THE CHINESE IN BATHURST:
RECOVERING FORGOTTEN HISTORIES

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3 August 2018
I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Charles Sturt University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues with whom I have worked at Charles Sturt University or elsewhere during my candidature is fully acknowledged.

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Ethics Approval

This study was approved by the Charles Sturt University Human Research Ethics Committee protocol number 100/2014/58
This thesis spans the period from 1849 when Chinese people were first reported in Bathurst, to 1953 when the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst was demolished. To date there has been no comprehensive study of early Chinese communities in Bathurst. This thesis seeks to fill that gap with an account of the local history which includes the lives of these Chinese individuals, families and communities in Bathurst and district. It is necessarily broad in its scope in looking at a period of over 100 years, and narrow, in that it focuses on Bathurst and district. The geographical boundaries of the thesis are not fixed but change with historical boundaries of Bathurst and extend to the Western Gold fields. Whilst the histories of Chinese communities in Bathurst share some factors in common with the broader experience of Chinese communities in Australia, at the same time the physical factors peculiar to Bathurst - its location and climate; and the human factors - its early settlement, its role as administrative and service centre for the region and during the gold rush era, and its subsequent development, influence the experience of the Chinese in Bathurst in ways unique to other Chinese communities in New South Wales or other colonies of Australia.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ..........................................................................................................................13
  Area of study .............................................................................................................................14
  Period of study .......................................................................................................................15
  Issues of Historiography .......................................................................................................15
  Histories of Chinese in Australia ..........................................................................................20
  Documentary sources .............................................................................................................34
  Argument and Structure .........................................................................................................37

CHAPTER 1: PASTORALISM AND THE IMPORTATION OF CHINESE LABOUR .........................................................40
  The founding of Bathurst as a colonial settlement .................................................................41
  Chinese labour abroad ............................................................................................................42
  Pastoralism west of the Blue Mountains .................................................................................43
  The demand for labour and plans for labour importation ....................................................46
  The first indentured Chinese labourers arrive ......................................................................49
  The trial of Newing ................................................................................................................52

CHAPTER 2: THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD .............................................................................57
  The gold rushes commence ......................................................................................................57
  Chinese contract labourers on the gold fields ........................................................................63
  Chinese indentured labourers employed on the gold fields ...................................................64
  Resistance and Rebellion ........................................................................................................67
  Post-indenture life ....................................................................................................................75
  What became of the indentured labourers? ............................................................................78

CHAPTER 3: CANTONESE GOLD MINERS: ARRIVAL AND CONFLICT ........................................82
  Places of Origin .....................................................................................................................86
The operation of the credit ticket system ............................................................ 92
Tensions in Tambaroora and the Turon ............................................................. 95
Legislating exclusion ........................................................................................ 100
Chinese on the Western Gold fields in 1859..................................................... 101
Conflict and its consequences ........................................................................... 109
CHAPTER 4: LIFE IN TAMBAROORA AND THE TURON .............................. 112
Stores ................................................................................................................ 113
Temples, clan and district associations ............................................................ 118
Secret societies .................................................................................................. 122
The Chinese Mission ......................................................................................... 123
Relationships between Chinese men and European women............................. 127
Chinese-European interaction on the gold fields ............................................. 135
Mining in the mid-1860s................................................................................... 137
CHAPTER 5: THE DECLINE OF CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN
TAMBAROORA AND THE TURON ............................................................... 140
Reasons for departures ..................................................................................... 140
A review of gold fields administration ............................................................ 142
Conflict at Napoleon Reef ................................................................................. 143
The Gold Fields Amendments Act 1866............................................................ 145
Migration to other fields ................................................................................... 147
Gold Mining Regulations of 1872 and the Mining Act of 1874 ......................... 151
CHAPTER 6: CHINATOWN IN BATHURST ...................................................... 158
The growth of Bathurst ..................................................................................... 158
The beginnings of a Chinatown ........................................................................ 159
Kong Loong ...................................................................................................... 161
Early market gardens in Bathurst ..................................................................... 169
Anti-Chinese sentiment in the late 1870s.......................................................... 171
TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Irrigation Conduit, <em>Tu Shu Ji Cheng</em> (Imperial Encyclopedia) AD 1726</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Looking from Chinatown to St Saviours Church, Tambaroora</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>House and General Store and two Chinese shopkeepers, Tambaroora</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chinese man outside a house, Tambaroora</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bark Huts in Chinatown, Tambaroora</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Large pattern coin found at Wattle Flat</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Reverse side of pattern coin</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>On Gay, Chinese shopkeeper at Hill End</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>C. War, studio portrait</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gold workings at Glannmire. Date unknown</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>On Gay &amp; Co., general storekeepers (grocery &amp; drapery), Hill End</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Survey Plan for a Chinese cemetery in Sofala, 1877</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Louis Lupp, seated centre, Bandmaster of the City Model Band.</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Chinese Mission, circa 1893</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lease agreement between William Ingersole and Sun Sing, 1888</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sam Lupp’s Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test, 1908</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yet Mong, Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test, 1930</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ding Pang CEDT application</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Herbert Lynn, circa 1895-1905</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Macquarie Vale Soldiers’ Settlement Estate, 31 December, 1921</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sing Yet, off to China, 1915</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>96-102 Durham Street Bathurst</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kum Mow and Elsie Chinn’s wedding, The Sun, 18 February, 1917</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Site of the Chinese store at 123 Durham Street.</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>108 Durham Street, the site of the Chinese Masonic Lodge</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>George Chew Ming’s CEDT, 1914</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ruby Chew Ming</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Elsie and Kum Mow’s house at 25 Rankin Street</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Chinese tobacco plantation, Bathurst</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mt Pleasant 2017, the location of the tobacco plantation</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Norman Beacham with his son Ross</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Charles Yow Jr’s Masonic Lodge badge</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Nu Chip (sic) circa 1937.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>The Isle of Dreams, Chinese Settlement – Sofala, 1905</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>The Isle of Dreams, Sofala, 2008</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>George and Ruby Chew Ming, centre</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Residents of the Chinese Masonic Lodge circa 1946-1952</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>George Chew Ming and Tony Bouffler, circa 1946.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Wong Youk</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Detail of the Chinese Masonic Lodge shrine cabinet</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>The shrine cabinet from the Chinese Masonic Lodge, Bathurst</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Louise and Patricia Wood</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Maurice “Bun” Traynor</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Charles Yow Junior</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Herbert Lynne in his garden</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>White Rock 2017</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Graham Lupp, 2015</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAPS

Map 1: Map showing boundaries of the Counties and Shires ................................. 14
Map 2: Map showing location of Bathurst and area of study ................................. 41
Map 3: Map showing location of Bathurst and surrounding counties in 1836 .......... 45
Map 4: Map showing stations where Chinese contract labourers were employed ... 62
Map 5: Map showing part of the NSW Western Gold fields 1851-1875 ................. 84
Map 6: Map showing the thirteen counties in the Pearl River Delta ....................... 87
Map 7: Map of the Macao-Bocca Tigris – Canton approach, Pearl River Delta ...... 90
Map 8: Map showing location of gold diggings on the Turon River ...................... 102
Map 9: Map showing Tambaroora Meroo and Turon Goldfields ......................... 106
Map 10: Map showing location of Chinese camp and cemetery, Tambaroora ....... 108
Map 11: Map showing location of market gardens in Bathurst ............................. 185
Map 12: Map showing location of gardens in the Bathurst district ........................ 188
Map 13: Map showing Chinatown and market gardens on the Macquarie River ....... 241
INTRODUCTION

“What happened to the Chinese people in Bathurst?”

This thesis has its genesis in a question that arose when I moved to Bathurst from my hometown of Sydney in 2008. Given that Bathurst had been the centre of the New South Wales gold rushes, I had expected to find an old Chinese-Australian community in the town. While there is a small but growing community of Chinese migrants living in Bathurst, these represent a new wave of Chinese migration. There is no ‘old’ community dating from the Chinese migrations which took place in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I did find a small number of descendants of the first Chinese migrants still living in Bathurst but they do not speak Chinese and are only Chinese in the sense that they had one Chinese ancestor in Bathurst four generations ago. Some have only recently become aware of their Chinese heritage.

Not only are there no old Chinese families in Bathurst, there is also little material evidence they were ever here. Temples which once stood on the gold fields at Sofala and Tambaroora are long gone, as is the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst. Chinese market gardens on the Macquarie River and Vale Creek, which elderly residents still recall, are also gone. There are few Chinese gravestones left in cemeteries in and around Bathurst which reveal the names and the villages of birth of the deceased. Chinese artefacts in local museums in the district are in many cases not provenanced. The thesis question, “What happened to the Chinese people in Bathurst?” produced the sub-questions: How many Chinese came to Bathurst and district? Who were they? Where were they from? Why did they come to Bathurst? What were their lives like? When did they leave? Why did they leave?

Throughout this thesis I attempt to show that despite the apparent invisibility of the Chinese presence, both in the landscape and historiography, Chinese residents were an important presence in progressive stages of the development of Bathurst and district.

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1 The number of persons in Bathurst who listed their birthplace as China, rose from 65 in the 2006 census to 115 in the 2011 census. After the United Kingdom, Germany, New Zealand and the Netherlands, China was fifth in the list of birthplaces for residents of Bathurst born overseas. [http://profile.id.com.au/bathurst/birthplace?WebId=10](http://profile.id.com.au/bathurst/birthplace?WebId=10)
Area of study

In the years before Federation in 1901, the Chinese population were a rural rather than a metropolitan population. Therefore, the area of study is not only the town of Bathurst, but a broader area that extends beyond the current boundaries of the Bathurst Local Government Area. The boundaries are also elastic, stretching further than the present Bathurst district in the early years of pastoralism and the gold rushes, and shrinking to the current boundaries of the Bathurst Local Government area in later years.

Map 1: Map Showing boundaries of the counties surrounding Bathurst, the Municipality of Bathurst and Turon and Abercrombie Shires.

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Period of study

The period of study extends from the first reported arrival of Chinese in the Bathurst district in November 1849, and ends in 1953, the year the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst was demolished, dispersing the last of the semi-retired market gardeners whom it had housed. While descendants of early Chinese migrants remained in Bathurst, the demolition of the Lodge represented the end to an identifiable community of Chinese speaking persons born in China.

Issues of Historiography

Turning first to what has been written about Chinese residents in local histories of Bathurst, Sloman’s History of Bathurst 1815-1915, is a history of the colonial founders and the establishment of the legal and social institutions of Bathurst. It was compiled posthumously from notes left by Charles W. Sloman, a descendant of Thomas Sloman, a prominent early landowner and businessman in Bathurst. The pastoral, agricultural and mining chapter, simply states that “cabbages, tomatoes, peas, onions, parsnips, carrots, turnips, celery and other vegetables were largely grown on the river flats and mostly by Chinese.”3 An anecdotal reference to the undesirability of Chinese tenants in the Howick Street neighbourhood is the only other reference to Chinese people in the book.4 The History of Bathurst, edited by Bernard Greaves and published in 1961 is a compendium of themed chapters. The only reference made to Chinese in Bathurst is in Hawkins’ chapter on industry and commerce, which cites a census figure erroneously.5 Barker’s History of Bathurst Volume I, which covers the period from early settlement to 1862, devotes a short sub-chapter to the Chinese in which the author distinguishes between a small number of Chinese who were brought out under contract as shepherds before the discovery of gold, and the much larger migrations of gold miners whose passage was arranged under Chinese initiative. He also provides a detailed account of

4 Sloman, The History of Bathurst, 23.
5 Hawkins, L.F. “Industry and Commerce.” In The Story of Bathurst, edited by Bernard Greaves. Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1961. Hawkins states that in 1861, the population of the Bathurst Police District totalled 12,616, of whom 956 were Chinese. These figures refer to the population of the Bathurst Registry. The Bathurst Police District was comprised of the combined populations of the Bathurst and Sofala Registry Districts.
the little-known disturbance in May 1861 at the gold fields at Native Dog Creek, south of Bathurst and the infamous Lambing Flat riots.

Although Barker refers to a permanent population of Chinese storekeepers and market gardeners which arose after the 1860s, he makes no further reference to them in Volume II, which deals with the period 1862-1914. Barker states that a Chinatown was established in Bathurst and discusses Chinese interactions with the police, Christian missionaries and larrikins who targeted Chinese in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Barker, the Chinese population declined after 1891 when many Chinese returned home, and restrictions were placed on further Chinese immigration. Barker’s discussion of the Chinese community does not extend beyond 1900, and agriculture is only discussed in terms of the Agricultural Experiment Farm and the Bathurst Show.

Both volumes of Barker’s *History of Bathurst* list the negative stereotypes which were attached to Chinese people. Barker writes in Volume I:

…They were pagans who lived apart from the rest of the population in large communities of their own. They did not till the land. They worked in conditions that no white man would tolerate, had deplorable standards of hygiene, and were believed to engage in homosexual practices and to use opium. Finally the gold that they found was exported to China.6

In Volume II, Barker adds to the list:

They were unlike other citizens in that they were heathens, spoke incomprehensible languages, tended to live in isolation, and had no need to be concerned with many of the problems that brought other citizens together, either as allies or opponents. For example, they had no interest in matters pertaining to the education of children, and little in the affairs of the Christian churches. This social isolation was one of the reasons for the resentment that some people felt towards them, but a wider cause of hostility was the belief that they lowered working and living standards.7

Barker might have challenged the stereotypes by discussing the individual experiences of Chinese people in Bathurst, as this thesis will do at length, but no Chinese

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individuals who lived in Bathurst are named in his history. Listing without challenging the stereotypes has the effect of reaffirming them.

A tendency to overlook Chinese people is evident in histories of localities in the district, such as Geoff Smith’s *History of Fitzgerald’s Valley Wimbledon*. In the section on agriculture in the valley, the earlier presence of Chinese market gardeners in the area is mentioned, “Some flood irrigations on a small scale were used by Chinese market gardeners, on the top end of the Valley, in the early to mid-thirties”, but these gardeners are not named, while the Lewis brothers, Hilton Glazebrook and Charlie Foster are named as the pioneers of the vegetable growing industry in the Valley.  

Social and economic interactions between Chinese people and the communities in which they lived are ignored. Relationships between Chinese men and non-Chinese women and families or children resulting from these relationships are mentioned disparagingly or not at all. A register of pioneer families of Bathurst lists two Chinese pioneers, one of them Ah Foo of Rockley. It states that Ah Foo’s wife Agnes was sold to him for £15, but this is not substantiated.

Robin McLachlan’s thematic history of Bathurst indicates that racially prohibitive immigration policies, made even more restrictive after Federation “doomed the Chinese to extinction.” This might have been fleshed out with stories of families separated by the restrictions. To be fair, his thematic history, and the other histories do not purport to be histories of the Chinese in Bathurst, but broader histories of Bathurst and district. McLachlan does raise the important point that little remains in the way of buildings or other structures in the landscape today to remind us of the past Chinese presence. He attributes this not only to the temporary nature of gold field construction, but also to the fact that knowledge of such things has passed from public memory and, until recently, also from public concern.

This raises two interesting points, the first being public memory. I anticipated that oral histories would form an important part of my research methodology, however, the apparent lack of Chinese families still residing in the area made interviewees hard to

locate. In the last thirty years, stories of Chinese communities and families have been recorded by oral historians, notably by Morag Loh and Diana Giese, in Victoria and the Northern Territory, but nothing of similar ilk in Bathurst. Barabara Hickson’s 100 Lives in the Bathurst Region, includes Bathurst market gardener Ah Now, whose grave is in the non-sectarian section of the Bathurst Cemetery. Janis Wilton’s Golden Threads: the Chinese in Regional New South Wales, 1850-1950, collected stories of individuals, families and communities for a travelling exhibition, also published as a book, however, only one family from Bathurst, the Lupp family, features in the book. From a personal perspective, Graham Lupp’s monograph about his own father, well-loved piano repairman, Hector Lupp, makes mention of his Chinese great grandfather John Lupp and grandfather Louis Lupp, who became a bandmaster in the City Model Band.

A background history written for a Development Brief for Bathurst Gold Fields, a reconstructed gold mining village in Bathurst, included an oral history written by Walter Hunt, the owner of White Rock property Penrose. Hunt’s account of Chinese market gardens in Bathurst, “The Chinese Invasion” is an important source of information for the thesis. So too is a transcribed oral history by Ray Bayliss, whose memories of growing up on the Vale Creek include memories of Chinese gardeners. Both Walter Hunt and Ray Bayliss died before I commenced the thesis.

The limits of memory were revealed in interviews I conducted with residents who were able to recall Chinese people in Bathurst. Tony Bouffler, who lived next door to the Chinese Masonic Lodge at 108 Durham Street, was only a baby when the family moved in and five or six years old when his parents separated and he left the house, so his memories were few besides recalling that by the time he moved back to 104

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13 Barbara Hickson, 100 Lives Bathurst Region: Golden Lives (Bathurst: Bathurst Regional Council, 2009).
Durham Street, the Chinese Masonic Lodge was gone. Tony’s parents, who befriended
the Chinese residents of the Masonic Lodge and might have had much more to share,
are deceased.18 The oldest person I interviewed was ninety-six-year-old Bathurst
resident Nan Hunt, (wife of Walter Hunt), who could recall Chinese market gardens
in Kelso on either side of the Macquarie River in the late 1930s or early 1940s.19 Brian
Bennett who was born in 1938 and moved to the river flats on Morrisset Street in 1938,
could remember Chinese market gardeners on Morrisset Street.20 A map created from
newspaper references to Chinese market gardens verifies their recollections but shows
that the gardens recalled were the last of a much larger number of gardens that had
existed in earlier decades. Nan has died since I spoke to her, as have Michael Hunt,
Ray Coomber and Nell O’Rourke.21 Knowledge of Chinese people and Chinese
market gardens is fast fading from public memory.

The issue of the lack of public concern was addressed by historical archaeologist, Peter
Bell, who identified four reasons for the lack of attention paid to Chinese in historical
accounts until at least the 1970s.22 Firstly Bell noted the phenomenon by which
historians write about people who resemble themselves. Mainstream Australian
histories written before the 1970s reflected the interests and concerns of the mostly
Anglo-Celtic adult males who recorded it. Sloman’s History of Bathurst 1815-1915,
provides a good example of what Bell called this ‘natural and largely unconscious
mirror effect’.23

Secondly, Bell identified ‘the historian-as-imperial propagandist’ trend of most early
Australian historical writing, demonstrating the achievements which led to the
successes of the present time. This is also a particular reflection of the influence of the
White Australia policy on Australian historiography. Australia’s history as recorded
in history books, in photographs and in cinema in the first half of the twentieth century
is largely a settler narrative of Australia, which in celebrating the achievements of

19 Nan Hunt, interview by Juanita Kwok, 5 May, 2015, Bathurst.
21 Michael Hunt and Bob Newton, interview by Juanita Kwok, 6 May, 2015, Bathurst; Ray Coomber,
interview by Juanita Kwok, 2 November, 2015, Bathurst; Ellen O’Rourke and Dawn Brownlow,
interview by Juanita Kwok, 5 July, 2016, Bathurst.
22 Peter Bell, “Chinese Ovens on Mining Settlement Sites in Australia”, in Histories of the Chinese in
Australasia and the South Pacific, ed. Paul Macgregor (Melbourne: Museum of Chinese History,
23 Peter Bell, "Chinese Ovens on Mining Settlement Sites in Australia, 13.
white settlers, downplays or ignores the lives of non-whites. Greaves’ *History of Bathurst*, exemplifies this second trend.

Bell wrote thirdly of the tendency of local historians to write what they have read, essentially repeating in slightly updated form nineteenth century stereotypes of the Chinese. Barker’s catalogue of Chinese vices has this unintended consequence. Lastly, Bell pointed out that the reason scant attention is paid to Chinese in the writing of Australian history is that they left little in the way of written records of their experiences, at least in English.

It is desirable that a history be collated from the written or spoken accounts of those who experienced it first-hand, rather than the accounts of contemporary observers or later historians. There is, however, a lack of records written by Chinese in Australia which record their lived experiences in their own words, and such sources are particularly rare in Bathurst. There is no Bathurst equivalent to Taam Sze Pui’s 1925 memoirs which record his overland walk to the gold fields of Queensland, the hardships he endured clearing land around the Johnstone River and his later career as a storekeeper at Innisfail. There was no locally published Chinese language newspaper in Bathurst. The first national Chinese language newspaper, The *Chinese Australian Herald*, only commenced publication in Sydney in 1894, and is more concerned with the issues of metropolitan rather than rural or provincial Chinese communities in New South Wales. Acknowledging the lack of Chinese sources specifically relating to Bathurst, I turn to consider what has been written on Chinese communities elsewhere in Australia as a basis for comparison.

*Histories of Chinese in Australia*

Research by G.M. Clayton, Maxine Darnell and Margaret Slocomb brought to light the experiences of a pre-gold rush generation of Chinese migrants brought to Australia to work in the pastoral industry. Their research demonstrates the importance of these Chinese labourers to pastoral and agricultural development, debunking earlier broad-sweeping histories of Chinese labour migration by Myra Willard and Persia Campbell

24 Taam Sze Pui, "My Life and Work", (Innisfail 1925).
which characterised Chinese shepherds as failures.26 G.M. Clayton studied indentured labourers in Victoria, Slocomb’s research focused on indentured labourers in the northern districts, what is now Queensland, and Darnell wrote on the middle districts of New South Wales. Darnell noted that two separate groups of Chinese indentured labourers were sent to labour on the Colonial Gold Company’s mining operation at Louisa Creek in 1853.27 Eric Rolls’ *Sojourners* is to date the most extensive account of Chinese indentured labour in Western New South Wales. Though often overlooked for his lack of footnotes, Roll’s descriptions of incidents involving indentured labourers matched those in newspaper reports.28 Sophie Loy-Wilson’s research on the testimonies given by Chinese witnesses at the Select Committee into the Seizure of Gold on the *Ethereal* and *Mary Nicholson* creates a bridge between the era of indentured labour and the subsequent gold seeker immigrations. She argues that while the figure of the servile coolie continued to haunt perceptions of Chinese miners, they themselves demonstrated their participation in the culture of democracy and protest which blossomed on the gold fields.29

Turning to Chinese lives on the gold fields, Barry McGowan’s study of mining and community in South East New South Wales presented the view that Chinese mining communities were well-organised and financed and that the relatively greater success of the Chinese was a consequence of their use of superior techniques and their diligence and organisation, rather than their ability to live off meagre earnings.30

Harry Hodge’s two volume history of Hill End-Tambaroora focused on the reef mining era of Hill End’s boom of the early 1870s.31 Harry Hodge was born in 1904

27 Maxine Darnell, ”Indentured Chinese Labourers and Employers Identified, New South Wales, 1828-1856 “ (Melbourne: La Trobe University, Humanities and Social Sciences Asian Studies Program).
30 Barry McGowan, ”Dust and dreams: a regional history of mining and community in South east New South Wales 1850 - 1914” (PhD, Australian National University, 2001), 90-101.
into an old Hill End family and he has researched a detailed history of the mining landscape and the people who inhabited it, although his focus is on white residents. Volume I includes a short chapter on the Chinese. Hodge’s reliance on his own personal recollections conveys a picture of the Chinese community in Tambaroora-Hill End in terminal decline. This has the effect of perpetuating the stereotype described by Keir Reeves, of ageing men in a dissolving community.32

Sophie Couchman explores this issue further in her critique of the “last Chinaman” genre of photography. Couchman argues that this genre of photographs which narrates the disappearance of Chinese in Australia presents an uncomplicated end to the story of Chinese immigration to Australia that separates the lives of Chinese Australians from the rest of Australia’s history.33 Both Couchman and Reeves argue that the lives of Chinese who remained and settled are neglected. In the case of New Chip, often referred to as the “last Chinaman” in Hill End-Tambaroora, I agree that he was in fact the last of his generation of gold-seekers who arrived in Tambaroora in the gold-rush era.

Harry Hodge’s nephew Brian Hodge extended his research to the Turon. He found evidence in gold field records and contemporary accounts of Chinese on the gold fields which debunked some of the stereotypes about Chinese. Contrary to the image of Chinese having had deplorable standards of hygiene and engaged in homosexual practices, Hodge found that Chief Commissioner Harold Maclean gave evidence before the Select Committee into the Seizure of Gold on the Ethereal in 1858 that Chinese were ‘most cleanly’ and that no Chinaman had been charged with ‘unnatural acts.’34 Both Brian Hodge and Matthew Higgins, another historian of the Turon, concluded that Chinese were a dominant presence on the gold fields of the Turon and a part of the economic life on the Western gold fields from the 1850s to the 1870s. Matthew Higgins’ analysis of the Sofala Bench Books between 1855 and

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34 Hodge, Frontiers of gold, 181-86.
1864 confirmed Brian Hodge’s assertion that the Chinese were very much a law-abiding community.\textsuperscript{35} Alan Mayne found that from what can be seen of Chinese-European encounters in Bench Books from the Court of Petty Sessions at Tambaroora and Hill End from the early 1860s to the eve of the First World War, Chinese residents were active participants in the community, rather than outsiders looking in.\textsuperscript{36} Mayne’s finding was supported by Kate Bagnall’s research into the 1866 Petition of Bah Fook.\textsuperscript{37} In 1866, Bah Fook, a Chinese goldminer on the Turon, was found guilty of unlawfully wounding a child in Sofala and sentenced to three years hard labour. A petition to the Governor of New South Wales was raised, protesting Bah Fook’s innocence and seeking to a remission or mitigation of his sentence.\textsuperscript{38} The petition was signed by 270 residents of the district, thirty-two of whom were white residents and business people. Bagnall interpreted this as evidence of Chinese agency and of close and personal interactions between the Chinese and the broader community on the Turon gold fields.\textsuperscript{39} In writing about Chinese settlements on the Mt Alexander diggings of Victoria, Keir Reeves contends that Chinese-European interaction was more complex than has been previously suggested. Reeves’ proposal that a revision of gold history is necessary to re-address historically marginalised representations of the Chinese contribution to Victorian gold fields society also applies to the Western gold fields of New South Wales.\textsuperscript{40} Rod Lancashire wrote of how highly Chinese labour was regarded in his study of the border towns of Wahgunyah in Victoria and Corowa in New South Wales, as did Barry McGowan in his research on Chinese in the Riverina.\textsuperscript{41} These studies show that a revision of Chinese-European interactions is also warranted in the post-rush period.

\textsuperscript{35} Higgins, Gold and Water: A History of Sofala and the Turon gold field, 73.
\textsuperscript{37} Kate Bagnall, “The Petition of Bah Fook of Sofala, 1866”, Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies 6 (2013) 123.
\textsuperscript{38} State Records New South Wales: Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, NRS 905 [66/1430] 4/577 Memorial of Inhabitants of Sofala re Bah Fook, 1866.
\textsuperscript{39} ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Reeves, Keir. "Historical Neglect of an Enduring Chinese Community.". Traffic (Parkville), no. 3 (2003), 56.
Kate Bagnall also pointed to Chinese-European couples as evidence of interaction on the gold fields. The existence of such relationships is overlooked by both Harry and Brian Hodge and by Matthew Higgins in their histories of the Turon and Tambaroora and by Theo Barker in his history of Bathurst. Bagnall’s research and Dinah Hales’ study of mixed couples in the Central West support the findings of Jan Ryan, Pauline Rule and Sandi Robb that Chinese-European relationships and marriages in Australia were more common than previously perceived.42

Amanda Rasmussen’s doctoral thesis on the interactions between Chinese Australians and the white Australian community of Bendigo between the 1870s and 1920s found attitudes towards Chinese people were relatively tolerant. She attributed this to the presence of Chinese women and prominent and respected families such as the O’Hoys and the Lamseys, together with the highly valued Chinese contribution to the city’s Easter Fair. Rasmussen’s research serves as a good point of comparison for Bathurst, where Chinese women were few and where social interaction was more limited.

