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Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Paper Bodies:
Chinese Migrant Documentation in New Zealand at the Turn of the Century

THESIS

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in Art History

by

Zoe Portnoff

Thesis Committee:
Professor Roberta Wue
Professor Bert Winther-Tamaki
Assistant Professor Isabela Seong-Leong Quintana

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Paper Bodies:

Chinese Migrant Documentation in New Zealand at the Turn of the Century

by

Zoe Portnoff

Master of Arts in Art History

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Professor Roberta Wue, Advisor

This thesis examines early-twentieth century Certificates of Registration produced in New Zealand to document Chinese migrants. These identification documents were created to track sojourners who were temporarily returning to China, proving upon their return to New Zealand that they were legal residents and had already paid the expensive poll tax that was imposed under Chinese exclusion policies. Through the Certificates of Registration, the state sought to control Chinese immigration and, by extension, New Zealand's racial and cultural identity as a White settler colony.

These documents imposed a scrutinizing and alienating gaze over the individual Chinese body; they registered physical identity through textual descriptions, fingerprints, and studio photographs which the subjects were responsible for providing. These methods of registering the human body, influenced by developments in anthropology and criminology, naturalized a racial hierarchy where Chinese migrants were continuously alienated in New Zealand as unnatural, foreign entities. Because the Chinese were pictured as an inscrutable and identical hoard in the

popular imagination, documentation relied upon miniscule “particularities” and still-developing fingerprint technology. However, both the physical descriptions of “particularities” and the often-smudged or irregularly applied fingerprints had very little practical use. Often vague and illegible, these technologies (and the process of documentation as a whole) can be understood as a punitive social ritual.

The photographs provided by the migrants create a startling contrast with the state’s construction of Chinese identity. The collected photographs exhibit a stunning amount of variety in composition, poses, and backdrops that contrasts with the highly standardized ID photos used in government documents today. These honorific studio portraits frame the subjects as Westernized, affluent potential citizens—a striking form of self-fashioning that defies the New Zealand ideology of Chinese exclusion.

Introduction

John Hoyte's *An Auckland Panorama* (1869) presents a typical view of New Zealand from the perspective of the British colonists (Figure 1).¹ The watercolor presents a utopian vision of early Auckland, recognizable from the distant silhouette of Te Rangi-i-Tongia-a-Tamatekapua² on the horizon. It is painted from a raised perspective, the gaze of someone surveying their ideal territory for British agrarian settlement. The compositional divisions in the landscape form a chronology of conquest, from the boats representing the British arrival in the background, to the small settlements in the midground, to the road that promises the extension of British civilization across the land. The watercolor presents an image of peaceful, egalitarian rural living—a way of life that has fallen by the wayside in industrial England.³ The fertile, lush landscape is dotted with white houses whose miniscule scale and abundant surrounding land emphasize the plentiful resources and space just waiting to be taken up by the colonizers. The sparse scattering of homesteads is echoed by the sailboats gliding along calm ocean waters just off of the coast, promising both the leisure and abundance of fish to be found at sea. Two wagons traverse a gently sloping dirt road in the foreground, punctuated by a fence: an innocuous symbol of colonial claims to land ownership. New Zealand is imagined as a South Pacific paradise—but a decidedly unforeign one. Mid-nineteenth century New Zealand art was overwhelmingly dominated by picturesque landscape paintings like Hoyte's that made the 'exotic' South Pacific accessible and familiar to the British empire. The indigenous Māori, largely written off by settlers as a tragically dying race of noble savages by the late nineteenth century, were peripheral

¹ The use of the term "New Zealand" rather than Aotearoa, the indigenous name for the land, throughout the paper is deliberate in invoking the settler colonial state and its relationship with Chinese migrants.

² Also known as Rangitoto Island.

³ Ironically, Auckland had already undergone far more urban development than this watercolor would suggest by 1869.

if not entirely absent in these colonial images of nationhood.⁴ Picturesque landscape paintings naturalized the British colonial presence by quite literally depicting New Zealand as a ‘Better Britain’: a cross between an edenic Pacific paradise and an idyllic pre-industrial Britain. The landscape is a perfect pastoral fantasy that is made palatable by its exclusion of any elements that would significantly displace the colony from familiar British geography and culture.

This fantasy of New Zealand as a homogenous Anglo-Saxon paradise belies the violence, repression, and exclusion inherent in its construction. The obsession with Anglo-Saxon biological and cultural purity produced an onslaught of legislation that sought to control New Zealand’s primary non-white migrant population, the Chinese. Because New Zealand’s identity was so dependent upon British whiteness, even the *potential* of Chinese population growth became a national nightmare.⁵ Their mere presence contradicted New Zealand’s purist racial fantasy, exemplified by the repeated (and false) claim that the country was “98.5 per cent British.” The miniscule trickle of Chinese migration into the country transformed in the white New Zealand imagination to a torrential flood of Oriental invaders. Chinese exclusion policies produced their own archives: a media culture of migrant documentation that was wrought from developing systems of anthropological measurement and criminal identification. Through documentation, the state sought to impose a legible racial order upon a complex and ever-shifting population.

New Zealand passed its first legislation to target a specific race with the *Chinese Immigrants Act 1881*, which enacted a poll tax of £10 and set a limit on the number of Chinese passengers that any incoming cargo ship could carry.⁶ The New Zealand legislature relentlessly

⁴ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 189.

⁵ Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, 189.

⁶ *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), 21. Similar laws were also passed in the Australian states of New South Wales and Victoria,

raised the hurdles to Chinese immigration between 1881 to 1920, while denying Chinese residents access to naturalization and full rights as citizens.⁷ The poll tax was the state's primary deterrent against immigration, and anti-Chinese legislation constantly called for its increase. The *Chinese Immigrants Amendment Act 1896* raised the poll tax from £10 to £100, a sum that migrants would frequently borrow from clan associations or individual merchants and repay over approximately four to seven years.⁸ With these regulations came a fetishistic obsession with documenting the Chinese body. The convoluted bureaucracy of the settler state was symbolic of its power to regulate its borders and determine who 'belonged' within its population. This bureaucratic machinery produced and was produced by Chinese exclusion in a positive feedback loop. Regulations generated more regulations and paperwork generated more paperwork, accumulating in mundane and futile archives of pure absurdity. In effect, the state recreated the Yellow Peril image of the never-ending Oriental hoard in its archives; it accumulated paper bodies in an attempt to control their flesh-and-blood counterparts.

The Certificate of Registration was one such form of migrant documentation established under the *Chinese Immigrants Act 1881*, produced in duplicate with one copy held by the subject and one by the Customs office. The Certificate verified that its holder had paid the poll tax, and by extension, that they were a legal resident alien of New Zealand. Chinese residents temporarily leaving the country to visit home would need to obtain a Certificate in order to verify their identity upon their return to New Zealand. The Certificate of Registration forced Chinese migrants to make themselves visible to the state, to trigger the state's bureaucratic machinery

creating a unified policy of Chinese exclusion across the Pacific settler colonies that was developed in tandem during a January 1881 conference.

⁷ New Zealand citizenship was established on September 6, 1948 with The British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act; this was a denial of *British* citizenship.

⁸ Manying Ip, "Chinese New Zealanders: Old Settlers and New Immigrants," in *Immigration Policy and the Political Economy of New Zealand: One People, Two Peoples, Many Peoples?*, ed. Stuart W. Grief (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1996), 165-166.

into motion and subject themselves to its surveillance. This paper primarily examines thirty-five Certificates, published online by Archives New Zealand under the inauspicious title “Chinese Portraits” (Figure 2), but the larger archive consists of hundreds of documents.⁹ The application of the term “portrait” to a state-produced Certificate of Registration is questionable at the least. The neutral language and honorific framing of these documents obscures the oppressive conditions under which these ‘portraits’ were created. The document registers the Chinese identity in three ways, listed in the document as such:

- I. A photographic portrait, provided by the subject themselves and pinned to the document’s upper-left corner: “A photograph of _____ is attached hereto.”¹⁰
- II. A physical description, written by a Customs official: “Statement of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars aiding identification.”
- III. The subject’s fingerprints, a highly unusual and conspicuous inclusion due to the near-exclusive use of fingerprinting for criminal identification in this time period: “LEFT HAND. / Plain Impressions of Little, Middle, and Index Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.) / RIGHT HAND. / Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously).”

Media historian Lisa Gitelman states that “Documents are integral to the ways people think as well as to the social order that they inhabit. Knowing-showing, in short, can never be disentangled from power—or, more properly, control.”¹¹ Existing at the intersection of carceral and anthropological technologies, the Certificate of Registration manifests how the New Zealand state literally and figuratively saw Chinese migrants. As a social ritual, migrant documentation

⁹ Additional documents are available to view online at <https://collections.archives.govt.nz/web/arena/search#/item/ai-ms-archive/19064/certificates-of-registration-under-the-immigration-restriction-acts>.

¹⁰ In pre-1907 documents, this text is frequently edited by hand to read “The finger prints of _____ were taken in my presence.”

¹¹ Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 5.

naturalizes a racial hierarchy wherein white officials hold power over Chinese residents. Its methods were both punitive and fetishistic, reflecting a violent impulse towards the Chinese body—to break the body into parts, to find its irregularities and faults, and force them to be legible to the state apparatus. In her foundational treatise *What is Documentation?* (1951), librarian Suzanne Briet wrote that while a wild antelope would not be a document, an antelope in a zoo—captured, studied, and used as physical evidence—would be.¹² This analogy likens documentation to containment, implying an infringement upon the freedom of its subject. Only the captured object can become a document. In the Certificates, each step in the process of registration sought to transform the body into a fixed entity. Documentation is a transformation wherein bodies become papers and papers become bodies. In *Mass Capture: Chinese Head Tax and the Making of Non-citizens* (2021), cultural studies scholar Lily Cho writes that

The document, the certificate, comes to stand in for the non-citizen. The body is secondary. It is further proof, a form of corroboration, but it is not the first site of examination. Files not only come to stand in for the body at the site of inspection, but also begin resembling bodies.¹³

While the Yellow Peril threatened the white nation with a fall from grace into biological and social chaos, identification documents provided reassurance that every person could be uniformly known, categorized, and revealed in a manner akin to a scientific specimen. Their identical formatting, official markings, and neat lines created a comforting illusion of order and control as the body is forced to reveal the ‘truth’ of identity, as defined and determined by the state, through its documentation.¹⁴ The Certificate of Registration ritualistically transformed the physical Chinese body into a paper body that could be contained and controlled by the state—a futile attempt to maintain New Zealand’s white settler identity through its paperwork.

¹² Suzanne Briet, *Qu’est-ce que la Documentation?* (Paris: ÉDIT, 1951), 7-8.

¹³ Lily Cho, *Mass Capture: Chinese Head Tax and the Making of Non-Citizens* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021), 58.

¹⁴ Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 240.

I. A Pacific Paradise for the White Race: New Zealand's 'Better Britonism'

In order to contextualize the Certificates of Registration, the following section will examine New Zealand's national identity and its accompanying racial constructions as they developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. At its foundation, New Zealand's settler identity was predicated on the preservation of white cultural and racial homogeneity. The colony was founded on the utopian notion of Better Britonism: the belief that the colony would become a more egalitarian, idealized version of English society.¹⁵ Even before the establishment of Chinese exclusion policies, incoming migration was selective and deliberate. Nationalist mythmaking at the turn of the century frequently boasted that colonial companies carefully chose New Zealand's initial settlers from an exclusive British working-class population.¹⁶ New Zealand was a chance for a better life specifically for the white working class—a society that certainly was not meant to include the supposedly inferior Chinese. By the late-nineteenth century, New Zealand historians were making claims that the colony's white population represented the best of the British genetic stock, cultivated to perfection under the temperate South Pacific climate.¹⁷ As Better Britonism solidified as a racial identity under the emergence of Social Darwinism and Eugenics in the nineteenth century, the Chinese were viewed as a threat to the prized genetics of the white race. In a lengthy 1879 parliamentary memorandum on Chinese immigration, penned just two years before the passage of the *Chinese Immigrants Act 1881*, Premier George Grey espoused New Zealand's 'civilized' Christian culture, preserved via the island nation's geographic isolation, and warns against the "deteriorative effect" of "foreign races." The eugenic project of better breeding, which New

¹⁵ Early colonists hoped to reproduce British society while avoiding the perceived pitfalls of British industrialization: its wealth inequality, poor working conditions, environmental destruction, and criminal underclass.

¹⁶ Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997* (New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008), 5.

¹⁷ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 78.

Zealand's identity so heavily drew upon, was haunted by the prospect of 'race suicide'—the elimination of the superior white race through miscegenation, increased non-white immigration, and the decline of white birthrates. Anti-immigrant officials preached that undesirable traits would biologically and culturally contaminate the white race if left uncontrolled. Grey dramatically continues in his memo, "The future of the islands of the Pacific Ocean depends upon the inhabitants of New Zealand being true to themselves, and preserving uninjured and unmixed that Anglo-Saxon population which now inhabits it."¹⁸

The first wave of Chinese immigrants, gold-seekers from the Pearl River Delta region in Guangdong, were invited by the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce to revive the waning Otago gold rush economy in 1865. Despite this official welcome, they quickly faced hostility first from the public and then from the very government that welcomed them there.¹⁹ As the gold rush came to an end and Chinese migrants began to set up businesses as market gardeners, launderers, and merchants rather than returning to China, white New Zealanders confronted the prospect of a permanent and growing local Chinese population. Labeled the "sick man of Asia" and known to New Zealanders primarily from missionary photographs of impoverished villages, China and its peoples were considered uniquely inferior in the West. A 1906 letter to the editor published in the New Zealand *Evening Post* complained,

The man who goes to China is the European with brains and money, which have developed China in the way of railways, docks, etc. It follows the country must gain enormous benefits, whereas, on the other hand, where is the European who would like to be classed, socially or intellectually, with the Chinamen who come to this country?"²⁰

¹⁸ George Grey, *Immigration of Chinese into the Colony. (Memorandum on the)* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand, 1879), accessed April 2022, <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/20334485>.

¹⁹ Nigel Murphy, "'Maoriland' and 'Yellow Peril' Discourses of Maori and Chinese in the Formation of New Zealand's National Identity, 1890-1914," in *The Dragon and the Taniwha: Maori and Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. M. Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press 2009), 56–88.

²⁰ "Chinese Competition: To the Editor," *Evening Post*, August 16, 1909, 2.

This view of the Chinese was held widely across New Zealand, and indeed throughout the Commonwealth. As economic scapegoats, Chinese migrants were likened to inhuman labor machines who would steal jobs from white New Zealanders because of their willingness to work for little pay and endure impoverished living conditions while saving their money for their families and retirement in China.²¹ As social scapegoats, they were labeled as a corrupting influence that brought gambling, opium smoking, and deviant sexual behavior into the settler colonial society. During a 1904 poll tax debate, one speaker summarized white New Zealanders' general sentiment: "We did not want the colony invaded by the misfits of China nor did we want their demoralising customs, their peculiar diseases, and the other attendant evils."²² The threat of the "Yellow Peril" was both biological and cultural. Chinese migrants were potential pollutants to New Zealand's idealized Anglo-Saxon 'breed,' and were further scapegoated as carriers of disease (particularly smallpox and leprosy) that threatened the white population's health. The physical threat of their pathologized bodies was augmented by the cultural threat of Chinese immorality, epitomized in the Western imagination by Chinese gambling parlors and opium dens. Anti-Chinese newspapers and public figures also mobilized fear that Chinese men would rape vulnerable white women, further marginalizing the small migrant population. These twinned biological and cultural threats coalesced into the fantasy of the "Chinese problem" or Yellow Peril: the fear that the white nation would be overrun by heathen immorality, corruption, and sexual deviance. This sentiment was so strong that when retired miner Joe Kum Yung was shot by anti-Chinese agitator Lionel Terry in 1905, many white New Zealanders praised his murderer as a folk hero.²³

²¹ *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); also see Long T. Bui, "Racial Capitalism and the Representation of Asians as "Robotic" (Lecture, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA, April 21, 2022).

²² "The Yellow Agony: What Mr. Moss Thinks About it," *Ohinemuri Gazette*, September 2, 1904, 2.

²³ Brian Moloughney and John Stenhouse, "'Drug-besotten, sin-begotten fiends of filth': New Zealanders and the Oriental Other, 1850-1920," *New Zealand Journal of History* 33, no. 1 (1999): 43-44.

