kun</td>
<td>紅毛</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hui Tou</td>
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<tr>
<td>hung mou</td>
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<tr>
<td>kai (kwai)</td>
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</table>
Mandarin | Cantonese
---|---
Kaiping | Kau Lun Tong
 | King-Tsao Wui-Kun
 | Kong-San Wui-Kun
 | Kuai-mui-tsai
Kuo Min Tang | Kwan Tai Ting
 | Kwong-Yick Wui-Kun
 | Kwong Fuck Loon
 | Kwong Toon Hing
 | Kwang Hui
 | Lee Tam Tuck
 | lo fan
 | Long Ming
 | Lun Hui
Lung Hsing Li | ma chong
Nanyang | pa ga piu
Pao An | piu wui
Piao Hui | ping tao
 | pun tung
 | sai jan
 | sam shi kun
San-Min Chu-Yi Ching | See Yap
 | Seeto Dun-Yee
 | Seeto Soon
 | Seeto Mun Siu
 | Seeto Tack
 | sui kuan tao
 | Siu Loon
 | Seeto Tai-Ying
Nien T'uan | tai sik lan
 | tai yi
 | ti:n fuo
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<td>Yi Hui Yang Hui</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Melanesian Pidgin**

- bosi: boss
- haus (bilong) kaikai: restaurant
- meri: woman
- namba-wan: Number One
- lap lap: waist cloth