Early histories of the “White Australia policy” tended to be more concerned with the events and legislation leading to the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 and the responses to Chinese migration than the experiences of those who lived under it. A. C. Palfreeman’s history of the administration of the policy concerned itself with justifying a policy which “was not a matter of administration but an attempt to respond to a consensus of national opinion – to keep Australia ‘white’.43 Charles Price, Andrew Markus and more recently Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have drawn parallels between the responses to the Chinese in California and Australia.44

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44 Charles Archibald Price, The great white walls are built: restrictive immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974); Andrew Markus, Fear and hatred : purifying Australia and California, 1850-1901 (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979);
In the mid-1970s, two theses important to understanding the experience of Chinese lives under the White Australia policy were published as books by C.Y. Choi and C. F. Yong. Choi and Yong were amongst the first to utilise Chinese language sources and to explain historical and cultural factors behind Chinese patterns of migration and settlement. Choi argued that the Chinese lineage system determined the almost exclusively male pattern of migration. He distinguished between two factors, the Chinese village background and Australian immigration legislation, arguing that in the period 1861-1901, departures to China were a product of the lineage system while departures in the period 1901-1947, were due to the introduction of restrictive legislation designed to exclude competitive labour. I have followed Choi’s quantitative approach by utilising census data, but I also examine the lives of the individual lives who make up the census figures, a perspective lacking in Choi’s research.

While Choi focused on rural Chinese, Yong’s research covers the period 1901-1921, when rural Chinese began to shift to metropolitan centres. Yong found that although Chinese communities were thriving and well organised in the 1920s, they were hampered by a lack of family life due to the restrictions on bringing wives into Australia. Yong’s examination of the origins and evolution of the political associations to which Chinese belonged provides a background to understanding the political infighting which, as revealed in occasional newspaper articles, was also an element of Chinese life in Bathurst, especially in the period 1905 - 1925.

Claims about the political motivations of Chinese in Australia were proffered in a series of articles published by Chinese-Australian journalist, Vivian Chow, in his Shanghai newspaper United China in 1933. Chow asserted that Chinese scholar Loong Hung Pung (sic) founded the Chinese Masonic Society in 1850. With the


46 Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, 41.

47 “In 1850 the Revolution Was Born”, *United China Magazine* 1933, First published serially in the China Digest in March 1931.
advent of the gold rushes, Loong Hung Pung sent out great expeditions to the gold fields, united the Chinese in Victoria and New South Wales under the Chinese Masonic Party and collected a tithe of the gold finds for the promotion of revolution in the Fatherland. Chow claimed that Loong Hung Pung was succeeded in 1878 by his grandfather, storekeeper Stephen King Jung Sao in Grafton in Northern New South Wales. According to Chow’s version of events, another leader in the movement was Grafton merchant Tse Yet Chong, who returned to Hong Kong with his family in 1887. His son, Grafton-born Tse Tsan Tai 謝纘泰 became leader of the movement in Hong Kong. Tse Tsan Tai and Yeung Ku-Wan 楊衢雲 founded the Furen Literary Society (Foo Yan Man Ser Kwong Fook Hui 輔仁文社光復會) and Tse and Yeung Ku-Wan (assassinated in 1901 by the Manchus) “ably paved the way for the 1911 revolution”, doing “all the early spade work and pioneering.” They led the revolution before Sun Yat Sen arrived on the scene. Tse Tsan Tai made similar claims about his role in the revolution in his 1924 book, The Chinese Republic: Secret History of the Revolution.

Chow also claimed that after Yeung Ku Wan’s death and Tse Tsan Tai’s retirement, Sun Yat Sen procured a copy of Loong’s great masterpiece “The Reconstruction of China as a Modern State”, and started to copy and transpose it but lost his copy in a fire and had to re-write it from memory. Sun plagiarised Loong’s ideas and published them as his own in “The Three Principles of the People.”

In his book Big White Lie, John Fitzgerald identified a Chinese storekeeper named Kong Loong Hung Pun, who died in Bathurst in 1874 aged forty-three. Despite discrepancies between dates of Loong’s arrival and death given in Chow’s account with the dates given in Loong’s death certificate, Fitzgerald concluded there was sufficient evidence that the leader Chow wrote of was the Bathurst storekeeper.

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2 Chow, V.Y., “In 1850, the Revolution was Born”, United China, 1933, 426.
50 Chow, "On writing a history of the Chinese revolution", 463.
52 Chow, "Sun Yat Sen's 'Fatherhood' of new China: the popular but untrue story.”
53 NSW BDM 3805/1874
Fitzgerald asserted “Loong Hung Pun was not just a figure of legend but a Yee Hing leader of note who oversaw the local operation of the credit-ticket system on the western gold fields of New South Wales.” Fitzgerald considered Chow’s assertion that Sun Yat Sen had plagiarised from Loong as unverifiable, as no evidence of it exists.

Chow’s and Tse Tsan Tai’s claims were investigated by Rodney Noonan in his 2006 article *Grafton to Guangzhou: The Revolutionary Journey of Tse Tsan Tai*. Tse Tsan Tai’s book made no mention of Loong Hung Pun, and consequently Noonan did not address Chow’s claims regarding Loong Hung Pun. Noonan did, however, find that Tse Tsan Tai was a foundation member of the Foo Yan Man Ser Kwong Fook Hui, together with Yeung Ku Wan: a strategist in 1895 and 1900 uprisings; an impassioned negotiator for unity between the reformers and revolutionaries; and the central figure behind the 1903 Guangzhou uprising. He concluded that Chow and Tse’s claims concerning Tse’s seminal role in the revolution can largely be substantiated.

Noonan’s substantiation of Chow’s claims about the role of Chinese-Australians in the early years of the Revolution in Hong Kong warrant Chow’s claims regarding the earlier history of the movement in Australia as worthy of further investigation. I examine the evidence for the involvement of Bathurst Chinese in Chapters Four, Six and Nine.

Michael Williams’ history of Chinese settlement in New South Wales found that besides shepherding and goldmining, the occupations of rural Chinese men included scrub cutting, tobacco farming, fishing and cooking. He identified tobacco farming, in particular, as an industry which appears to have been pioneered by Chinese. Williams found that in New South Wales from the late 19th century to the 1930s, Chinese market gardeners dominated the production and distribution of vegetables. Williams’

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54 John Fitzgerald, *Big white lie: Chinese Australians in white Australia* (Sydney, NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 2007), 70-75.
findings are supported by the findings of this thesis, and are discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.\(^5^7\)

Whilst Warwick Frost has rightly pointed out that most broad agricultural histories make no mention of any Chinese contribution at all, the vital role played by Chinese in viticulture in the Riverina was documented by Rod Lancashire, and Barry McGowan demonstrated the importance of Chinese land-clearing and market gardening to the development of South Western New South Wales.\(^5^8\) Peter Gibson’s 2014 study of the Chinese in Wollongong showed that Chinese people, initially brought to the area as indentured labourers, diversified into a variety of occupations, becoming especially prominent as market gardeners. According to Gibson’s estimates, in the period between 1901 and 1939, Wollongong and the surrounding district was host to as many as fifty Chinese market gardens.\(^5^9\)

Research elsewhere in Australia reveals that Chinese played a pioneering role in opening up land for transport and cultivation. Cathie May’s study of the Chinese in Cairns and Atherton in North Queensland, found Chinese to be the main land-clearers and farmers in the district from the late 1870s to at least 1900.\(^6^0\) Timothy Jones showed Chinese to be pioneers in the Northern Territory, where they were first brought as indentured labourers to build the Overland Telegraph, but came to dominate both goldmining and then market gardening. By 1891, Chinese, who outweighed the European population by a ratio of three to one, were dominating the domestic economy, particularly in producing food.\(^6^1\)

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\(^{59}\) Peter Gibson, "Dark Dragon Ridge: Chinese People in Wollongong, 1901-39" (University of Wollongong, 2014).


\(^{61}\) In 1891 Lord Kintore, the Governor of South Australia, wrote "It is only those who have lived in the Territory who can realise what an important factor in its present social organisation the Chinese are. Remove them tomorrow and the residents of Palmerston would be left without fish, vegetables or fruit, to a large extent without meat, without laundries for their washing; neither would there be any tailors, cooks or domestic servants." Jones, 54
The role played by Chinese in land clearing and market gardening in Australia is echoed in Sucheng Chan’s research on the post gold rush occupations of the Chinese in California.62 The experiences of Chinese in Australia also share many elements in common with the experiences of Chinese in Canada and New Zealand, as countries of the British Commonwealth to which Chinese travelled in the mid nineteenth century in search of gold and stayed on as market gardeners. As Joanna Boileau and Lily Lee and Ruth Lam’s New Zealand research shows, market gardeners across the Tasman shared many experiences in common with their compatriots in Australia, though New Zealand’s policy of allowing wives entry after World War II meant that there was greater opportunity for family life to flourish in New Zealand than Australia.63

Two studies which pertain to Chinese people in the Central West of New South Wales are Lin Johnston’s Master’s thesis in Historical Archaeology, which focused on the lives of Chinese people in the Mudgee district of New South Wales and McGowan and Mott’s recently published Heritage Report on the lives of Chinese people in the Orange, Cabonne and Blayney Shires.64 Both these studies indicate a pattern of indentured labour, followed by migrations of the gold-rushes and then market gardening. These Chinese-centred studies tell the stories of the people who lived in districts surrounding Bathurst in a much more personal way than do the chapters in the gold field histories by Harry and Brian Hodge and Matthew Higgins or Barker’s chapters on Chinese in Bathurst.

The period covered in some of these studies ends too early to give a full understanding of the Chinese experience in Australia. Studies by Ann Curthoys and Charles Price end in 1881 and by Markus in 1901. Johnston’s thesis ends in 1901, May and Rasmussen’s in 1920 and Yong’s in 1921. This leads me to consider what reasons have been put forward for the decline in Chinese populations.

The first factor is returns to China. Michael Williams estimates that at least seventy percent of those resident in Australia before 1901 ultimately returned to their villages.\(^6\) While acknowledging that racism, discriminatory laws and general hostility in Australia certainly did nothing to encourage permanent settlement, Williams attributes this rate of departure to cultural expectations of return to the ‘qiaoxiang’, or place of origin.\(^6\) McGowan and Mott’s Heritage Report on Chinese in the Orange district found examples in a number of families who returned to live in China, but were forced by circumstances to come back to Australia again. In 1936 George Coon and family left Wellington and returned to his village in China, but as the Japanese began bombing nearby, George sent the family back to Australia and only just managed to escape and return to Australia himself a year later. Likewise, the Mar Chew family left Wellington in 1948 but returned after the Communist Revolution in 1949.\(^6\)

Choi attributed the major decline of the Chinese population in the period 1901-1947 to the introduction of restrictive legislation. This was supported by Jones’ assertion that in the Northern Territory, laws which discriminated against Chinese businesses and residents, in particular after the Commonwealth took control of the Territory, were responsible for the decline of the population.\(^6\) Warwick Frost argued that Chinese were a major part of farming in the period between 1850 and 1920 and that Chinese labour-intensive farming stimulated some Australians to consider closer-settlement alternatives to extensive farming on large land-holdings, but does not answer why Chinese disappeared from the industry.\(^6\)

Yong claims there were three factors which contributed to the decline of Chinese market gardens in New South Wales and Victoria: the decline in the population; the

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\(^6\) Michael Williams, "Chinese Australia: The view from the village", *Locality* Autumn (2003): 18. Williams based his calculations on the number of Chinese who left Australia holding Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test, allowing for those who left without applying for a CEDT, and others who died.


\(^6\) Frost, "Migrants and Technological Transfer: Chinese Farming in Australia, 1850–1920.”
entry of Southern Europeans who competed with Chinese; and subdivisions of land rezoned for residential purposes.\textsuperscript{70} Gibson found that although the number of market gardens in Wollongong was increasing before 1908, the implementation of the \textit{Immigration Restriction Act 1901} made recruiting new Chinese workers complicated and as a result Chinese market gardening in Wollongong declined between 1908 and 1939.\textsuperscript{71} May found that the Chinese community departed from Atherton at the end of WWI when Soldier Settlement estates replaced Chinese leasehold gardens.\textsuperscript{72} These studies provide points of comparison and contrast to Bathurst where the Chinese population also declined and some of the land purchased and subdivided for the Soldier Settlement Scheme was on the river flats.

Not all historians point to legislation as the cause of the decline of Chinese market gardens. Janis Wilton attributed the terminal decline to mechanisation, new markets and new suppliers.\textsuperscript{73} Bon Wai Chou asserted that Chinese in Victoria failed to keep pace with the transformation from a pastoral to a highly industrialised society.\textsuperscript{74} This was disputed by Joanna Boileau who pointed to evidence that Chinese gardeners in Donald, Victoria, used new technology where affordable and appropriate.\textsuperscript{75} As will be discussed in Chapter Nine, this was also the case in Bathurst - Chinese showed themselves keen to adopt new technology where circumstances were agreeable.

Scattered references to Chinese in the local literature provide some outline of the history of Chinese settlement in the Bathurst District and extrapolation from the experiences described in other research locales across the country provide a guide to the challenges and opportunities faced by the Chinese. There is however a clear need for a dedicated history of the Chinese in Bathurst.

Informed by the studies cited, this thesis brings evidence together to write a chronological narrative history of Bathurst focusing on the experiences of Chinese people. There are elements in common with the experiences of Chinese across

\textsuperscript{70} Yong, \textit{New Gold Mountain : the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921}, 38.
\textsuperscript{72} May, \textit{Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns, 1870 - 1920}.
Australia, but factors such as climate, landscape, access to market, history of settlement and class also produced differences. This thesis sets out to examine what fresh insights into the history of Chinese in Australia are gained by looking particularly at Bathurst.

Methodology

Andrew Markus called for the analysis of statistical data of population movement, arguing it was necessary to examine administrative practice and individual experience. He viewed it as a matter of urgent necessity to collect oral and other sources to provide a fuller understanding of life under the White Australia policy.76 Henry Chan similarly advocated utilising census data to construct profiles and write demographic histories of the Chinese communities, preliminary to researching and writing the social histories of the Chinese communities themselves.77

In response to these calls, this thesis uses census data to establish the Chinese population of the Bathurst district, before discussing the experiences of the people who made up those figures. Census data is less reliable in the early years, especially during the gold rushes when the gold fields were extensive and miners without licences avoided the authorities, and more reliable in 1891 and 1901 when Chinese-speaking persons were employed to collect the census returns.78

The many changes to Bathurst’s local government boundaries in the roughly hundred-year period from 1849 to 1953 create a number of difficulties in conducting an accurate demographic survey of the Chinese population in the Bathurst district. In censuses taken between 1846 and 1901, population attributes, such as birthplace and occupation were mostly measured by county divisions. The town of Bathurst was within Bathurst county, but many villages and localities forming part of Bathurst district were in neighbouring counties. Kelso and Sofala, for example, were in

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Roxburgh County and Rockley was in Georgiana County. Statistics concerning Bathurst County alone would exclude many of Bathurst’s Chinese, however, statistics for the counties of Roxburgh, Georgiana and Westmoreland and Wellington (which included many of the gold fields of the Western District), count a Chinese population outside of the Bathurst district. During the years of the gold rushes registry districts were established. The 1871 Census recorded population by registry districts, not counties. With the exception of tables, the 1881 census was lost in a fire. By 1901, the census had reverted to counting the population of counties, therefore in pre-Federation censuses, counties are the most constant measure of population attributes. In post-Federation Commonwealth censuses from 1911, population attributes were measured by the electoral divisions of municipalities and shires, the Bathurst district being divided between the Bathurst Municipality, Turon and Abercrombie Shires. The combined shires and municipality cover an area which roughly equates to the current Bathurst Local Government area. Whilst census figures provide some measure of populations, pre-Federation and post-Federation censuses cannot be accurately compared. (See Map 1)

Although I took a problem-oriented approach to the thesis, starting with a question, and sub-questions, new focuses of interest and questions arose during the course of research. Evidence of internecine fighting in Bathurst in the 1900s prompted me to enquire more deeply into the connection between the Chinese Masonic Society and the Nationalists and the political struggles in China; and the disappearance of Chinese in the tobacco industry prompted me to look more closely at government involvement in the industry.

Australian historian Graeme Davison said that “history is a pursuit that is founded on a strong sense of place and on the personal and political questions that arise out of living in that place.”79 Where Davison explored the suburban streets of Melbourne, I explored the streets of Bathurst, the old gold fields and the rivers flats where there were once market gardens.

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This thesis relies mostly on English language sources, though a translator has been employed where necessary. My research began with a search of Bathurst newspapers between the years 1848 and 1954, digitised and made available through the National Library of Australia’s Trove search engine. The search was conducted using the terms Chinese, Chinaman, Chinamen, Chow, Celestial and Mongolian, all of which were commonly used to describe Chinese people in the Bathurst newspapers well into the twentieth century. Bathurst’s first newspaper, the Bathurst Advocate made its appearance in 1848. Between 1849 and 1953, there were at least seven different newspapers in Bathurst, with as many as four published simultaneously. Although established to represent different sectional interests in the community, they mostly promoted similar views on issues relating to Chinese immigration.

In spite of their almost universal anti-Chinese bias, Bathurst newspapers proved to be “witnesses in spite of themselves.” Editorials actively promoted anti-Chinese sentiment as much, if not more than they reflected social views. From the outset, the Bathurst Free Press was critical of the importation of Chinese labour. It couched its opposition in racialized terms posing the question: “do they wish by such a degrading and unnatural competition to reduce the British labourer to a level with the copper-coloured pig-worshipping, rice-fed Chinaman? What a glorious intermixture of races!”

The Bathurst Times which published from 1909-1925 was little different. The Free Press stopped printing by 1904, but the protectionist National Advocate, 1889-1954, (hereon, the Advocate) was just as outspoken in its hostility towards Chinese labour and economic competition, Chinese migration and intermarriage. In 1892 it added the motto ‘Australia for the Australians’ to its masthead and took an active stance in advocating policies of exclusion. William Lane, founder of Boomerang and first editor of the Brisbane trade-union newspaper, The Worker, was also a writer for the Advocate.

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Lane was influenced by Charles Pearson’s 1893 book, *National Life and Character: A Forecast*, which predicted that the lower races of Asia would overtake the higher races of Europe, and these ideas flow from Pearson through Lane into the pages of the *Advocate*.

One Bathurst newspaper which was more moderate in its views towards Chinese was the *Western Independent*, which carried the masthead ‘Sworn to no master, of no sect am I’. The *Western Independent* published only from 1872-1886, and many of its copies have been lost. The local newspaper search was supplemented by articles from other newspapers especially for those years in which issues of Bathurst papers have not survived.

In using newspapers as a primary source I tried to maintain a critical awareness of the ways in which source materials colour the understanding of history. Newspapers are a good source of information for court cases, but while sensational events make news, lives lived quietly may completely escape the gaze of the newspapers.

A spreadsheet listing over 2000 articles relating to Chinese in Bathurst created a skeleton of events over the hundred-year period and provided a list of hundreds of names of Chinese people who lived, and in some cases died in Bathurst. I collected evidence from colonial and Commonwealth records and utilised resources from the Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group website, which includes maps and gold field records.

Despite the lack of personal accounts written by Chinese people, there are written primary sources in which the Chinese voice can be heard, or which reveal Chinese perspectives. These include petitions, the evidence of Chinese witnesses in Reports from Parliamentary Inquiries, letters to the media and insolvency files. In March 1872 Beaufoy Merlin and his young assistant Charles Bayliss opened the American and Australasian Photographic Company in Tambaroora and began documenting Hill End and its residents. Their photographs, known collectively as the Holtermann Collection in the New South Wales State Library are a valuable visual record of Chinese stores and people in Tambaroora. Another photographic source is the A. E. Gregory Collection, a collection of glass negatives at Bathurst and District Historical
Society Museum, which contains portraits of Chinese people in Bathurst taken by A.E. Gregory who had a photographic studio on William Street Bathurst.

Chinese market gardens were either not considered worthy of photographing, or the photographs have not been kept. I was able to locate only one photograph of a tobacco plantation in Bathurst, and none of the market gardens. Chinese artefacts are in collections held by Bathurst District Historical Society Museum, History Hill at Hill End, the Visitors’ Centre at Hill End, and in the private collections of Richard Wigglesworth at Sofala and Geoff Harrop at Glenmire. Where provenance can be verified, I use objects to support the documentary evidence. Material evidence from the gold fields and market gardening eras include mining sites, water races and market gardens and some of the most significant of these are discussed in Appendix Two.

To supplement documentary evidence, I interviewed or exchanged correspondence with descendants of Bathurst Chinese families. Through this personal contact I was able to benefit from research already conducted into family histories, view family photographs and gain an insight into the experiences of subsequent generations of families descended from a Chinese father and European mother. A number of the interviewees commented on the loss of family archives in their grandparents’ generation.
Argument and Structure

Contrary to the idea that Chinese were a homogenous group who shared common experiences, I argue in this thesis that there were significant differences within Chinese communities. Over the hundred-year period covered in this thesis, there were also dynamic changes in China and in Bathurst. I argue that there were three distinct phases in the migration of Chinese to the Bathurst district, albeit with some overlap. These were indentured labour (1848-1853), the gold-rushes (1856-1866) and market gardening (1865-1953). As I identify and interpret evidence to answer questions of who these men were, what brought them, what they did here and what became of them, I seek to tell of individual lives.

In Chapter One, I discuss the background to the importation of Chinese labour to New South Wales. I draw evidence from Bathurst Gaol Entrance records to uncover the names of some of the men who came to Bathurst, where they were from and the names of those who employed them.83 In Chapter Two, I examine the correspondence of Robert Towns and the 1854 Legislative Council of New South Wales Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor to show that indentured labourers not only worked as shepherds but were also employed in company mining.84 I examine how they reacted to the conditions of their contracts and evidence of the early existence of Chinese secret societies. I seek to explain why the importation of Chinese labourers to Bathurst ended and discuss what happened to those Chinese men who remained in Bathurst after their indentures were completed.

The second wave of migrants from China came for a different reason – to try their luck as gold miners. Chapters Three, Four and Five focus on Chinese activities and relationships on the gold fields. In Chapter Three I examine evidence from the New South Wales Legislative Assembly Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on Board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson, and Bew Chip’s Register of gold remitted to China, to identify who some of the gold miners were and their villages of origin. I also discuss the causes of conflict between the Cantonese migrants and the European communities on the gold fields.

83 Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson, New South Wales Legislative Assembly (Government Printer, 1858).
84 Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor, vol. 2 (papers) (Sydney: Legislative Council of New South Wales Votes and Proceedings, 1854).
In Chapter Four I focus on the social lives of Chinese residents on the gold fields of Tambaroora and the Turon, two of the largest and most enduring Chinese settlements in the Bathurst district. I seek to explain the social structure of Chinese communities in Tambaroora and the Turon and evidence of clan, district and secret society membership. Both census data and newspaper reports indicate that only one woman born in China migrated to live in Bathurst in the whole period of study. I discuss the impact this had on the lives of the Chinese men in the district and the interactions with the communities in which they lived. I also discuss the relationships formed with other residents on the gold fields and the extent and nature of Chinese mining ventures.

As census figures show, in 1871 the Chinese population fell to about a quarter of the size of the Chinese population in 1861, I seek to explain why in Chapter Five. I examine how new gold field regulations affected Chinese miners and discuss the evidence of links between Chinese residents of Sofala and the Turon, merchants in Sydney and other gold fields in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

In Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine I turn to discuss Chinese market gardening in Bathurst and district. I seek to identify where the market gardens were through rate registers and newspaper reports and discuss the lives of the gardeners. I examine the evidence for the claim that Bathurst storekeeper Kong Loong Hung Pun was the founder of the Chinese Masonic movement. In Chapter Seven I track the success of the market gardeners who at first grew vegetables for the local market then expanded to grow for the Sydney market. Chapter Eight focuses on challenges faced by Chinese growers. Census and newspaper reports indicate that Chinese dominated market gardening and tobacco growing in the district, and that the state and Federal governments planned to replace Chinese growers with white growers. I discuss initiatives which inhibited opportunities for Chinese growers at the same time as they promoted opportunities for white growers. In Chapter Nine, I discuss how the Chinese Masonic Society went public in 1921 and I seek to explain the political fighting which took place between sections of the Bathurst Chinese community in the years preceding and following the 1911 Revolution in China. In this final chapter I weigh up the

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85 This one woman was Ah Holt who died in 1891, ten months after arriving in Bathurst. See Chapter Six. Other women with one or two Chinese parents lived in Bathurst, but they were born in Australia.
evidence for why Chinese tobacco plantations and market gardens disappeared from the landscape.

To conclude, I argue that Chinese labourers played an integral part in Bathurst’s agricultural development, firstly as a pastoral, then as a wheat growing centre and finally as a centre of vegetable production. I show that despite intentions to return, a number of Chinese married and had families in Bathurst, and others died in Bathurst and district. I argue that the market gardeners endured many challenges and but were ultimately driven from Bathurst by government policies designed and carried out to this end.

The afterword tells the stories of descendants of the Chinese migrants I managed to locate and their links to their heritage. Appendices at the end of the thesis identify Chinese heritage related sites in the wider Bathurst district, potential sites for State Heritage listing and for historical archaeological exploration.
CHAPTER 1: PASTORALISM AND THE IMPORTATION OF CHINESE LABOUR

In November 1849, the *Bathurst Free Press* published the report:

On Monday last, six of the natives of the Celestial Empire passed through Bathurst, on their way to a station of Mr. Thacker's, on the Macquarie. They are hired, we are informed, as shepherds.86

This was the first report of Chinese people in Bathurst. The *Bathurst Free Press* had only begun publishing that year, in the footsteps of Bathurst’s first newspaper, the *Bathurst Advocate*, which began publishing in 1848. Persons born in China were not counted separately in the New South Wales census until 1856, but there is some evidence that Chinese labourers had passed through Bathurst earlier. This chapter examines the background to pastoralism in New South Wales and argues the importance of Chinese labour in extending the colony’s pastoral frontiers.

Bathurst was proclaimed the first inland town in the colony of New South Wales by Governor Lachlan Macquarie on 7 May 1815.87 Macquarie recorded in his journal that he visited to see for himself the “newly discovered” land west of the Blue Mountains, but the land was well-known to the indigenous Wiradjuri people. Surveyor George Evans, who surveyed a route westward across the Blue Mountains described the plains of Bathurst as thinly wooded.88 Macquarie wrote that “the level and clear surface of these plains gives them at first view very much the appearance of lands in a state of cultivation.”89 Bruce Pascoe argues that Macquarie’s first impression was not wrong as prior to European settlement, Aboriginal inhabitants carefully managed land for hunting and agriculture.90 The main stream which Evans named the Macquarie River, was known as *Wambool* to the Wiradjuri people, whose country, the land of three rivers, extends from *Wambool*, west to *the Calare* (Lachlan) and south to the Murrumbidgee.