In the New Zealand imagination, the consequences of poor control over the population's racial makeup were dire. Proponents of Better Britonism elevated New Zealand above other Commonwealth and settler colonial nations, which had failed, they lamented, to become white utopias due to their flawed genetic makeup. The state and its white citizens reinforced their alleged genetic superiority with comparisons to nearby Australia, a former penal colony whose genetic purity was 'tainted' by its criminal bloodline, and the United States, whose political turmoil was attributed to excessive race-mixing. New Zealand's 'superior whiteness' was not just a biological claim, but a cultural one; Better Britonists frequently claimed that multiracial populations were destined for conflict. *The New Zealand Citizen* by E.K. Mulgan and Alan Mulgan, a political primer for schoolchildren, clarified just who New Zealand sought to exclude from its population using a derogatory comparison to the United States:

We do not want the destitute, the criminal or people belonging to coloured races. The experience of the United States of America, where millions of negroes and people of mixed race form one of the gravest social and political problems of our time, has made us determined to keep New Zealand white, though we make an exception in the case of the Maoris, whom we treat as equals and admit to citizenship.²⁴

While the primer's claim that the indigenous Māori received equal treatment to white New Zealanders rings blatantly false, New Zealand prided itself in being more racially tolerant and enlightened (particularly in its treatment of the Māori) in comparison to Australia and the United States. Counterintuitively, the text blamed the presence of non-white foreigners for the racist, violent behavior of their attackers. Advocates of immigration restriction argued that violence was an inevitable consequence of race-mixing, and therefore the only way to keep New Zealand from

²⁴ Reproduced in Nigel Murphy, "'Maoriland' and 'Yellow Peril' Discourses of Maori and Chinese in the Formation of New Zealand's National Identity, 1890-1914, in *The Dragon and the Taniwha: Maori and Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009), 79. *The New Zealand Citizen* continues on to proclaim, "It would take too long to tell you why we keep out people belonging to coloured races, save to say that it is a question of ways of living and ideals, besides, of course, the desire to keep the blood of our people pure."

descending into chaos was to maintain its racial purity. One anti-Chinese article from the *Auckland Star* (1905) began its racist tirade by declaring,

It is a matter of congratulation that the arrival of a hundred Chinamen in New Zealand did not provoke any outbreak of popular wrath at Bluff yesterday; but if lawlessness is to be restrained the law must be made effective for preventing a Mongolian irruption into this colony.²⁵

The article pairs white victimhood with a barely-veiled threat to the migrants. Alluding to anti-Chinese riots in Australia and the United States, the author implies that “popular wrath” is simply the natural response to the threat of the Yellow Peril.

Although the barrage of anti-Chinese rhetoric and legislation would suggest otherwise, New Zealand’s own Chinese population at the time was miniscule. According to the 1906 Census of New Zealand, only 2,570 Chinese resided in the country—representing only 0.26% of the overall population.²⁶ Out of this number, only fifty-five were women; Chinese families residing in New Zealand were extremely rare, as most migrants were male sojourners who did not intend to remain in the country.²⁷ The Chinese population had plummeted since its peak of 5,004 in 1881, the year that New Zealand began its increasingly harsh and punitive restrictions upon Chinese immigration.²⁸ Scholarship on anti-Chinese legislation in New Zealand frequently highlights the seemingly paradoxical relationship between regulation and population: as the

²⁵ “The Evening Star: With Which are Incorporated. The Evening News, Morning News, and Echo. Tuesday, May 8, 1888,” *Auckland Star*, May 8, 1888, 4.

²⁶ E.J. Von Dadelszen, *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 29th of April, 1906* (1906), retrieved from https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1906-census/1906-results-census/1906-results-census.html.

²⁷ This low number was both due to Chinese patriarchal traditions and New Zealand sanctions against Chinese women’s reproductive potential. A 1905 article from the *New Zealand Mail* complained, “Our law is not at present administered in a thorough and intelligent spirit. Short-sightedly it admits Chinese women... and thus sets up in our midst breeding grounds of Chinese New Zealanders, with all the rights for these, of born subjects of our own land,” see *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip, 52. The fear of Chinese women’s reproductive potential led to calls for the government to raise the poll tax and deport Chinese women. Women are noticeably excluded from the archive of Chinese registration documents. Their striking absence in New Zealand history led writer Grace Yee to declare, “There exists no known “History of Settler Chinese Women” in New Zealand,” see Grace Yee, “Speaking as a Settler Chinese Woman in Aotearoa New Zealand: An “Utterly Charming Picture of Oriental Womanhood,” *Hecate* 42, no. 1 (2016): 17, 11.

²⁸ Manying Ip, “Chinese New Zealanders: Old Settlers and New Immigrants,” in *Immigration Policy and the Political Economy of New Zealand: One People, Two Peoples, Many Peoples?*, ed. Stuart W. Grief (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1996), 169.

Chinese population decreased, regulations only became more harsh. Despite their small numbers, Chinese migrants were hypervisible in New Zealand discourses of race, identity, and belonging both as the only major non-white immigrant group and due to the influence of anti-Chinese ideas circulating throughout the Commonwealth. The demands that Chinese residents continuously accumulate and produce their documentation for the state reflected their tenuous position in New Zealand society. The hypersurveillance of migrants, and the expectation for migrants to participate in their own surveillance through an endless race to acquire the correct documental “proof” of their identity, formed a coercive and punitive system that continuously reiterated Chinese alienation.

Bureaucratic documentation played an integral view in preserving and perpetuating New Zealand’s racial ideology. Through the ritualistic process of immigration control and its products—mountains upon mountains of obsessive, diligent paper documentation—the state sought to control Chinese transnational movement and, by extension, New Zealand’s racial and cultural identity as a white settler colony. Amidst the increase in industrial technologies and global migration, historian Chandak Sengoopta argues that the nineteenth century shift towards “steadily more urban, anonymous, and mobile” societies produced anxieties about identifying and regulating the wayward individual: “The only effective way to control a mass of people was to control its individual members, but in order to do that one had to know *who* those individuals were.”²⁹ The expansion of bureaucracies that targeted mobile populations and Chinese exclusion are, according to transnational migration scholar Adam McKeown, inseparable from one another.³⁰ The bureaucratic principles of border control and identification that remain in place

²⁹ Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 9.

³⁰ Adam McKeown, “Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China,” *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 2 (2003): 378.

today have their foundations in Chinese exclusion.³¹

The following sections of this paper will examine the methods used to adhere the Chinese bodily identity to paper as disciplinary social rituals. This theoretical framework draws heavily upon Michel Foucault's surveillance theory as outlined in *Discipline and Punish* and McKeown's conception of migrant documentation as a social ritual that reproduces each person as a "unique, physical object" that generates a new identity for each migrant within the "new matrices of bureaucratic power."³² McKeown writes,

When understood merely as routinization, the encounters between immigration agents and Chinese migrants appear absurd. When treated as a ritualized activity, they can be understood as a means of orchestrating universal and particularistic social relations within a rapidly shifting global order.³³

The application of these frameworks to the Certificates of Registration destabilizes the assumptions of the state: that documentation was a necessary, natural, and effective means of tackling the "Chinese Problem." In the 1906 *Evening Post* letter to the editor mentioned earlier, the anonymous contributor complained: "Sir—I quite agree with the fact of protecting the Chinamen while in our country, but nevertheless the fact of the Chinamen having to pay a poll tax and conform to other conditions shows at once he is an undesirable citizen."³⁴ This statement encapsulates the circular logic of regulation: Because they are subject to regulation, therefore they are undesirable; because they are undesirable, therefore they are subject to regulation. To document, regulate, and surveil a population was to label them as unassimilable outsiders, wholly separate from mainstream society. Applying the lens of social ritual and surveillance

³¹ Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 2.

³² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1975) and Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 12.

³³ McKeown, "Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China," 383.

³⁴ "Chinese Competition: To the Editor," *Evening Post*, August 16, 1909, 2.

theory reveals documentation's *actual* function as a social mechanism: to alienate and punish bodies that were considered deviant, inferior, and other.

II. This is to certify that _____

The Certificate's initial form is very basic; it consists primarily of text and fill-in-the-blank lines. They are printed on plain paper without any official seals or distinguishing markings to prevent forgery, since documents were verified by checking them against their Customs-held duplicate. Two common themes emerge across the reading of the document: its demands for constant, repetitive reassertion of the subject's identity, and its relation to constantly shifting regulations, indicated by the frequent modifications annotated in pen by Customs officials. The document begins with a paragraph of text that recorded basic information about the subject:

This is to certify that [subject name] a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in [location] alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on [date] in the ship [ship name], from [location of initial departure to New Zealand] and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not [sic] possession of the receipt for the same. The said [subject name] having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to return within [number of years], his name has been registered by me. On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be returned upon identification and proof being produced that said [subject name] arrived originally in New Zealand as above stated, and that the tax was then paid by or for him.

Below this text, there are blank lines for the Collector of Customs' signature, the port location, the date, and the subject's signature both in Chinese characters and in English. Beneath these signature lines, the process of visual identification begins. A line of text indicates that "A photograph of [subject name] is attached hereto." Underneath, the "Statement of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particular aiding identification" is followed by a large blank gap in the document where Customs officials scribbled brief notes without any

additional structure or direction. Finally, two boxes at the very bottom of the document contain the fingerprints of the left and right hands.

Repetition is a constant feature in the Certificate. Even the act of naming has a ritualistically repetitive quality; the Certificate includes blank spaces for six reiterations of the subject's name in total, as if to further bind the individual's identity to the document each time. The process of documentation was one of constant re-verification. Chinese migrants were required to reproduce their documents and prove their identities again and again to facilitate their diasporic mobility. This expression of control through repetition is also evident in the process of fingerprinting (explored further in section IV), as detailed in an instructive Customs memo:

These impressions should be recorded.

1. On the reverse of the Poll Tax receipt which is given to the Immigrant (B)
2. On the counterfoil kept in the Poll Tax receipt book (C)
3. On the certificate given (in lieu of a Duplicate receipt) to an intending emigrant (A)
4. On the copy of the above certificate kept in the Collector's Office.

...

On a Chinaman's return to New Zealand the 'plain' prints should be taken and compared with those on the Office record.³⁵

These constant demands to reproduce one's identity for the state demonstrate the paranoid control imposed by the state upon Chinese bodies and movements, both in transnational journeys and within the confines of a customs office.

The Certificates of Registration are far from the uniform, immutable records of truth that the state sought to produce under Chinese exclusion. Even recording the names of Chinese subjects proved difficult for the customs officials, who did not use a standardized system to anglicize the migrants' Cantonese names. Throughout the archives, there are inconsistencies in whether the subject's name is recorded with the family name first, as per Chinese conventions, or last, as per Western conventions. Variations in spelling even appear between families, such as the

³⁵ Memo no. 350 reproduced in Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997* (New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008), 355.

documents of Sew Kew and his son, Sue Ham (Figures 3 and 4). The documents of Joe Lee Tie and Chow Lee Tie (presumably related) reveal another moment of bureaucratic slippage: on Chow Lee Tie's document, a cursive signature for Joe Lee Tie in shaky handwriting has been crossed out in red in a moment of bureaucratic confusion (Figures 5 and 6). The inconsistencies in listing the subject's name are striking, given the bureaucratic intentions to standardize identity so completely through these documents. The process of documentation did not prioritize the transcultural, translational engagement that properly recording these names would require; instead, an emphasis on the physical body that *could* be "translated" into a legible specimen through Western scientific observation emerged.

The Certificate's original format is strangely vague and even seems incomplete, leading Customs agents to make various modifications directly upon the document in pen. Many of the certificates are full of cross-outs and scribbles that alter the document's original language to accommodate policy changes. One common alteration simply fixes a grammatical error in the first paragraph, modifying "he has not [sic] possession of the receipt" to read "he has possession of the receipt" —a strange error, given that the entire purpose of the documents was to verify that the Chinese subject did, indeed, possess the receipt that proved they had paid the poll tax. Even the fingerprints, considered the most reliable and key form of identification, are a makeshift addition. For several years, boxes labeled 'Left Hand' and 'Right Hand' were applied to the bottom of the document with an ink stamp because the original forms did not require them. On some of the documents, the fingerprints section's lines are faded or completely disappear where the stamp failed to adhere to the page. To further accommodate for the new section, text that initially read "A photograph of [subject name] is attached hereto" was partially scribbled out on a number of documents, and annotated in the margins to read "*The fingerprints of* [subject name]

attached hereto *were taken in my presence*” (alterations in italics). A second official’s signature and the date are haphazardly squeezed in underneath the text. These adjustments create a sense of administrative chaos as the state deliberately increased bureaucratic obstacles for Chinese migrants. The ideals of documentation not only faltered in their confrontation with the Chinese body, but with their implementation by often poorly trained or negligent agents of the state. Over time, the Certificate format was adapted and refined, but bureaucratic disorder remained prevalent; throughout the 1910s, multiple different Certificate formats were simultaneously in circulation across New Zealand.

The alterations reveal the Certificate of Registration to be a living document, constantly subject to changes as the state tightened restrictions upon migration. It disrupts the document’s status as an immutable, indisputable source of state information and migrant rights to mobility. The process of documentation is an expression of the distanced power of the state over the individual. Each component of that process was a *choice*—the result of public opinion, governmental debate, interdepartmental memos. Migrant documentation is deeply personal, not just in its record of the individual. It is personal in its imposition of the will and ideology of the white settler state over the Chinese body, as mediated through the individual encounters between immigration officials and migrants. It is personal in its assertion of the fear, disgust, and anger that white supremacist institutions harbor towards the racial Other.

III. Statement of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars aiding identification

In *Discipline and Punishment*, Foucault describes examination as a punitive and controlling practice:

The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth.³⁶

The punitive and ritual qualities of examination are evident in the often derogatory and invasive language of the statement of personal appearance, where custom officials included brief notes about the subject's height, age, skin tone, and "particularities." The statement of personal appearance is a poor imitation of the *portrait parlé*, a criminal identification system created in 1879 by French police clerk Alphonse Bertillon. Likely inspired by his anthropologist father, the Bertillon system echoed the ethnographic practices that sought to establish racial difference based on precise measurements of the human body.³⁷ This conception of the body was rooted in what Sengoopta describes as an anthropological "[preoccupation] with physical measurements—[nineteenth-century anthropology] measured bodies with an obsessive thoroughness. The bodies of different races, of course, but also those of people within the same society who were suspected of being of a different kind, of being outside the norm represented by the white, middle-class, male scientist."³⁸ As a means of social control, bodily scrutinization produced knowledge about who 'belonged' in European society. To be surveilled in this way was to be marked as other. The Bertillon System, which also included standardized mugshots and fingerprints, and other forms of criminal registration laid the foundation for migrant identification practices in New Zealand.

In this portion of the document, identity was read through miniscule signs. It catalogues details that are often not visible through the black-and-white photographs, such as skin

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 184.

³⁷ Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 19-22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

complexion and small scars or other marks upon the body. Kan Hoong Shum's document goes even further beyond physical description (Figure 7). In addition to listing a "Scar over right cheek bone," the statement of personal appearance includes the detail that Shum "Stutters in speech." Neither of these identifiers are evident in Shum's photograph, where he sits turned towards the camera on an ornate wicker chair. His face is directly turned towards the camera and in clear focus; the lack of evident scarring in the photograph demonstrates the invasively close scrutiny of the body by the customs agent. Rather than relying upon photographs as adequate representations of the body, the statement of personal appearance created a bureaucratic iconography with which to register each individual—a series of disjointed signs that atomized the body, breaking identity down into singular markings. Many of these details appear vague and useless, as if the Customs agent employed this scrutinization simply for the sake of routine. Wong Chaak Kwong's document notes an "Injured nail of ring finger on left hand," which surely would have healed between his 1910 registration and his 1912 return to New Zealand (Figure 8). In these fairly nonfunctional descriptions, Chinese identity was constructed through pathological language that marked their deviations from an idealized and normalized white body. The image of the Chinese body presented in the statement of personal appearance was formed through two seemingly contradictory stereotypes that echoed throughout New Zealand visual and print culture: the image of the inscrutable and practically identical Chinese, and that of the uniquely marked, diseased, or disfigured Chinese.

The statement of identity reiterated the popular belief that Chinese people were indistinguishable from one another, and thus their identity could only be determined through their "particulars." Chinese migrants were considered both physically and behaviorally identical, a monolithic construction that emphasized their perceived inhumanity in juxtaposition to Western

individualism. Paranoia ran rampant that if identification was solely based upon photographs of supposedly “identical” Chinese migrants, they would easily exchange or sell their documents in China to facilitate illegal immigration. Popular political cartoons frequently envisioned Chinese migration as an unstoppable wave, invasion, or plague of identical caricatured figures that threatened to overwhelm the white population, adapting images of the Chinese developed in Australia and the United States to a New Zealand context.³⁹ John Collis Blomfield’s (1878-1942) political cartoon *Still They Come* (1905), an unabashed copy of *And Still They Come* (1880) from Californian satire magazine *The Wasp*, envisions Chinese migration as a teeming hoard that threatens to overwhelm New Zealand’s border, represented by a long wall which several caricatured Chinamen vault or scramble over (Figures 9 and 10).⁴⁰ Two contemporary politicians, Premier Richard Seddon and Joseph Ward, look on in shock and horror at the encroaching flood of bodies. While these two white figures represent specific people and are drawn with distinctive faces, the Chinese caricatures are distorted copies of one another. Only the foremost Chinese figure is rendered in repulsive detail, with a disturbingly contorted face and prominent buck teeth. The rest are carelessly drawn, indistinct echoes of this primary caricature. In addition to their identical physical features, the cartoon depicts the Chinese figures wearing identical clothing: slippers and long robes vaguely based upon the clothing worn by Chinese miners. This

³⁹ Manying Ip and Nigel Murphy note that these cartoons weren’t introducing anything new to the immigration debate—early New Zealand cartoonists “were not generally noted for innovation,” and newspapers “tended to reflect popular opinion rather than form it.” Manying Ip and Nigel Murphy, *Aliens at My Table: Asians as New Zealanders See Them* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2005), 39-40.