88 George Evans, *Evans’ First Journal: Journey to the Bathurst Plains [Enclosure 4 of Macquarie’s Despatch No. 3/1814]*.
90 See Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu, Back Seeds: Accident or Agriculture?* (Magabala Books, 2014).
Map 2: Map showing location of Bathurst and area of study

The founding of Bathurst as a colonial settlement
Bathurst was founded as a government agricultural station in 1815, using convicts to tend the government cattle. As such it was also a penal settlement. Under Macquarie’s orders, free settlers and their livestock were confined to the right bank of the Macquarie River while Government stock reserves and convict barracks were located on the left bank. William Lawson who together with Gregory Blaxland and William Charles Wentworth was credited with having found a path across the Blue Mountains, was given a grant of land he named Macquarie Plains and made Commandant of the settlement. Macquarie gave out a small number of grants to ex-officers, amongst them William Cox, who had led the team of convicts who built the road crossing the Blue Mountains. Cox named his grant on the Macquarie River flats Hereford. In 1818, Macquarie allowed ten men, half of them free men born in the colony and the other half emancipated convicts, to take up fifty acres of farm land

91 Jack R. I and D. N. Jeans, Regional Histories of New South Wales (Heritage Office & Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 1996), 90.
93 Ibid, 34-36.
each, on the river flats east of Hereford. This land on the alluvial flats would be the later site of Chinese market gardens in Bathurst.

In 1818, the first known Chinese person to arrive in New South Wales, Mak Sai Ying, otherwise known as John Shying, John Sheen or Mak O’Pong, arrived in Port Jackson from Canton via Calcutta as a free settler. He worked as a carpenter on John Blaxland’s Newington Estate for three years after which he worked at Elizabeth Farm for Elizabeth Macarthur. Shying is known to have married twice. Whether he returned to China after the death of his second wife or married a third time and died in Australia under the name John Sheen is a matter of debate. He may have made his way to the gold fields of Sofala, where in 1866, John Shin, described as “a very aged person”, was baptised along with seven other Chinese men.

**Chinese labour abroad**

Working abroad was a well-established tradition for villagers in Southern China well before colonial settlement of Australia. According to the historian of Chinese emigration Wang Sing-wu, Chinese emigration to the Philippines and Taiwan began in the latter part of the Ming dynasty. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, produce and trading settlements were established in South East Asia by Chinese merchants and labourers, and by the eighteenth century, every year 4,000 to 10,000 Chinese labourers boarded Chinese vessels to work in these settlements. Although Chinese emigration to foreign countries was prohibited under the Qing government, an investigation by the Imperial High Commissioner in Canton in 1839 reported that some poor Chinese in Macao were employed to work in foreign countries by the masters of foreign vessels leaving China in the Winter season. The Treaty of Nanking, drawn up after China’s loss to Britain in the first Opium War (1840-42) opened the ports of Canton (Guangdong), Amoy (Xiamen), Fuchou (Fuzhou), Ningpo

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95 ibid.
98 See Chapter Two, Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in white Australia*.
(Ningbo) and Shanghai to British and European trade, enabling the development of a trade in labour.

Pastoralism west of the Blue Mountains

Although Macquarie considered the greater parts of both Bathurst and the Macquarie Plains “perfectly fit for the purposes of agriculture as well as grazing”, his limited release of land failed to satisfy graziers’ demands for pasture. Commissioner Thomas Bigge was sent from England to conduct an inquiry into the state of the colony of New South Wales. Bigge’s 1822 Report on the Colony stated that agriculture had been carried on in the Hawkesbury district and to a smaller extent at Bathurst; that maize, wheat, barley rye and oats had all been tried, “but from the uncertainty of the climate, from devastation by floods, or from the absence of any ready means of disposing of the crops, none had proved very successful.” Bigge saw the best prospects for the colony in the expansion of pastoralism.

In accordance with Bigge’s recommendations, in 1820, Governor Macquarie issued an order allowing official occupation of land beyond the Sydney plain. Among those who received land grants in Bathurst were George Ranken, Thomas Icely and Captain John Piper. Ranken established Kelloshiel and selected adjacent land for Icely and Piper to establish Saltram and Alloway Bank respectively. Kelloshiel and Alloway Bank figure prominently in the chapters on market gardening. Macquarie’s successor, Thomas Brisbane, introduced provisions making it easier for graziers to access land. In 1822 tickets of occupation were issued which allowed the holder to run stock on Crown land before survey, pending the award of a secure title. The first record of Chinese people west of the Blue Mountains is recorded in the diary of Scottish settler Andrew Brown, who was amongst the earliest graziers west of the Great Dividing Range. Brown was granted 200 acres of land at present day Lithgow, which he called Cooerwull. In his diary, Brown wrote that Ah Nee and three other Chinese who had come to New South Wales after a seven-month voyage, worked as stockmen for

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100 Macquarie, Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land 1810-1822.
102 Jesse Gregson, The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824-75 (Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1907), xiii.
103 Fiona Ogilvie, "An Examination of the Causes of the Proclamation of Martial Law in Bathurst New South Wales in 1824" (University of New England, 2000), 21-22.
Brown in 1830.\textsuperscript{104} Brown also helped manage James Walker’s neighbouring 2000-acre grant, Wallerawang.\textsuperscript{105}

As stock numbers increased, the incursion of livestock into Aboriginal hunting grounds created competition for food and water. A series of attacks on settlers and their stock in the Bathurst district was followed by punitive expeditions against Aboriginals. The Wiradjuri leader Windradyne led a war of resistance against the occupation. In response, on 14 August 1824, Brisbane proclaimed martial law in all the country westward of Mount York, [west of the Blue Mountains] authorising “the use of arms against the Natives beyond the ordinary rule of Law in Time of Peace.”\textsuperscript{106}

In a letter written by James Walker’s brother William Walker, to his father, reference was made to “troublesome blacks on the other side of the Blue Mountains.” From “satisfactory” sources he understood “that not less than 100 blacks, men, women and children, have been butchered in return.”\textsuperscript{107} William Henry Suttor, the son of early settler George Suttor, also recounted that under martial law “the blacks were shot down without any respect.”\textsuperscript{108} By the time martial law was repealed on 11 December 1824, armed Aboriginal resistance to colonial settlement of the Bathurst district had ended.\textsuperscript{109} Records of blankets distributed in Bathurst in subsequent years show that a small population of Aboriginal people survived martial law.\textsuperscript{110} A smallpox epidemic in the Bathurst district between 1830-31, which killed between one in three and one in six Aborigines, further decimated the indigenous population.\textsuperscript{111}

In 1826, under Governor Ralph Darling’s orders, an area known as the ‘limits of location’ was created and settlement was confined to the land within this area. William Lawson and his son, William Lawson Junior were given permission to occupy land


\textsuperscript{106} NTSCORP, Orange Aboriginal Heritage Report: Prepared for Orange City Council (2012), 21-22.

\textsuperscript{107} Ogilvie, "An Examination of the Causes of the Proclamation of Martial Law in Bathurst New South Wales in 1824", 47., citing BT Missionary, ML Box 53, 1-468, 1433.

\textsuperscript{108} W.H. Suttor, Australian Stories Retold and Sketches of Country Life (Bathurst: Glyndwr Whalan, 1887), 45.


\textsuperscript{110} NTSCorp, 101-103; "Orange Aboriginal Heritage Report: Prepared for Orange City Council".

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
beyond the limits of location and established seven stations west of the Great Dividing Range. One of these was Lawson’s 100,000 acre estate, Errowanbang on Flyers Creek near Carcoar, where Lawson used convict labour to build a homestead in around 1827 (see Map 4, Chapter 2). An 1829 survey, which extended the ‘limits of location’ to an area contained within nineteen counties, changed the boundaries of existing counties and created new counties. The free settlement on the right bank of the Macquarie, which had been named Kelso in 1823, was now in the newly created county of Roxburgh. The government land on the left bank of the Macquarie was in Bathurst County. To the south of Bathurst County was Georgiana County, to the east, Westmoreland, and to the north was Wellington County.

Map 3: Map showing location of Bathurst and surrounding counties in 1836

The census of 1833 counted the population of counties. Although persons born in China were not counted separately in this census, fifty-six pagans (the religion of

Chinese as usually recorded in gaol entrance books) and forty-two persons of uncertain religion were counted in the colony of New South Wales. Of these, the religion of six persons in Bathurst was pagan, and four uncertain. In the census of 1836, the only county surrounding Bathurst to record pagans was Roxburgh County where one male pagan was recorded. In spite of government attempts to curb the unauthorised occupation of land, squatters ventured beyond the limits of location. In 1836, the government ceased trying to limit pastoral expansion and instead sought to regulate it by giving squatters depasturing rights beyond the limits of location on payment of a licence fee of £10 per year.

The demand for labour and plans for labour importation

Pastoral stations relied for labour on the convict system which assigned servants in proportion to the number of stock on the station. As the system of convict transportation drew to an end in the 1830s, the supply of assigned servants diminished and the demand for pastoral labourers could not be met by the available labour supply.

Plans to import cheap coloured labour were proposed as early as 1837 when G. F. Davidson took out an advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* outlining a scheme to hire a ship and import four or five hundred Chinese mechanics [men skilled in trades] and labourers from Singapore to Sydney, inviting those interested to make deposits. Amongst the fifty-seven landholders listed as subscribers to the plan was Thomas Icely. Icely had sold *Saltram* to George Ranken, who added this land to *Kelloschiel*, while Icely consolidated his estate *Coombing*, near Carcoar to 26,000 acres by 1839 (see Map 4, Chapter 2). Chinese labourers pre-ordered under Davidson’s scheme were expected to arrive early in March 1838. The plan appears to have been

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held up when deposits were not received in Singapore.\textsuperscript{118} It is uncertain whether these labourers actually made it to New South Wales.

Depasturing licences were taken out by Andrew Brown, who drove his stock north along the Castlereagh River, past Mudgee as far as Mendooran where he took out a depasturing licence in 1839 for the property he named \textit{Caigan}.\textsuperscript{119} The same year Archibald Campbell of \textit{Sorn Bank} in Bathurst established \textit{Wandoowandang}, near present-day Peak Hill and William Lawson Junior took out a depasturing licence for the Macquarie River in Bligh County (see Map 4, Chapter 2).\textsuperscript{120} Two of Bathurst’s earliest settlers, William Lee, one of the original free settlers to receive land from Macquarie, and Lee’s brother-in-law John Dargin, took out numerous depasturing licences for runs in the Wellington and Bogan districts between 1838 and 1845.\textsuperscript{121}

Attempts to establish pastoral stations in the unsettled districts beyond Bathurst continued to encounter fierce Aboriginal resistance. During a drought in 1841, nine stockmen working for William Lee illegally drove cattle far into the unsettled districts, as far as Nyngan. The station they established on ponds there held the only water for seventy miles around. Competition for this water led to the spearing of three of the stockmen by Aboriginals. A punitive mission led by the Bathurst Mounted Police killed at least ten Aboriginal people in retaliation. Lee’s depasturing licence was revoked after an investigation by Governor Gipps.\textsuperscript{122} The frontier wars continued for at least another sixteen years. On Major Mitchell’s 1846 expedition, he found the burnt remains of abandoned settlers’ stations at Nyngan on the Bogan River.\textsuperscript{123} A decade

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item NSW State Archives:Certificates for Depasturing Licences 1837-46, NRS 14363 [4/92] Roll 5068, Andrew Brown Depasturing licence for Caigan, 1839.
\item NSW State Archives:NRS 14363, [4/92] Roll 5068, Archibald Campbell Depasturing licence for Wandoowandang, 6 July, 1839; William Lawson Depasturing licence for Macquarie River, Bligh, 1839.
\item See for example NSW State Archives:Certificates for Depasturing Licences 1837-46, NRS 14363 [4/97] Roll 5072, John Dargin Depasturing licence for Bogan Plains, 1841; NSW State Archives:NRS 14363, William Lee Depasturing licence for Bogan and Bulgandramine, 1841.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
later, a squatting family from Wellington who tried to settle on the Bogan in 1854 were forced to withdraw and did not return until 1858.124

Assisted migration and bounty migration schemes had brought settlers from Britain, however, as William Lawson attested before the Immigration Committee in 1841, although professional shepherds who came as assisted immigrants were useful men, agricultural labourers engaged from England did not like working as shepherds.125 Shepherds were essential to protect flocks from native dogs (dingoes).126 Working in pairs, a shepherd supervised the flock during the day while a hut-keeper prepared meals. At night, the hut-keeper took over as watchman. Stations could employ several teams of men who grazed their flocks at outstations 100 miles apart and were visited by the superintendent on a weekly basis to ensure their duties were properly carried out. A visit to the head station might only be necessary for shearing once a year.127 The isolation and the danger of frontier conflict made shepherding work in the unsettled districts an unattractive proposition, particularly for married men with families. Lawson complained that he had trouble finding sufficient labourers for Errowanbang.128

William Charles Wentworth formed an association in 1842, seeking permission to import coolies and other labourers from the East Indies. The association raised a petition forwarded to the Colonial Office in 1843, signed by 686 persons, mainly stock and landed proprietors.129 Exchanges between the Colonial and British governments show that the British government did not object to the importation of Asiatic labourers so long as the capitalists concerned bore the expenses.130 Coolie labour from India was also tried, however the systematised importation of labour from that country was prevented by Indian law which made it a penal offence to make a contract for labour

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124 Nyngan on the Bogan 1883-1983, 24-25.
125 William Lawson's evidence before the Immigration Committee as quoted in Thelma Treasure, Mandurama and Its Neighbours (Mandurama, NSW: Mandurama School of Arts Committee, 1992), 19.
126 In the 1860s the introduction of strychnine poisoning brought the native dog population under control which then allowed the fencing of paddocks.
127 See Davidson, Bruce R., 84; McBurney, Yvonne, Road to Byng, 31.
128 Treasure, Mandurama and Its Neighbours, 19.
129 Gipps to Stanley, 5 May, 1843, HRAI 22, 594, cited in G M Clayton, "Coolie labour in Port Phillip in the 1840s" (University of Melbourne), 3.
with any native of India outside the territories of the East India Company.\textsuperscript{131} There were isolated experiments in bringing in Melanesian and Eurasian (Anglo-Indian) labour. In 1847, Benjamin Boyd imported sixty-five men from various islands in the New Hebrides group to Twofold Bay.\textsuperscript{132} Robert Towns brought in Eurasian men on the \textit{Palmyra}, twenty-four of whom were engaged by Henry Parkes to work on printing his newspaper, \textit{Empire}.\textsuperscript{133}

By the time of the 1846 Census, the occupation of the greatest number of persons in Bathurst County was shepherding. Of the 4391 persons living in Bathurst County counted in the 1846 census, 485 worked as shepherds or persons in the management of sheep.\textsuperscript{134} Land was further given over to pastoralists in 1847 when the colony was divided into settled, intermediate, and unsettled districts and pastoralists were given the opportunity to take out leases with low annual licence fees.

\textit{The first indentured Chinese labourers arrive}

On 2 October 1848, the \textit{Nimrod} with a cargo of 100 Chinese adult males and twenty Chinese boys arrived in Port Jackson.\textsuperscript{135} This ship which had departed Amoy in 1848 was the first ship to bring Chinese labourers to New South Wales under the system of indentured labour. On arrival it was advertised that Chinese immigrants were available for five year contracts at £6 per annum with rations and clothing on payment of passage money.\textsuperscript{136} Between 1848 and 1853 it is estimated that 3000 Chinese men, or one percent of Chinese labour emigrants were imported to the Australian colonies.\textsuperscript{137} Between 1849 and 1907, of the estimated 330,000 Chinese labourers contracted to work abroad, two-thirds went to Cuba and Peru.\textsuperscript{138} Wang differentiated between two sorts of Chinese emigrants in the nineteenth century – free emigrants and contract

\textsuperscript{131} [Act No. XIV of 1839 also Act no XXIV of 1852], in "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
\textsuperscript{132} Clayton, "Coolie labour in Port Phillip in the 1840s", 4; "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
\textsuperscript{133} "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor". Evidence of Robert Towns, 23 November 1854; "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
\textsuperscript{134} Census taken on 2 March 1846 (Sydney: Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, 1846), http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1846-census-01_11
\textsuperscript{135} Wang, \textit{The organization of Chinese emigration 1848-1888}, 367.
\textsuperscript{137} Maxine Darnell, ‘Indentured Chinese Labourers and Employers Identified, New South Wales, 1828-1856’; Slocomb, 12.
\textsuperscript{138} Slocomb, \textit{Among Australias pioneers: Chinese indentured pastoral workers on the Northern frontier, 1848 to c. 1880 7}. 
labourers. Most so-called free emigrants borrowed their passage money from others and were bound by invisible agreements to work for their creditors for a certain time, under a system known as the “credit ticket system”. The credit ticket system was used extensively between 1820 and 1830 by Chinese emigrants working in Singapore and Thailand.  

The contract labourer, by contrast, was “a man who bound himself to work for a contractor for a period of time”. Contract labour, otherwise referred to as indentured labour, characterised the colonial labour trade.

There is some doubt about whether all contract labourers came to New South Wales willingly. According to evidence given at the Select Committee on Asiatic Labour, held in New South Wales in 1854, agreement to work abroad was not necessarily voluntary. Andrew Shortrede, the proprietor and editor of the *China Mail*, stated:

> the principal in the transaction employs an agent in China to procure laborers; this agent employs Chinese brokers or procurers, and gives them so much a head for all who will pass muster. A tacit sanction is thus given to what I think is a great deal like kidnapping.

Even those who willingly entered agreements had little understanding of the contract. Immigration agent, H. H. Browne who gave evidence in the Inquiry stated “My impression is that they do not understand the nature of their agreements so fully as they ought.”

Labourers were recruited from not only the treaty ports in China, but also from Hong Kong, which had been ceded to Britain after the Opium War, from the Portuguese port of Macao, and from Singapore. G.F. Davidson persevered with his schemes to recruit Chinese labour from Singapore, placing an advertisement in which he offered to take orders for the importation of labourers before he left for Singapore in December 1849:

> As the China junks from Amoy arrive in Singapore in January and February, Mr D. [sic] will be on the spot when there will be some six thousand Chinese from that port seeking employment and ready to go anywhere.

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140 Wang, 8-39, 89.
141 Evidence of Andrew Shortrede, 29 August, 1854 "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
142 Evidence of H.H. Browne, 27 November 1854 "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
In 1849, Bathurst County had 258,245 sheep, the highest number of sheep in any of the settled districts. Beyond the settled districts, there were two or three times as many sheep in the Commissioners districts such as the Murrumbidgee, New England and the Darling Downs than there were in Bathurst County. Altogether, there were 12,102,540 sheep in New South Wales, which in 1849 encompassed Queensland and Victoria.

In the first three months of 1849, around 130 migrants from Britain arrived in Bathurst under the assisted migration scheme, most of whom were miners, some with wives and children, and they refused to go into the bush shepherding. In spite of the labour shortage, Bathurst electors were emphatically averse to the renewal of transportation. A petition sent to John Darvall, Member of the Legislative Council for Bathurst was signed by 155 of the 159 electors. By 1849 there was both demand for and available supply of indentured labour and that led to an obvious choice.

Two ships carrying Chinese passengers berthed in Sydney in 1849. One was the London, which arrived in February. In March 1849, Andrew Brown hired another ten Chinese labourers on five-year contracts through a London agent. These men were named in his diaries as Abdoolah, Allon, Assam, Assong, Attsum, Guie, Sin Fang, Su Folk, Su Geree and Sug, and they were stationed both at Caigan and at Cooerwull and travelled frequently between the distant stations, as did Andrew Brown and his two sons.

The other ship was the Julia Percy, which left Hong Kong on 3 July 1849, with “Macarthur” named as ship’s master. The Julia Percy arrived in Sydney on 11 October carrying six Chinese passengers in steerage. The six men who passed through Bathurst in November disembarked from the Julia Percy and after the trip across the Mountains, went to work as shepherds, most probably at Watton, on the

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144 Returns of the Colony, vol. 4/282 (1849).
145 Returns of the Colony, 1849.
150 NSWSA:NRS 1291, Colonial Secretary, Reports of Vessels Arrived (or Shipping Reports), 1826-59, [4/5236] Reel 1279, 'Julia Percy'.

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Macquarie River about ten miles north-west of Bathurst. John Thacker, the absentee landlord of Watton, was a principal in the trading company Thacker and Co. Companies such as Thacker and Co. which traded between China and New South Wales brought back more than cargo. Thacker and Co. was the agent for three ships bearing Chinese labourers - the Arabia and the Regia in 1851 and the Formosa in 1854.

The names of the six shepherds would be unknown but for a record of five Chinese men in the Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book, who were sentenced to three months confinement in May 1853 for breach of the Masters and Servants Act 1847 (11 Vic., No. 9). Under this Act, an agreement made in a foreign country became a legally binding agreement on arrival in New South Wales. Isang Teck, Sam A Keow, Lac Mee, Kim Low and How were recorded in the Entrance Book as having arrived on the Julia Percy in 1849. All were from Canton except for Sam A Keow, who was from Whang Po (Huangpu). It is unclear what became of the sixth labourer in the group. By this time, the five were employed on a station in Molong in Wellington County and had probably absconded to the gold fields at Louisa Creek, which are discussed in the next chapter. As the great majority of Chinese gold miners did not begin arriving until after 1856, they would have stood out in the field. Beyond this gaol record, there is no further record of these men.

The trial of Newing

The town of Bathurst served as the centre of justice for a much larger area than the Bathurst district. Although Carcoar and Mudgee had Courts of Petty Sessions in 1840, until District Courts were established in Carcoar and Hartley in 1859 and Mudgee in 1862, indictable offences were sent down by the Police Magistrates in those districts for trial at Bathurst’s Court of Quarter Sessions or the Bathurst Circuit Court’s twice-yearly sittings of the Supreme Court.

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154 Slocomb, Among Australias pioneers: Chinese indentured pastoral workers on the Northern frontier, 1848 to c. 1880 138.
Trials held in Bathurst for serious crimes committed elsewhere, brought the presence of Chinese to the unfavourable attention of the Bathurst public. The first major trial to involve a Chinese person was the well-publicised murder trial of Newing, which was conducted over a number of sittings of the Bathurst Circuit Court. Newing was a Chinese labourer employed by Andrew Brown on Caigan, who in October 1851 stabbed a fellow Chinese, Ing, who died of his wound. Newing was committed to trial for wilful murder by the Mudgee Bench and brought to Bathurst Gaol. In February 1852, when Newing was arraigned before the Bathurst Assizes, it became apparent that he spoke Hokkien, the Amoy dialect, which was not understood by the Chinese interpreter in Sydney. Justice Dickinson insisted that the case could not continue without the prisoner understanding the proceedings and agreed to Newing being remanded until the next Circuit Court hearing while an interpreter was sought.\footnote{Wilful murder, BFPMJ, 21 February, 1852.}

On 28 August 1852, Newing appeared again before the Bathurst Assizes. An interpreter, John Apong, had been procured from Moreton Bay, however, Apong’s poor English necessitated the use of “the very simplest words.” Andrew Brown gave evidence that Ing had been shepherding at a place forty miles from the head station for eight to ten weeks, while Newing had been in the wool shed pressing wool.\footnote{Wilful murder, BFPMJ, 28 August, 1852.}

As Newing did not speak for himself in the trial, but through an interpreter with limited English, his motives are not clear. According to a newspaper report, Newing and Ing had arrived on the same ship and had quarreled during the voyage.\footnote{"Local intelligence", BFPMJ 1851, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article62517981} Possibly they came from villages with clan enmities. According to Andrew Shortrede’s evidence given at the Select Committee into Asiatic Labour, most Chinese were brought out in the most indiscriminate manner: “So long as they are Chinamen ... it does not seem to matter whether they all speak the same language, or whether they are sent from districts which are at feud with each other at home”. Being taken from different districts he stated, "invariably foments the bitterest animosities between them."\footnote{Inquiry into Asiatic Labour, minutes of evidence, Andrew Shortrede, 29 August, 1854.}
Perhaps this was an early act of resistance gone horribly wrong. Newing pleaded not guilty, explaining through the interpreter that he had aimed the spear at the ground, but it had entered Ing’s groin. Perhaps he was trying to pass the spear to Ing.

After the stabbing, it was reported that Newing expressed a wish to die immediately and had attempted suicide by strangulation on the way to Bathurst. The jury returned a verdict of guilty and Newing was sentenced to death. An effort was made to have John Apong return to Bathurst to minister to Newing before the execution, however it was reported Apong refused on the basis that he had already planned to return to China. On 30 September 1852, Newing was hanged alongside another convicted murderer, Timothy Sullivan, in front of Bathurst Gaol. It may have been the first time the four to five hundred persons who assembled to witness the hanging had seen a Chinese person in Bathurst. For Chinese labourers arriving in 1852, news of Newing’s execution would have been an ominous way to begin a five-year contract. Perhaps Newing’s execution was a catalyst for the rebellion discussed in the next chapter.

The lack of interpreters which had plagued Newing’s court case was a recurrent problem throughout the 1850s. One of the interpreters used by the courts was George Harris, described in reports as “a Chinaman”. Harris acted as court interpreter on numerous occasions, including being brought out to interpret when he was serving prison sentences in Bathurst Gaol. In 1853, Harris was first brought before the Court of Quarter Sessions after having been brought down from Mudgee on the charge of having stolen property in his possession. Harris had been working as a cook for Henry Mills in Mudgee. Though found not guilty and discharged in this case, Harris subsequently went before the courts on a number of occasions and in 1854 he was convicted of larceny and sentenced to six months hard labour in Bathurst Gaol. Whilst serving his sentence that year, he was called upon to interpret in court.
Harris interpreted on one occasion for Pa Kou from Hong Kong, it appears the dialect Harris spoke was Cantonese. Harris could not speak other dialects of Chinese as when he was called on to interpret for a Chinese man named “Mial”, he was unable to translate his evidence.

Persons born in China were not counted separately in the New South Wales census of 1851, taken in March, just before the gold rushes began. In this census, 852 “Mahomedans and pagans” were recorded in New South Wales, 452 of whom were in squatting districts. Seven “Mahomedans and pagans” were in Westmoreland County, two in Bathurst County and one each in Georgiana, and Wellington Counties. Bathurst County also recorded ten persons of other religious persuasion.

Whilst only small numbers of Chinese labourers appear to have been brought to work in the Bathurst district before the gold rushes, there is some evidence that there were others who came earlier. George Harris was one of a number of Chinese men in the Bathurst district who had English names. Early Chinese labourers in the colony may have been given the names of their employers in the same way that the names of Aboriginal men such as George Suttor and Jemmy Lord suggest a connection to pastoral families in the district. The Bathurst Gaol entrance record for George Harris (alias Lai) in 1853 lists him as a Protestant, born in the colony. James Tom, listed as a “Chinaman” in the Bathurst Gaol Entrance Record in 1860, gave his date of arrival in New South Wales as 1847. One of Bathurst’s pioneering families were the Toms who had emigrated from Cornwall in the 1830s and were early settlers of the Byng and Parkes districts. Chinese James Tom may have been employed by Parson Tom’s son, James Tom who owned Springfield Station. James Tom and John Lister were guides for Edward Hargraves’ initial visit to Burrendong and the junction of the Macquarie and Summerhill Creek in February 1851, and James Tom and John Lister

168 NSW Census, Census of the Colony of New South Wales, taken on 1 March 1851, 14 Victoria, No. 18, (Sydney: Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, 1851), http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1851-census-01_1
169 Census of the Colony of New South Wales, 1851.
170 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book. 1853, Gaol Annual No.429.
171 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book. January 1860, Gaol Annual No. 15
are also credited with being the first recorded discoverers of gold on the Turon. John Smith, “a Chinaman” employed as an interpreter at the Bathurst Circuit Court in 1868 who deposed that he had arrived in New South Wales in 1857 and was employed as a gentleman’s servant, is likely to have been in the service of John Smith, who employed Chinese workers at Gamboola in the 1850s.

From the census figures, it appears that small numbers of Chinese labourers brought into Bathurst before the gold rushes were mainly sent to work as shepherds in the unsettled districts where demand was highest. No further newspaper reports of Chinese labourers arriving in Bathurst appeared until May 1852, but perhaps new arrivals simply went unreported. As New England settler William Telfer stated in the *Wallabadah Manuscript*, the importation of Chinese labour was “done very quietly.”

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CHAPTER 2: THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

In this chapter I discuss how more Chinese indentured labourers were brought to Bathurst to fill the labour shortage created by the gold rushes and worked not only in the pastoral industry, but were also employed in an early company mining venture. I discuss the conditions of the five year contracts to which they were committed and show how they demonstrated agency, by protesting against the terms of their contracts and the conditions of their employment. Finally, I assess the reasons why the indentured labour trade ended and the post-contract lives of the Chinese labourers.

*The gold rushes commence*

In May 1851, Edward Hargraves called a public meeting at Arthur’s Inn in Bathurst to announce that he had discovered payable gold at Lewis Ponds Creek, later renamed Ophir.176 By the time the Government geologist, Samuel Stuchbury proceeded to the diggings to verify the reports, he found gold rushes already underway, prompting the 22 May 1851 proclamation of the Crown Right to all gold found in New South Wales.177 The following day Gold field Regulations published in the Gazette announced the requirement for a miner’s licence of thirty shillings per month to be paid in advance and John Richard Hardy’s appointment to Bathurst as Commissioner for Crown Lands for the Gold Fields.178 Even before the proclamation was made, Bathurst pastoralist Hugh Hamilton wrote to warn a fellow pastoralist in Cowra:

My dear Sloan,

The country is ruined! No more water-hole digging, no more fencing no more of the usual employment of a social pastoral country, Bathurst district is one field of gold. Bathurst town has not 200 men in it to protect it. All, all are gone to the diggings.179

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176 It was James Tom’s brother William, together with John Lister who found the first payable gold at the junction of Lewis Ponds and Summerhill Creek. Hodge, *Valleys of Gold: The Gold fields Story 1851-1861*, 12.

177 *NSWGG*, 22 May 1851, No. 55, Supplement


Northumberland-born merchant and ships’ captain Robert Towns, saw an opportunity to profit from the demand for labour. What differed was that rather than bringing a small number of Chinese labourers to the colonies on the return voyage from China, Towns outfitted his ships in much the fashion of slave ships to carry Chinese labourers who were recruited through English trading firms in Amoy.\(^{180}\) Giving evidence at the 1854 Inquiry into Asiatic Labour, Towns described himself as the chief importer of Chinese labour, having imported eight vessels with three hundred labourers in each.\(^{181}\)

In March 1852, the first men from these shipments began arriving in Bathurst. The Bathurst Free Press made disparaging reference to “thirty Chinese money-making machines” on their way to William Lawson’s Flyer’s Creek establishment [Errowanbang] and “a batch of these human chattels intended for Archibald Campbell’s station in the interior.\(^{182}\) In early May, it was reported that six Chinese labourers bound for Thomas Icely’s Coombing, passed through Bathurst.\(^{183}\) At the end of May the Bathurst Free Press commented on yet “another small batch of these yellow pygmies” passing through town, remarking “we are informed that the proprietor of one establishment has given orders to his superintendent to discharge all his European shepherds and hut-keepers as their agreements lapse, to make room for his pagan serfs.”\(^{184}\)

Who this referred to is not clear. At the 1854 Inquiry, Towns identified pastoralist Robert Fitzgerald as having the most Chinese labourers, estimating he had about 100”.\(^{185}\) Besides his residence in Windsor, in rural Sydney, Fitzgerald had a 500-acre grant near Rylstone, north-west of Bathurst called Dabee (see Map 4). He also had holdings in the counties of Bligh, Cumberland and the Gwydir district and extensive leases on the Liverpool Plains, including land held in partnership with William Lawson Junior.\(^{186}\) As William Lawson Junior employed Chinese indentured labour at


\(^{181}\) "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor": "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".


\(^{183}\) *BFPMJ*, 12 May 1852.

\(^{184}\) *BFPMJ*, 26 May 1852.

\(^{185}\) Select Committee, evidence of Robert Towns in "Minutes of evidence", 27 November 1854, from "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".

Errowanbang, it is likely he also did so at Macquarie and on other pastoral holdings he had in the Bathurst district and elsewhere.  

Chinese labourers may have been deployed to clear and improve land for cultivation and subdivision. In 1854, 100 acres of Esrom estate, owned by Alexander Watt subdivided for sale into eighteen lots of five acres and ten lots of one acre with river frontage. Watt had given his name to the property Watton, where the six labourers from the Julia Percy were sent to work. Around the same time, George Ranken, who bought Thomas Icely’s grant Saltram on the Macquarie River flats, laid out the lower parts of the property in farm and village allotments which he sold for up to £30 an acre. While there is no firm evidence that indentured Chinese labourers were responsible, Barry McGowan found station records which show that Chinese labourers were paid to scrub land on Crosshills Stations west of Bathurst in the early 1880s. Sucheng Chan found that Chinese were involved in all stages of farm-making on the floodplains of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers where they reclaimed the swamps, cleared the land, broke up the sod for cultivation and later rented part of the land to grow crops. Firmer evidence is required to take this claim beyond speculation.

Once the gold rushes made European labour scarce, reports of Chinese indentured labourers working on properties in Bathurst became more common. Alick Pong was employed by William Lee at Kelso and On Quong worked as a cook in John Dargin’s household. I pointed out in the previous chapter that William Lee was married to John Dargin’s sister Mary. It can be seen that related families employed Chinese labour. William Lawson Junior was married to Thomas Icely’s sister, Caroline; John Smith married Mary Tom, daughter of William Tom; John and Mary’s daughter,

187 Geoff Smith writes that Yoo Yah worked as a shepherd on Lawson’s property at Winburndale. See Geoff Smith, 100 Years of Peel and district, (1998). For a listing of Lawson’s stations and pastoral holdings see Thelma Treasure, Mandurama and Its Neighbours, 19.
190 “True Australians and Pioneers: Chinese Migration to the Orange Region of New South Wales” 94-95.
191 Chan, This bittersweet soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910, 162.
Fanny married Robert Darvall Barton, the son of Robert Johnston Barton, to whom Towns sent labourers from the 
Royal Saxon in 1853. Long Ago Robert Towns and William Charles Wentworth were related by Towns’ marriage to Wentworth’s half-sister, Sophia; and the Rouses and Fitzgeralds were related through the marriage of Richard Rouse’s daughter Elizabeth Henrietta to Robert Fitzgerald.

Besides Chinese labourers, Aboriginal people worked on pastoral stations when the gold rushes made labour scarce. John Robertson, Commissioner of Crown Land for the Bligh District which included the lower reaches of the Macquarie River reported “…Indeed during the present great scarcity of labour from the discovery of gold I do not think the pastoral interests of the District could have been carried on without the Aborigines …” Chinese indentured labourers worked on the same pastoral stations as Aboriginals. The blanket returns for Carcoar in 1841 show that twenty-seven Aboriginal men given blankets at Carcoar gave their place of abode as Coombing. “Native blacks” were already employed at Brucedale, the Suttors family property at Peel when William Henry Suttors took over from his father as station manager. Suttors brother-in-law, William John Kerr, also employed “a small tribe of Aboriginal blacks” to look after two flocks of sheep on his sheep station, Wallerwaugh, between the Macquarie River and the Meroo Creek. (see Map 4)

As Chinese shepherds were sent to work in unsettled districts where the frontier wars still continued, in many cases, their encounters with Aboriginal people would have been hostile. In 1853, it was reported that a Chinese shepherd employed by Archibald Campbell at Wandoo Wandang apprehended an Aboriginal man in the act of raping a female hutkeeper who later died from her injuries.

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193 R. J. Barton’s fourth daughter Rose Isabella was the mother of the poet Andrew Barton Paterson, better known as Banjo Paterson.
194 NTSCORP, Orange Aboriginal Heritage Report: Prepared for Orange City Council (2012), 38., citing Governors Dispatches Vol 64
195 “Orange Aboriginal Heritage Report: Prepared for Orange City Council” 102-03.
196 Suttors, Australian Stories Retold and Sketches of Country Life, 145.
197 Australian Stories Retold and Sketches of Country Life, 33-43. It was on an outstation of Wallerwaugh, that three Aboriginal employees, Jemmy Irving, Long Tommy and Tommy Bumbo, discovered the 106 pound “Kerr Hundredweight” nugget in July 1851 which began the gold rush on Louisa Creek.
Chinese men may also have come into contact with Aboriginal men and women on the gold fields. An 1851 report from Louisa Creek claimed the most successful miners were Aboriginals, though they were taken advantage of by gold buyers and “often give a pounds worth for a shilling.” 199 When Colonel Mundy visited Sofala in 1851, he reported seeing a few “gins” at the mines, which he called “one of the most odious peculiarities of the gold-digging population.” 200 The first record of a Chinese-Aboriginal couple does not come until with the birth of Elizabeth Ah See in 1875 to Edward Ah See and Bathurst-born Harriet (Annie) Howard. 201

201 Michael Bennett, NTSCORP, pers. comm., 19 October, 2017.
Map 4: Map showing location of stations where Chinese contract labourers were employed in the settled and unsettled districts around Bathurst between 1830 and 1858.
Chinese contract labourers on the gold fields

Almost immediately following the discovery of gold at Ophir, the overseer on George Suttor’s property Pyramul, discovered gold on the Turon River, sparking a rush on the Turon.²⁰² Like Ophir, the main town on the Turon was named Sofala after a biblical gold town in Africa. Only three months after Sofala was gazetted as a gold field, the first report of a Chinese miner was made.²⁰³ A correspondent from the Bathurst Free Press noted that Golden Point, near the township of Sofala, was termed the “Chinaman’s claim”, “from the circumstance of a Celestial being employed at the cradle.”²⁰⁴

In 1852, a Select Committee to Inquire into the Management of the Gold fields was established with W. C. Wentworth as Chair.²⁰⁵ Amongst the recommendations of the Committee, were that Gold fields be sub-divided into Assistant Commissioners’ Districts, Chief Commissioner Hardy’s office be terminated and District Commissioners forthwith report directly to the Office of the Colonial Secretary. Also, amongst the Committee’s recommendations were punitive regulations directed at aliens on the gold fields. Aliens were to pay double the monthly licence fee, and harsh penalties would apply to runaway servants found on the gold fields.²⁰⁶

The public reaction in Bathurst and Sofala to the proposed Gold Fields Management Act, 1852 (16 Vic. No. 43) indicates that by 1852, the number of Chinese on the Western gold fields had grown. At a well-attended public meeting held in Bathurst on 29 January 1853, one speaker, Mr Gordon, claimed that “the cries of the squatters for labour had been loud and long, and their establishments were graced with the children of China”. Gordon questioned if the new legislation was not “based upon the desire to retain the services of these pagans by guarding against desertion.”²⁰⁷ While there is no evidence that Wentworth employed Chinese labourers on his land in the Bathurst district, as will be seen in the next chapter, Wentworth employed Chinese indentured

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²⁰² Suttor, Australian Stories Retold and Sketches of Country Life, 38.
²⁰³ “NSWGG”, 15 August 1851
²⁰⁶ Hodge, Frontiers of Gold, 34.
labour at his residence, *Vaucluse House* in Sydney and on his runs on the Murrumbidgee and Hunter Rivers. At the public gathering in Sofala on 8 January 1853, Wentworth’s effigy was hung by the neck and a memorial opposing the amendments was signed by 1940 people.\(^{208}\) Public opposition failed to prevent the hated Act from coming into force in February 1853. Although Chinese participation was not reported at the public meetings, it was reported that Chinese were amongst the hundreds of goldminers who chose to leave for Victoria rather than submit to the new regulations:

> As proof that foreigners are unwilling to submit to the Alien Law… a party of three Chinamen delegated one of their number to go to the Commissioners and offer them £4/10s for three licences…they of course refused the application on the ground that they were foreigners and that if they paid £3 each a licence would be granted. Now I have known these three men to be on the river for the last seven months, during which time they have never failed to pay their licences and what is the result now? Why this morning they were seen with their swags on their backs plodding their way towards the mountains, enroute for the Ovens.\(^{209}\)

*Chinese indentured labourers employed on the gold fields*

Chinese were not only on the gold fields of their own accord, but because they were brought there to work. On 29 November 1852, the largest of Towns’ ships, the *Royal Saxon* set sail from Amoy, arriving in Port Phillip in just over two months - the fastest voyage of any of the ships carrying indentured labourers to New South Wales. Prior to the ship’s arrival in Melbourne, a notice was placed in the *Argus* advertising the availability of “250 Chinese immigrants who have been carefully selected from the rural districts of China and are well adapted for shepherds and farm servants”.\(^{210}\) When the *Royal Saxon* set sail again for Sydney, Towns wrote letters to past and prospective customers in New South Wales, including Robert Fitzgerald who was advised:

> I am hourly expecting the *Royal Saxon* with a superior batch of Celestials alias Chinese immigrants and will be glad to know how many I may welcome for you. I understand they are a fine healthy, able-bodied set of fellows the rates will be same as last year after our expense in China is debited.\(^{211}\)

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\(^{208}\) *Frontiers of Gold*, 35.


\(^{210}\) *Argus*, 27 December, 1853.

\(^{211}\) Towns to Fitzgerald, 14 February, 1853 in MLMSS 306/6.
Towns also wrote to customers in the Bathurst district to arrange delivery to those who had requested labourers. One of these was Edward Spence, the New South Wales Superintendent of the Colonial Gold Company, a joint stock company chartered by an Act of Parliament in England in March 1852 to mine for gold in NSW and Victoria.\textsuperscript{212} Spence had departed England in February 1852 to look for suitable mining sites in New South Wales and in September 1852 approached the Directors of the Great Nugget Vein Company at Louisa Creek (Hargraves), negotiating to work the Company’s claims for a seventy-five percent share of the gold produced.\textsuperscript{213} On 22 February, 1853, Towns advised Spence that he had engaged carriers to bring thirty men to Bathurst with one of his best men Wah as interpreter.\textsuperscript{214} In April 1853, Towns arranged a carrier to send up a further fourteen employees for the Company and nine men plus an interpreter for Spence. Another seven men were to travel with them to Bathurst for collection by their employers Mr Wray Finch who had land in the Wellington Valley, Mr [Robert Johnstone] Barton at Boree Nyrang and the Reverend Agnew at Carcoar who had been introduced through Thomas Icely (see Map 4).\textsuperscript{215} Towns forewarned Major Wentworth, the Police Magistrate in Bathurst, of their arrival, then wrote to the carriers advising them to contact the Magistrate in Bathurst in the event of any trouble for, as he stated, “I know of the strong feeling existing against them”.\textsuperscript{216} The first arrivals in 1849 had attracted unwanted attention “by the peculiarity of their costume which was thoroughly Chinese”.\textsuperscript{217} The labourers for the Colonial Gold Company either went unnoticed as they passed through Bathurst or were not remarked on, and arrived without incident. On 29 April 1853, Towns wrote to Spence, “I am happy to hear that the celestials are giving much satisfaction. I sincerely hope they will continue to do so.”\textsuperscript{218} Besides the interpreter Wah, the names of the Chinese miners were not documented. William Beacham, born in Amoy in 1835, who arrived on the \textit{Royal Saxon} in 1853 may have been one of the mining labourers

\textsuperscript{214} Towns to Spence, 23 February, 1853 in MLMSS 307/7 Book 1.
\textsuperscript{215} Towns to Spence, 14 April, 1853 in MLMSS 307/7 Book 1.
\textsuperscript{216} MLMSS 307/7 Book 1, 14 April 1853.
\textsuperscript{217} “Chinese Immigrants”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 10 November 1849.
\textsuperscript{218} Towns to Spence, 29 April, 1853 in MLMSS 307/7 Book 1.
indentured to the Colonial Gold Mining Company, though his residence in Sofala from February 1858, suggests he served a full five-year indenture.\textsuperscript{219}

In May 1853, the Colonial Gold Company commenced construction of a steam powered quartz crush. When the Great Nugget Vein Company held its first Annual General Meeting in Sydney in July 1853, shareholders were informed that construction of the new steam powered crushing works was proceeding well and, in the meantime, alluvial deposits were being worked. They were also told that 100 men were employed in the operation, many of whom were Chinese, and they had generally proved to be good workers and were cheap.\textsuperscript{220} A very large dam was constructed, shafts on the reef were sunk, kilns were erected for roasting the ore and the treatment plant at Louisa Creek began operating in March 1854. Capable of crushing two tons of quartz per hour, the crusher worked around the clock but returned only what was regarded as a marginal average of eight-and-a-half pennyweight of gold per ton.\textsuperscript{221} The Company also purchased the Royal Vein lease at Dirt Hole [also referred to as Dirt Holes] in Tambaroora, where forty to fifty employees of the Company were reported working underground in February 1854.\textsuperscript{222} In March 1854 the Company applied for a thirty acre claim at Fighting Ground Creek, one-and-a-half miles north of Dirt Hole.\textsuperscript{223} Construction began there on a second crushing plant to treat both the quartz from the Company’s claim at Dirt Hole and the quartz of other alluvial miners in the area. Dams were sunk and roasting kilns and housing for a twelve-head stamper battery were constructed whilst waiting for the stamper battery to be brought over the mountains.\textsuperscript{224} Before the stamper battery at Fighting Ground Creek began operating in February 1855, the Amoy men ceased working for the Colonial Gold Company. In August 1854, Towns stated before the Select Committee on Asiatic Labour:

\textit{the Chinese I sent up set going the Colonial Gold Company ... that is the Company that is working the Great Nugget Vein. I sent fifty-four or fifty-five of these men to the Superintendent of that Company … the most of these men...

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{NSWSA: Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, NRS 905, [72/7358], William Beacham Memorial or application for certificate of naturalisation 1872; NRS 905, [61/3880] William Beacham Memorial or application for a certificate of naturalisation, 1861.}
\footnote{Woodland, \textit{Money pits}, 145-64.}
\footnote{ibid., 145}
\footnote{NSWSA: Letters from Gold Commissioners, 1853-75, NRS 9988, [2/3511A], Letter from Gold Commissioner Western Districts to Acting Surveyor General Sydney, 1 March 1854.}
\footnote{Denis Gojak and Caitlin Allen, " The Fighting Ground Creek quartz roasting pits and the early importation of gold processing technology into Australia 1850-1860", \textit{Australasian Historical Archaeology} 18 (2000), 130.}
\end{footnotes}
have purchased their freedom as to time by paying the amount I had charged the company, and are on their own account at the diggings in the neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{225}

There is no known precedent for Chinese contract labourers buying their way out of the remainder of their contracts. The thirty “remarkably sober and industrious men” observed working steadily behind the Commissioner’s camp at Sofala in February 1855 may have been a party of men from the Colonial Gold Company.\textsuperscript{226} If the miners did remain on their own account at the diggings, a knowledge of the gold fields at Louisa Creek and Tambaroora, experience in shaft and dam sinking, the erection and use of steam powered machinery, alluvial mining, and the process used in extracting ore from the quartz would have set them in good stead as goldminers.

Resistance and Rebellion

Davidson’s 1837 proposal to import Chinese mechanics and labourers to New South Wales had recommended rice rations and wages of £15 a year, twice what labourers could earn in Singapore.\textsuperscript{227} According to research by G.M. Clayton, the 219 Chinese, Klings and Malays brought by Alexander Johnstone from Singapore to Port Phillip on the \textit{Philip Laing} in December 1848, entered into four year agreements which offered them wages equivalent to £14 per annum, return passage (deducted from pay), clothes from a list of necessary items, weekly rations and cooking pots.\textsuperscript{228} Clayton judged the conditions of their passage as being comparable to conditions of white passage from Britain.\textsuperscript{229} Although twenty-eight of the men appeared before the Police Bench for absconding from their masters before January 1850, Clayton reported that beyond that date there seemed to be no more reports of the Chinese absconding or being brought before the Police Bench for any reason at all.\textsuperscript{230}

While Clayton’s research suggests that labourers were content where given fair wages and conditions, this does not seem to have been the experience of indentured labourers in the Bathurst district. In contrast to the labourers brought out on the \textit{Phillip Laing},

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{225} Select Committee, evidence of Robert Towns, 29 August 1854.
\item \textsuperscript{226} “The Turon”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 3 February 1855, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62052878}
\item \textsuperscript{227} SMH, “Chinese mechanics and labourers.”
\item \textsuperscript{228} Clayton, “Coolie labour in Port Phillip in the 1840s”, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{229} Clayton, “Coolie labour in Port Phillip in the 1840s”, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{230} Clayton, “Coolie labour in Port Phillip in the 1840s”, 20.
\end{itemize}
Towns brought labourers out under poor conditions of passage and employment. The amount paid to Chinese labourers by Towns (just over £7 per annum) was between a quarter to a third of the wage that a European shepherd could earn in 1847.\textsuperscript{231} Labourers were issued rations of flour rather than rice, and their wages were only half that recommended by Davidson.\textsuperscript{232} Since Chinese indentured labourers worked alongside European shepherds, they would soon have learnt that their contracts locked them into wages well below those paid to Europeans performing similar work. The disparity in wages increased with the labour shortage caused by the gold rushes. At the height of the gold rushes, shepherds’ annual wages rose to £50 per annum whilst the wages of Chinese shepherds remained at their contracted rate. At the same time the work became more demanding as the size of flocks increased by at least fifty percent.\textsuperscript{233} The \textit{Bathurst Free Press} of 17 September 1853 reported that labour of every description was exceedingly scarce. In the same issue it reported that the Chinese cook on Archibald Campbell’s Bathurst station, \textit{Sorn Bank}, had led five other Chinese employees to demand a pay rise. When the request was refused, the employees walked out in contravention of their contracts.\textsuperscript{234} Desertions owed as much to the refusal of Chinese indentured labourers to put up with their wages and working conditions as to the attraction of gold.

Davidson had also warned that Chinese would not tolerate ill-treatment, “A Chinaman will not put up with it and will spread such reports about it as will tend to prevent future supplies reaching this part of the world.”\textsuperscript{235} Slocomb observed that for about a year between March 1852 and February 1853 there was a spike in the frequency of charges brought against Chinese in the law courts in the Burnett and Moreton Bay districts and “a new element of defiance in the action the men were taking”.\textsuperscript{236} In 1852, Chinese workers on the big Burnett runs defiantly walked off their jobs “not singly


\textsuperscript{234} “17 September 1853”, \textit{BFP MJ}, 17 September 1853, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62053217}

\textsuperscript{235} \textit{SMH}, 22 June 1837.

\textsuperscript{236} Slocomb, \textit{Among Australias pioneers: Chinese indentured pastoral workers on the Northern frontier, 1848 to c. 1880} 153.
but in groups of seven or eight, or committed acts of open rebellion.” 237 Similar incidents occurred in 1853 amongst the eighty-seven Chinese men indentured to work on the Australian Agricultural Company’s Peel River Estate in northern New South Wales. Reports returned to Marcus Brownrigg, the new Superintendent of the Company, indicate that the employees’ dissatisfaction with pay and conditions resulted in refractory behaviour which ranged from refusal to work to armed defiance. 238 A series of incidents which took place from late 1852 in stations around the Bathurst district, or in cases which were heard before the courts in Bathurst add to this pattern of defiance observed elsewhere. 239

In December 1852, the Bathurst Free Press reported on an insurrection which had taken place at Errowanbang. A quarrel between a European shearer and “a Chinaman” had stirred one of Lawson’s workers, Taw Taw, to summon Chinese employed on various outstations to muster together:

In obedience to the summons, they one and all left their sheep, some nine or ten flocks without any protection and assembled at a station on a slight elevation…where they held a council of war… Having armed themselves with long sharp pointed poles and some of them with knives, they arranged themselves in something like military order and led on by Mr Taw Taw, who brandished a long knife which he employs in his business as butcher on the farm, they proceeded with a shout to the attack some score in number with colours flying and evidently bent on slaughter. 240

They faced off against twenty-six or twenty-eight Europeans armed with bludgeons and a clash was only averted by the overseers riding between the two parties until the police arrived from Carcoar. There is no record in the Bathurst Gaol Entrance Books for Taw Taw, unless he was one of two Chinese labourers, Tan Young and Wah Gwyne, who were admitted to Bathurst Gaol on 1 January 1853 on charges of Breach of the Masters and Servants Act. 241 In 1853, 28 of 497 persons who entered Bathurst Gaol were Chinese, twelve charged with Breach of the Masters and Servants Act and a further five charged with Breach of the Peace. 242 In 1854, the Bathurst Free Press

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238 Rolls, p 67-69.
241 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book. Gaol Annual nos. 2 & 3, January 1853.
242 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book 1846-54, NRS 1993 [4/8491]
remarked that “nineteen specimens of pig-tailed humanity”, or one fifth of the gaol population, were Chinese awaiting trial. In January 1854, two Amoy labourers, Teng Nong and Wi Wee appeared before the Bathurst Court of Quarter Sessions after being sent down by the Mudgee Bench. The Bathurst Free Press reported that the two, who were in the employment of Richard Rouse, were found guilty of assaulting Richard Hassall, the grandson of Richard Rouse, to whom Towns had sent six unnamed Chinese labourers in 1852. Hassall was inspecting the fields to see if the wheat was ripe for harvesting when he was attacked by Teng Nong and Wi Wee and a third Chinese man. Hassall managed to escape to the house, but the men followed him with reaping hooks and laid siege overnight. When Hassall escaped to the stable the next day, he was attacked by the three men. Hassall fired his revolver at one of the men who fell and may have died, as only two Chinese men were subsequently tried. Teng Nong and Wi Wee were found guilty and sentenced to twelve months hard labour in Bathurst Gaol.