⁴⁰ Both cartoons directly critique their states’ governments for the perceived weakness of their immigration control. In *And Still They Come*, an Uncle Sam-type figure with an eagle head cracks open the wall-border’s gate, a document labeled “The New Chinese Treaty” behind his back. Blomfield’s cartoon similarly lays part of the blame for continued Chinese migration at the government’s feet; The frontmost figure, a caricatured Chinaman with a contorted face, vaults over the wall with the aid of a pole labeled “£100 Poll Tax.” The extended caption reads, “Sir Joe—‘Look, Dick. It’s up to us to do something.’ King Dick—‘Yes, by Jove. The wall’s got to go up a bit higher. If a £100 poll tax won’t keep the yellow agony out then we’ll have to slap on another hundred.’ Twenty chinamen arrived yesterday, and the Treasury benefited to the tune of £2000.” *Still They Come* reveals resentment not just towards the Chinese, but towards a government that continued to benefit monetarily from their continued migration instead of imposing a complete ban on their entry.

clothing, contrasted with the suits worn by Ward and Seddon, contributes to their identical appearance and further emphasizes Chinese foreignness in New Zealand society.

The focus on some specific physical features in the statement of personal appearance, such as prominent front teeth, sallow skin, and pockmarks, suggest that the New Zealand customs officials were reading the Chinese subjects through stereotypical and supposedly shared features.⁴¹ The typical caricature of a Chinaman had exaggerated buck teeth, slanted eyes, claw-like nails, yellow skin, and a long queue braid: an alien, animalistic portrayal frequently juxtaposed with the ‘normal’ white body. The mention of pockmarks similarly stands out as a potentially racially charged detail; it implicitly associated the subject with smallpox, a disease linked with Chinese populations in anti-immigrant discourses. The supposedly inherent immorality, cunning, and uncleanliness of the Chinese was coded onto their bodies in these derisive images. Asian American history scholar Robert Lee summarizes:

Yellowface marks the Asian body as unmistakably Oriental; it sharply defines the Oriental in a racial opposition to whiteness. Yellowface exaggerates “racial” features that have been designated “Oriental,” such as “slanted” eyes, overbite, and mustard-yellow skin. Only the racialized Oriental is yellow. Asians are not.⁴²

The statement of appearance exaggerated the presence of ‘abnormal’ characteristics in the Chinese body in a similar manner to cartoon caricatures. The actual appearance of the body is lost as these ‘particularities’ are magnified.

In its distortions of the Chinese body, the statement of personal appearance perpetuated not only the myth of Chinese identity but also the contradictory belief that Chinese people were a uniquely scarred or otherwise “marked” race.⁴³ The fixation upon scars, moles, and other “particularities” reveals that Chinese bodies were both seen as *needing distinction* and *being*

⁴¹ Out of the thirty-five documents published online, three mention prominent upper teeth, two mention pockmarks, and one mentions sallow skin.

⁴² Robert Lee, *Orientalisms: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 2.

⁴³ Simon A. Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 124.

distinctive in a way that white bodies were not. The statement of personal appearance transformed the human body into a unique case or object, what Foucault describes as “the pinning down of each individual in his own particularity.”⁴⁴ The process of examining the body and transferring its visual qualities into text created a new, state-defined identity for the Chinese based upon physical abnormality. The racial undertones of the seemingly neutral “particularities aiding identification” becomes evident with comparison to other forms of identification aimed at white citizens. Archives New Zealand holds another prominent series of identification documents: the passport applications of the legendary 1924/25 All Blacks rugby team, nicknamed “the Invincibles” for their undefeated streak during their tour of the United Kingdom, Ireland, France and Canada (Figure 11).⁴⁵ The symbolic value of their victory was touted by the New Zealand public; the colony, quite literally, had beaten mother Britain at her own game. The All Blacks were the manifestation of Better Britonism. Although the team included some Maori players (including legendary fullback George Napia), most of the players represented the ideal of white New Zealand masculinity. The All Blacks were held up as the exemplary bodily representation of New Zealand. In their transnational movements, the rugby players were not subject to the same rabid scrutinization and policing that Chinese migrants endured in their own travels. Under “Any special particularities” or “Visible distinguishing marks,” Twenty-nine out of the thirty passports have no notes, or simply read “none.” The moles, scars, and marks found so easily upon the Chinese body were simply not observed upon the primarily white rugby players, whose position in New Zealand gave them greater privileges of unimpeded national

⁴⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 192.

⁴⁵ “The Invincibles,” *Archives New Zealand*, last modified February 11, 2022, <https://www.archives.govt.nz/discover-our-stories/the-invincibles-passport-applications>, accessed May 2022.

mobility.⁴⁶ The abnormalities scrutinized upon the Chinese body reflected their position in a nation that viewed the Chinese themselves as an abnormality within the white body politic.

IV. Plain Impressions of the Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)

Like the statement of personal appearance, the enforcement of fingerprinting in the Certificates manifested a deep suspicion of the Chinese through micro-scrutinization. While a statement of personal appearance was common (although widely unused) across travel documents for white citizens, the application of fingerprinting was unique to two groups in New Zealand: criminals and the Chinese. First developed in colonial India to exercise control over the indigenous population, fingerprinting was widely adopted across Europe and its colonies to register criminals in vast state archives.⁴⁷ Sensationalist stories about crooks and murderers caught via fingerprinting further associated this new technology with a seedy criminal underclass and exaggerated fingerprinting's limited capacity to serve as proof of identity.

Chinese migrants to New Zealand frequently opposed documentation practices on the grounds that they were being treated as criminals. This treatment went both ways: Just as the Chinese race was criminalized by these practices, criminals were racialized in Britain and its settler colonies. In nineteenth century Britain, the highly surveilled "criminal race" was considered distinct from the rest of society and frequently described as "barbarians" that threatened British civilization.⁴⁸ Criminals were thus construed as a kind of racial other, and their social deviance was completely segregated from the British cultural identity. The words of

⁴⁶ This was not always the case for Maori rugby players, who were excluded from tours in Apartheid South Africa until the 1970s when New Zealand protestors called for a boycott of all segregated rugby tours.

⁴⁷ Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 12.

⁴⁸ Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India*, 12.

British reformer Thomas Plint drive home this separation between the British identity and criminal behavior: “May it not be said of the class that it is *in* the community, but neither *of* it, nor *from* it?”⁴⁹ This cognitive dissonance allowed the white British identity to remain untarnished by so-called immorality within their own culture. Criminal deviance was visually constructed by bodily “particularities,” much like Chinese migrants. Tattoos, scars, and physical abnormalities were recorded for identification purposes, while anthropologists sought to read criminality in the face and body using pseudoscientific methods such as physiognomy. Visual studies scholar Jonathan Finn asserts that by the late-nineteenth century,

Criminality was bound to the physical body and... certain types of bodies were believed to be more prone to deviance. The criminal body was defined in terms that reflected racial and gender biases and that supported existing social theories and hierarchies. This knowledge in turn influenced further law enforcement and criminal identification practices.⁵⁰

The social categories of the criminal and the racial other were developed in tandem with one another, shaping each other’s treatment and perception by the state.

The media cultures of criminal identification and migrant identification were constantly in direct contact, each building on the technologies of the other. This exchange is especially evident in the New Zealand practice of fingerprinting Chinese migrants, first rolled into wax and then, beginning in 1904, using printer’s ink. The widespread and official practice of fingerprinting Chinese migrants was unique to New Zealand and Australia in the early twentieth century, demonstrating the close collaboration between the two countries in maintaining white hegemony in the British South Pacific and the extreme and somewhat experimental methods they were willing to use in the process. In New Zealand, association between fingerprinting and criminality went beyond the simply symbolic. The fingerprint section was directly pulled from

⁴⁹ Reproduced in *ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁰ Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 30.

criminal documentation of the same time period (Figure 12). In documents between 1904-1907, this section was added using a rubber stamp that replicated the formatting and text from police documents.⁵¹ It took several years before Certificates of Registration were printed with a fingerprints section (rather than the stamped modification); the production and use of these documents was likely limited due to the low Chinese New Zealand population and the even lower numbers of migrants with the financial means to seek return passage. Chinese migrants quickly mobilized against the fingerprint requirement.⁵² Fingerprinting was universally abhorred because of its criminal association. Chinese consul to New Zealand Lin Shih-yuan even proclaimed that “The way that New Zealand treats the Chinese is worst among the white states” specifically because of the use of fingerprinting, a dramatic contrast to white New Zealanders’ self-congratulation for their comparatively more tolerant treatment of Chinese and indigenous populations.⁵³ Chinese resistance to fingerprinting eventually led to shifts in policy, as a 1910 memo amends that “should any Chinese object to leave impressions of the fingers of both hands the impression of the thumbs only are to be required.”⁵⁴ But even as the official document format and language shifted to thumb printing, Customs officials often continued to record the subject’s full fingerprints on the back side of the document (see Wong Chaak Kwong’s document, figure 8).

The application of fingerprinting to migrant documentation reflected the larger conditions of Chinese exclusion: because simply existing in New Zealand as a Chinese migrant without state documentation was a crime, all Chinese people were made into potential criminals by the state. The fingerprint was the ultimate symbol of this criminalized identity. It marked Chinese

⁵¹ Memo no. 350 reproduced in Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997* (New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008), 355.

⁵² Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997* (New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008), 52.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 358.

migrants as an inherently suspect population, constantly subject to police and state surveillance in ways that white citizens were not. Like criminals, the Chinese were treated as a subhuman threat to New Zealand's aspirational Better Britonism. The fingerprints were viewed as a necessary measure to counter the wily, deceptive Oriental. A 1910 article from the New Zealand *Dominion*, entitled "Caught by Finger Print: A Chinese Trick that Failed," gloats:

"For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, the heathen Chinese is peculiar," so we are told, but he cannot beat the finger-print system of identification... A case of a Chinaman trying to slip through on another man's papers happened here last week on the arrival of the Manuka from Sydney. The papers were all in order, but the finger-print of the newly-arrived failed to correspond with the impress alongside the signature in the Customs records. The result was that the man had to be sent back to Sydney, and the authorities there will probably insist on the shipping company taking him back to whence he came.⁵⁵

This article maintains both the illusion that fingerprinting technology was reliable and effective, and that fingerprinting was necessary to manage the immoral Chinese

Fingerprints are better understood as powerful visual symbols rather than as the utilitarian, indisputable personal identifiers that nineteenth century anthropologists and criminologists dreamed they would be. In the Certificates of Registration, the application of fingerprints ranges from small, rounded fingertips to almost-entire fingers that appear like hands grasping the ends of the document. The imprints, too, range from barely-there ghosts to prints so saturated with ink that they form indistinguishable black blobs. Although a booklet entitled *Instructions for Taking and Comparing Finger-Impressions of Chinese Entering and Leaving New Zealand* was published for clerical reference in 1904, the irregularity displayed across these documents indicate a lack of widespread expertise in this new identification technology. On a number of documents, fingerprints were re-taken directly on the back side of the Certificate, years after the subject's registration, raising questions about exactly how clerks compared fingerprints upon return, and how attentive they were in their examination. While numerous

⁵⁵ "Caught by Finger Print," *Dominion*, November 10, 1910, 4.

studies have proven that fingerprints are not reliable means of identification (especially when they are smudged or otherwise obscured, as many on the Certificates of Registration are), a widespread fascination with fingerprint identification demonstrates how visually alluring and scientifically aspirational they were in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Francis Galton, the Father of Eugenics, was one of fingerprinting's most passionate advocates. The title page of his 1892 book on the subject, *Finger Prints*, features his own fingerprints arranged in an arch (Figure 13). The use of fingerprints in lieu of an illustration demonstrates their sensational and visual appeal. The hypnotic ink whorls register what Galton considers to be his own unique identity. The fingerprints invite close visual scrutiny, both because of their level of detail and Galton's belief that all secrets of identity could be revealed through close examination of the prints. In Galton's writings, fingerprints take on mythic qualities akin to a soul: they are "little worlds in themselves," a "sign-manual that differentiates the person who made [them], throughout the whole of his life, from all the rest of mankind."⁵⁶ Fingerprinting was an enticing new technology that, to scientists like Galton, had enormous potential in regulating entire populations and nations.⁵⁷ But the association between fingerprinting and criminal identification

⁵⁶ Francis Galton, *Finger Prints* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 2-4.

⁵⁷ Fingerprinting foreigners was not only considered necessary as a means of social control, but for potential scientific advancement. When Galton first began investigating fingerprints, he keenly searched for racial distinctions between fingerprints. He dedicated a chapter in his text to "Races and Classes," only to conclude disappointedly that "No indications of temperament, character, or ability are to be found in finger marks, so far as I have been able to discover." But even as he comes to this conclusion, he continues to project his own racial biases onto the prints: "The impressions from Negroes betray the general clumsiness of their fingers, but their patterns are not, so far as I can find, different from those of others, they are not simpler as judged either by their contours or by the number of origins, embranchments, islands, and enclosures contained in them. Still, whether it be from pure fancy on my part, or from the way in which they were printed, or from some real peculiarity, the general aspect of the Negro print strikes me as characteristic. The width of the ridges seem more uniform, their intervals more regular, and their courses more parallel than with us. In short, they give an idea of greater simplicity, due to causes that I have not yet succeeded in submitting to the test of measurement." Galton contradicts himself here: at the same time that he states that there are no distinct differences between Black subjects' fingerprints and other samples, he still can't seem to resist including his own racialized reading. Similarly to assertions by customs agents that the Chinese were the "most marked or scarred race," Galton's reading of fingerprints is informed by what he *expects* to find based on a white supremacist racial hierarchy. This association between fingerprinting and racial pseudoscience carries through in the Chinese Certificates of Registration. With their fingerprints, physical descriptions, and photographs, they have all the makings of an anthropological document. Like anthropological documentation, the Certificates of

made the practice completely unpalatable to the general public. In his account of fingerprinting in Colonial India, historian Chandak Sengoopta notes that in the British empire, fingerprinting was only accepted as a means to control populations marked as *other*: “The British public and its political leaders considered universal identification of ordinary people to be repugnant: the individual’s right to live and die unobserved by a bureaucracy was a sacred principle of English liberty.”⁵⁸ This ‘sacred principle’ clearly did not apply to race aliens.

From the context of rising police surveillance and the development of scientific racism under anthropology, fingerprints emerged as both a criminalized and racialized technology. The fingerprints on the Certificates of Registration reveal the haunting and repressive reality of the practice that Galton so eagerly proselytized. The long finger-marks found on Lee Kay’s documents and others, such as Leong Maan, are particularly striking (Figure 14). These are not the neat, deliberately arranged prints of Galton’s title page; they are strange echoes of coerced and repeated movements. The 1904 fingerprinting booklet laid out precise instructions for the taking and reading of fingerprints, but the documents themselves stray far from the bureaucratic ideal. Among other directions, the booklet states that fingerprints are “to be taken in fresh ink, with the wrist well below the edge of the table, the subject being told to stand a little away from the table, not to press too hard, and not to let the inked finger roll back on to the print.”⁵⁹ These instructions called for the migrant subject and the Customs official to participate in a highly regulated, precise ritual that was often disrupted by human error. Irregularity emerged from the interaction between the human body and the bureaucratic document. Compared to the document’s neat text and orderly lines, the fingerprints are jarringly visceral, organic, and messy.

Registration treat each subject like a specimen to be analyzed and studied, see Francis Galton, *Finger Prints* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 174, 173.

⁵⁸ Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How Fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 119.

⁵⁹ *Instructions for Taking and Comparing Finger Impressions of Chinese Entering and Leaving New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1904), 4.

They frequently overlap with the neat rectangular boxes meant to contain them. There is no regularity to the amount of the hand imprinted upon the page or the quantity of ink used to capture the prints, and some of the prints indicate that the subject's hand was splayed out while others appear in tight, vertical lines. Customs officers were instructed to find "a considerable number" of similar points (labeled in the booklet using terms such as ridge-counts, loops, cores, arches, bifurcations, and deltas) between freshly taken prints and the documented prints in order to confirm identity: "Obviously this agreement possesses cumulative force, and would satisfy most persons that the similarity in pattern is so well established as to constitute identity."⁶⁰ The booklet suggests that finding ten such similarities would confirm identity with the odds of "over a million to one."⁶¹ The booklet's pseudoscientific tone and vague mathematical gestures, like the fingerprints themselves, serve as an authoritative reassurance that new technologies of identification could successfully capture and control socially undesirable groups.