In another such case, Amoy labourers Canton and Tanhap came before the Bathurst Court of Quarter Sessions in April 1854, charged with the assault of Robert Fitzgerald. According to Fitzgerald’s evidence, he had been visiting outstations of Dabee and when he called at the station where Canton was shepherding, Canton attacked him with shear blades. Fitzgerald managed to escape, but on visiting another station, he was threatened by Tanhap, another Chinese employee. In his deposition to the court, Fitzgerald stated that Canton and Tanhap had been ringleaders in all the plots and disturbances that had taken place amongst the eighty Chinamen in his service. Canton and Tanhap were both found guilty of assault and sentenced to nine months in Bathurst Gaol. A few months after Canton and Tanhap’s trial, an “eyewitness” wrote to the Bathurst Free Press to describe an incident which had taken place concerning two unnamed Chinese employees of Robert Fitzgerald. The two, who had absconded from Dabee, were pursued by the District Constable and apprehended at

244 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Books 1846-54 [4/8491].
247 “Quarter Sessions”, BFPMJ, 28 January 1854. Teng Nong is listed as Tan Guong in the Bathurst Gaol Entrance Books 1846-54 [4/8491], 1854, Standing number 11.
248 BFP, “Quarter Sessions.”
249 Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book 1846-54 [4/8491], 1853, Standing numbers 416 and 417.
Glen Alice where they were arrested, handcuffed and made to walk back in the middle of the night, in the middle of winter. When one man attempted to escape, he was shot by the constable and left for four days. He was still alive when retrieved but died shortly after reaching the watch house. Despite mention of a pending inquiry, no charges appear to have been laid, and no inquest was held. The “eyewitness” opined: “It is the intolerable cruelty that is exercised upon the Chinese labourers in this colony that causes them so very frequently to revolt and commit many outrages that might otherwise have been avoided”.250

The most violent of these acts was the murder in 1854, of Mr. Granger, the overseer at W.C. Wentworth’s Coonamble run, Tooloon. Four Chinese employees of Granger’s faced trial in Bathurst over his murder and three were convicted. Henry Lee, an employee at Tooloon, gave evidence that Granger was in the habit of ill-using his Chinese employees.251 W.C. Wentworth fought a legal battle with his Chinese employees, whom he brought before the courts on at least seven separate occasions on charges of having breached the Masters and Servants Act.252 Although these court cases took place in Sydney, beyond the geographical boundaries of this study, I include reports of these court hearings as they give voice to the indentured labourers.

In April 1852, Lye Chow Ing was charged with having absconded at Camden enroute to Wentworth’s estate on the Murrumbidgee.253 In October 1852, Fan was gaoled for having refused to go to Wentworth’s Hunter estate.254 San Jen Ho (also named Isan In Ho and Tan Jen) was brought before the Bench on four separate occasions.255 On the first occasion, Wentworth complained that Ho had entered into a five-year contract with him beginning 18 February 1852, but in August of that year, Ho had refused to do any work unless he was paid a month’s wages. Ho and Tan Ong, who faced charges of absconding, were described by Wentworth as the “principal ringleaders who had induced the rest to strike off work”.256 On his fourth charge of absconding in February 1853, San Jen Ho said through an interpreter that Wentworth intended to send him

250 ‘Original Correspondence’, BFPMJ, 12 August 1854.
252 See also "Bathurst Assizes”, 2.
253 ‘Sydney Police Court’, Empire, 23 April, 1852.
254 ‘Another Chinese War’, Bell’s Life, 30 October, 1852.
255 San Jen Ho came before the Sydney Bench on 22 April, 21 August and 9 November, 1852 and 25 February, 1853. See Sydney Police Courts reports in Bell’s Life, 23 April 1852; Empire, 10 November, 1852 and ‘Chinese Immigrants’ in SMH 26 February 1853.
256 Bell’s Life, 21 August, 1852.
shepherding in the Murrumbidgee and he was afraid to go up country. At the same hearing Nyphing, Yapho and Yap Tien were all convicted of having absconded from Wentworth’s service. The latter “got into a violent passion and loudly vowed never to return to Wentworth. The constables had great difficulty in removing him, as he struggled most desperately to get free.”257 All the Chinese labourers Wentworth brought to court for Breach of the Masters and Servants Act were found guilty and sentenced to gaol terms of between one and three months with hard labour, at the completion of which they were ordered to resume their contracts under his service.

These incidents of resistance in the colonies coincided with the occupation of trading ports in China by rebel troops. Tait and Co., British agents for the coolie trade, reported the capture of Amoy on 19 May 1853 “by Rebels or Short-Knife Society”, bringing trade completely to a stand-still.258 In August 1853, Tait and Co. reported the rebels “still in command of Amoy and a good deal of anxiety felt by foreign residents”.259 The city of Shanghai also fell to rebel troops in 1853. A Sydney Morning Herald correspondent reported that the city was taken by “the rabble of the Short Knife Society”, describing “groups of rebels as they wish to be called, distinguished with a sash or by a turban of red cloth”.260 The rebellion at Amoy brought the labour trade in Amoy to an end. The mutinous second voyage of the Spartan which left Amoy in January 1853 was the last to bring indentured labourers from Amoy to New South Wales.261 The Chinese labour trade then shifted to Canton, Hong Kong and Macao.

The coincidence of events in China with incidents of organised resistance in the Australian colonies suggests that Chinese secret societies, active in China, and South East Asia, may also have been active in the Australian colonies at this time.262 This pre-dates Cai Shaoqing’s assertion that the existence of the Hung League, or Hung Men, Avon dated to the Victorian gold rushes. Cai asserted that the discovery of a Hung Men handbook in Bendigo, proved without doubt the existence of Hung Men activity

257 “Chinese Immigrants”, SMH 26 February, 1853
258 “China”, Argus, 22 July, 1853.
261 Wang, 369.
262 C. F. Yong believed the Yee Hing to be the first Chinese secret society in Australia, brought to Victoria and New South Wales by gold miners. See Yong, The New Gold Mountain: the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921, 115.
on the gold fields from 1851. He stated that Hung Men pamphlets found in Singapore and Sumatra refer to the Hung Men as the *Yee Hing Company* and claimed that the *Yee Hing* is the name by which the majority of Chinese secret societies in Australia refer to themselves. According to Cai, the original purpose of the League was to overthrow the ruling Manchu regime and restore the Ming dynasty. Cai claimed key members of both the Taiping army and the Hung Men-led Red Turban Rebellion joined the gold rushes and fled to Australia to escape the persecution of Qing imperial authorities.

Books containing the laws, statutes and oaths of the Hung Men were discovered in a house in Batavia in 1863, and translated by Gustave Schlegel who referred to the League as the *Thian Ti Hwui, (tiandihui)* 天地会, the “Heaven and Earth League” and the Three United League, because it is based upon the bonds between Heaven, Earth and Man. According to Schlegel, the League was transmitted to Straits Settlements from its cradle in Canton and Fukkien. Schlegel claimed that the natives of Fukkien “still wear a kerchief wound around their head, in order to conceal the badge of subjection, the queue.”

When San Jen Ho appeared before the Sydney Bench in August 1852, he was described as “not only tailed but turbaned” and was said to have “exhibited a rather ferocious front”. Descriptions of the “military order” of the Chinese labourers under Taw Taw’s command suggest that Chinese labourers in the Bathurst district were organised and had found ways to communicate in spite of the isolation of their postings. A haven for absconding servants in Sydney was former Bathurst Member of Parliament, John Bayley Darvall’s estate in Botany, described by *Empire* in 1852.

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268 Schlegel, 4.

269 *Bell’s Life*, 21 August, 1852

270 BFP, "Riotous proceedings of the Chinese”, 2; Margaret Slocomb asserted that some of the Burnett and Wide Bay Chinese were almost certainly members of the *tiandihui*, 278.
as “a regular rendezvous for Chinese refugees who had founded a little colony there. About a dozen runaway Chinamen were there.”271 Tan Ong fled Wentworth’s service to Darvall’s, where he was retrieved along with two other runaways from Vaucluse.272

For absconding Chinese indentured labourers in the Western Districts, the gold fields were the obvious destinations. In March 1854, warrants were issued for the arrest of Sou Kein/Kane and Kevat Kein, servants of John Hughes of Black Rock at Georges Plains, who offered a £2 reward for their apprehension.273 In 1855, John and Thomas Lee, the sons of William Lee, advertised £1 reward each for the return of their servants, Aw Toan, Sim Can, Sim Sui and Ti Kiong, who had left the flocks they were tending at the Lee’s Baragon run west of Wellington to native dogs. Three were said to be at the Meroo gold fields, while one was believed to be heading to Sydney.274

Some acts of rebellion or violence against employers appear to be simply individual acts of desperation. In October 1854, Ranee Koo, an employee of Mr Garvey at the Woolpack Inn in Bathurst, exploded four canisters of gunpowder in the hotel, seriously injuring himself, Mrs Garvey and two others in the hotel.275 Koo had complained the evening prior to the explosion that he had been robbed of eleven sovereigns. When a settlement and permission to leave were refused, he set off the explosion the next day. Before Koo died from his injuries, he persisted in stating that he had intended on taking his own life only.276

Nevertheless, the repeated abscondings, refusals to work and assaults or attempted assaults of employers succeeded in ending the trade in Chinese indentured labour. In December 1852, Wentworth told Parliament that Chinamen did not prove a desirable

Sir John Bayley Darvall, who as Member of the Legislative Council opposed restrictive anti-Chinese legislation as 'cruel, unkind and disgraceful', was the son of Major Edward Darvall, who owned land in the parish of Botany. See http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/darvall-sir-john-bayley-3370
272 John Bayley Darvall was appointed MLC for Bathurst County 1844-1856. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Members_of_the_New_South_Wales_Legislative_Council,_1843%E2%80%931851 Whether this bears any relation to his advocacy for the rights of Chinese remains to be investigated further.
273 "Advertising". There were at least two other properties named Black Rock, one near Limekilns, another on the Macquarie River.
276 "Chinese Revenge - Serious Disaster."
class of labourers for the Colony, not being sufficiently docile or obedient. By the
time the Report of the Select Committee into Asiatic Labor was put before the
Legislative Council in 1854, the importation of Chinese labourers to New South Wales
was considered a failed experiment. In its summary, the Select Committee declared
itself of the opinion that:

all ideas of a renewal of Asiatic immigration at private expense will be
abandoned. It is admitted on all hands that the experiment of Chinese has
disappointed the expectations of those who at one time strongly advocated
their introduction…

Towns gave evidence that despite repeated applications, he had been unable to procure
Chinese labourers as “they have taken to emigrate themselves to Melbourne and
California and having been disappointed in repeated applications I made for these I
have turned my attention to Coolie immigration from British India.”

Post-indenture life

By 1855, the five-year contracts of those indentured labourers who had begun working
before 1850 had expired. Those who had completed their contracts were free to join
the gold rushes which had sprung up around them. Chief Commissioner Green stated
that there were between 100 to 120 Chinese diggers living at Richardson’s Point
(Windeyer) on the Meroo when he visited the field in August 1854. Green was
giving evidence at the trial in Bathurst of two Amoy men – Hong, charged with having
fired a pistol with intent to do harm to one William Burnett, and Wat, charged with
having fired a pistol at persons unknown. Burnett testified that he was returning to
Richardson’s Point when he came across an affray between Chinese and European
diggers. Wat fired at him and Hong fired at the European diggers. According to
Burnett’s testimony, a great many of the Chinese tents were burned, “I saw the Chinese
settlement the next morning, it was a complete wreck and ruin. The Europeans hunted
the Chinese into gullies wherever they could find them.”

277 Rolls, Eric, Sojourners: Flowers and the Wide Sea, (St Lucia, Queensland, University of
Queensland Press, 1992), 72
278 Select Committee, in NSW VPLC, 1854, Vol. 2, 5
279 Minutes of evidence, 29 August 1854, "Report from the Select Committee on Asiatic Labor".
280 Not all indentures were completed by 1855. E Swa, native of Amoy did not obtain a ticket of leave
for the Bathurst District until 1861. NSW Government Gazette, 20 May 1861, No. 39, 3,
282 “Bathurst Circuit Court”, BFP, 9 September 1854.
defended by Mr Holroyd who brought forward evidence that the dispute with the Europeans had begun with a disagreement about the use of a waterhole and that the prisoners did not have firearms. The jury acquitted Hong but Wat was sentenced to five years on the roads. On 25 September, 1854, 32-year-old Wat, from Amoy, entered Darlinghurst Gaol but three days later was transferred to serve his sentence on Cockatoo Island.

Other evidence suggests that early Chinese on the gold fields enjoyed a level of social acceptance by the broader community. Horse-racing was a popular pastime on the gold fields and the Meroo Annual Races included a Chinaman’s Race. In March 1855, a correspondent from the Bathurst Free Press who visited Louisa Creek at the time the first wedding was being celebrated there described extended celebrations across the gold fields community “instilling the desirable feeling of a common brotherhood”, and climaxing with a large party invited to partake of “a really sumptuous entertainment given by our fellow diggers the Chinamen”. The correspondent lamented, “What a pity our Victorian neighbours and Yankee friends were not there to witness the friendly feeling of our celestial brothers towards their European guests.”

The proliferation of hotels created job opportunities for Chinese men who had completed their indentures to work as cooks and servants in Bathurst hotels and homes. The case of Davidson vs Pyke before the Police Court in May 1858 illustrates that by 1858, Chinese employees were in high demand, could negotiate favourable terms on a high rate of pay and were not locked into long contracts from which they could not escape. “Chinaman” John Davidson deposed that from October 1856, he had been employed to work as a weekly servant for Mr Pyke in return for pay of £1 per week, board, lodging and washing and that Pyke held two gold rings belonging to him as security. Pyke asserted that Davidson had signed to be in his employment for three months. When Pyke refused to allow Davidson to leave, Davidson went to a lawyer to demand the return of the two gold rings and other belongings which Davidson valued at £100 pounds. The court found Pyke guilty and ordered him to deliver up the

283 “Bathurst Circuit Court”, BFP, 9 September 1854.
284 State Records NSW: Gaol Description and Entrance Books 1818-1930, NRS 1993, Entrance Book [Darlinghurst Gaol], 1853-55, 1854.
285 “Advertising”, BFP, 13 October 1855,
goods within twenty-four hours. Davidson immediately found work as a cook with Mr Kinna, however a few months later, Davidson accused a fellow employee of Kinna’s with having stolen all his goods.\textsuperscript{288} Amongst other Bathurst publicans employing Chinese was Mr Orton, who employed John E’Here and Tom Ching as cooks.\textsuperscript{289}

Indentured labourers who had worked and saved were able to establish themselves in business and profit from the arrival of the Cantonese. At John Smith’s Gamboola, “Chinaman” Charley Haake paid Smith £42 for six fat bullocks in October 1857, and £35 for a further five fat bullocks in November, perhaps to set himself up as a carrier for arriving parties of Cantonese gold miners.\textsuperscript{290} Toohay and Chetto kept a lodging house in Bathurst where Chinese went to play cards.\textsuperscript{291} Dan Hou, who had arrived from Amoy in 1853, was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment with hard labour in Bathurst Gaol in 1858, for keeping a house frequented by prostitutes and persons having no visible means of support.\textsuperscript{292}

Chinese labourers continued working in the pastoral industry, competing freely in a labour market in which demand far exceeded supply and where they were no longer obliged to accept the low wages of indentured workers. Between 1854 and 1860, John Smith’s wage books show he paid at least fifteen Chinese men as sheep washers, shearers and cooks at Gamboola. In November 1859, Chinaman Amoy, Liu Sing, Les Chong and Jemmy Sako were amongst the eight men Smith paid for sheep washing.\textsuperscript{293} Once wire fencing of runs came into use, pioneered by John Smith in the 1860s, the work of shepherds was replaced by boundary riders who rode the length of the fences.\textsuperscript{294}

For those who continued working as labourers, the demand for labour saw wages rise, and conditions improve. Whilst legislation had previously been heavily in favour of the employer, under the 1857 Masters and Servants Act (20 Vic. No. 28), penalties

\textsuperscript{288} ‘Local Intelligence”, BFPMJ, 3 June 1857.
\textsuperscript{291} ‘Police Court’ BFPMJ, 19 September, 1857.
\textsuperscript{292} ‘Friday June 18\textsuperscript{th}”, BFPMJ, 23 June, 1858; Bathurst Gaol Entrance Book 1854-65, NRS 1993 [4/8492], June 1858, Gaol number 269.
\textsuperscript{294} Bruce R. Davidson, Europeam Farming in Australia: An Economic History of Australian Farming, (Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, 1981), 120.
were less harsh and magistrates could exercise greater discretionary powers. ²⁹⁵ The penalty for breach of the Act was reduced from three months to fourteen days imprisonment.

Chinese began appearing before court as plaintiffs rather than defendants. In February 1857, Jimmy, Judy, Johnny, and George brought Henry Wingle of Lagoon before the Court of Requests to recover the sum of £25 due for reaping twenty-five acres of wheat at £1 per acre. The verdict returned them the full amount. ²⁹⁶ “John Chinaman” successfully sued John Smith of Gamboola under the Act for the balance of his wages. ²⁹⁷

In the latter half of the 1850s, Chinese men also appeared as litigants in theft and assault cases. In 1858, John Williams came before Bathurst Quarter Sessions Court charged with having feloniously entered the hut of Se Lew on Edward King Cox’s Rylstone station, Rawdon, and stolen property and cash to the value of £1/3 shillings. Williams was found guilty and sentenced to two years hard labour in Parramatta Gaol. ²⁹⁸ Jemmy, “a Chinaman” in the service of White Rock resident John Joseph Ashe, charged John Reardon, another of Ashe’s employees with striking him with his fist and kicking him in 1858. Reardon was found guilty and fined twenty shillings. ²⁹⁹

What became of the indentured labourers?

The 1856 Census of New South Wales, taken on 1 March 1856, prior to the arrival of large parties of Cantonese gold miners to the New South Wales gold fields in July 1856, provides the clearest indication of the numbers of Chinese labourers in the colony before the gold rush immigration. The census recorded 1806 persons born in China, 951 of whom were in squatting districts and six of whom were female. In Bathurst, Georgiana, Roxburgh, Wellington and Westmoreland counties, there was a combined total of 335 males born in China, but no females born in China. 269 Chinese males, by far the largest number of Chinese in the Bathurst district, were in Wellington

²⁹⁵ Slocomb, Among Australias pioneers: Chinese indentured pastoral workers on the Northern frontier, 1848 to c. 1880 181.
²⁹⁶ ‘Court of Requests’, BFPMJ, 11 February, 1857.
²⁹⁸ ‘Bathurst Quarter Sessions, BFPMJ, 11 September, 1858.
As absconding labourers would have avoided the census takers, it is likely that the Chinese population was underestimated.

Chinese labourers continued to be sent to work on the edges of pastoral settlement where the frontier wars continued. Samuel Ring, who had arrived in New South Wales in 1848 and married Mary Clayton in Carcoar in 1864, made a successful application for naturalisation in 1869, when he was thirty-six years old. At the time of his application, he and Mary were living in Canonba (Cannonbar), the site of the conflict between Lee’s stockmen and Aboriginal people in 1841, and the furthest outpost of white settlement beyond Dubbo, until the township of Bourke was surveyed in 1869. Ring managed the Cobb & Co. stables in Cannonbar in 1873, and died in Narromine in 1919. Alick Pong, who had worked for William Lee Junior in 1853, was working as a boundary rider when he died aged fifty-eight, of cardiac failure in Bathurst Hospital in 1889. Ah Nee, who had begun working for Andrew Brown in 1830, died in 1915 at the reputed age of 117 after having been employed for fifty years by the Ferguson family on Gulargambone station in Coonamble.

Lin Johnstone’s research into the ledgers for Fitzgerald’s Dabee station 1863-67, shows that Fitzgerald had eight Chinese labourers on his books. In addition to the usual contract of wages and rations, at the end of the year's contract shepherds were to receive an extra twenty-five shillings for every hundred fat sheep selected by Fitzgerald. At the end of 1864, Tiong received an additional £12/6/3. It can be seen then, that Chinese pastoral labourers were also rewarded for creating lush pastures to fatten sheep. Fitzgerald’s labourer, "Tobacco", died aged eighty at Dabee in 1897. As he had lived forty-four years in NSW, he must have arrived about 1853. His burial at Rylstone cemetery was ordered by R. M. Fitzgerald. William Cohen, who had arrived as an indentured labourer from Amoy, was the first Chinese man to father a

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300 Lin Johnston’s research on Chinese communities at Clarke’s Creek and Long Creek and a map which shows a separate Amoy cemetery at Clarke’s Creek provide evidence of a settlement of Amoy men on the gold fields around Windeyer in Wellington County.
301 Carcoar Registry, Marriage certificate 1829/1864, NSWSA:Colonial Secretary's Correspondence. [NRS 905, 69/05575] Samuel Ring Memorial or application for naturalisation, 1869.
302 Society, Nyngan on the Bogan 1883-1983.
304 NSW BDM 7022/1889
305 ‘Chinese 117 years old’, BT, 7 December, 1915
306 Johnston, 55.
307 NSW BDM 9637/1897; Johnston, 56.
child on the Western Gold Fields, and he and his wife Sophia (nee Walford), raised their family in Mookerawa in Wellington County, where Cohen died in 1920, aged 101.308 Subsequent generations of the family remained in the Stuart Town area where descendant Hilary Cohen still resides with his wife Carmel.309

There were others who failed to settle into new lives. Ho Hing, who was brought before the Bathurst Police Court on a charge of vagrancy in September 1856, had been brought into Bathurst Hospital a month earlier after being found near Bowenfells having apparently cut his own throat. After being discharged from the hospital he had been “laying about the streets, returning to the Hospital at night, he never spoke but appeared to be wandering in his mind” He was gaol for his own protection for one month.310 As the spelling of Chinese names in newspapers is inconsistent, Hie Ing, who was convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to six months gaol in November 1856 for trespassing on Mrs. Berry’s land, may have been the same person.

It is unknown how many, if any, indentured labourers returned to China. There was no provision within the contract which guaranteed return passage to China. Many others besides Ah Nee, William Cohen and Alick Pong undoubtedly died in Australia, however, as the registration of deaths in New South Wales did not become compulsory until 1856, deaths went unrecorded unless burials were recorded in a church register. The number of Chinese men who died on the gold fields prior to 1856 is unknown. The first record of a Chinese death on the gold fields was recorded in January 1857. The unnamed man had been tunnelling near Church Hill in Sofala when part of the tunnel fell in on him and he was suffocated. He was buried in the church yard and the funeral was attended by a large number of his countrymen, who put into his grave “a quantity of bread, beef, cheese, rum, pipes, tobacco and a few shillings for the purpose of making him comfortable on his journey home.”311 The viands given to him for his final journey indicate that he might have been an indentured labourer, who would have been accustomed to such a diet.

Chinese pastoral labourers who worked in the Bathurst district should not only be considered within the paradigm of the indentured labour experiment of 1848-1853.

308 NSW BDM 3355/1920
309 With thanks to the families of descendants of William Cohen: Hilary and Carmel Cohen, Norma and Ted Hannelly and Dinah Hales for sharing their research on the Cohen family history.
Evidence suggests that some like Ah Nee and James Tom may have arrived earlier and others like George Harris may have been born in the colony. While most were from Amoy, there were others from Singapore, Hong Kong, and Canton. Chinese contract labourers in the Bathurst district were not as numerous as in the northern districts where Slocomb estimated they made up between a quarter and one-half of all the shepherds on pastoral runs in the 1850s. Once the gold rushes began, Chinese labour, along with Aboriginal labour, became vital to the pastoral and agricultural industries in the Bathurst district. While Slocomb asserted that the pastoral industry in the northern districts could not have survived without the assistance of the Chinese labourers, the same might be said for the wider Bathurst district. When questioned about the importance of Chinese labour at the Select Committee, Robert Towns declared “if you were Mr Fitzgerald, he would tell you that they have been the salvation of his flocks”. Darnell claimed that Chinese shepherds in the Northern Districts “not only proved the value of Chinese labour but also paved the way for their compatriots to be employed in the pastoral industry.”

This was also true for the Bathurst district where early Chinese labourers who had impressed with their skills as shepherds, sheep washers, shearers, wool-pressers, butchers, reapers, cooks, domestic servants, gardeners, harvesters and land-clearers paved the way for later migrants from the Pearl River Delta to find work in pastoral and agricultural industries. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, after the gold rushes Chinese in the Bathurst district worked both as pastoral labourers and as market gardeners for many of the same pastoral families, or on the same pastoral properties, as had this first generation of Chinese migrants.

312 Slocomb, 231.
313 Ibid, p 157-158.
314 Select Committee on Asiatic Labour, Evidence of Robert Towns, 29 August 1854.
315 Maxine Darnell, ‘Life and labour for indentured Chinese shepherds in New South Wales 1847-1855’ 158.
CHAPTER 3: CANTONESE GOLD MINERS: ARRIVAL AND CONFLICT

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, there were small communities of mostly Amoy men on the gold fields at Louisa Creek, Sofala and Tambaroora in the first years of the gold rushes. Many of these men had completed five-year contracts as pastoral labourers. In 1856 the first large Chinese parties began appearing on the Western Gold fields. This chapter will discuss where these men were from, and how they obtained passage and discuss their early experiences which were marked by success on the gold fields but also by conflict.

In June 1852, the Colonial Secretary listed five Central Western gold fields in New South Wales - Ophir, Turon, Meroo, Tambaroora and Abercrombie or Tuena Creek. Bathurst was not only the geographical centre of these gold fields, but also its administrative and service centre. As Leonard Janiszewski argues, the gold rushes ushered in a new era of sustained progress for Bathurst, transforming the pastoral economy of the district into an economy which revolved around extracting and exporting gold and supplying the needs of the diggers. Between the 1851 and 1856 censuses, the combined population of Bathurst county and its surrounding counties of Roxburgh, Wellington, Georgiana and Westmoreland almost doubled from 13,618 to 25,783.

Chinese had not yet begun arriving in large numbers as it was to the richer Victorian gold fields that Chinese gold-seekers initially flocked. In 1854, the flow of Chinese gold-seekers began diverting from Gold Mountain in California to New Gold Mountain in Victoria. Only one ship with thirteen Chinese passengers from Hong Kong landed in Sydney in 1854 and one ship carrying 295 Chinese passengers landed in 1855. In contrast, twenty-four ships carrying passengers from Hong Kong landed

316 Leonard J. Janiszewski, "'Reap the Golden Harvest' - Bathurst, 1850-62; together with a brief survey of developments to 1849" (University of Sydney, 1986), 88.
317 For further information on Bathurst's transformation, read "'Reap the Golden Harvest' - Bathurst, 1850-62; together with a brief survey of developments to 1849.
318 Census, Census of the colony of New South Wales, taken on 1 March 1851, 14 Victoria, No. 18; New South Wales Government, The Census of the Colony of New South Wales (19 Vic. 5) taken on 1 March 1856, (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, 1856), http://hccda.adu.edu.au/pages/NSW-1856-census-04_32
319 Charles Archibald Price, The Great White Walls are Built (Canberra: Australian University Press, 1974), 68.
in Port Phillip in 1854, and sixty-one in 1855. After the Victorian government passed *An Act to Make Provision for Certain Immigrants* (Victoria Act No 39 of 1855) imposing a landing tax of £10 on new arrivals and limiting the number of Chinese brought in on any vessel to one for every ten tons of registered tonnage, Chinese parties began making their appearance on the Western Gold fields of New South Wales.321

In July 1856, Bathurst was said to have been “astonished out of its propriety” by a party of 140 Chinese who pitched their tents on the ordnance ground near the bank of the Macquarie. Their camp was “visited by almost every person in the township”.322 It was reported that their initial intention was to proceed overland to Port Phillip but their arrival had coincided with news of the Stoney Creek and Louisa Creek discoveries. The Colonial Gold Company had just abandoned its claim at Louisa Creek, and no sooner had the land been opened to the public, a great rush had been made to it. At the same time, a rush had commenced to diggings at Stoney Creek, about twelve miles from Burrandong.323 Two weeks after the arrival of the first Chinese party in Bathurst, a second party of 150 Chinese set up camp in exactly the same place as the previous party.324

Senior Assistant Commissioner for the Western Gold Districts, William Johnson, left his Bathurst base in mid-1856 to tour the Western gold fields, beginning with Louisa Creek.325 He then proceeded to Stoney Creek where he found a population of around 700 or 800 European miners taking nuggets from shallow ground. By mid-July 1856, a party of 140 Chinese had joined the mining population at Stoney Creek.326 By the end of 1857, Chinese were the principal workers there.327 Johnson does not seem to have visited the western side of the Macquarie River, at the head of the Mookerawa Creek near Ironbarks (Stuart Town), where Chinese were said to be “doing a great stroke” in early July 1856.328

321 Wang, 269.
323 Burrendong was initially spelt Burrandong.
Johnson then visited the Meroo gold field where he found the principal part of the population had left for the new fields. Ophir was “almost entirely deserted” and the
other minor gold fields were “totally abandoned.” Johnson proceeded to Tambaroora, where a Wesleyan Church had been erected in Tambaroora in 1852, and St Saviours Church of England opened in 1854, but he found that miners had left Tambaroora for new rushes. Johnson removed Assistant Gold Commissioner Harold Maclean from Tambaroora and stationed him at Burrendong. Although Johnson made no mention of a Chinese population at Tambaroora, the birth of Annie Cohen at Dirt Holes in 1856 to Sophia Walford and her Amoy husband, William Cohen, confirms the presence of at least one Chinese-European couple on the Tambaroora gold field in 1856. Johnson then went to Sofala which he assessed as “the most steady and certain of all the gold fields and one at which fair wages can always be obtained”. Nonetheless he found an exodus from the Turon had left no more than 400 diggers remaining on the field. Johnson reported a Chinese settlement on the Turon or “Do-ron” as the Cantonese pronounced it “About 150 Chinese arrived here during this month, and apparently have determined upon remaining; they are a patient industrious race who do well where Europeans cannot.”

The Victorian gold fields remained the preferred destination for Chinese gold-seekers throughout 1857. Only one ship from Hong Kong landed in Sydney in 1857 while over 14,000 Chinese passengers who landed at Guichen Bay in South Australia, made their way overland to Victoria. In August 1857, Chinese who had been violently driven from the Buckland River diggings in Victoria in July began passing through Carcoar in small parties of twenty to thirty persons and from Carcoar, some dispersed to the gold fields at Tuena. A spokesman from one of the parties was reported as stating that there were 500 from the Buckland on the road, all heading for the Western diggings. Robert Coffin’s recollections of his time on the diggings on George Suttor’s land on the Lower Pyramul between 1854 and 1857, describes the arrival of

330 Johnson, 1856.
331 NSW BDM 7983/1856
332 Johnson, 1856.
a party of at least 500 “Chinamen” from Victoria led by a man named Wong. 336 Amongst those who had come to the Pyramul from Victoria in 1857, stated Coffin, “Buckland was a scare-word for the Chinese”. 337

By July 1857, the Tambaroora gold field, which comprised the Lower Pyramul, the Lower Turon to its junction with the Macquarie, the Macquarie down from the mouth of the Turon, the Dirt Hole, Tambaroora and Bald Hills (Hill End), had attracted a large population of Chinese. A Herald correspondent visiting the Dirt Hole observed:

A very large number of Chinese are at work on this gold field, the population … consisting principally of these industrious people. Mr Commissioner Forster gives them a very high character for order, sobriety, steadiness and perseverance. They keep to themselves and are content to work on the old ground that the white digger had given up and never trouble the Commissioner or the police Court.” 338

There may have been good reason for Chinese at the Dirt Hole to have been content to work old ground. In analysing the reasons for the Colonial Gold Company’s failure, mining historian Ralph Birrell laid part of the blame on the Company’s process of roasting ore before crushing. 339 Birrell asserted this would have made the separation of gold by amalgamation with mercury unsuccessful, and much gold would have been lost in the tailings. 340 Gojak and Allen, who conducted an archaeological survey of the Dirt Hole site in 2000, reached a similar conclusion. 341 Tailings from the Company’s crushing plant at Fighting Ground Creek flowed into Dirt Hole Creek and from there into Green Valley Creek. Patient sluicing in those places would have paid.

Places of Origin

Whilst observers saw Chinese as a homogeneous race, the arriving parties identified themselves by their district of origin or clan associations. In 1860, Anglo-Chinese linguist James McCulloch Henley, asserted that in Victoria “With the exception of a

341 Gojak and Allen, " The Fighting Ground Creek quartz roasting pits and the early importation of gold processing technology into Australia 1850-1860, Australasian Historical Archaeology,18 (2000).
few scattering individuals, the entire body of Chinese emigrants has been obtained from the one province of Canton and merely the districts along its coast”.342 While it is known that Chinese gold miners to both California and Australia came mostly from thirteen districts in the Pearl River Delta area of Southern China, there has been little research on the districts of origin of migrants to New South Wales.343

Map 6: Map showing the thirteen counties from which the majority of Chinese gold miners migrated. Based on a map of Pearl River Delta Subdivisions, 1900, used with the permission of the Chinese Historical Society of America Museum in San Francisco.

343 Yong, New Gold Mountain : the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921, 1; Choi, Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia, 3.
James McCulloch Henley claimed that Chinese in Victoria were primarily from Sze Yap and Sam Yap districts, but Charles Price found relatively fewer Cantonese from the Sze Yap and relatively more from Zhongshan and Kao Yao (shown as Koyiu on map 4) came to New South Wales.344

Newspaper reports make no distinction between districts of origin of the Chinese migrants. There are no Chinese gravestones in the cemeteries at Sofala or Tambaroora, that indicate villages of origin. When Chinese historian Kok Hu Jin surveyed the Sofala General Cemetery in 2005, the sole Chinese gravestone he found was the gravestone of Wong Gee which is inscribed in English and lacks the name of his home village in China.345 Having visited the cemetery myself, I can confirm that there are no other gravestones inscribed in Chinese. The Tambaroora Chinese Cemetery has no gravestones remaining, although there are three Chinese gravestones in museums which are said to be from Hill End (See appendix 1 for photographs and Chinese to English translations).

While material evidence is lacking, the districts of origin of some of the first Cantonese gold-seekers at Tambaroora, the Turon and the Meroo, and their means of passage to New South Wales is found in the Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on Board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson (henceforth Report on Seizures).346

On 16 October 1857, Aheng was among sixty-five Chinese men waiting on board the Ethereal in Sydney Harbour as it prepared to depart for Hong Kong. He had been in the colony for about a year, eight months of which had been spent on the diggings. He was about to return to his wife and his small shop in Canton when the ship was boarded by customs officers. Except at its major ports, China lacked postal and banking services, so remittances home were either carried by trusted men on the gold fields or conveyed through stores in Sydney linked with stores in Canton. The recently enacted New Gold Act 1857 (20 Vic. No. 2) had introduced a duty of a half crown an ounce on exported gold. Duty had not been paid by the Chinese passengers carrying gold on

344 “The Chinese in Australia”, 3; Price, The great white walls are built: restrictive immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888, 80.  
346 Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson.
board the *Ethereal* or another Hong Kong bound vessel, the *Mary Nicholson*. Aheng was searched along with the other Chinese passengers on board and altogether 2680 ounces of gold dust and gold sovereigns carried by thirty-five passengers on the *Ethereal* were seized.\(^{347}\)

As agent for sixty-one of the Chinese passengers on the *Ethereal*, Aheng was elected, along with Ayong, Amang, and Akitt, to remain to negotiate for the return of the gold. They sent a petition to the NSW Legislative Assembly requesting its return. A similar petition was sent by A-On and A-Po on behalf of those on board the *Mary Nicholson* whose gold had been seized. In response to the petitions, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into and report on the circumstances connected with the seizures. Eight Chinese witnesses were examined before the Committee. Six of the men - Ayong, Aheng, Sang Hyo (or Asseng), Appo, Ha-Hon and Seng-how (or Ong-Sing) had been on the diggings on the Turon, Tambaroora, the Meroo or Louisa Creek, while two others were Sydney merchants. Henry Leau Appa had arrived in Sydney subsequent to the October 1857 confiscations, while Chin Ateak had set up shop in Sydney six months prior, having lived in Victoria for three years beforehand.\(^{348}\)

From the evidence in the Report of the Committee, it emerges that gold was confiscated from thirty-five men aboard the *Ethereal*. Seventeen of these men were not only carrying gold on their own account, but also gold found by a total of 435 men on the diggings. See Wang was carrying gold belonging to sixty different men, and Yung Wah carrying the gold of forty-eight men.\(^{349}\) Similarly, of the seven men on board the *Mary Nicholson* who had their gold confiscated, five were carrying gold for others.\(^{350}\) Although the villages to which the gold was being carried were not recorded, five of the six men who gave evidence before the Committee were from Canton.

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\(^{348}\) His name is spelt variously Chen Ah Teak, Tchen Ateak etc. from hereon Chin Ateak unless spelt otherwise in source material.

\(^{349}\) *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*. Appendix B.

\(^{350}\) *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*. Appendix A.
Map 7: Map of the Macao-Bocca Tigris – Canton approach, Pearl River Delta. Published 1910. W. & A. K. Johnston Ltd. This map shows the delta and canal system prior to extensive reclamation.

Through the aid of an interpreter, Ayong and Aheng stated that they were from Canton, without identifying whether they came from the city or a village in Canton. Sang Hyo/Asseng was from Whampoa (Pazhou, 黃埔島), one of the Sam Yap districts; Appo was from Wychow (Huizhou 惠州 Waichow on map 6), three days journey by boat, or about 150 miles east of Canton; Chin Ateak was from Heang Sang (香山 Zhongshan; Heungshan on map 5), up near Macao River, one and a half days from Canton, and
Ha-Hon was from Yung Shang near Canton (unidentified). Seng-how/Ong-Sing did not state his native place.

Another significant primary source showing Chinese place of origin is Bew Chip’s Register. 351 Lew Bew Chip was a miner and market gardener who lived at Tambaroora and Hill End between 1865 and 1937 where he was known as “New Chip”. 352 Bew Chip’s Register is a record of remittances of gold dust and gold coins carried back to China on his behalf by men on the gold fields returning to China. In addition, gold coins sent to Sydney firms, Tin Woh and On Yik Lee, were remitted to the Wah Lun store in Shekki (Shiqi 石岐), the business and cultural subdistrict of Heungshan by Sydney-based Chinese firms. Over a period of twenty-five years between 1865 and 1890, Bew Chip remitted a total of 1069.6 grams of gold.353 Bew Chip recorded the names of those carrying the gold for him, the names of their villages and the amount of gold carried. All seventeen of the villages were in Heungshan or Shekki. Bew Chip’s Register is also a record of loans made to friends and family on the gold fields. Amongst those who carried gold for him, or to whom he loaned money were paternal and maternal relatives, including his great uncles (his paternal grandfather’s brothers), Lau Kon Tung, Tsan Tung, Kau Chai and Lau Sam. Bew Chip’s Register can be taken as evidence of a pattern of chain migration to Tambaroora from Heungshan. This is supported by Brad Powe’s research into his ancestor Ah Poo, who was living in Tambaroora in 1862. 354 Ah Poo, whose surname was Kwok 郭, was from the village of Chuk Sau Yuen (竹秀園) near Shekki.355 Persons from Chuk Sau Yuen with the surname Kwok appear in Bew Chip’s Register.356 So too do persons with the surname Ma from the neighbouring village of Sha Chung 沙涌. This suggests that the Kwok brothers from Chuk Sau Yuen who founded the Wing On Corporation and the Ma family of Sha Chung who founded Sincere Company in the late 1890s in Sydney were preceded by an earlier generation of Kwoks and Mas in Tambaroora. This discovery had personal significance for me, as my grandfather was born in Chuk

352 After Bew Chip’s death, his register came into the possession of Hill End resident Lindsay Kimm, who donated or sold it to the National Parks and Wildlife Services, which manages the Hill End Historic Site.
355 “A Certificate in Accordance with the Act”, 119. Ah Poo was from Chuk Sau Yuen, the same village as the Kwok clan who founded the Wing On corporation in Sydney.
Sau Yuen, and his maternal and paternal grandfathers went to Queensland as market gardeners in the late 1880s or early 1890s.

**The operation of the credit ticket system**

The historian of Chinese emigration, Wang Sing-wu divided free emigrants (as opposed to indentured labourers on five year contracts) into three groups: those who paid their own passage, those who borrowed from family and friends and those who had neither money nor friends to borrow from and had to go to Hong Kong, Swatow or Amoy to enter into agreements with passage brokers.357

Of the men who gave evidence at the Inquiry, only Ha-Hon had come to the colony himself, his brother paying fifty-two dollars (£10/4s) to an English gentleman at Stimpsons for passage on the *Mary Nicholson*.358 Henry Leau Appa gave evidence that passenger money was advanced to bring men to Sydney. Whilst he did not personally bring out men, his friend had paid passenger money for sixty-six men, all of whom had repaid him when they had found gold “with the exception of four or five lazy men”.359 Leau Appa estimated while the passage from Hong Kong to Sydney cost between forty-eight and fifty dollars, (£10) “everything to go to the diggings costs eighty dollars (£16).”360 While this was not an extortionate amount, it was a large sum of money when one considers that carpenters and market gardeners in China earned around one dollar (four shillings) a month.361 Friends and family would have pooled to pay the advance for the passage to the man who had chartered the ship, signing agreements in some cases, while some, according to Chin Ateak’s evidence, “trust to honour”.362 A description of the third group of emigrants was given by Bathurst court interpreter James Achay in 1861:

Money lenders abound throughout China, particularly at the shipping ports. A ship is laid on for Sydney; parties wishing to go not having money, borrow of

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358 Evidence of Ha-Hon, Minutes of evidence, 2 July 1858, *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*.
359 Evidence of Henry Leau Appa, Minutes of evidence, 2 July 1858, *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*. Based on an 1852 exchange rate of four shillings = $1, 20 shillings = £1.
360 Evidence of Henry Leau Appa, 2 July, 1858, *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*.
361 Ibid.
362 Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the seizure of gold on board the *Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*, 2 July, 1858.
the usurers £15 say, which pays the passage and provision – giving house or land as security, which may be redeemed in three years by payment of £100. On arriving in Sydney, storekeepers or bosses advance them money etc and a party that has an interest with the lender takes them up to the diggings, pays all expenses, takes out miners rights and puts them to work. After they have earned all the advances and expenses together with a fourth of the gold as interest, they become workers on their own account.363

Given that men were so heavily indebted in what Wang called “invisible debts”, the reasons for their industry and perseverance in labour can be easily understood.364 For those in the third group especially, the passage to the colonies was a huge gamble, so it is not surprising that gambling was a favourite pastime of men on the gold fields.

Although Chin Ateak stated that he had not been engaged in bringing men from China, various records show him to have had a stake in the Western Gold fields. Shipping lists show he was one of at least three Chinese gold buyers in Sofala between 1858-1859.365 He was later named as principal creditor in the insolvency files of two other Sofala storekeepers - Thomas Hoy in 1864 and John Ah Sue in 1872.366 For a period of at least thirteen years, Chin Ateak was supplying provisions including foodstuffs and opium to stores on the Turon.367 His role in referring the applications for naturalisation of over twenty Sydney-based Chinese men in 1884, suggests that he was, at least in later years, involved in organising migration, which provides some explanation for the large proportion of migrants from Zhongshan.

When Chin Ateak was asked at the Seizures Inquiry why the men had come to the diggings, he replied that they had heard New South Wales had “plenty gold, plenty very good law. Just now, these diggings better than California.”368 From the end of 1850, Chinese had begun arriving in California and by 1852 some 20,000 had

366 State Archives of NSW: Supreme Court of NSW; NRS 13654, Insolvency files 1842-1887, [9451] 10954 Insolvency file John Ah Sue, 1872; NSWSA: NRS 13654, [2/9094] 6369 Insolvency Thomas Hoy, 1863.
368 Evidence of Chin Ateak, Minutes of evidence, 2 July 1858, Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson.
arrived. A vigilance committee was formed in California in May 1852 to exclude all Asiatics from the mines, a landing tax of five dollars was imposed on aliens and Chinese were forcibly expelled at a number of diggings. In addition, the 1854 People vs Hall decision in the Supreme Court of California (4 Ca. 399), which made Chinese evidence inadmissible in court, left Chinese without legal protection on the Californian gold fields.

In 1858, New South Wales was not only free of the racially based entry restrictions and levies in California, Victoria and South Australia, but it had replaced the licence fee with the Miner’s Right and reduced the fee to ten shillings per annum. New South Wales also offered the protection of resident Gold Commissioners who adjudicated on the spot in the event of disputes.

It was not Chin Ateak but his agents Ayong, Amang, and Akitt who led parties to the gold fields and their examination by the Committee showed they were all unable to speak English. Harold Maclean, Resident Gold Commissioner on the Turon at the time of the seizures, professed to “great difficulty in managing the Chinese for want of an interpreter”, and explained at the Inquiry that he communicated with the Chinese “by means of written notices which are written by the interpreter and posted at the various camps.” He stated that while there were men who could make themselves adequately understood in English for the purpose of transacting business, they soon acquired the mode of transacting business without interpreters. While this method sufficed in day-to-day matters, when it came to legislation, the lack of adequate interpreters became evident. None of the witnesses who had been on the gold fields professed any knowledge of the new legislation which required duty be paid on gold exported. Maclean admitted he had not given any consideration to the working of the Act for the collection of the duty and was not aware that any of the laws had been translated into Chinese. As a consequence, he doubted whether the duty payable on

369 Price, The great white walls are built: restrictive immigration to North America and Australasia 1836-1888, 61.
370 The Great White Walls are Built, 61-3.
371 See The Great White Walls are Built, 61-3.
372 Higgins, Gold and water: A history of Sofala and the Turon gold field, 42.
373 From 1866, disputes were no longer settled ‘on the spot’ when jurisdiction transferred from Commissioners to Justices of the Peace. See Hamilton, Adjudication on the Gold fields in New South Wales and Victoria in the 19th century 106-17, 60-63.
374 Harold Maclean, Minutes of evidence, 25 June 1858, Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson.
gold export was known to those [Chinese] on the gold fields. In view of the evidence, the Committee concluded that the parties were not implicated in any deliberately fraudulent design and recommended that gold remaining with the government should be restored to the individuals from whom it was taken, adding that this should be seen as an act of grace rather than as a strict requirement of justice. The gold had been seized in October 1857 and the Report was tabled before NSW Parliament on 13 August 1858. In the interim, the witnesses had been afraid they would be killed if they returned to the gold fields, and had lived in Sydney, relying on the charity of Chinese friends.

**Tensions in Tambaroora and the Turon**

Poor communication was also a cause of grievance on the gold fields in 1858. As Matthew Higgins stressed, mining was dependent on water: “Too little water brought mining operations to a standstill ... too much water - in the form of floods - could equally spell disaster.” Tambaroora was a dry diggings and the population of Tambaroora obtained its water from a chain of ponds in the flats. The *Empire* correspondent in 1852 described it as “almost utterly unfit for use, in consequence of the washings of the cradles flowing into the holes and rendering it thick and muddy.” By November 1857 it was reported that “puddling machines by dozens are busy mud grinding all day, scattered knots of diggers are to be seen all along from the Bald Hills [Hill End] to Dirt Holes, amongst whom John Chinaman is conspicuous”. The summer of 1857 was particularly dry, even for Tambaroora, creating competition for what little water remained. Sub-Commissioner Forster reported that many of the miners had gone down to the Lower Turon and the Macquarie for the summer months and a large number of Celestials had removed to the Crudine. Nonetheless, in March 1858 tensions over water use broke out and there was an attempt to forcibly drive Chinese from the Tambaroora diggings. The *Herald* reported Commissioner

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375 Minutes of evidence, 25 June 1858, *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*.
376 Seizures Report, 436.
377 Minutes of evidence, 25 June 1858, *Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson*.
379 “The Western Gold fields”, *Empire*, 30 October 1852.
381 SANSW: Letters from Gold Commissioners, 1853-75. [NRS 9988] 2/3511A Letter from Sub-Gold Commissioner Tambaroora to the Gold Commissioner Western Districts, 31 December 1857.
personally intervened to thwart the conflict: “Forster ordered his force out with loaded pistols and carbines. He himself came forward like a lion and said he would stand to be shot before he would allow a Chinaman to be touched.”382 The Bathurst Free Press claimed that “No bloodshed had taken place but the whole of the police stationed there had been despatched to avoid collision and six of the European diggers had been bound over to keep the peace”.383

Subsequent to the incident, 369 residents of Tambaroora signed a petition addressed to the Governor and the Legislative Council stating that the gold fields at Tambaroora could not sustain a population of more than 700 but that Chinese arrivals had raised the population to 2000. They expressed alarm that water would soon become exhausted due to the Chinese working mode of using water indiscriminately and feared Chinese disease.384 Assistant Gold Commissioner Maclean forwarded the petition to the Colonial Secretary, together with a copy of a letter he had written previously to the Chief Gold Commissioner recommending that certain measures be undertaken to avoid collision between Chinese and Europeans at Tambaroora. In his forwarding letter Maclean gave his estimate of the Chinese population at 500 or 600 at most and expressed his belief that fears of disease were unfounded. Maclean recommended that a separate encampment be established for Chinese and that waterholes for domestic purposes be protected by written notice.385

The concern that the dry diggings could run out of water were probably quite legitimate. Once the Commissioner took remedial action, tensions eased. A follow-up letter from Maclean dated 30 April 1858, stated that “the Regulations made with regard to the location and management of the Chinese seem to have had the effect of diminishing to a great degree the prospect of actual collision”. He did, however, reiterate the necessity of additional police supervision.386

384 NSW State Archives: Department of Lands and Public Works; Special Bundles [Colonial Secretary], NRS 906, [58/930 within 58/1028], The Acting Gold Commissioner for the Western Districts to the Hon. The Secretary for Lands & Public Works, forwarding a Petition from Residents at Tambaroora on the subject of Chinese Immigration, 1858.
385 ibid.
386 SRNSW: NRS 906, [58/1028], Maclean to the Secretary for Lands and Public Works, 30 April 1858.
Tambaroora of large parties of Chinese for Victoria and Burrendong in the second half of 1858 and a wet summer that year no doubt assisted in further easing the tension. To better facilitate communications, Thomas Hoy was appointed official government Chinese interpreter on the Western Gold fields in June 1858.

1858 was the peak year for Chinese arrivals when 12,396 Chinese entered New South Wales. After the South Australian government enacted restrictive legislation similar to the Victorian Act (South Australia Act No 3 of 1857), Cantonese gold-seekers began heading in earnest for New South Wales. Twenty-three ships from Hong Kong landed in Sydney in 1858. The Turon diggings could be reached along the Ophir road from Bathurst or along the Mudgee road; both Bathurst and Mudgee were about 175 miles (280 kilometres) from Sydney and the walk would have taken two to three weeks. Chinese travelling on foot to the Western Gold fields created a conspicuous sight as they walked in single file. A report in April 1858 described “a continuous chain of at least 500 Celestials bound for the Turon, which lasted without intermission for at least three miles on the road between Bathurst and the Green Swamp (Napoleon Reef).” On 23 June 1858, upwards of 1500 Chinese were seen making their way to the Western Gold fields, principally for Tambaroora. Brian Hodge highlighted the challenges of the terrain, citing the first recorded description of the Tambaroora gold field as “a country which is one mass of mountain crags, and precipices intersected in every direction by chasms, traversable only to the eaglehawk; or dry creeks hemmed in by almost perpendicular walls of rock.” Assistant Surveyor J. B. Richards who had been tasked with surveying the Macquarie had pronounced it inaccessible.

The experiences of the arriving gold-seekers depended on their state of preparedness, which differed between parties. A party of 100 which had arrived in July 1857 had

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389 The organization of Chinese emigration 1848-1888, Sing-wu Wang, (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center Inc., 1978), 268;

390 Powe, ”A Certificate in Accordance with the Act”, 116.


three of its own horse teams. 800 Chinese in June 1858 paid a carrier £1 per head to carry them and their luggage over the Blue Mountains. Others came ill-prepared. One report stated that a butcher at Wattle Flat had to prevent Chinese stealing offal intended for pigs, while another party of 500 passing through Peel was said to have killed a sheep belonging to T. C. Suttor. One party camped by the flooded Vale Creek south of Bathurst, seized a bullock’s carcass which floated by and butchered and dried the strips of meat. Accustomed to the semi-tropical climate of Canton, the gold-seekers suffered from cold and exposure. Brian Hodge cites a report of a party of 100 camped in Kelso in the winter of 1858 with only a thin calico tent to protect them from the rain, who were seen the next morning “crawling about benumbed with cold, hungry and several of them crying like children”.

The arriving parties brought welcome business to storekeepers. One Chinese party purchased twenty tons of rice from the Webb Emporium in Bathurst in April 1858. It was not long before Chinese established their own stores on the gold fields. In May 1858, it was reported that the Chinese at Kings Plains had “got themselves an immense store from which they supply their own people and have latterly received a large quantity of rice from Sydney.”

By July 1858, Commissioner Maclean described the Turon gold fields as “extending for forty miles, within which district there were thirty-four public houses and a large number of stores and other places of business, inclusive of many conducted by the Chinese.” Mark Hammond, who moved to Sofala with his family as a young boy, bore witness to the arrival of the Cantonese gold miners on the Turon and later recalled:

The Chinese set to work as though they had come possessed of the experience of generations. There was no "new chum" business about them. John set to work like a man who knew what to do and intended doing it. They cut races and flumed them over to drain the river bed. They erected water wheels,
undershot and overshot, made pumps that lifted immense quantities of water, similar, I am told, to what are used in the rice fields of China...  

The success of these highly organised Chinese parties engendered resentment which was manifested in anti-Chinese meetings held at the Meroo in June 1858 and in Sofala in July and August 1858. A petition which came of the resolution adopted at the public meeting in Sofala urged that an Act be at once passed to prevent altogether the immigration of Chinese to Australia; the refusal of the miner’s right to Chinese; and the exclusion of Chinese from the colony. The petition asserted that a failure to do so would “lead ‘ere long [to] a collision between the Chinese and the European population.” A collision did not come about. Tensions on the Turon were defused by rain over summer and the departures of at least two large parties of Chinese from the Turon for the gold fields of Braidwood and Victoria in November and December 1858.

In his history of the Turon, Matthew Higgins claimed that overstatements concerning hostilities against Chinese on the Turon crept into local press reports. It is in the nature of newspapers to report sensational events rather than the ordinary. A reciprocated act of kindness at Campbells Creek made the news in 1858 when it was reported that the ulcerated leg of a Chinese man was healed by a storekeeper. In gratitude, the man presented her with gifts of ham, wine and brandy and a sign written in Chinese, probably a testimonial to the integrity of the storekeeper and a recommendation to shop at the store. There were probably many other such encounters which went unreported, while hostilities made the news.