Fingerprinting directly imposed the will of the state upon the Chinese body and dictated the migrants' position in New Zealand society as permanent social outsiders. This form of identification was uniquely reviled because, due to its criminal associations and its exclusive application to Chinese migrants, fingerprinting was a clearly punitive and humiliating practice. The fidelity of fingerprints was so trusted that the New Zealand Customs office considered dispensing with photographic portraits altogether in Chinese migrant documentation.⁶² The eagerness to register the Chinese body with fingerprints alone demonstrates the ingrained racial ideologies of Better Britonism. The dehumanized Oriental was a fair target for experimentation with new forms of regulation and identification; indeed, these technologies were framed as the

⁶⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁶¹ Ibid., 14.

⁶² Memo no. 350 reproduced in Nigel Murphy, *Guide to Laws and Policies Relating to the Chinese in New Zealand 1871-1997* (New Zealand Chinese Association, 2008), 355.

only means that could possibly counter the Yellow Peril. The Customs office's suggestion to do away with photographs was not just about eliminating redundancy. It fundamentally reveals how Better Britonist New Zealand viewed the Chinese—not as potential citizens, but potential threats. One aspect that makes these documents so striking is the juxtaposition between the fingerprints and the carefully composed studio photographs. While both fingerprinting and photography were mobilized to ostensibly enforce total control and surveillance over the movements of Chinese migrants, they present two nearly opposite forms of identity. Fingerprints are not immediately identifiable in the way that a photograph is; instead, fingerprinting is a process that must be repeated over and over again to satisfy the institutional gaze. The fingerprint is an index of physical presence, representing the entire body while not having any actual resemblance to the subject as a whole.

I posit that fingerprints are an anti-portrait: They are not a “likeness,” but a physical impression that communicates little actual information about the subject. They function repressively rather than honorifically, as only people who were considered lesser or alien to society were fingerprinted. This technology reflects the agency of the institution to determine what constitutes a truthful expression of ‘identity,’ rather than the agency of the individual to control their own self-presentation. While a portrait humanizes, fingerprints dehumanize by confining an individual's identity to a sort of biological barcode. While the customs office ultimately never dispensed with the photograph in favor of the fingerprint, the desire to do so reveals the pervasive alienation of the Chinese. The photograph attached to the Certificate of Registration is frequently the only existing image of their subject. While these photographs were produced under repressive circumstances, these images often have enormous personal

significance to the descendants of Chinese New Zealand migrants and communicate a personal identity beyond what fingerprints could ever capture.

V. A photograph of _____ is attached hereto.

Photographic portraiture involved a more complicated confluence of subject agency and state control. Chinese residents applying for a Certificate of Registration were required to provide their own photograph. This forced them to shoulder both the burden of cost and what John Tagg terms ‘the burden of representation.’ Although these photographs reflect honorific portraiture traditions—which emphasized the status and individuality of their subjects through deliberate, formal, and highly codified elements of pose, dress, and setting—they were produced by the demands for Chinese migrants to make themselves legible and visible to the state. These photographs exemplify what Tagg theorizes as a shift in Western photographic representation from privileged status symbol to a tool of surveillance and state control, central to the development of modern disciplinary institutions over the course of the nineteenth century. Within this coercive context, however, Chinese migrants exercised control over their photographic representation in a way that disrupts the state’s alienating, criminalizing logic of identification.

Each Certificate includes an identifying photograph provided by the subject, taken at a variety of local photography studios in Dunedin, Otago. Rather than the simple, close-cropped headshots more commonly associated with identification today, these photographs are dignified studio portraits with a variety of backdrops, poses, and compositions.⁶³ Some of the photographs

⁶³ The range of photographs that were accepted for return certificates was apparently extensive, if documents from neighboring Australia can be taken as an indication; in “Riding with the Best of Them: Chinese Australians and Cycling in Australia,” historian Sophie Couchman examines the striking and humorous photograph that cycling enthusiast William Nean provided for his Australian return certificate in 1900. Departing completely from mugshots and honorific portraiture conventions alike, he poses riding a bicycle and dressed in casual cycling clothing!

only show the upper half of the subject's body against a plain background, while others show the subject's full body, seated or standing amongst lush, ornamental studio sets. While similarities in these elements arise from studio conventions, they are far from the mugshots that were used to register criminals. Bertillon standardized the mugshot along the same lines of logic as fingerprinting and the *portrait parlé*; the starkly-lit, close-cropped frontal and profile views of the face similarly treated the body as a specimen that could be captured and known in totality by the state. The Certificates as a whole are so occupied with registering the Chinese body at the intersections of criminalization and ethnography that the honorific portraits are a striking contrast. The subjects in the photographs could not be further from the dehumanizing caricatures of the Chinese published in New Zealand newspapers; since the subjects documented by the Certificates were typically more well-off members of the community, with the economic means to visit China as well as established lives and businesses within New Zealand, they especially desired to extricate themselves from stereotypes that painted the Chinese as impoverished, dirty, and unassimilable.⁶⁴ The Western self-fashioning exhibited in these photographs resonate with collective efforts to establish a livelihood in a hostile state. Flexible, decentralized community and family networks were integral to the successful navigation of an increasingly demanding bureaucracy.⁶⁵ Their photographic presentation was matched by community efforts to challenge discriminatory legislation and promote a positive image of the Chinese population that emphasized their assimilability to New Zealand culture.⁶⁶ Thus, the requirement that applicants

Sophie Couchman, "Riding With the Best of Them: Chinese Australians and Cycling in Australia," in *Scorchers, Ramblers and Rovers: Australasian Cycling Histories*, edited by Clare S. Simpson, 57-76 (Gold Coast: Australian Society for Sports History, 2006).

⁶⁴ Many thanks to Nigel Murphy, Lynette Shum, and Kirsten Wong for the insightful discussions of Chinese New Zealand social history.

⁶⁵ McKeown, "Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China," 383.

⁶⁶ Charles Sedgwick, "The Organizational Dynamics of the New Zealand Chinese: A Case of Political Ethnicity," 49.

provide their own photographs disrupted the state's construction of Chinese identity through both exclusionist rhetoric and surveillance technologies.

Art historian Roberta Wue states that “Portraiture is all about roleplay... It's impossible for portraiture to represent us in the fullness of our identities. You have to pick a role.”⁶⁷ In late-nineteenth century China, Western self-fashioning appears with relative rarity in photographic portraiture. These subjects, often sojourners or students who had traveled abroad, departed from traditional pictorial traditions and attire in order to signal their alignment with Western conceptions of modernity. In mainland China, Western self-fashioning was, in the words of art historian Robert Harrist, “the site of ideological showdowns between things Chinese and foreign, traditional and modern, provincial and cosmopolitan.”⁶⁸ Ideals of Western and Chinese portraiture clashed beyond choices of attire. Wue states that Chinese portraiture traditions were characterized by “anti-naturalist” aesthetics of pictorial flatness and frontality that differed from Western perspectival conventions:

Formally, this meant the use of a pictorial language more conceptual than mimetic and that thus stressed image surface. Consequently, the Chinese portrait is perhaps best understood as a sequence of signs; signs that relied heavily on culturally specific codes for constructing likeness.⁶⁹

In juxtaposition, nineteenth century Western portraiture traditions assumed “that the individual and his or her inner life could be understood through telling physical idiosyncrasies and that conveying the sitter's individuality was crucial to a successful portrait.”⁷⁰ While the Western conventions of Chinese New Zealand portraits were partially out of necessity, since they were

⁶⁷ “Roberta Wue, “Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late 19th-Century Shanghai” (University of Hawaii Press, 2014),” December 11, 2015, in *New Books in East Asian Studies*, produced by New Books Network, podcast, MP3 Audio, 1:04:15, <https://newbooksnetwork.com/roberta-wue-art-worlds-artists-images-and-audiences-in-late-19th-century-shanghai-u-of-hawaii-press-2014>.

⁶⁸ Robert E. Harrist, “Clothes Make the Man: Dress, Modernity, and Masculinity in China ca. 1912-1937,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang. (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 172.

⁶⁹ Roberta Wue, “Essentially Chinese: The Chinese Portrait Subject in Nineteenth-Century Photograph,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 268.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

taken at local Western studios, Western self-fashioning was also a politically strategic assertion of Chinese personhood and assimilability. In her examination of CI-9 documents, the Canadian equivalent of the New Zealand Certificate of Registration, Lily Cho argues that Chinese sojourners presented themselves as ideal citizens through their photographic representations:

The subjects of the C.I.9 photographs anticipate what will be asked of them. They are asking for the right to return to a country that explicitly excludes them from national policy... They know something about what a person who has an unquestionable right to return to Canada, a citizen, is supposed to look like. They did not know each other, but they knew to perform, to model, the expression of emotional neutrality that the state would eventually demand.⁷¹

As Cho notes, the photographs provided by Chinese subjects for government documentation were often similar despite the lack of official standardization. The photographs attached to the New Zealand Certificates of Registration are neither identical or eclectic in format. The photographs follow Western studio conventions in lighting, poses, and spatial arrangement, and their subjects consistently display Western attire and hairstyles.⁷² They emulated the image of the ideal British commonwealth citizen, even when they could not become citizens themselves. In fulfilling the Certificate's requirements, Chinese migrants mobilized portrait photography to invoke Western bourgeois respectability that countered sinophobic rhetoric.

Wong Tsuen Shing is the image of European bourgeois respectability in his photograph; he wears a Western three-piece suit and poses with a relaxed yet assertive posture, gazing confidently towards the camera with a slight smile (Figure 15). His arm is angled outwards as he grasps the end of a pocket watch chain, a symbol of Western wealth and affluence commonly displayed by Chinese subjects in this series of photographs. While not all of the figures in the

⁷¹ Lily Cho, "Intimacy Among Strangers: Anticipating Citizenship in Chinese Head Tax Photographs," *Interventions* 15, no. 1 (2013): 20.

⁷² While many of the subjects appear to have close-cropped hair, the individuals that have chosen to maintain a queue hairstyle use different methods to obscure their distinctive long braids, a frequent target of racist caricature and mockery. Kwok Tso Wai, Chow Tong, and Kwok Leung Kit all use a similar hairstyle to maintain their queues while adhering to Western standards. Each refrained from shaving the front of their head and pinned their braid around their head, emulating a close-cropped haircut. This style gives a glimpse into the adaptive, transnational lives of Chinese sojourners as they negotiated between two sets of cultural standards.

Certificates' photographs appear as at ease in the studio environment as Wong, this portrait is fairly conventional to the collection in terms of its format, pose, lighting, and personal appearance. His pose, with legs folded and his upper body slightly twisted to face the camera, is dynamic and asymmetrical, departing from the flat, frontal visual qualities and formal poses associated with Chinese portraiture.⁷³ The lighting, too, creates an interplay of shadows that emphasizes the three-dimensional space and form in the image, following Western conventions of photographic naturalism. This image is a jarring juxtaposition to his fingerprints and statement of personal appearance ("Age 35 years/ Height 5 ft. 5 1/2 ins./ Cautery scars between eyebrows/ Small chin"). The objectifying gaze of the state is at odds with Wong's photographic representation as a self-assured Westernized gentleman and a successful, cosmopolitan migrant.

Like most of the portraits in this series, Wong's photograph is attached to a cardboard or thick paper backing that frames the image and includes the studio's label; in this case, Morris studio, Dunedin. Studio labels, alongside their particular array of props, poses, and photographic formats, often give a glimpse into the collaborative social bonds and solidarity of Chinese migrants in New Zealand.⁷⁴ For instance, although Joe Fai and James Shum have no studio label attached to their photographs, they pose next to the same distinctive stone balcony prop (Figures 16 and 17). Their documents indicate that they applied for Certificates within just two months of each other, suggesting their potential collaboration in preparing for their travels home. Other connections between the documents are more obvious. Take the portraits of Joe Lee Tie and Chow Lee Tie: both stand facing the camera in the same generic pose, with one hand in their pocket and the other resting on top of the same intricate wicker chair. The identical poses,

⁷³ Roberta Wue, "Essentially Chinese: The Chinese Portrait Subject in Nineteenth-Century Photograph," in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 268.

⁷⁴ *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003): 26.

surroundings, and photographic composition makes it evident that the two presumably related subjects had their portraits taken at the same studio, potentially on the same day and for the same purpose of fulfilling the customs document requirements. Other signs of collaboration and possibly a joint journey back to China crop up throughout their documents, which share a circular Dunedin Customs stamp marked 30 Nov. 1907 as well as a confusion between the two men's signatures (examined earlier in section II).

Sew Kew and his son, Sue Ham, similarly reflect their familial ties in their photographs and documentation, both dated March 28, 1906. Sew Kew unconventionally provided a photograph of himself and his son; he is seated while his son stands, resting his hand upon his father's shoulder. They wear matching suits for their photograph, and both display their pocket watch chain on their waistcoats. Sew Kew is marked with a red "x" above his head, to indicate who the document belongs to. While Sue Ham's photograph is a solo portrait, he is seated on the same distinctive fur-draped wooden stump that is in Sew Kew's photograph. Besides Sew Kew and Sue Ham's evident family relation, the distinctive props and manner of posing exhibited in Sue Ham's photograph appear across documents of seemingly unrelated subjects: Ah Dick (registered in his documentation as "Shum Dick or Ah Dick") and Lee Tsz Chin (Figures 18 and 19) adopt similar seated poses, with one hand resting on their lap and the other upon a table with an ornate floral tablecloth. Although the photographer for these images is unknown and they do not have a studio label, the commonalities in poses and props can be traced to reconstruct social relationships.

The table-and-chair arrangement found in many of these portraits was common across Chinese and Western studio photography. Wue writes,

Table and chair were almost always to be found in the Chinese portrait. Together with the small objects that accompany each sitter, they also suggest and signal a setting and environment... The situation in the Chinese photograph can be understood as an idealized social encounter with the viewer.⁷⁵

These portraits create a social relationship between the subject and viewer, pointing to the function of honorific portraiture as an object of display and exchange. This social form is at odds with their repressive function as a component of the Certificates, placing them at a tenuous intersection within Tagg's photographic theory. They speak to the burden of representation as "the exercise of a new kind of power on the social body, generating new kinds of knowledge and newly refined means of control," but also to the function of personal portraits "whose meaning and value lie in countless social exchanges and rituals" and mark social ascent and affluence.⁷⁶ While migrant documentation may have necessitated the production of these photographs, it is likely that their subjects also shared these portraits with family members in China or kept copies for personal display. In the case of subjects such as Kaan Hoong Shum, who accumulated multiple Certificates of Registration in their lifetime, these documents provide a glimpse into how their documentation and self-presentation changed over time (Figure 20). Today, the Certificates of Registration remain important genealogical records for Chinese New Zealanders researching their family history and often provide the only remaining image of their relatives.⁷⁷

As individual portraits, these photographs presented an image of Western assimilation and respectability that countered racist rhetoric; but as a collection, they reveal the personal and social lives of their subjects. Their commonalities suggest that the process of acquiring these state documents was facilitated by shared knowledge about local businesses, concurrent trips to

⁷⁵ Roberta Wue, "Essentially Chinese: The Chinese Portrait Subject in Nineteenth-Century Photograph," in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 275.

⁷⁶ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 59, 34.

⁷⁷ "Hong Yuen," *Archives New Zealand*, last modified December 3, 2013, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/archivesnz/11196402305/in/photostream/>.

photography studios, and a shared anticipation for the journey home. McKeown notes that through documentation, “Migrants were torn out of informal social networks and institutions and repositioned as individual bearers of distinguishable qualities and documentation that could be fixed within a matrix of standardized categories and cross-referenced files.”⁷⁸ The treatment of people as solitary specimens or objects belies the communal and filial bonds integral to Chinese diaspora. Portrait photography, a practice that is highly social in its creation, format, and exchange, gives these bonds and social histories a presence within the matrices of a bureaucracy that sought to exclude and erase Chinese presence.

Conclusion

During the 2022 Oxford China Forum, Chinese New Zealand historian Manying Ip discussed her own Certificate of Registration from 1974: “When I arrived in the country as a young mother from Hong Kong with a British passport, in fact, I was surprised that I actually had to carry something... and I’m classified as an alien.”⁷⁹ Ip reflects that although she felt welcomed to New Zealand by the locals, this sense of inclusion was marred by official forms of discrimination. While the 1974 Certificate had adapted in format, its repressive function remained the same. Ip recalls that whenever she changed her residence within New Zealand, she was required to report to the nearest police station with her Certificate:

I was very diligent, actually, each time reporting to the police station. I didn’t think [about it]. But when I moved the next time, the police officers—I still remember, I was carrying my baby, and they discussed with each other, “What on earth is this thing? We have never seen this before.” Now the reason why they have not seen this before is that there were so few Chinese, new Chinese, who came from anywhere... No one knew what it was about, the police officers didn’t know what—and then, as it turns out, they said “Well, we’d better not bother.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 11.