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Legislating exclusion

In 1858 the exclusion of Chinese had been the subject of debate not only on the gold fields but also in the newly formed Legislative Council. The establishment of responsible government in 1856 had created the electorates of Bathurst, Roxburgh and the Western Boroughs, which represented the mining population of the Western Gold fields. At the beginning of 1858, when the Council debated whether to extend the franchise beyond the land-holding class, Member for the seat of Western Boroughs, Henry Rotton, advocated extending the right of voting to all British subjects, excluding the Chinese. At a public meeting held in Bathurst in April 1858 to discuss the new electoral bill, a resolution was unanimously carried “that the meeting is of the opinion that express prohibitions be made in the Naturalisation Clause of the Proposed Electoral Bill against the Extension of the Franchise to the Chinese portion of our population”. To this end, a petition from the inhabitants of the town and district of Bathurst was sent to the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The Electoral Reform Act 1858 granted the vote to every male over the age of 21 years who was “natural born or who being naturalised had resided in the Colony for three years”. Electors for any Gold fields Electoral District could vote after holding a Miner's right, business licence or mining lease for six months. Naturalisation of Chinese was allowed by the Aliens Act 1849 (11 Vic. No. 39), and up to 1858, five Chinese men applied successfully for naturalisation, though none of these were in the Bathurst district. After the introduction of the Electoral Reform Act in 1858, no Chinese person was issued with a certificate of naturalisation until the Act was repealed by the Chinese Immigration Repeal Act 1867 NSW (31 Vic. No. 8). Besides the franchise, exclusion from naturalisation denied Chinese the right to purchase land, when under the Act for Regulating the Alienation of Crown Lands (No. 1 of 1861), these rights had been extended to others. By the time Chinese could become

414 Asian Studies Program, "Chinese Naturalisation Database", (La Trobe University).
naturalised in 1867, the Chinese population were beginning to depart from the Turon and Tambaroora.

A Bill to regulate Chinese immigration was also debated in Parliament through most of 1858. In spite of pressure from the Bathurst Free Press, Bathurst’s representatives in the Assembly were among the most vocal opponents of the bill.\(^\text{416}\) The Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly but rejected by the Legislative Council.

*Chinese on the Western Gold fields in 1859*

In spite of the social and political actions to exclude Chinese, by late 1858 the dust had settled. When correspondent for the Sydney Morning Herald, Frederick Dalton made an extended visit to the Western Gold fields between December 1858 and August 1859, he described communities of goldminers, the majority of whom were Chinese, distributed over the breadth of the Western gold fields.\(^\text{417}\) Dalton travelled from the headwaters of the Turon towards its junction with the Macquarie, along the way finding Chinese miners in small parties to parties of 100 or more.\(^\text{418}\)

\(^\text{416}^\) "The Chinese Question, BFPMJ, 26 June, 1858.

\(^\text{417}^\) Frederick Dalton was a Scotsman who had settled in California but joined the rush across the Pacific. See Brendan Dalton et al., "Identifying another gold fields reporter: Frederick Dalton (1815–80) " History Australia 13, no. 4 (2016). Dalton’s dispatches are conveniently collated in Beatrice Brooks and Lorraine Purcell’s book, Golden Journeys: Visits to the Western Gold fields of New South Wales, 1852 - 1859. Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group, 2012.

\(^\text{418}^\) "Visits to the Western Gold fields: The Upper Turon”, SMH, 14 December 1858, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13017299
Map 8: Map showing location of gold diggings on the Turon River based on map in *Sofala Days and Turonites* by John Rule, revised 1980.

Between Razorback and Heath’s Hill on the Turon, Dalton found about sixty Chinese “busily sinking shafts, the whole of the lower part of the slope was pegged out in claims. Some of the holes were bottomed at twenty-five feet and from what I could learn they were in high spirits and were doing well.”\(^{419}\) Closer to Sofala, Dalton observed Chinese tents scattered up and down the steep declivities of Pennyweight Creek and a Chinese encampment of tents at the mouth of Little Oakey.\(^ {420}\) He described a large party of Chinese at Maitland Point diverting the river so as to work the river bed. The town of Sofala contained about 750 inhabitants, “with a floating population of Chinese, uncertain in their movements, and varying from 200 to 700”.\(^ {421}\)

\(^{420}\) Ibid.
\(^{421}\) Ibid.
At Palmer’s Oakey Dalton found a party of Americans were coning a race to Barrack Hill to bring water for sluicing. They had completed three miles of the race which was carried by flumes across the creek and over depressions. The remains of such water races can be found in many places on the old gold fields in the Bathurst district. While oral tradition in Bathurst attributes these races to the work of Chinese miners, a correspondent from Empire who visited the Turon between October and November 1852 (before Chinese migrated in large numbers), stated that at all the points and bars diggers were engaged chiefly in cutting races or in deepening the channel of the river. While McLachlan and Pearson argue it would be wrong to view all water races as being Chinese in origin, they also point out that race construction might have been learnt from Chinese who had “centuries of low-tech hydraulic engineering expertise”.424

Lin Johnston’s thesis contains an oral history account of the construction of a gold mining water race at Windeyer. The race was built by a party of about twelve Chinese and a cook, who divided among them the work of cutting and carrying rock, then putting it into position on the wall. Made of shale rocks from the site, the race follows the Meroo Creek for approximately 350 metres, ranging in height from a few stones to 3.6 metres in height. An impressive race at Triamble which seems to have been made in same manner is described in Appendix 2. The construction of the race at Triamble is undocumented but is evidently the product of cooperative labour. Dalton attributed the success of Chinese to the employment of cheap labour and the formation of cooperative companies amongst themselves.426

Many of the gold-mining methods brought to the Australian colonies by Californians were of Chinese origin. Flumes used to convey water across gullies were abundantly used in China for small-scale farm irrigation systems and for mining alluvial tin.427

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425 Johnston, “... and numerous Chinese’: A Search for the Individual in the Central Tablelands of New South Wales, c1848 – 1901”, 77-78.
426 “Visits to the Western Gold fields”, SMH, 11 February 1859.
Archivist of Chinese technology, Joseph Needham described Chinese engineering as ‘eco-technic’, that is, depending on readily available naturally occurring materials. As bamboo, the most commonly used material for flumes, was not available on the Western Gold fields, Chinese adapted by using hollowed out logs as flumes. (See Appendix 2:1.2)

F. H. King, who undertook an agricultural study tour of China, Korea and Japan in the early 1900s, photographed the radial treadle square pallet chain pump, used in China since antiquity, being used in the canals of Canton. He attributed the dredging and clearing of the canals and water channels in and about Canton with this foot power.

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429 F. H. King, Farmers of Forty Centuries (Madison, Wisconsin: Mrs F. H. King, 1911; repr., 2004), 79.
The wheelbarrow, an indispensable tool in carting dirt for washing was also a Chinese invention. King asserted that “No vehicle is used more in China if the carrying pole is excepted and no wheelbarrow in the world permits so high an efficiency of human power as the Chinese.”

Dalton observed European parties procuring water by constructing dams across worked-out hollows. At Wattle Flat, he described Messrs Marshall and Co. constructing a dam, about 200 feet long and seven or eight feet high estimated to contain nine month’s supply of water. Accounts of Chinese dams indicate that Chinese constructed dams not only to procure and contain water but to divert watercourses to gain access to the bed of a river or stream. At Circus Point between the Turon and Tambaroora gold fields, Dalton encountered a large party of Chinese engaged in diverting the channel of the river for five hundred yards. “[They] are doing it well, their race is a fine piece of work, and they have a fair prospect of being rewarded for their labour… they have carpenters and blacksmiths shops amongst them...” Bruce Goodwin’s memoir of life in Hill End contains an oral history account of the construction of a coffir dam, a temporary enclosure in the Macquarie which allowed the enclosed area to be pumped out to access the river bed. (See Appendix 2:3)

On passing through the Meroo in February 1859, Dalton found the junction of the Meroo and Long Creek with its large Chinese encampment “now only occupied by the Chinese.” On returning in May, Dalton found 600 or 700 Chinese doing well at Avisford and 290 had followed a rush to Campbells Creek where several stores had been established up and down the river. Sufficient gold was being extracted from George Suttor’s property Warratra to warrant the presence of an agent of the Oriental Bank. The largest of the settlements on the Meroo was Golden Point on the junction of Meroo and Grattai Creeks, which in May 1859, was “occupied by Chinese, in great force, who have here established their headquarters and have amongst them a

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432 Ibid.
capacious butchering establishment, and several stores or taverns and eating houses, to all of which smoking divans are attached."\textsuperscript{435}

Map 9: Map showing the location of Tambaroora and surrounding gold fields on Meroo Creek, the Turon and the Macquarie River, between 1851 and 1875.

Dalton found the fortunes of the Chinese parties were mixed. Some were struggling, others were subsisting and some were doing well. He commented:

When they can afford it, there are no men of the gold fields more expensive in their living than the Chinese. They will not hesitate to give 15s for a pair of ducks or 6s for a fowl; as for a sucking pig or a goose, the price is just what the conscience of the vendor will permit him to ask.\textsuperscript{436}

He observed Chinese at stores exchanging their weekly earnings of gold in amounts ranging from twelve pennyweights to three or four ounces. 437

Although, New South Wales did not have a Victorian-style protectorate system for Chinese miners, after the near-conflict at Tambaroora, a separate Chinese encampment was established at Tambaroora. 438 A report from September 1858 described the encampment as a single winding street with its own stores, butchers’ shops and other places of business. 439

When Dalton visited Tambaroora in 1859 he described it as the largest Chinese encampment on the western diggings arranged in regular streets:

Here they have butchers’ shops and stores, containing all that their celestial customers require. Many of the tents are large and handsome, the Chinese here are evidently the most prosperous portion of the community, and the general order and regularity of their conduct is calculated to create a strong feeling in their favour. 440

The gold field, spelt Tambaroura when it was proclaimed in February 1853, was not surveyed until 1859. 441 The 1859 plan does not show the location of the Chinese camp at the base of Red Hill, but Warwick Taylor has identified its location through photographs of Tambaroora in the Holtermann Collection. A Chinese cemetery at Moonlight Gully suggests the existence of another large camp there.

438 Clause 30 of the Gold Field Regulations of 1861 gave the Commissioner the power to make allotment for and arrangement of Chinese camps for parties of Chinese numbering more than fifty persons.
441 NSWGG, 2 February 1853.
At the end of 1859, the Chinese community at Tambaroora took it upon themselves to convene a public meeting in Tambaroora to elect a Chinese interpreter of their own choosing. Although Thomas Hoy, the Government Interpreter for the Western Gold
fields of New South Wales could speak English and a number of Chinese dialects, he could not read and write English. 442

Three candidates stood for election - Wee Sengchai, Alex A Chai and Assampo. At the announcement of Sengchai’s election, it was reported:

the assembled multitude absolutely rent the air with the most unmistakeable exclamations of joy, so much is this young man respected by them and not only by Chinese residents but by all the Europeans and other residents of Tambaroora also.443

Wee or William Sengchai, born in Penang, was the son of a planter, Wee Ma Boo.444
It is likely that he was fluent in Hokkien, Cantonese and Hakka, the main Chinese dialects spoken in the Malay peninsula.

Conflict and its consequences

An important factor in avoiding conflict in 1858 was the police presence and the effective response of the Resident Commissioners. In addition, the gold at Tambaroora and the Turon was fine, which rewarded patient work with cradle or puddling mill with a steady return. By contrast, the new fields at Native Dog Creek, south of Bathurst, and Burrangong (Lambing Flat) were “poor man’s diggings” where large amounts of gold were close enough to the surface to be mined with hand tools.

In the absence of an adequate police presence at Lambing Flat and Native Dog Creek, Chinese miners were repeatedly driven from these fields by European miners in late 1860 and early to mid-1861.445 The major riots at Lambing Flat on 30 June 1861 revived debate around the restriction of Chinese. Bills excluding Chinese from gold fields were debated, but the Chinese Immigration Restriction Act assented to on 22 November 1861 instead introduced a tonnage restriction of one Chinese per ten tons of shipping and a £10 entry tax on new arrivals from China.446

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442 State Archives of NSW: Department of Lands and Public Works; NRS 7933, Letters Received 1856-1866 [5/3671] 61/1765 Campbell to Secretary of Lands, 6 November, 1861.
444 NSW BDM 1232/1860
in New South Wales could apply for a certificate of exemption from the tax before it came into force on 28 February 1862.\footnote{Of the possible 13,000 such certificates that may have been issued to Chinese miners in accordance with this act, one of the few surviving, was issued to Ah Poo, at the Tambaroora Registry Office in 1862. See Powe, "A Certificate in Accordance with the Act."} The Gold Fields Act and Regulations of 1861, assented to on the same day did not exclude Chinese from gold fields, but imposed penalties on aliens not authorised in gold fields.\footnote{Clause 8 of The Gold fields Act of 1861, Sydney : Thomas Richards, Govt. Printer, 1862, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-432851551/view?partId=nlaid=nla.obj-433313887#page/n6/mode/1up} In September 1861 a sign was erected in Sofala prohibiting aliens from the Forbes (Lachlan) diggings. When questioned in Parliament, Premier Charles Cowper said the sign was only intended for Chinese.\footnote{“Sydney”, BFPMJ, 21 September 1861, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62402004} Lists of fields on which Chinese were permitted to mine were published in the Government Gazette.

The idea that Chinese gold miners only worked the tailings left behind by Europeans is one that has entered popular belief, however in this chapter I have argued against the idea that Chinese only worked abandoned ground, showing that Chinese would work old diggings if doing so yielded gold, or if they were prevented from working elsewhere, but they did not confine themselves to abandoned ground without reason.

The sudden influx of large numbers of Cantonese miners in the late 1850s, the competition for water and gold, anti-Chinese sentiment fanned by the Bathurst Free Press and poor communication brought tension in the early years on the Western Gold fields. The presence of the Commissioner and the Police, and their effective intervention, helped avert outbreaks of violence at Sofala and Tambaroora in 1858. After the Lambing Flat riots, some Chinese fled to Bathurst and from Bathurst moved to the Western Gold fields.\footnote{Justice to the Chinese”, SMH, 12 September 1861, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13061100} They consolidated their presence and made their headquarters in the towns on the gold escort and coach routes which had resident Gold Commissioners, registry offices, post offices and police stations.

Ann Curthoys asserted that the restrictive legislation which followed the Lambing Flat riots halted the strength of anti-Chinese feelings amongst the European population of New South Wales, and there followed a period of about sixteen years of relative
peace. 451 Brian Hodge asserts that the Western Gold fields had “stable little communities”, where “peace, if not harmony prevailed.” 452 Kate Bagnall pointed out the close personal interaction between Chinese and European residents of Sofala at the time of the Bah Fook petition of 1866. 453 The next chapter engages with these analyses as it examines the social, political and economic lives of Chinese settlements at Tambaroora and the Turon, two of the most populous and enduring Chinese settlements on the Western District Gold fields of New South Wales.

452 Hodge, Frontiers, 193
CHAPTER 4: LIFE IN TAMBAROORA AND THE TURON

The 1861 Census, taken on 7 April before the Chinese Immigration Act 1861 restricted the flow of Chinese immigration, recorded the peak of Chinese immigration to New South Wales. Between 1856 and 1861, the Chinese born population in New South Wales increased from 1806 to 12,988. Whilst the census recorded only 106 Chinese males, or five percent of the male population of 2127 in the town of Bathurst, in Bathurst and surrounding counties, there were 7757 Chinese men.\(^{454}\) What Dalton found remarkable on his tour of the Western Gold fields was the vast disproportion between the numbers in the European and Chinese mining populations, which Dalton claimed “cannot fail to impress the mind of the most casual observer.”\(^{455}\) 1877 of the 3420 males in the Sofala Registry District, or over half of the male population were Chinese. 642 Chinese males resided in the town of Sofala.\(^{456}\) 1649 of the 2479 males, or two thirds of the male population in the Tambaroora Registry District were Chinese.\(^{457}\) What also stands out in the 1861 census is the absence of Chinese women. Only two persons of Chinese nationality in New South Wales were female, neither of whom were in Bathurst or surrounding counties.\(^{458}\)

The lack of Chinese women defined Chinese settlement in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century but it also encouraged some men to form relationships with European women. This chapter first discusses Chinese social structures imported into the new country – stores, clan and district associations and secret societies. It then examines the relationships between Chinese and non-Chinese on the gold fields of Sofala and Tambaroora.

\(^{454}\) NSW Census, The 1861 Census of the colony of NSW, (Sydney: HCCDA, 1861), http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1861-census-01_1
\(^{455}\) “Visits to the Western Gold fields”, SMH, 11 February 1859.
\(^{456}\) Government, Census of NSW 1861 - Nationality of the People - Registry Districts (Bathurst).
\(^{457}\) New South Wales Government, Census of NSW 1861 - Nationality of the People - Registry Districts (Bathurst), (Sydney: Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861), http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1861-census-05_105
\(^{458}\) New South Wales Government, Census of NSW 1861 - Nationality of the People - total, (Sydney: Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861), http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1861-census-05_497
Stores

Newspaper reports in the previous chapter indicate that Chinese parties were quick to establish stores on the gold fields. As is seen in the Seizures’ Report, storekeepers acted as agents of merchants in Sydney in arranging employment, housing and provisions for new migrants to the gold fields and overseeing repayment of credit ticket debts. They could be headmen who led working parties in working on the gold fields. Stores served the function of banks - overseeing repayment of debts incurred under the credit system, buying gold, acting as repositories for savings, offering loans, remitting earnings back to China; as travel agents - arranging shipping to and from China; as translators and legal advisors - interpreting legal documents and advising with applications.

In August 1861, there were thirteen Chinese to fifteen European stores in Sofala.459 The insolvency file of Sofala storekeeper Be Wang provides insight into the social and business networks of early Chinese stores on the gold fields. In December 1860, Be Wang was declared insolvent with debts of £437/10s/10d, assets of £374/10s/3d and a deficiency of £63/10d.460 He had been in business in Sofala from at least 1859. He hired his premises from the Chinese interpreter Thomas Hoy, and employed a clerk, Ar Hoon. The store sold Chinese goods which Be Wang had purchased from Chinese stores in Sydney, but also meat purchased locally from Sofala butcher Mr Gale. Be Wang’s customers were all Chinese miners on the Turon and various other diggings in the colony. The debtors schedule lists the names of thirty-two Chinese on the Turon diggings who had purchased store goods from Be Wang. Amongst the debtors listed was William Hong – possibly the Amoy man acquitted of the charge of firing a pistol at Richardson’s Point in 1854.461 In addition “sundry small debts due by Chinamen on various diggings in the colony” were owed to Be Wang.

Amongst Be Wang’s Chinese creditors was the Sydney Chinese store Son Tim Waw [Sun Tin Wah] from which Be Wang had purchased Chinese store goods. Tin Wah imported foodstuffs from Hong Kong in bulk, expanding from importing thirty-six packages in a shipment from Hong Kong in 1859, to importing 726 bags of rice, ninety-nine packages of tea, 195 bags of rice and 264 packages on the Chelsea from

461 “Bathurst Circuit Court”, BFP, 9 September 1854.
Hong Kong via Melbourne in 1869. Tin Wah also exported gold to Hong Kong sending gold in two amounts of 91 ¾ ounces and 661 ½ ounces in 1862. Wang’s chief creditor was Chen Ateak, Chinese merchant of Sydney, to whom he was indebted £50/8/-.

 Besides storekeepers other businesses provided essential services to Chinese resident on the gold fields. There are a number of reports of Chinese doctors in Sofala. A newspaper article from 1862 claimed that a Chinese doctor in Sofala administered blood from a kid goat in a bid to save the life of a Chinese man who had attempted suicide. Wong Hoy Loy, who married Olive Alcock in Sofala in July 1863, was a Chinese doctor, though Thomas Hoy later gave evidence in a trial that he had known Wong Hoy Loy in Macao where Wong had been Clerk of Petty Sessions. Chinese doctor Sang Chew was one of the signatories to an 1879 petition requesting an area be allocated for a Chinese cemetery in Sofala.

Newspaper reports also indicate Sofala was a centre for entertainment. Chinese contortionist Ching Foo Lam Boo who had performed in Bathurst in 1858, visited Sofala with Ashton’s circus in 1862, eliciting much applause “by his novel style of throwing somersaults.” In 1870, newspaper correspondent Charles de Boos described seeing a full Chinese band in Sofala consisting of five instruments:

The “Foo-cum” is the Chinese fiddle of two strings; the “Ye-hin” is of three strings; the “Sam-hin” is very like a banjo; and the “Mok-hee” is the beating instrument for time”… “each performer was an adept at his work …

Sofala was also a centre of recreation, where men could spend their savings eating at cook-houses, smoking opium, gambling and visiting prostitutes. Chin Ateak took legal action against a carrier in 1860, for failing to deliver to seventy-six tins and three

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467 “Miscellaneous”, *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 4 December 1869, [text](http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/148019080)
packages of opium to Sofala. Earnings were also spent playing *pak-a-pu* and *fantan*. Dalton described Chinese as “inveterate gamblers.” Chinese men also availed themselves of the services of non-Chinese prostitutes. The Police Sergeant and Magistrate who gave evidence in the trial of Bah Fook testified that Anne Barrett was a known prostitute for Chinese and ran a brothel.

Though Dalton’s reports indicate stores were established much earlier in Tambaroora, the earliest listing of stores in Tambaroora appears in the 1872 Greville’s Post Office Directory which listed Ah Chun, watchmaker, You Mum Sum, storekeeper and On Gay & Co. storekeeper, all on Mudgee Road. What has survived of Tambaroora’s stores is the remarkable record of photographs in the Holtermann Collection which provide a visual account of the diversity of Chinese stores in Tambaroora in the early 1870s. What must be borne in mind when viewing the photos of Tambaroora, is that the town was in decline at the time the photographs were taken. Although Tambaroora was the original gold field in the area, by 1872 the centre of mining in the district had shifted to Hill End which was then in the throes of a reef mining boom. The Chinese camp photographed by Merlin and Bayliss was at the base of Red Hill on the northern end of Mudgee Road, Tambaroora’s main thoroughfare, which ran parallel to the diggings in the Golden Gully.

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472 Bagnall, “The Petition of Bah Fook of Sofala, 1866.”
474 Warwick Taylor is of the opinion that according to the description given by Dalton, the original main camp was at Foremans Flat. Pers. Comm. 9 May 2018.
The photograph taken from the rear of the camp looking south-east towards St Saviours Church shows bark huts enclosed within a palisade, foregrounded by abandoned workings in Tambaroora Creek. It gives the impression of rather shabby quarters, which is somewhat misleading as other photographs in the Collection show Chinese residents and businesses had moved beyond living in bark slab constructions and were housed in more substantial and permanent brick and timber buildings by the early 1870s.

The advertisements in the window of one of the photographs titled “Chinese man outside a house” identify the store as a herbalist and bone-setter. Only partly legible, the first advertisement offers bone setting, newly arrived treatments for cuts and herbal pills (possibly cassia bark) 新到*花玉*：跌打刀傷藥丸：*****. The second advertisement offers opium and hemp. 公*惹客：麻*張賣. 475 Perhaps the man standing outside the store was Cho Ning Tong / Jor Lang Tong 佐寧堂 who stated his occupation as Chinese apothecarist in Sofala when he signed the Bah Fook petition in 1866. 476

475 Ely Finch, Personal communication, 18 May 2017. The asterisks indicate illegible characters.
476 State Records New South Wales; Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, NRS 905. [66/1430] 4/577 Memorial of Inhabitants of Sofala re Bah Fook, 1866.
The documentary evidence of Sofala stores together with the photographic evidence of stores in Tambaroora produce a picture of well-organised and sophisticated settlements offering a variety of services to Chinese miners in those districts.

**Temples, clan and district associations**

Accounts of the Chinese settlements at Tambaroora and Sofala make reference to the existence of Chinese temples or joss houses. In 1861, Theodore West described a joss house in Sofala as “a large tent, gaudily decorated inside and out, with tapers lighted on a table inside at noonday, and an unmistakeable Chinese flag flying over the doors.”

When the correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Charles De Boos toured the gold fields in 1865 he reported:

> The large number of Chinese who have settled themselves at Tambaroora and the long time during which they have been located here have made this place

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a kind of centre of Chinese communication. Here are their most famous joss houses. An article dating from June 1872 made reference to exploding crackers and flying flags at the Tambaroora joss house, celebrating “Englishman’s Good Friday”, possibly the Queen’s Birthday. Archaeologist Mike Pearson was told by locals there had been another temple on the Bathurst side of the Turon River, on the direct road from Hill End to Bathurst via Bruinbun,[the Bridle Track]. This temple may have been at Braggs Bar, on the Bridle Track, where in later years Di Yong had a sly-grog shop.

In his article on joss houses in Victoria, Paul Macgregor argued that because the majority of references to joss houses exist only in English language records and are insufficiently described, buildings which might have fulfilled different functions were conflated under the common rubric of joss house. He differentiates between temples, club-houses, clan-halls and masonic halls and discusses extant examples of such buildings in Victoria which provide a valuable historical record of members, donors and their affiliated networks. Regrettably, as no joss house in Sofala and Tambaroora, or anywhere in the Bathurst district has survived, such information about the Chinese residents of the gold fields of New South Wales has been lost. Whilst the evidence in the Seizures Report and the small number of gravestones that have survived in Tambaroora and Sofala Museums suggest the Zhongshan district was a major source of emigration to Tambaroora, surprisingly there are no reports, documentary or photographic evidence of clan or district association buildings in Tambaroora or Sofala.

The evidence for temples is clearer. Probably the oldest known photograph of a Chinese temple in Australia is the photograph in the Holtermann Collection titled “Bark huts in Tambaroora.” Brian Hodge recognised the building as a temple and it can indeed be identified as a temple by its distinctive flagpole, or banner pole 幡杆 used for hanging a torch or lantern. Near the top is a peck-box 旗斗, a specially shaped wooden box, with a set volume of one peck, which was used to measure

480 Mike Pearson, Personal communication, March 17, 2018.
482 Wing-Fai Wai, Personal communication, 17 September 2015.
grain. These have been a common feature on temple flagpoles since the Ming dynasty, originally intended to function as bird feeders.483 Taylor identified the location of the temple as Lot 3, Section 1, Mudgee Road in the 1892 plan of Tambaroora.484

Figure 5: Bark Huts in Chinatown, Tambaroora, American and Australasian Photographic Company, 1870-75, Holtermann Collection, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. [Link]

This early temple was replaced by a new temple. An application was made by George Ah Ching on 2 April 1874 for a quarter acre on Red Hill, Tambaroora for a Chinese church.485 By November 1874 it had been erected on the hill overlooking Chinatown.486 No trace of it remains today.