⁷⁹ “Oxford China Forum 2022 - Day 4,” *Oxford China Forum*, March 21, 2022, YouTube video, 4:27:20. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gNJDSV9y588&ab_channel=OxfordChinaForum.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Ip's recollections reveal the lived experiences of navigating the nonsensical demands of state bureaucracy. In this encounter, she and the officers she encounters are enmeshed in a system that they, as individuals, have no control over, but which gives the state inordinate power over Ip's livelihood as exercised through the whims of the police. Ip's account is intensely human in its sense of everyday banality; she recalls holding her child and witnessing the confusion of the officers, who ultimately shrug their shoulders at her perplexing documentation. These interactions are lost in the archives of early-twentieth century migrant documents, but lie behind the production and exchange of each Certificate of Registration.

Migrant documentation naturalizes racial discrimination and encodes systems of power and marginalization. It transforms state violence and exclusion into an everyday banality, mechanized through impersonal (and often nonfunctional) state bureaucracies. Interrogating these documents exposes their machinery: their technological lineages in ethnography and criminology; their ideological foundation upon Yellow Peril rhetoric and imagery; and their ultimate failure to control the resilient and adaptable Chinese New Zealand population.

FIGURES



Fig. 1 John Hoyte, *An Auckland Panorama*, 1869, watercolor, 43.7 x 63 cm. Auckland, Auckland Art Gallery.

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Chinese portraits

These images of Chinese immigrants who wanted to leave New Zealand temporarily were taken between 1904 and 1956. The whole series has been digitised.

The Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 and the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 and its amendments, set out details of requirements to be met by 'aliens' or non-British citizens, entering or leaving New Zealand. When departing overseas, they required certificates of registration to ensure that they would be permitted to re-enter New Zealand.





The Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 and the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 and its amendments, set out details of requirements to be met by 'aliens' or non-British citizens, entering or leaving New Zealand. When departing overseas, they required certificates of registration to ensure that they would be permitted to re-enter New Zealand.

These were issued by the Collector of Customs in Dunedin. They were issued in duplicate, with one copy given to the person applying and one retained by the Collector.

When they returned, the certificate was presented to a Customs official, and once identified, they could enter the country. The surrendered certificate was then forwarded to the Collector of Customs who had issued it and filed with his copy. The certificate also exempted them from paying the poll tax required under the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881, provided they had paid it on their first entry. The certificates generally show the following details:

- port and date of issue of certificate
- name of alien and place of residence
- identification details such as the place and date of birth, physical features
- arrival details and a photograph

Some of the earlier certificates also required fingerprints. Some certificates have the initial application attached, or correspondence about the individual concerned.

			
Kwok Tso Wai	Chow Tong	Yeung Yeung Tsuen	Kwok Leung Kit
DADF/D429/19064/1a	DADF/D429/19064/1b	DADF/D429/19064/1c	DADF/D429/19064/1d

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Fig. 2 “Chinese Portraits,” *Archives New Zealand*, screenshot captured April 2022, <https://www.archives.govt.nz/discover-our-stories/chinese-portraits#>.



at Sew Kew.
 at present in Dunedin
 land on about 1845
 from Hongkong.
 or for him, and that he has not possession
Sew Kew.
 is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
years, his name has been registered by me.
 ax will be received on deposit, and will be


 Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
 Dated 28th March, 1906.
 Signature of Sew Kew.

In Chinese characters: 蘇 啟
 In English (if possible): Sew Kew

The finger prints of Sew Kew is attached hereto. were taken
in my presence H. Williams
28/3/06

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Age = 50 years.
Height = 5 ft. 8 ins.
Prominent upper front tooth
Stout build

LEFT HAND:
Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, and Index Fingers.
(To be taken on the back of the hand.)



RIGHT HAND:
Plain Impressions of Index, Ring, and Little Fingers.
(To be taken on the back of the hand.)

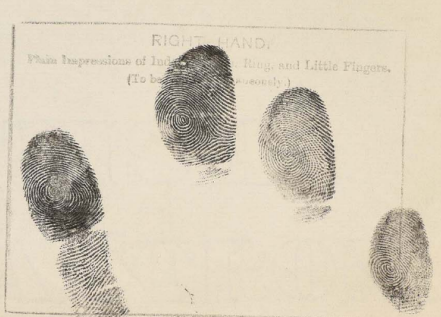


Fig. 3a: R7518703/2e - Sew Kew 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

This is to certify that Sew Kew
a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on about 1875
in the ship " ," from Hongkong
and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
of the receipt for same. The said Sew Kew
having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
return within five (5) years, his name has been registered by me.
On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
returned upon identification.

Richard
acty Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
Dated 28th March, 1906.

Signature of Sew Kew

In Chinese characters: 蘇 啟 In English (if possible): Sew Kew

The finger prints of Sew Kew is attached hereto. were taken
in my presence H. W. Williams
28/3/06


STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Age = 50 years.
Height = 5 ft. 8 ins.
Prominent upper front tooth
Stout build

LEFT
Whale Impressions of Little, Ring, and Index Fingers.
(To be taken in ink.)

RIGHT HAND,
Whale Impressions of Index, Ring, and Little Fingers.
(To be taken in ink.)

Fig. 3b: R7518703/2e - Sew Kew 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



Sue Ham.

at present in Dunedin

land on June 8th 1904

from Hongkong

or for him, and that he has not possession

Sue Ham

is desirous of visiting China, and intends to

his name has been registered by me.

ax will be received on deposit, and will be

*Full tax receipt
no 1512 of 1904 out
for 100 produced
to me
W. Williams
28/3/06*

W. Williams
acty Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin

Dated 28th March, 1906.

Signature of Sue Ham

In Chinese characters: 蘇咸

In English (if possible): _____

The finger prints of Sue Ham is attached hereto. were taken
A photograph of Sue Ham in my presence W. Williams
28/3/06.


STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Age - 22 years
Height 5 ft. 1 in.
hooked right little finger

LEFT HAND.
Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, and Index Fingers.
(to be taken simultaneously.)


RIGHT HAND.
Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers.
(to be taken simultaneously.)

Fig. 4a: R7518702/2d - Sue Ham 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



Joe Lee Tie
 at present in Dunedin
 land on 1874
 ,” from Hongkong
 or for him, and that he has not possession
Joe Lee Tie
 is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
 , his name has been registered by me.
 ax will be received on deposit, and will be

Collector of Customs.
 Collector of Customs.



Signature of Joe Lee Tie
 In Chinese characters : 周理泰 In English (if possible) : Joe Tie

The finger-prints of Joe Lee Tie , attached hereto,
 were recorded in my presence.

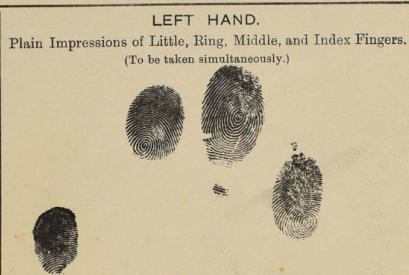
J. Barnett
 Collector.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Height 5ft 3 1/2 in.
 Age 53 years
 Scar near crown of head over
 left ear.

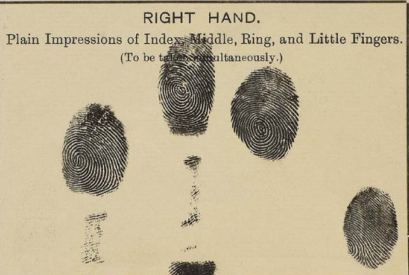
LEFT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers.
 (To be taken simultaneously.)



RIGHT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers.
 (To be taken simultaneously.)



1,000/2 (1905-1798)

Fig. 5a: R7518718/2t - Joe Lee Tie 1907 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

Joe Lee Tie is to certify that Joe Lee Tie
Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on 1874
in the ship "sailing —," from Hongkong
and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
of the receipt for same. The said Joe Lee Tie
having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
return within four years, his name has been registered by me.
On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
returned upon identification.

C. W. Chumley
Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
Dated 27th November, 1907.

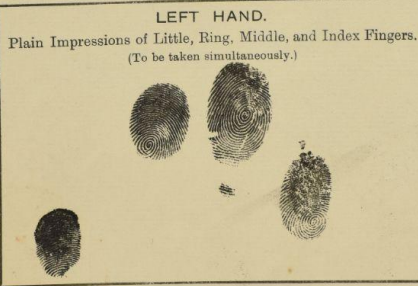
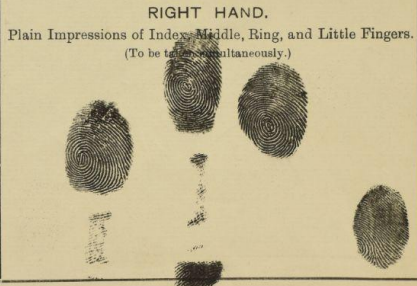
Signature of Joe Lee Tie
In Chinese characters: 李理周 In English (if possible): Joe Tie

The finger-prints of Joe Lee Tie, attached hereto,
were recorded in my presence.

J. Barnett
Collector.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Height 5ft 3 1/2 in.
Age 53 years.
Scar near crown of head over
left ear.

LEFT HAND. Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)	RIGHT HAND. Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)
	


1,000/2 (1905-1795)

Fig. 5b: R7518718/2t - Joe Lee Tie 1907 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].




t Chow Lee Tie
 d, at present in Dunedin
 aland on 1876
 ,” from Hongkong
 y or for him, and that he has not possession
Chow Lee Tie
 is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
res, his name has been registered by me.
 tax will be received on deposit, and will be


 Collector of Customs



Signature of Chow Lee Tie
 In Chinese characters: 周利泰 In English (if possible): Lee Lee Tie
 The finger-prints of Chow Lee Tie, attached hereto,
 were recorded in my presence.


 Collector.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Height 5 feet 4 1/2 in.
 Age 54 yrs.
 Stout Build.

LEFT HAND. Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)	RIGHT HAND. Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)
	

1,000/2/1905-17981

Fig. 6a: R7518719/2u - Chow Lee Tie 1907 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

John L. Lee

I do hereby certify that Chow Lee Tie
 residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
 that he arrived in New Zealand on 1876
 in the ship "Chingtu," from Hongkong
 and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
 of the receipt for same. The said Chow Lee Tie
 having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
 return within (5) five years, his name has been registered by me.
 On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
 returned upon identification.

C. W. Chumley
 Collector of Customs

Port of Dunedin
 Dated 29th November, 1907.

Signature of Chow Lee Tie



In Chinese characters: 周利泰 In English (if possible): Joe Lee Tie

The finger-prints of Chow Lee Tie, attached hereto,
 were recorded in my presence.

J. Barnett
 Collector.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Height 5 feet 4 1/2 in.
Age 54 yrs.
Stout Build.

<p>LEFT HAND. Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)</p> 	<p>RIGHT HAND. Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers. (To be taken simultaneously.)</p> 
---	---

1,000/2/1905-1798

Fig. 6b: R7518719/2u - Chow Lee Tie 1907 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

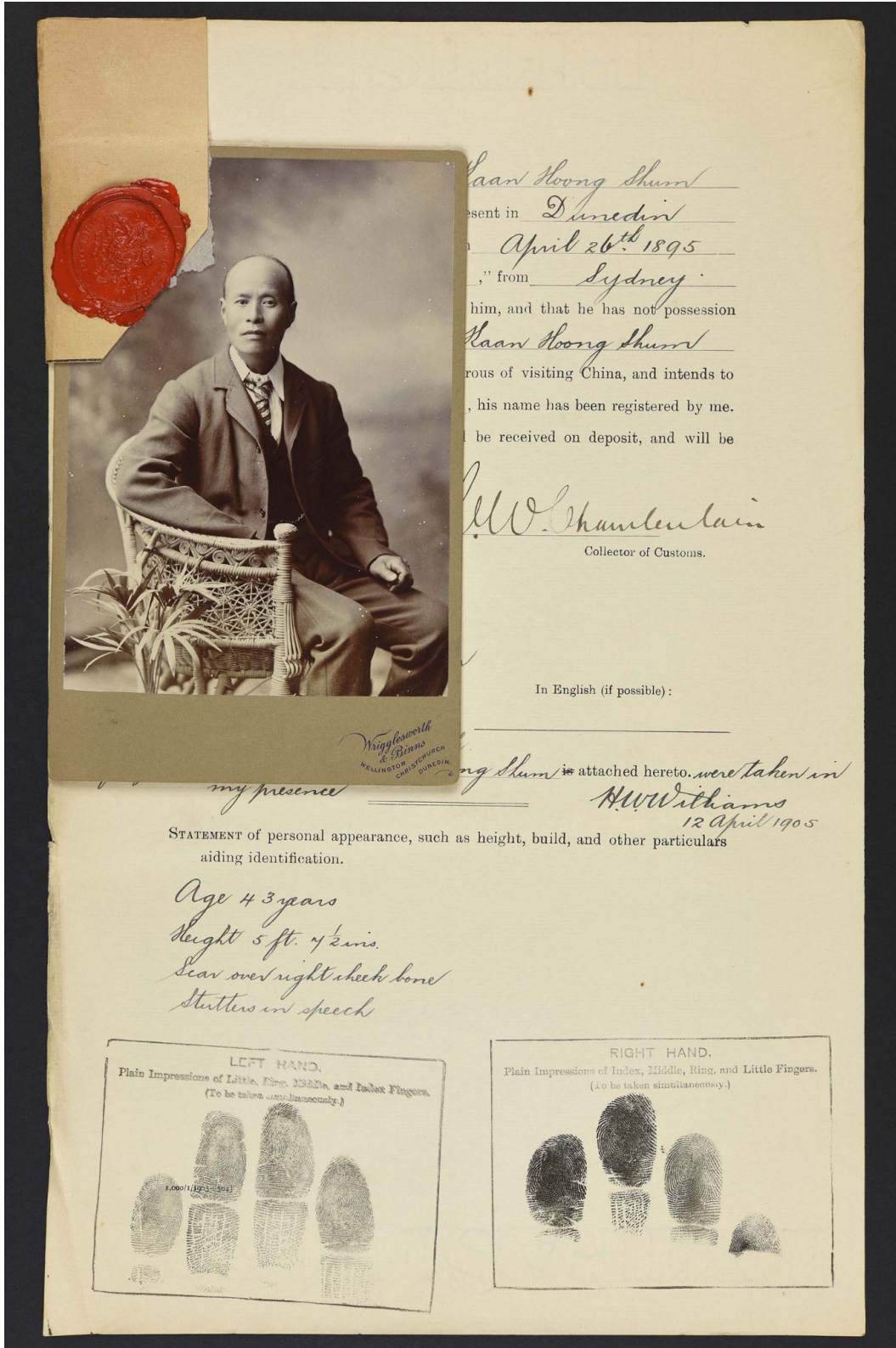


Fig. 7a: R7518689/1v - Kaan Hoong Shum 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

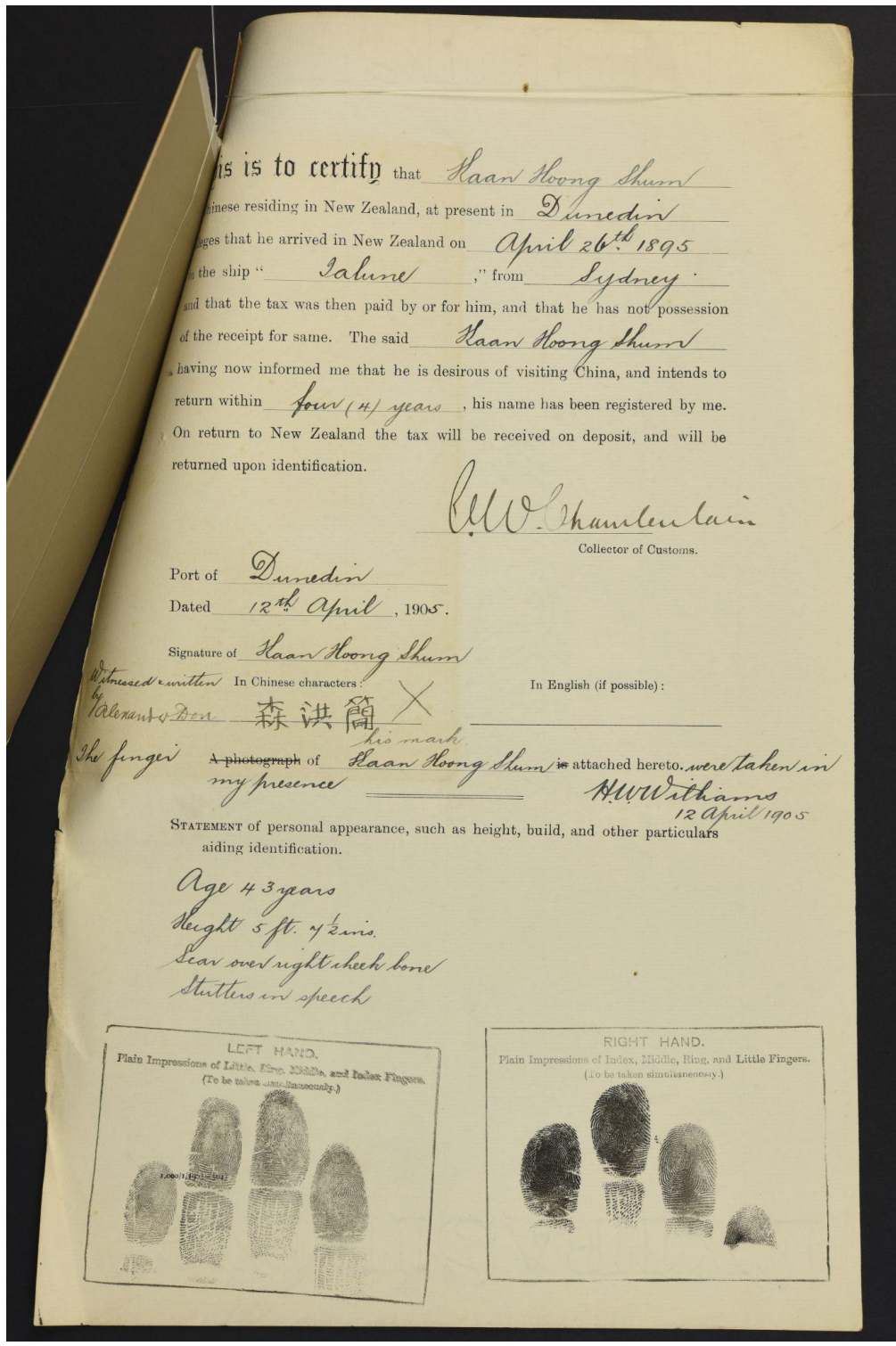
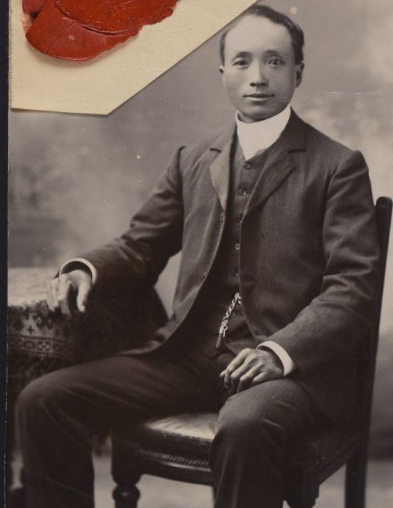


Fig. 7b: R7518689/1v - Kaan Hoong Shum 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

2076

...ation under the Immigration
Amendment Act, 1908.



...ng Chaak Kwong
...nd, being desirous of leaving New Zealand,

...nd within four years from the date hereof
...o the reading-test imposed upon Chinese by
...a Restriction Act, 1908," if he satisfies a
...entivity. On return to New Zealand the tax
...will be returned upon identification.

Wm Sibbald
Collector of Customs.

19 10.

Signature of Wong Chaak Kwong
In Chinese characters: 黃澤光
In English (if possible): Not possible



The thumb-prints of Wong Chaak Kwong, attached hereto,
were recorded in my presence.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS
- 8 MAR 1910
DUNEDIN, N.Z.

Osborne Collector.

Statement of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Age 37 years
Height 5 ft. 8 1/2 in.
Injured nail of ring finger on left hand

<p>LEFT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.</p> 	<p>RIGHT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.</p> 
--	--

1,000/11/1908-13942

Fig. 8a: R7517448/3j - Wong Chaak Kwong 1910 - 1912 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

2076

Certificate of Registration under the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1908.

This is to certify that Wong Chaak Kwong
a Chinese residing in New Zealand, being desirous of leaving New Zealand,
has registered his name with me.

If he returns to New Zealand within four years from the date hereof
he will not be liable to submit to the reading-test imposed upon Chinese by
section 42 of "The Immigration Restriction Act, 1908," if he satisfies a
Collector of Customs as to his identity. On return to New Zealand the tax
will be received on deposit, and will be returned upon identification.

Wm Sibbald
Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin

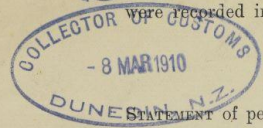
Dated 8th March, 1910.

Signature of Wong Chaak Kwong

In Chinese characters:
黃澤光

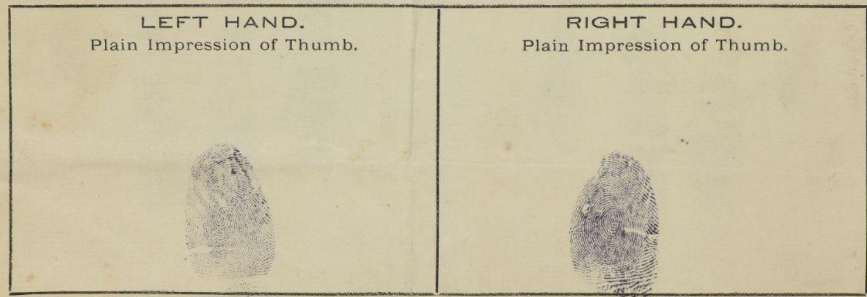
In English (if possible)
Not possible

The thumb-prints of Wong Chaak Kwong, attached hereto,
were recorded in my presence.
Wm Sibbald Collector.



Statement of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Age 37 years
Height 5 ft. 8 1/2 in.
Injured nail of ring finger on left hand



1,000/11/1908-13942

Fig. 8b: R7517448/3j - Wong Chaak Kwong 1910 - 1912 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

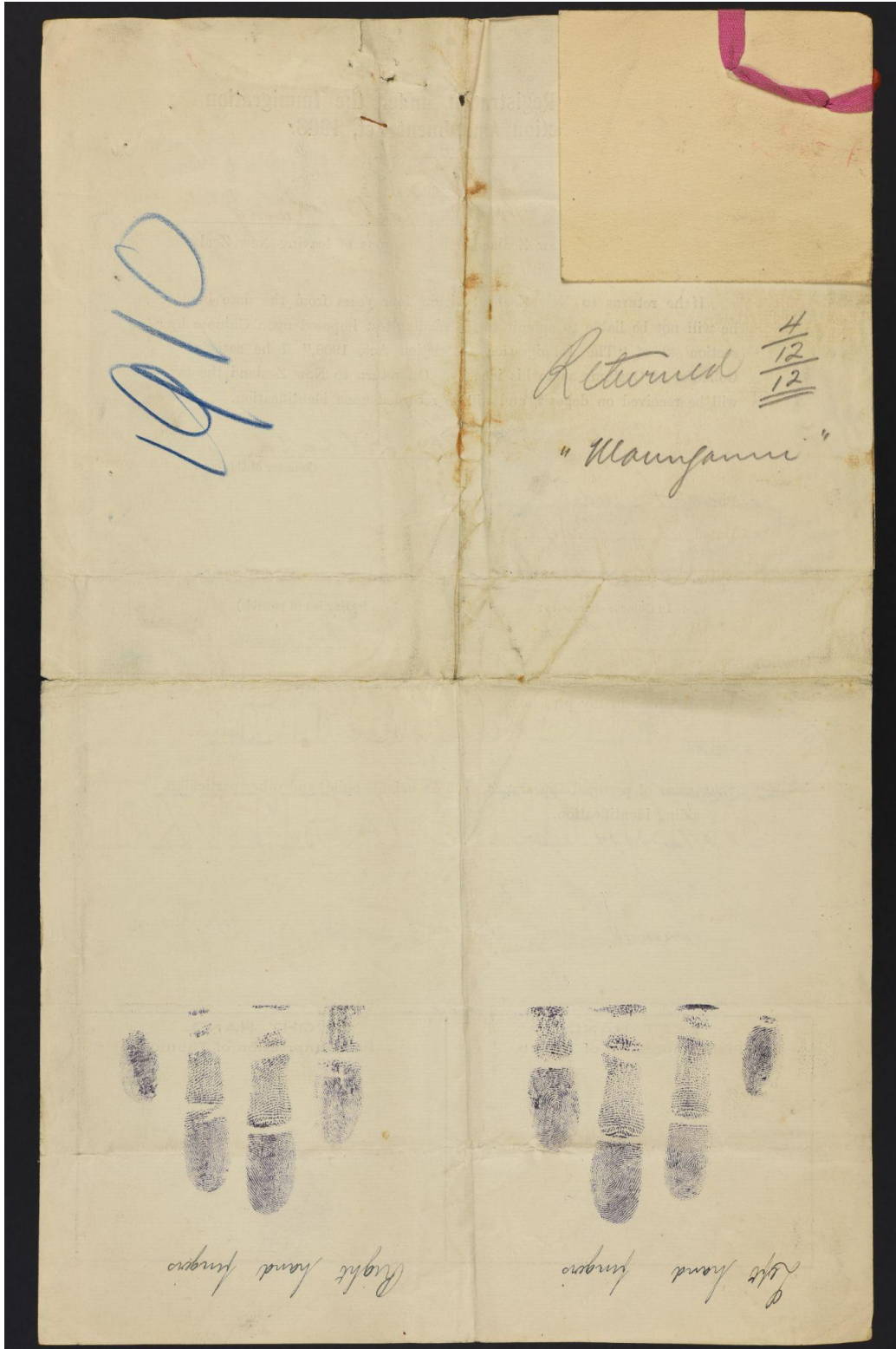


Fig. 8c: R7517448/3j - Wong Chaak Kwong 1910 - 1912 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



Fig. 9: Blomfield, John Collis, 1873-1942: Still they come. [Wellington, New Zealand Free Lance, 7 January 1905]. Various artists: Collection of newspaper clippings, photocopies and bromides of cartoons by Hiscocks (A-315-1), T. Lloyd (A-315-2), various artists from the "Ladies' Journal", "The Freelance", "New Zealand Graphic" and "Melbourne Punch" (A-315-3), Nisbet (A-315-4-001/012) and Malcolm Evans (A-315-5). Ref: A-315-3-042. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23065453.



Fig. 10: 227:280-281 "And Still They Come!" The Wasp : v. 5, Aug. - Dec. 1880 [Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley].

DECLARATION TO BE MADE BY APPLICANT FOR PASSPORT.

(a) Wellington June 26th 1924.
(Place) (Date)

I, the Undersigned, (b) Albert Edward Cooke.
(Full name)

at present residing at Auckland hereby declare that I am

(c) For a MARRIED WOMAN or WIDOW (to be struck out in other cases). Particulars of HUSBAND'S birth so follow.
 the wife of Wife of and that my husband is British born subject

a (d) Auckland having been born at Auckland on the 5th day of September 1902.

For PERSONS BORN ABROAD, who derive British nationality from a father or paternal grandfather born within His Majesty's Dominions. (To be struck out in other cases.)
 my (his) father having been born within His Majesty's Dominions at on the day of

and not having lost the status of British Subject thus acquired, and I hereby apply for a Passport for the purpose of travelling to United Kingdom & France.

(e) (accompanied by my wife (and children under the age of 16), as indicated in the margin, who do not possess separate Passports). I propose to depart from the port of Wellington per Remuera on or about the 27th day of July, 1924.

I further declare that I have no Passport already in my possession (f) (other than that which I annex hereto for cancellation) AKK

(g) Signed A. E. Cooke.

AND I, the Undersigned, (h) Margaret Mary McPherson Deane
(Applicant) (Witness) hereby declare that to the best of my personal knowledge and belief the above made Declaration of the said Albert Edward Cooke is true, and that I can from my personal knowledge of him her vouch her as a fit and proper person to receive a Passport.

Signed M. M. Deane

NOTE.—Duplicate small unmounted photographs of the applicant (and wife if to be included) must be sent, one of which must be certified on the back by the recommender.
 In the case of children under the age of 16 years requiring a separate Passport, the Declaration must be made by the child's parent or guardian in a form to be obtained upon application to the Department of Internal Affairs.

IMPORTANT.
 Applicants and persons recommending them, are warned that should any of the statements contained in their respective declarations prove to be untrue they will render themselves liable to prosecution.

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT.
 Place and date of birth Auckland
Sept. 5th 1902.
 Profession Clerk.
 Whether married or single Single
 Maiden name of widow or married women travelling singly _____
 Height 5 feet 9 inches.
 Colour of eyes Blue.
 Colour of Hair Fair.
 Visible distinguishing marks _____

DESCRIPTION OF WIFE or APPLICANT IF TO BE INCLUDED ON THE PASSPORT.
 Names in full _____
 Place and date of birth _____
 Maiden name _____
 Height _____ feet _____ inches.
 Colour of eyes _____
 Colour of Hair _____
 Visible distinguishing marks _____

Names, ages, and sex of children under the age 16 if to be included on the Passport. _____

FOR APPLICANTS BORN IN A COUNTRY OTHER THAN NEW ZEALAND.
 Date and year of arrival in New Zealand _____
 Port of arrival _____
 Name of vessel _____
 Description of passport (or other document) possessed at time of arrival _____

Specimen signature of applicant which will be detached and affixed to the Passport when issued.
AKK

Specimen signature of wife if to be included on the Passport.

7.7.24 H
 on on H

Fig. 11: R12330050/1349/15/11/17721 - Passport Files - Passports - Applications - The 1924 All Blacks Team and Manager 1924-1932, Cooke, Albert Edward - D.O.B. 05.10.1901 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Wellington Repository].

NEW ZEALAND. *This form is not to be pinned.* **MALE.**

Prisoner's Name: *Joseph Pawelka*

Gaol: *Hellington* Gaol No. *213/10* Classification No. *9/17 AT (1.1) 19.*

H.C.B. Vol. _____ No. _____ File *136/10*

RIGHT HAND.

1.—Right Thumb.	2.—R. Fore Finger.	3.—R. Middle Finger	4—R Ring Finger.	5—R. Little Finger.
<i>0</i>	<i>203.</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>19</i>

FOLD. *AT P /* **FOLD.**

Impressions to be so taken that the flexure of the last joint shall be immediately above the black line marked "Fold." If the impression of any digit be defective a second print may be taken in the vacant space above it

When a finger is missing or so injured that the impression cannot be obtained, or is deformed and yields a bad print, the fact should be noted under "Remarks"

LEFT HAND.

6.—Left Thumb	7—L Fore Finger.	8.—L Middle Finger	9—L Ring Finger.	10—L Little Finger.
<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	

FOLD. *AT* **FOLD.**

LEFT HAND.	RIGHT HAND.
Plain impressions of the four fingers taken simultaneously.	Plain impressions of the four fingers taken simultaneously.

Impressions taken by *H. Richardson* Rank: *Hardest* Prison: *Hellington* Date: *28-4-10*

Gaoler's signature: *[Signature]* Date: *28-4-1910*

Classified at F.P. Branch by *[Signature]* Date: *29-4-1910*

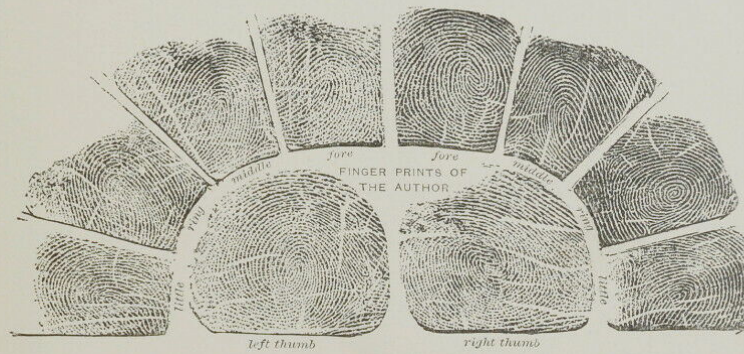
Tested at F.P. Branch by *[Signature]* Date: *29-4-1910*

[P.T.O.]

4,000/1/1908—538

Fig. 12: R16469682/5 - Joseph Pawelka - fingerprints sheet 1910 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Wellington Repository].

FINGER PRINTS



BY
FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S., ETC.

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1892

All rights reserved

Fig. 13: Francis Galton, *Finger Prints*, 1892.

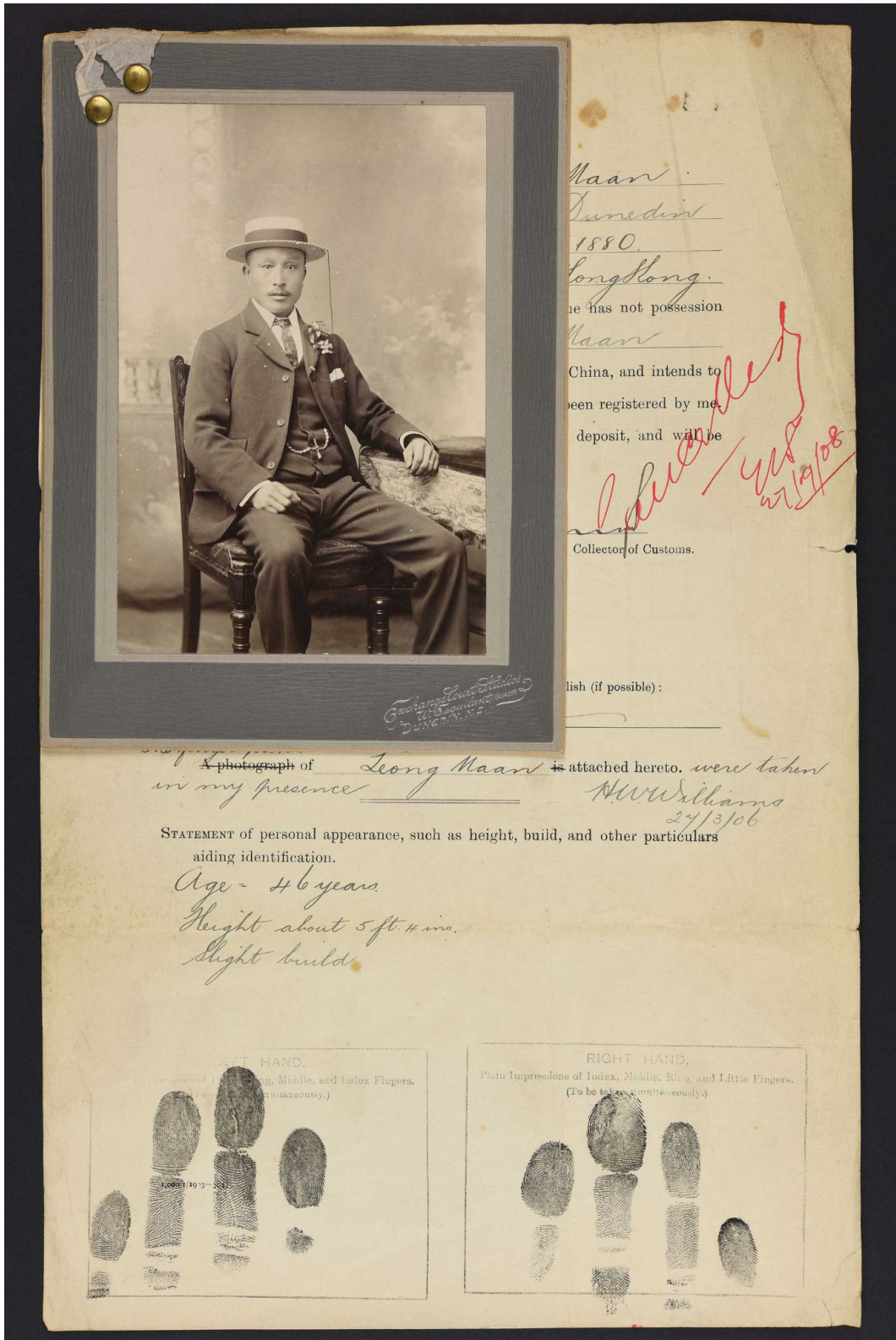


Fig. 14a: R7518700/2b - Leong Maan 1906 - 1908 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

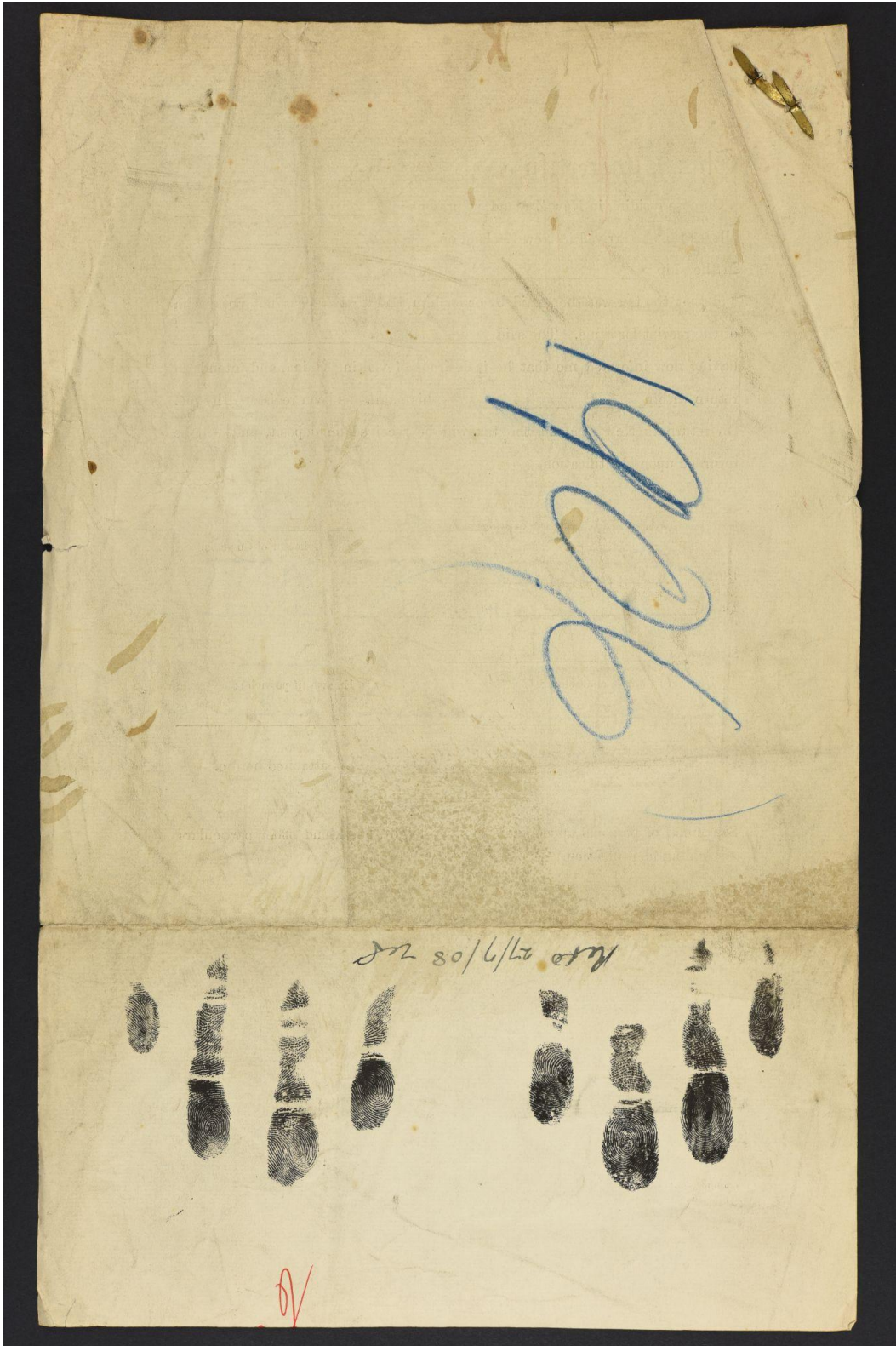


Fig. 14c: R7518700/2b - Leong Maan 1906 - 1908 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



Wong Tsuen Shing.
 present in Dunedin
 on September 8th 1895
 ;" from Sydney
 or him, and that he has not possession
Wong Tsuen Shing
 sirsous of visiting China, and intends to
 , his name has been registered by me.
 ll be received on deposit, and will be

H. W. Chamberlain
 Collector of Customs.

Signature of Wong Tsuen Shing

In Chinese characters:
黃鈺光

In English (if possible):

The finger prints
 A photograph of Wong Tsuen Shing is attached hereto, were taken
 in my presence. H. W. Williams

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars 2/8/05
 aiding identification.

Age 38 years
 Height 5 ft. 5 1/2 ins.
 Caustery scars between eyebrows.
 Small chin

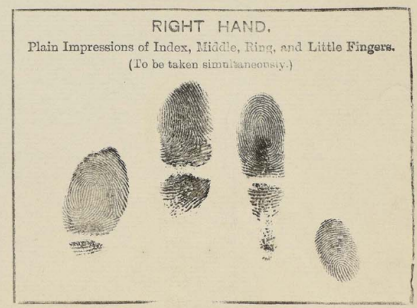
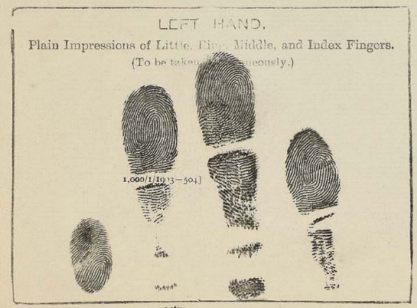


Fig. 15a: R7518695/1ab - Wong Tsuen Shing 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

This is to certify that Wong Tsuen Shing
 a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
 alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on September'sth 1895
 in the ship "Manapouri," from Sydney
 and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
 of the receipt for same. The said Wong Tsuen Shing
 having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
 return within 10 years, his name has been registered by me.
 On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
 returned upon identification.

H. W. Chambers
 Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
 Dated 2nd August, 1905.

Signature of Wong Tsuen Shing

In Chinese characters:

In English (if possible):

黃燾生

The finger prints
 A photograph of Wong Tsuen Shing is attached hereto, were taken
in my presence.

H. W. Williams

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars 2/8/05
 aiding identification.

Age 38 years
Height 5 ft. 5 1/2 ins.
Caustic scars between eyebrows.
Small chin

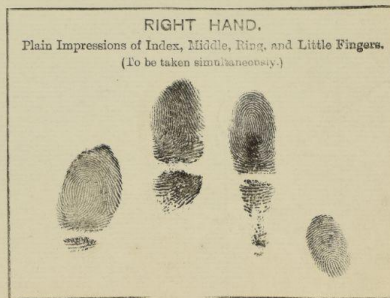
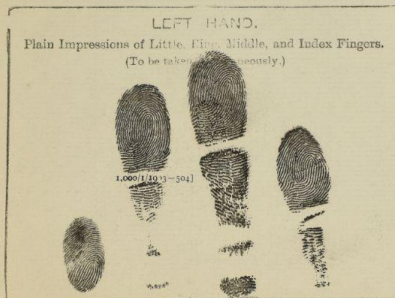



Fig. 15b: R7518695/1ab - Wong Tsuen Shing 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



Joe Fai
at present in *Dunedin*
and on *7th March 1875*
," from *Hongkong*.
or for him, and that he has not possession
Joe Fai
is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
as, his name has been registered by me.
ax will be received on deposit, and will be

C. W. Chumley
Collector of Customs.

Port of *Dunedin*
Dated *13th September, 1905.*

Signature of *Joe Fai*
In Chinese characters: *周輝* In English (if possible): _____

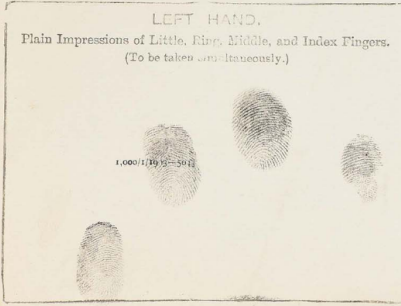
The finger prints
A photograph of *Joe Fai* is attached hereto, *was taken*
in my presence. *H. W. Williams*
13/9/05

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

Age 53 years.
Height 5 ft. 2 1/2 ins
Slight build

LEFT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers.
(To be taken simultaneously.)



see over

RIGHT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers.
(To be taken simultaneously.)

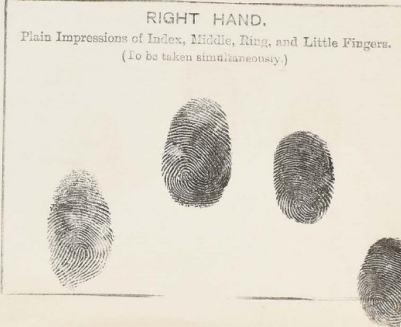


Fig. 16a: R7518696/1ac - Joe Fai 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

This is to certify that Joe Fai
 a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
 alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on 4th March 1875
 in the ship "Portland," from Hongkong
 and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
 of the receipt for same. The said Joe Fai
 having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
 return within four (4) years, his name has been registered by me.
 On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
 returned upon identification.

A. W. Williams
 Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
 Dated 13th September, 1905.

Signature of Joe Fai

In Chinese characters:

周輝

In English (if possible):

The finger prints
 A photograph of Joe Fai is attached hereto. was taken
in my presence. H. W. Williams
13/9/05

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Age 53 years.

Height 5 ft. 2 1/2 ins
Slight build

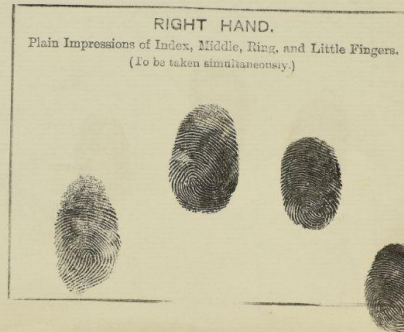
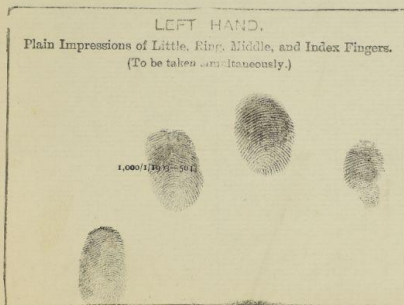


Fig. 16b: R7518696/1ac - Joe Fai 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

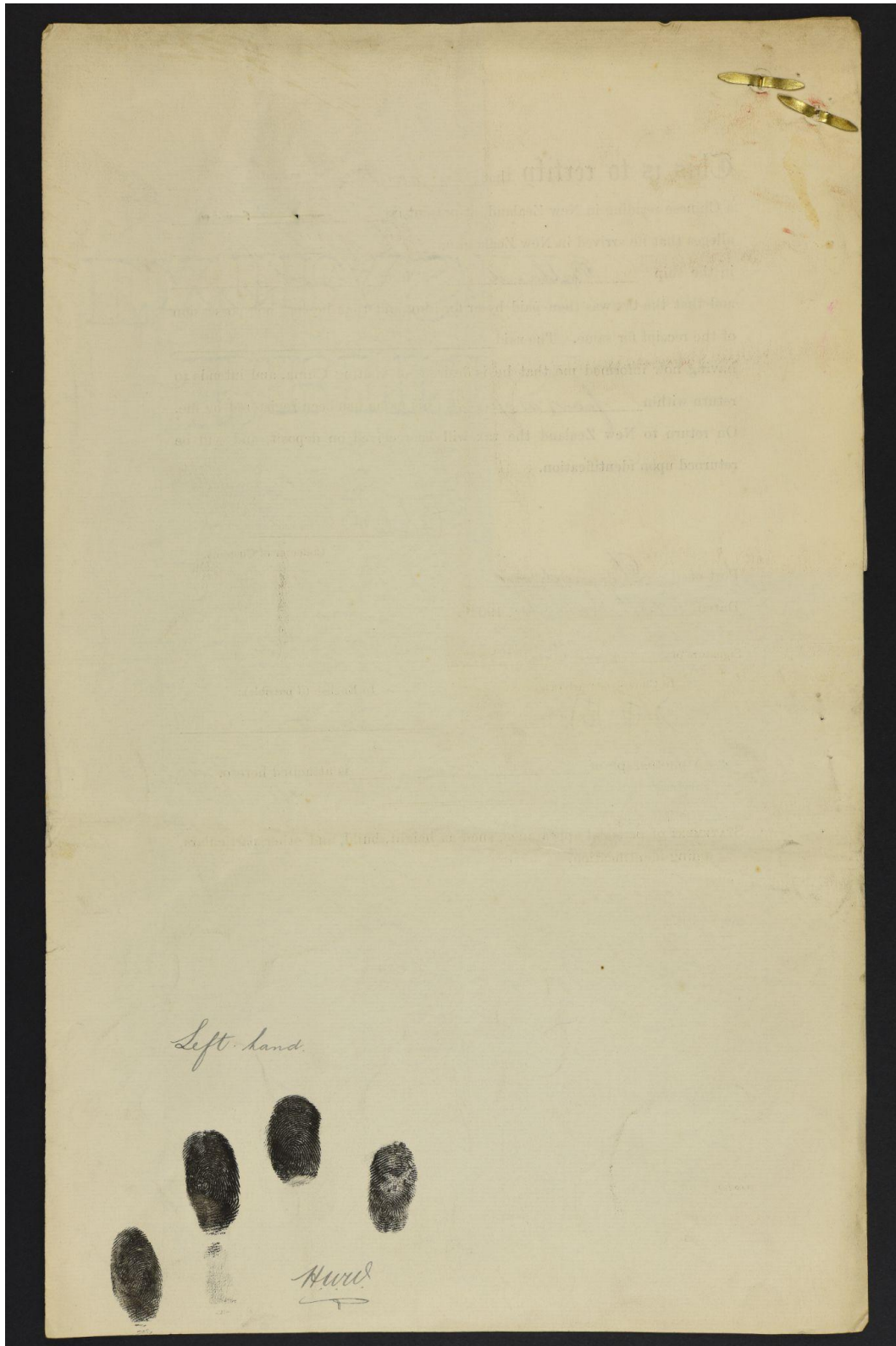

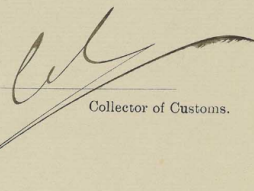


Fig. 16c: R7518696/1ac - Joe Fai 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].



James Shum
 at present in Dunedin
 land on about 1870
 ,” from _____
 or for him, and that he has not possession
James Shum
 is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
years. his name has been registered by me.
 tax will be received on deposit, and will be


 Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
 Dated 29th Novr., 1905.

Signature of James Shum
 In Chinese characters: 5-76 In English (if possible): James Shum

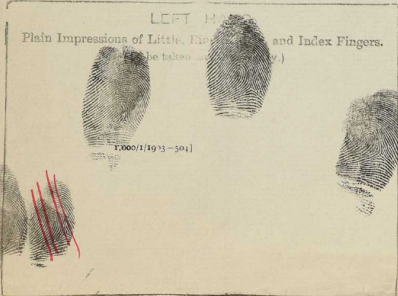
The finger prints
 A photograph of James Shum is attached hereto. were taken
in my presence. W.W. Williams 29/11/05

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Age 52 years
Height 5 ft. 2 1/2 ins.
Slight build
Roman Nose

LEFT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, and Index Fingers.



1000/1193-501

RIGHT HAND.

Plain Impressions of Index, Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers.

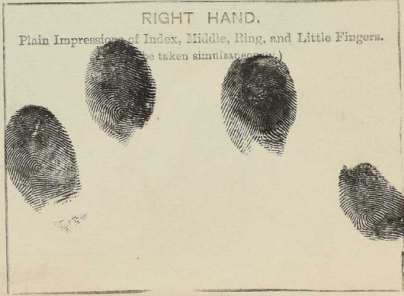


Fig. 17a: R7518697/1ad - James Shum 1905 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

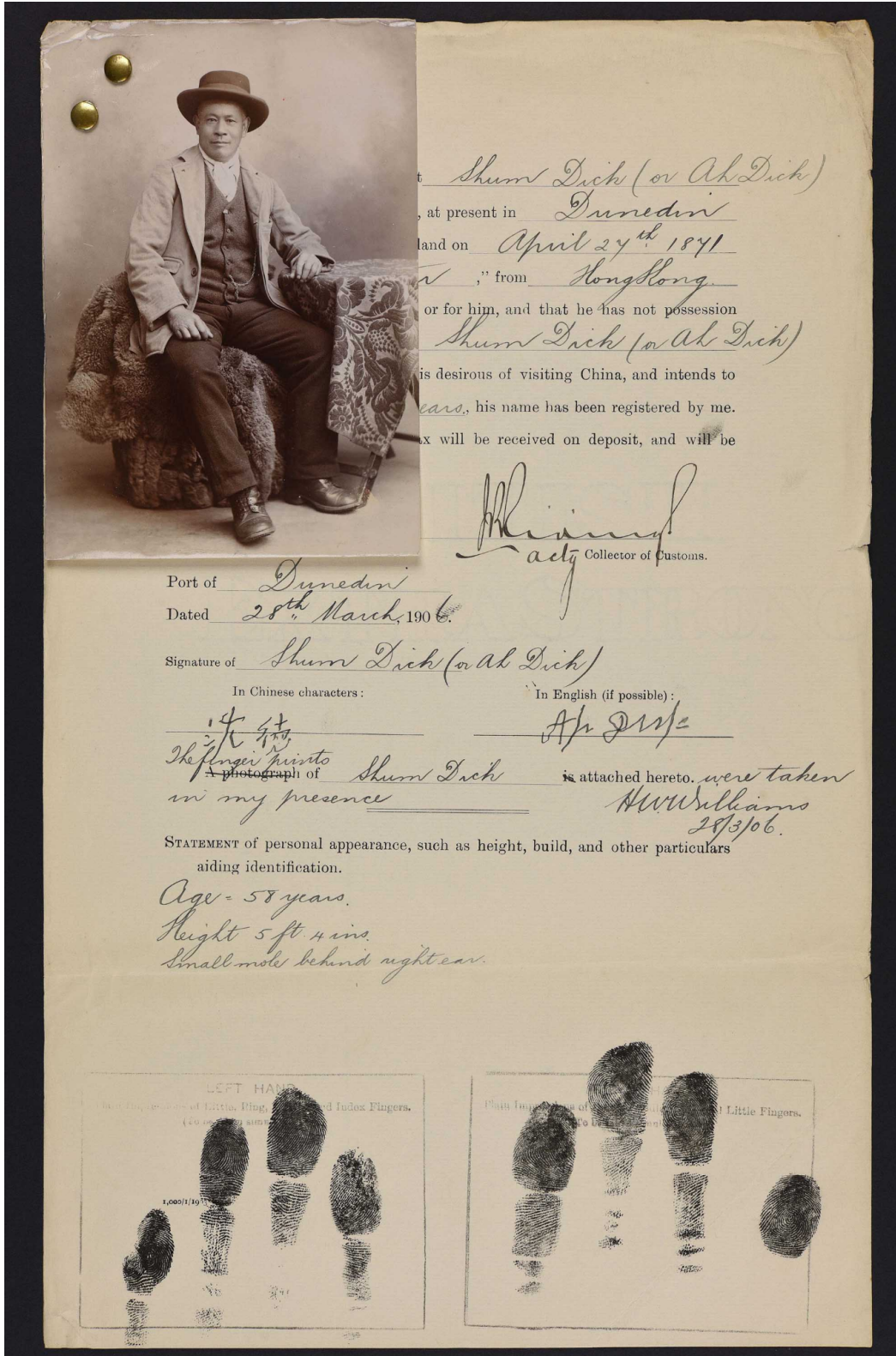


Fig. 18a: R7518704/2f - Shum Dick (or Ah Dick) 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

This is to certify that Shum Dick (or Ah Dick)
 a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
 alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on April 27th 1841
 in the ship "North Star," from Hongkong
 and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
 of the receipt for same. The said Shum Dick (or Ah Dick)
 having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
 return within four (4) years, his name has been registered by me.
 On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
 returned upon identification.

Richard
 acty Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin

Dated 28th March, 1906

Signature of Shum Dick (or Ah Dick)

In Chinese characters :

In English (if possible) :

沈 德

Ah Dick

The finger prints
 A photograph of Shum Dick
 in my presence

is attached hereto. were taken
H.W. Williams
29/3/06.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
 aiding identification.

Age - 58 years.
Height 5 ft 4 ins.
Small mole behind right ear.



Fig. 18b: R7518704/2f - Shum Dick (or Ah Dick) 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

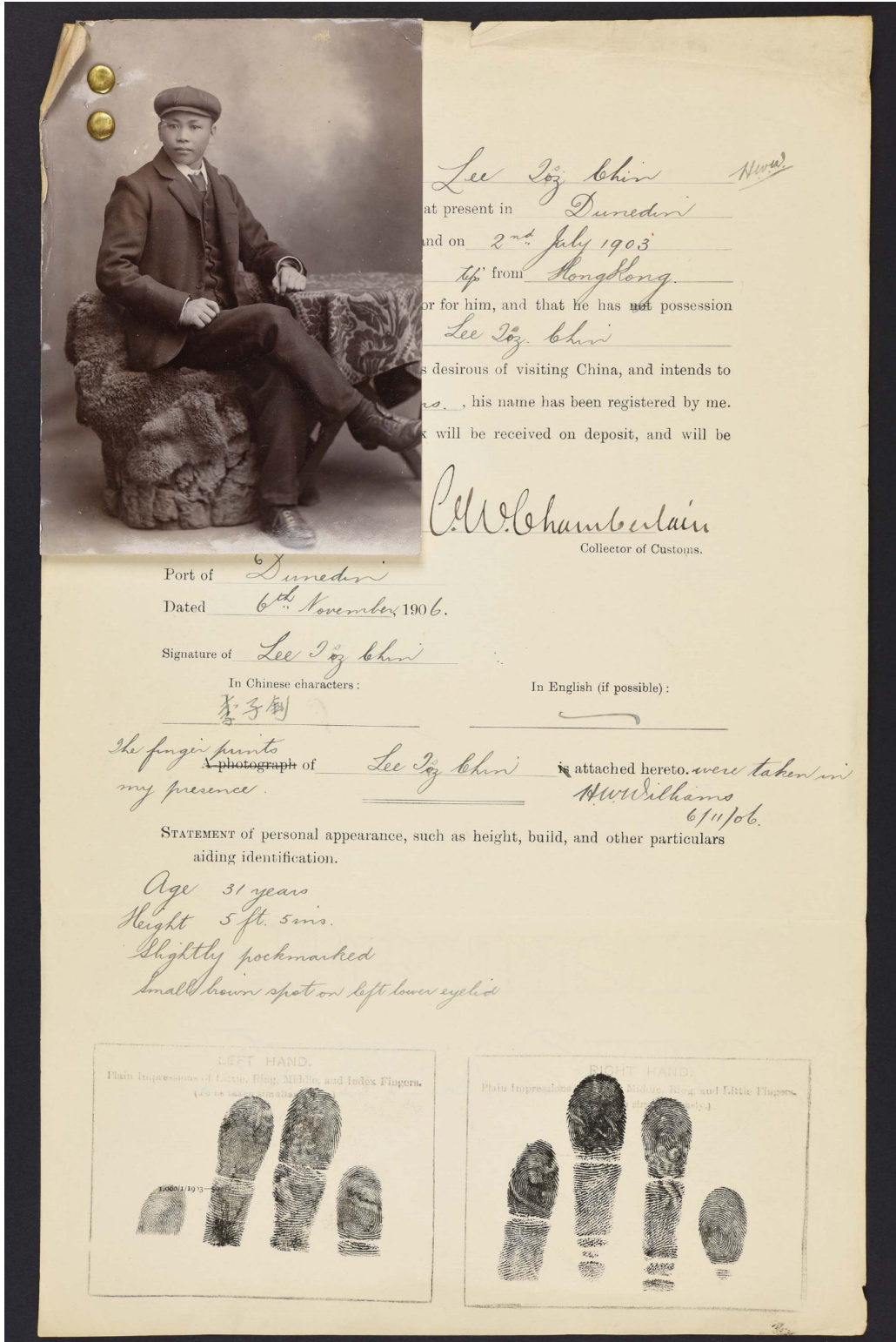


Fig. 19a: R7518714/2p - Lee Tsz Chin 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

This is to certify that Lee Tsz Chin ^{New Zealand}
a Chinese residing in New Zealand, at present in Dunedin
alleges that he arrived in New Zealand on 2nd July 1903
in the ship "Mokoi" ^{1/2} from Hongkong
and that the tax was then paid by or for him, and that he has not possession
of the receipt for same. The said Lee Tsz Chin
having now informed me that he is desirous of visiting China, and intends to
return within five (5) years, his name has been registered by me.
On return to New Zealand the tax will be received on deposit, and will be
returned upon identification.

C. W. Chamberlain
Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
Dated 6th November 1906.

Signature of Lee Tsz Chin
In Chinese characters: 李子釗 In English (if possible): _____

The finger prints of Lee Tsz Chin is attached hereto. were taken in
my presence. H. W. Williams
6/11/06.

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.


Age 31 years
Height 5 ft. 5 ins.
Slightly pockmarked
Small brown spot on left lower eyelid

LEFT HAND.
Plain Impressions of Little, Ring, Middle, and Index Fingers.
(For the thumb, see opposite page.)

RIGHT HAND.
Plain Impressions of Middle, Ring, and Little Fingers.
(For the thumb, see opposite page.)

Fig. 19b: R7518714/2p - Lee Tsz Chin 1906 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

**on under the Immigration
ndment Act, 1908.**



De Maus
Exhibition Photographer
PORT CHAMBERS, N.Z.

being desirous of leaving New Zealand,

within four years from the date hereof
e reading-test imposed upon Chinese by
restriction Act, 1908," if he satisfies a
ty. On return to New Zealand the tax
be returned upon identification.

Wm Gibbald
Collector of Customs.

In English (if possible)
Not possible



The thumb-prints of *Kaan Hoong Shum*, attached hereto,
were recorded in my presence.

Chas Booth pro, Collector.

CUSTOMS
DUNEDIN

STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

5ft 6½ ins
Age 49
Build Medium

LEFT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.	RIGHT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.
	

1,900/11/1908-13942

Fig. 20a: R7517478/5i - Kaan Hoong Shum 1911 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

Certificate of Registration under the Immigration
Restriction Amendment Act, 1908.

This is to certify that Kaan Hoong Shum
a Chinese residing in New Zealand, being desirous of leaving New Zealand,
has registered his name with me.

If he returns to New Zealand within four years from the date hereof
he will not be liable to submit to the reading-test imposed upon Chinese by
section 42 of "The Immigration Restriction Act, 1908," if he satisfies a
Collector of Customs as to his identity. On return to New Zealand the tax
will be received on deposit, and will be returned upon identification.

Wm Gibbald
Collector of Customs.

Port of Dunedin
Dated 8th March, 1911.

Signature of Kaan Hoong Shum

In Chinese characters:

洪森

In English (if possible)

Not possible

The thumb-prints, ^{of fingerprints} of Kaan Hoong Shum, attached hereto,
were recorded in my presence.

Chas Booth per, Collector.



STATEMENT of personal appearance, such as height, build, and other particulars
aiding identification.

5ft 6 1/2 ins

Age 49

Build Medium

LEFT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.	RIGHT HAND. Plain Impression of Thumb.

1,000/11/1908-13042

Fig. 20b: R7517478/5i - Kaan Hoong Shum 1911 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

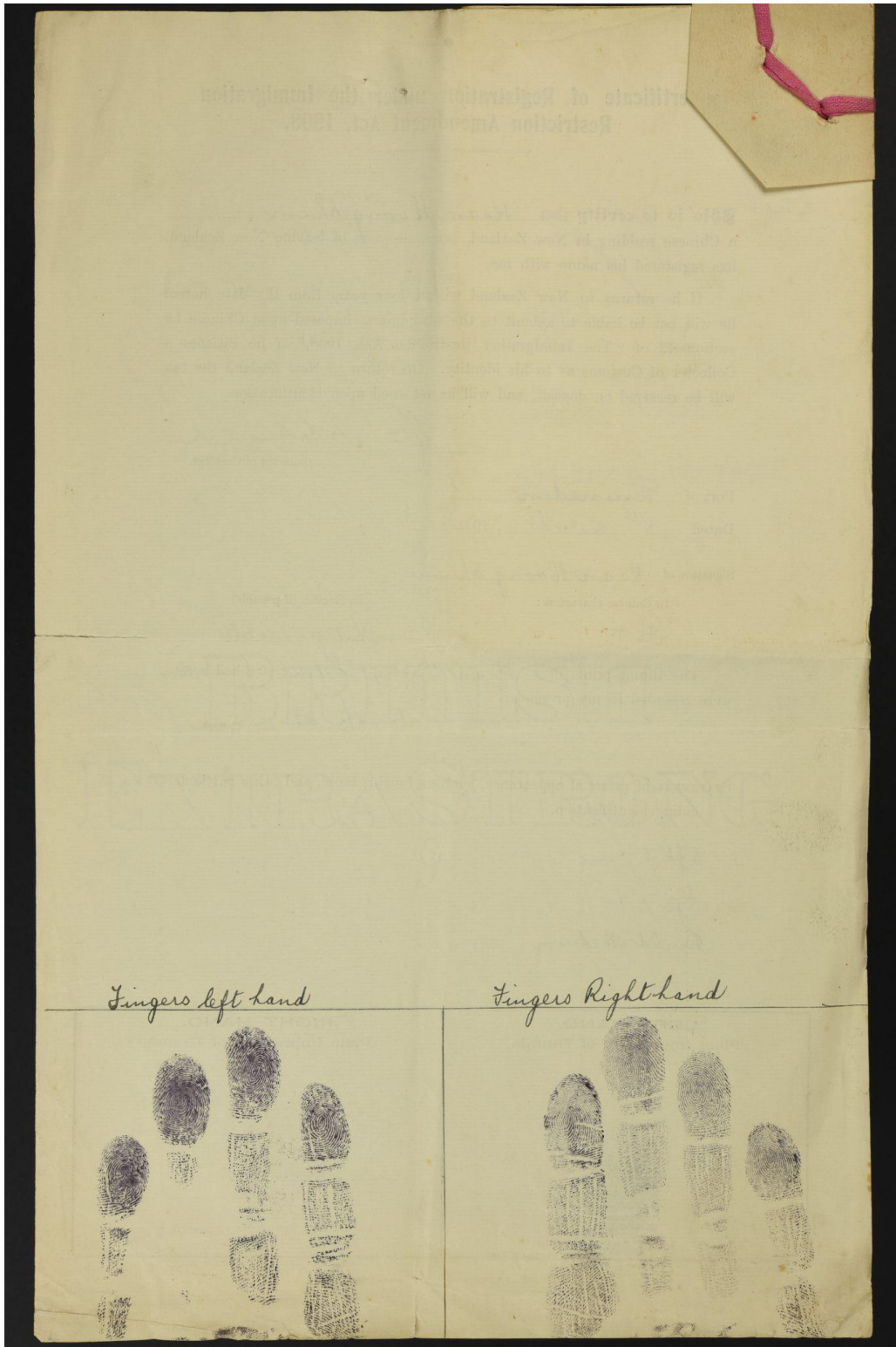


Figure 20c: R7517478/5i - Kaan Hoong Shum 1911 [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwantanga, Dunedin Repository].

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