483 Ely Finch, Personal communication, 26 May 2017.
484 See Tambaroora.com, Chinese joss house
486 “Notes of a trip from Hill End to West Maitland via Mudgee”, Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser, 28 November 1874, [Link]
A zoomable image of the photograph of the early temple has allowed the characters written above, and the couplets flanking the entrance to be read and translated. (See Appendix 8). The inscriptions identify the building as a nominally Taoist temple dedicated to Pak Tai, one of the most popular deities in the Pearl River Delta. Pak Tai is the god of the northern sky/heaven, and is sometimes associated with the North Star, and at other times with the big dipper. One of the few Chinese objects found at Wattle Flat near Sofala is a pattern coin, used as an amulet. One side depicts the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions 二十八宿 of the Chinese zodiac. The reverse side depicts the seven stars of the big dipper constellation. Flags depicting the big dipper constellation may be seen in photographs of Chinese processions at Echuca and in the Northern Territory where branches of the Yee Hing existed.

Figure 6: Large pattern coin found at Wattle Flat. Collection of Richard Wigglesworth, Sofala Museum

488 Wing-Fai Wong, Personal communication, 9 July 2015
Figure 7: Reverse side of pattern coin. Collection of Richard Wigglesworth, Sofala Museum.

Secret societies

In writing on Victorian joss houses Paul Macgregor discussed buildings erected by sworn brotherhoods, citing the claim by James Dundas Crawford in 1877 that the Emu Point Joss House in Bendigo was built by the Sheathed Sword Society. Macgregor suggests that as Crawford said that the Sheathed Sword Society used the figure ‘Triad of Union’ to denote its presence as a type of triad organisation, it may have been part of the same grouping as the Yee Hing/Hung Men from which the Chinese Masonic Society arose.

James McCulloch Henley in 1859 avowed the existence of the Triad Society of China on the Victorian gold fields, asserting that “full seven-eighths of the Chinese here are members of that Society.” Henley translated the name of the Association as the “United Three” – Heaven, Earth and Man. He was disparaging of the Association:

489 “Joss Houses of Colonial Bendigo and Victoria.”
490 Ibid., 102-16.
at first it seems to have been closely allied to Freemasonry, but as the numbers increased it has degenerated from the laudable ends of reciprocal benefit to violence and robbery, the overthrow of government, and the acquisition of political power by the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty.\footnote{492 “Triad Society of China”, \textit{Mount Alexander Mail}, 13 June 1859, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/199049189}}

There is little in Bathurst newspapers that suggests such fraternities were active on the Western Gold fields, though this is not surprising, given that they were brotherhoods sworn to secrecy. An exception was a report on the Chinese response to the threatened conflict in Sofala in 1858. Chinese in Sofala were said to be arming themselves and that arrangements had been made “for a private assemblage at which they will enrol themselves in a sort of secret association for the furtherance of their villainous schemes.”\footnote{493 “The Turon”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 15 September 1858, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/64376784}} The existence of Yee Hing activity on the western gold fields is suggested by the later establishment of the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst, which, as will be seen in later chapters, was the most important Chinese community association in Bathurst in the twentieth century.

\textit{The Chinese Mission}

Traditional Chinese organisations were challenged in the new environment by missionary activity on the gold fields. Wesleyans missionaries were the first to extend their missionary activity to Chinese in the colonies and Wesleyan missionary J. Davis was in Tambaroora in 1852.\footnote{494 Hodge, \textit{Frontiers of Gold}, 46-9.} Prominent amongst the Wesleyans in Bathurst were members of the Cornish settlement. A service held at John Glasson’s home in May 1856 coincided with the first advertised sale of Chinese language versions of the Bible in Bathurst.\footnote{495 “District News”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 3 May 1856, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62051698}; “Advertising”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 3 May 1856, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62051699}} By 1859, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary reporting on its evangelist activities amongst the Chinese in Victoria was claiming converts numbered in the hundreds.\footnote{496 Benjamin Danks, “Our Mission Fields: The Chinese in Australia, the coolies in Samoa, Fiji, Rotumah, New Britain and New Guinea”, ed. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (Sydney: Epworth Print, 1897), 11.} William Beacham, who listed his religion as Wesleyan on his marriage certificate when he married Agnes Fanning in Sofala in 1864 was an early Chinese convert in New South Wales.\footnote{497 NSW BDM, Marriage certificate 3114/64}
The first Chinese mission based in Sofala was established on 1 August 1864, when the Convenor of the Chinese committee of the Synod of Eastern Australia, The Reverend J. B. Laughton, engaged a Chinese Christian, Kong Shing Kon for six months at thirty shillings weekly expenses. The wife of one of the Gold Commissioners, had put forward the name of Kong Shing Kon as potential catechist. Kong was born in China of Christian parents and resided in Sofala. He could not speak English well enough to conduct a service in English, but was assisted by James McCulloch Henley, who had left Victoria and was by this time living in Sofala.

The Reverend Laughton visited Sofala in August and held a service in the Wesleyan Chapel on 24 August 1864 attended by the Resident Gold Commissioners, several Europeans and about eighty to 100 Chinese. Directly after the service, a placard written in Chinese, denouncing the Mission appeared in a conspicuous part of the town. The placard, translated by Henley, criticised the failure of Christian society to live up to its professed values. He concluded, “from all that we can learn of these Europeans, we find that they are in every respect inferior to the Chinese, and therefore unfit to instruct them.” The placard was said to have originated with the “joss house”. The respect paid to the Emperor, “they demand us to pay divine honours to one Jesus Christ, the Emperor of England instead of our own Emperor who governs by divine right” suggests the activity of a clan or district association rather the Hung League, which was dedicated to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. After the placard was posted it was reported that members of the joss house also attempted to disrupt a service and Kong Shing Kon was given protection by the Police Magistrate and the Assistant Gold Commissioner after being told his life had been threatened.

Nonetheless Kong Shing Kon continued proselytising to Chinese communities along the Turon and at Tambaroora and ministered to Chinese at Bathurst Gaol. Kong’s Mission met with some success with the conversion of eight Chinese men baptised at Sofala in July 1866 – John Shin Hin Lew (labourer, Sofala), Thomas Lee /Lie (cook,

498 This may have been Catherine Bridson, wife of Gold Commissioner Hugh Bridson, or Elizabeth Johnson, wife of Whittingdale Johnson, the other Gold Commissioner in Sofala at this time.
501 “Synod of Australia in connexion with the established church of Scotland.”
502 Ibid.
Sofala), Peter Shin Huen Yap (gold miner Maitland Bar), Henry Lau Hue (tailor, Sofala), William Lee (Li) (gold miner Lower Turon), James Knee Lo, (shoemaker, Sofala), William Ah Foo (Tsen) (gold miner, Lower Turon) and John Ah Yian Chai (servant, Sofala). Only two other adult conversions appear to have taken place with the baptisms of William Lawseen/Lawsen and William Jong Gnee in 1869.\textsuperscript{503} After 1874, there was a hiatus of twenty years before a new Chinese Mission was re-established in Bathurst in the 1890s.

Some of the portraits of Chinese in Tambaroora in the Holtermann Collection show their subjects holding a book or with their right hand (glass negatives are reverse images) resting on a book, possibly the bible. This choice of props may indicate they were amongst Chinese in the district who were baptised Christians.

Figure 9: C. War, American and Australasian Photographic Company, 1870-75, Holtermann Collection, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

*Relationships between Chinese men and European women*

The placard which appeared in angry response to the Chinese Mission questioned the moral rectitude of “allowing men and women to mix in society, and walk arm-in-arm through the streets.” More than the conversions of a handful of Chinese men, the marriages of influential Chinese men to European women, and the baptisms of their
children may have appeared as a challenge to the authority of clan or district associations.

Chin Ateak and Leau Appa stated in the Seizures Inquiry that many men who came to the gold fields were married with wives in China. Ayong, Aheng, Sang Hyo and Chin Ateak all stated that they were married. Of the men who gave evidence at the Inquiry, only Ha-Hon was single.504 The Chinese Reverend J. W. Young calculated in his 1868 Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population in Victoria, that "out of nearly 18,000 Chinese men in the colony, around 8,000 or forty-four per cent were married with their wives in China.”505 The gold-seekers who settled on the Tambaroora and Turon gold fields came without their wives.

C. Y. Choi attributed the Cantonese pattern of men migrating without their wives and families to the rural nature of the societies of the Pearl River Delta region, where the collective interest of the family and the paramount importance of lineage influenced all aspects of migration. While there was little objection to men emigrating to foreign countries to make money and remit it back to the villages in China to promote the interests of their lineage, the expectation was that women would remain behind in the village. Married men were expected to remit savings to their families and return to visit if finances permitted. Single men were expected to save and return home and marry a Chinese wife.506

In spite of these cultural expectations, there were instances of relationships and marriages between Chinese men and European women on the Western gold fields. The first marriages between Chinese men and European women were cause for celebration in the Chinese communities. When Dalton visited Tambaroora in 1859, he reported that a marriage had recently been celebrated "with great pomp and feasting in the camp. The fair bride was from Sofala, and I am told that the Chinese community presented her with £50 to furnish her tent.”507 This may have been the marriage of twenty-six year old William Alene / Alleine and twenty-five year old Sarah Kerwin,

504 Report from the Select Committee on the Seizure of Gold on board the Ethereal and Mary Nicholson.
solemnised on 1 February 1859 at Christ Church, Sofala.\textsuperscript{508} A storekeeper at Maitland Bar on the Meroo, William Alene was the son of William A. Yow and Mary A. Yow, and described himself as “a Portuguese”. Sarah, born in Dublin, was a domestic servant in Sofala. She had registered the birth of a son, Peter Kerwin to an unnamed father a year prior to marrying William. William and Sarah lived in the Chinese encampment in Tambaroora where three children - Sabina Ann, William Edward and Jane were born. All were baptised in Christchurch (Church of England) Sofala.\textsuperscript{509}

The year after his popular election as interpreter, William Sengchhai married Hannah Price at the Bathurst Registry Office.\textsuperscript{510} Both had lived on the Campbell’s River near Rockley before marriage. One of the witnesses to the marriage was Hannah’s father, Thomas Price, a shoemaker, who gave his consent for his seventeen-year-old daughter to marry. In 1861 Sengchhai was appointed the second salaried Chinese interpreter for the Western Gold Districts.\textsuperscript{511}

It is difficult to calculate the number of mixed couples on the Turon and Tambaroora gold fields because of migration between gold fields and because not all couples were married. William Loo Ching had been a reasonably wealthy keeper of a store in Creswick, Victoria before moving to Sofala where he fathered a son to Caroline Green in 1864.\textsuperscript{512} By 1864, he was living with Julia Millar who bore him two sons, Henry and James, although it was not until 1874 that the couple married in Victoria.\textsuperscript{513} Elizabeth Long Poy married John Long Poy in Castlemaine and two children were born to the couple in Victoria before John died.\textsuperscript{514} Elizabeth married Ah Sang in Sofala in 1866.\textsuperscript{515} Charles Lawson and Margaret Nixon were married in Victoria in 1854 before they moved to Tambaroora where they had a large family.\textsuperscript{516} There were also couples who married in New South Wales then moved to Victoria. Mary Anne

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{anglican} Anglican Property Trust Diocese of Bathurst, Joint Copy Project SAG, National Library of Australia, Mitchell Library: 1858-9 Marriages Solemnised in the District of Sofala. William Alene and Sarah Kerwin, 1859.
\bibitem{date} Edward Ah Lean b 15/2/69 and Jane Allene 16/6/71. Hill End and Tambaroora Database of Births, Deaths and Marriages from earliest times. Compiled by Helen Wood with assistance from volunteers of the Hill End & Tambaroora Gathering Group (unpublished working file)
\bibitem{newswb} NSW BDM 1860/1232.
\bibitem{newswg} NSWGG, 9 September 1861.
\bibitem{newswd} NSW BDM 14909/1864
\bibitem{victoria} Victoria, BDM (Vic. reg. no. 1448)
\bibitem{wayn} Wayne Garvey pers. comm., 15 Nov 2016.
\bibitem{victoria2} Victoria, BDM 3114/1866
\bibitem{helen} Helen Wood, pers. comm.; See births table in Appendix 3 for birth certificate numbers.
\end{thebibliography}
McAlister, one of the witnesses to the 1860 marriage of Sengchai and Hannah Price, married Po Sing in Bathurst in 1863. In November 1863, when the couple’s first child was born, Mary Anne and Po Sing, alias Chin Shin Pow, were living on the Lower Buckland gold field in Victoria where Chin Shin Pow was a storekeeper at the Macao Camp.

Between 1856 and 1875, at least sixty births registered at the Tambaroora and Sofala registries were babies born of Chinese fathers and non-Chinese mothers. (See Appendix 3). Not all the relationships produced children. There is no record, for example, of children born to A. Chin who married Sarah Peaisley in Sofala in 1862. Nor were children were born to Tommy Hoy and Jane Allcock in 1863 or to Sofala Chinese doctor Wong Hoy Loy who married Jane’s sister Olive the same year.

Most women married Chinese men who held positions of importance or were wealthy and marriage improved their material circumstances. Sengchai, Tommy Hoy and Charles Lawson were interpreters; A Chin, Po Sing, Cum Fat and Ah Sang were storekeepers, while William Alleine and William Beacham were both interpreters and storekeepers.

Thomas Hoy enjoyed an extravagant lifestyle on his annual salary of £150 per year, supplemented by a business buying and selling goods to Chinese on the gold fields. By November 1863, Hoy was filing for insolvency in Sofala, with liabilities of £734, assets of £31 and a deficiency of £703. One of Hoy’s debtors was Sofala storekeeper Sam Yet, who owed Hoy an outstanding debt of £30/19/1. Hoy had supplied Yet with fifteen pounds of cuttlefish, twenty-five pounds of oysters, thirty beche-de-mer on 13 February, four pounds of pig foot on 13 June, and another seven pounds on 22 June. In his affidavit Hoy stated:

I have nothing now belonging to me at Spring Creek … the houses I had were sold long ago, I got my money and I spent it. I paid my debts with it as far as it would go – I spent my money as I liked I considered it my own.

517 NSW BDM 1383/1863
518 Diann Talbot, Who is She: The lives and trials of the women and children who shared their lives with the Chinese men on the Upper Ovens Gold fields in North East Victoria. (Bright, Victoria: Specialty Press, 2016).
519 NSW BDM 3016/1862
520 NSW BDM 2907/1863; NSW BDM 1407/1863
522 Insolvency Thomas Hoy, [2/9094] 6369. 127
Relationships between Chinese men and European women living in the Central West of New South Wales in the mid-to-late nineteenth century was the subject of a study by Dinah Hales, who reconstructed the lives of twenty Chinese-European couples in the Central West between 1856 and 1879.\textsuperscript{523} Chinese-Aboriginal marriages were not noted by Hales.\textsuperscript{524} Hales’ study which tested the stereotype of women who partnered with Chinese men as degraded, Irish prostitutes, found on the contrary, that nearly all the women were Australian born, there was no evidence that any of the women began as prostitutes, and that the majority successfully raised families.\textsuperscript{525} Hales did not take into account geographical and temporal differences, but when these are considered, it appears that marriages and relationships between Chinese men and European women in the Tambaroora camp were comparatively less successful and stable than relationships between couples in other places such as Sofala, Wellington, Mudgee and Bathurst.

One of the couples in Hales study were Euphemia Jane Parker and Ar Foo who were married at the Tambaroora Registry Office in 1861.\textsuperscript{526} Parker’s age and occupation were not stated. Neither Parker nor Ah Foo could write English, both signing the marriage certificate with an x mark. Ah Foo was not named as father to any six children subsequently born to Jane. The fathers of William Parker, born 1862, Edward Adolphe Parker, born 1864, and Ellen Elizabeth Parker were unnamed (See Appendix 3). The parents of Albert Ah Gee, who was baptised in 1866, but died before his birth was registered, were Ah Gee, a boot and shoe maker and Jane Parker.\textsuperscript{527} Albert may

\textsuperscript{524} Perhaps the first Chinese-Aboriginal marriage in the wider district took place in 1878 when James Con Sue/Consue, born circa 1838 in Hong Kong and Mary (Lucy) Barber, born on the Bogan River in 1857 married in Carcoar. NSWBDM 2724/1878. James worked as a butcher, shepherd, gardener and labourer in Carcoar, where nine children were born to the couple. Michael Bennett of NTSCORP identifies Edward Ah See born in 1846 and Harriet (Annie) Howard born in Bathurst around the same time as the pro-genitors of the Aboriginal Ah See families of the Central West. Their first daughter Elizabeth was born Mudgee in 1875. (14876/1875). The family later moved to Dubbo where more children were born. At least three of their children married Aboriginal people. Michael Bennett, pers. comm., 19 October 2017.
\textsuperscript{525} Dinah Hales, Lost Histories: Chinese-European Families of Central West New South Wales, 1850-1880.
\textsuperscript{526} NSWBDM 2785/1861
\textsuperscript{527} Bathurst All Saints Anglican Cathedral; Baptism Register. Albert Ah Gee, Baptised 29 April, No. 937, 1866.
have had a twin brother William Parker, born in 1866 to mother Jane, father unnamed. The father of Jane’s daughter Isabala/Isabella Parker was not named when her birth was registered in 1868, but when Isabella was baptised that year, her father was named as Ah Yung. Isabella died at the age of 8. Elizabeth Ah Hung, who died of exhaustion aged two months in 1873, may have been Ellen Elizabeth Parker born to Jane in 1873.\textsuperscript{528} When Jane herself died at the age of twenty-eight, the cause of death, according to her death certificate was exhaustion after twelve years of smoking opium.\textsuperscript{529} Hales described Jane as an exception to the group, and indeed there is no other record of wives or partners who were opium users.

Hales also recounted the troubled lives of the Lawson family, who lived in the Tambaroora camp.\textsuperscript{530} Another couple mentioned by Hales, but not amongst the twenty couples in the study were William and Sarah Alleine, whose marriage in Sofala in 1859, had been the cause for celebration. The couple moved to live in the Tambaroora camp where three children Sabine, William and Jane were born between 1864 and 1871.\textsuperscript{531} In 1874, Sarah Allene [sic] was given a gaol sentence for the assault of her husband William who was severely burnt when Sarah threw a kerosene lamp at him.\textsuperscript{532} William placed his youngest daughter Jane Allene into Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children from 1875 to 1881.\textsuperscript{533} His eldest daughter Sabine remained at Tambaroora where she was the victim of an attempted rape in 1873. Two Chinese men faced trial and one, Chee Loy was convicted, although a petition was raised to protest his innocence.\textsuperscript{534}

That Jane Parker, Margaret Lawson and Sarah Alleine all lived in the Tambaroora camp suggests that camps were less congenial to stable relationships. Perhaps in rejecting turn-of-the-century hysteria about the threat the Chinese man was said to pose to white womanhood, early instances of exploitation have been discounted. In his 1868 report on Victorian camps, the Reverend William Young identified the evils of

\textsuperscript{528} See NSW BDM certificate nos. 16698/1868, 10081/1876, 15085/1866, 13735/1862, 14994/1864, 18879/1873, 6835/1873
\textsuperscript{529} Hales, “Lost Histories”, 108.
\textsuperscript{530} Hales, “Lost Histories”, 107-08.
\textsuperscript{531} “Lost Histories”, 108-10.
\textsuperscript{533} State Archives of New South Wales: Child Care and Protection Index; NRS 13362, Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children [Reel 1867] Admission 2786, 1875; Departure, 28 December, 1881.
\textsuperscript{534} NSWSA:Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, NRS 905. [1/2228] 73/5223 enclosed in 73/6969 The Petition of Chee Loy of Tambaroora, 1873.
opium, gambling and immorality in Chinese camps. The latter charge was based on
the conviction of a Chinese cook who along with his Irish wife had been allowing
Chinese men to have sexual relationships with young girls in their house. As Pauline
Rule points out, however, it was evident from the testimony of the teenage girls
involved that they had gone willingly to the house to receive clients.  

Sub-Inspector Brennan and Quong Tart’s Report on Chinese Camps 1883-1884,
published after their visit to five Chinese camps in South East New South Wales also
investigated immorality in Chinese camps. The Report found an equal number of
wives to prostitutes living in the camps. Brennan was also unequivocal in stating
that the women were there of their own free will:

I have not been able to elicit one case during the Inquiry or in Chinese
experience of twenty-four years, where a female resorting Chinese camps
owed her seduction to a Chinaman. All the females themselves deny the
allegation emphatically ... the Chinese allow them full liberty of action...and
treat them with the greatest kindness ...  

No such investigation took place in the Tambaroora camp. There was almost certainly
prostitution in the Tambaroora camp which may have tarnished the reputations of any
women partnering with Chinese men. Alan Mayne found a number of cases in the
Tambaroora and Hill End Bench Books where wives, accused of being whores, took
their accusers to court to defend their reputations. In 1864, Annie Alloy took
Margaret Cameron to court for accusing her of being a whore who slept with all the
Chinamen. Johanna Leary twice received gaol sentences for using abusive and
insulting language towards Brigit Buckli and her Chinese husband John, who lived
next to the Leary’s at Bald Hill Creek. 

Some of the couples in successful marriages who might have provided support for
those in less stable relationships left Tambaroora. William and Sophia Cohen,
registered the birth of their second child in Mudgee and later settled in Muckerawa. 

William and Hannah Sengchai were living in Sofala when their first son William H.
Sengchai was born in 1861. The births of Isabella and Emily in 1862 and 1864 in Tambaroora and Alfred in Sofala in 1866, suggest that Hannah and the children accompanied Sengchai, whose work required him to travel with the Gold Commissioner adjudicating in disputes on the field. Undoubtedly Chinese-European relationships suffered the pressures of social ostracism and there was little social or family support for couples in most instances.

According to census figures, there were no families composed of Chinese men and Chinese women on the Western gold fields at least before 1881. The 1871 census counted only twelve women in the 7220 Chinese in New South Wales and none lived in Bathurst or surrounding counties. Chinese women were considered such a novelty outside of China, that Kin Foo, a Chinese woman of average height, toured the world together with a Chinese giant, Chang Woo Goo, appearing at Ashton’s circus in Bathurst in 1871. By 1881, the number of Chinese women in New South Wales had grown to sixty-four, however, as the data for the 1881 census was lost in the fire at the Crystal Palace, it cannot be ascertained if any of these women lived in Bathurst and district. It was not until 1891 that one Chinese woman in each of the counties of Bathurst, Wellington, Roxburgh and Georgiana was recorded in a New South Wales census.

John Fitzgerald has asserted that large-scale male immigration from China could and did precede permanent settlement involving female immigration. The presence of Chinese women, argues Fitzgerald, was a measure of the stability and security of the overseas community. The poll tax of £10 introduced in 1862, made bringing out wives from China prohibitively expensive for all but the merchant class. By the time the Act was repealed in 1867, storekeepers and miners had begun leaving Sofala and Tambaroora. One can only speculate if men would have brought their wives from China to settle in New South Wales, had the poll tax not made it prohibitive during

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542 NSW BDM 13013/1861; NSW BDM 13728/1862; NSW BDM 15019/1864; NSW BDM 5138/1866
544 "Gigantic Chang and Little Kin Foo", BT, 10 June 1871,
545 HCCDA, Census of NSW.
546 Fitzgerald, Big white lie: Chinese Australians in white Australia.
Chinese-European interaction on the gold fields

Both Hammond and Dalton witnessed Chinese and Europeans working in partnership on the gold fields. Hammond stated that he witnessed parties of Europeans taking twenty or thirty Chinese into partnership with them to help them work their claims.547 Dalton noted in 1859 that John Sergeson, had coalesced with twenty Chinese at Richardson’s Point, for the purpose of draining a deep waterhole ... “a race has been cut, the river turned, and success will it is to be hoped, crown their labours.”548 Chinese and European gold miners in Tambaroora and the Turon interacted with each other on the diggings on a daily basis out of necessity. For example, Aa Ty and a party of ten and W. Hall and a party of eight who each had 120 by 120 yard alluvial claims at Chinaman’s Flat on the Turon in 1862 would have had to cooperate for the joint use of water races.549 If a party further up the river diverted the water to their own workings or races, they deprived parties down the river of water. Parties also worked together to keep the race clean or relied upon each other to clean their sections of the race.550

Chinese and European miners also interacted as a matter of choice. Roughly half of the 507 applications made between 1862 and 1868 to extend existing gold claims on the Turon were made by Chinese persons or parties.551 Sixteen applications were made by mixed parties. Some European miners evidently found it profitable to team up with Chinese miners as they did so on more than one occasion. On 28 July 1863, Robert Webster and a party of eleven Chinese applied for an extended claim to cut a race.552 In May 1866, Ah Fong, E Chow, Wm Lank, Le Mong, W.H Lai, Ah Lee teamed up with Webster to take out a riverbed claim at Circus Point and again in June 1867, James Moony, James Ah Hoon and James Ah Hoy formed a party with Webster to

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550 Hamilton, *Adjudication on the Gold fields in New South Wales and Victoria in the 19th century*
551 NSWSA: Assistant Gold Commissioner Sofala 1862-68; NRS 4327. [4/7854. 1 vol.] Register of Extended Claims, 1862-68. To be precise 253 of the 507 claims were made by Chinese parties.
552 SANSW: NRS 4327 [4/7854. 1 vol.], Application Number 181 in 1863.
work an alluvial claim at Pattersons Point.553 Webster was not alone. Julius Warwick, John Martin and M. McCann and Robert Smith also took out mixed party claims with Chinese miners.554

In the case of *Cooper, Kissel and ten Chinamen vs. Yung Sang and Co*. in 1862, a party of Chinese who were teamed up with Europeans took another party of Chinese to the Western Gold Field Appeals Court to appeal against a decision made by the Sub-Gold Commissioner Joseph Cox over a Tambaroora river bed claim.555

Alan Mayne’s examination of the Tambaroora and Hill End Bench books led him to describe Chinese as active participants in society, concluding that "by and large frictions were not based upon race hatred but upon specific differences of opinion between neighbours, miners, buyers and sellers." Mayne also noted court cases in which Europeans appeared as witnesses for Chinese plaintiffs or defendants and vice versa. Barry McGowan described the physical proximity of many Chinese and European settlements on the goldmining settlements of South East New South Wales in the late 1860s and 1870s. He attributed a forbearance towards Chinese miners to the pre-eminence of several Chinese families and the importance of the Chinese economic contribution.557 While Chinese families were lacking on the Western Gold fields, the economic contribution of Chinese can be seen in the insolvency files for Jahun Ah Sue and Tommy Hoy.558 Chinese not only purchased from Chinese stores, but also from European stores. Among Hoy’s creditors were Bridget Dansford of Bathurst, licenced victualler, Stephen Swaine from whom Hoy had leased land at Spring Creek and Larking Foreman, licenced victualler of Sofala.559 As Brian Hodge pointed out, Chinese bought up claims on the Turon, paying £3000 for the “Engine claim” in March 1861.560

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553 Register of Extended Claims, [4/7854. 1 vol.]. Application Numbers 57 in 1866, 15 in 1867.
554 Register of Extended Claims, [4/7854. 1 vol.]. Application Nos 268 in 1864 and 334 in 1865 and Nos 292 in 1864 and 408 in 1865.
556 Mayne, “What you want John?” Chinese-European interactions on the Lower Turon gold fields.”
558 State Archives of NSW: Supreme Court of NSW; NRS 13654, Insolvency files 1842-1887. [2/9094] 6369 Insolvency Thomas Hoy, 1863.; State Archives of NSW: Supreme Court of NSW; NRS 13654, [9451] 10954 Insolvency File John Ah Sue, 1872.
559 Insolvency Thomas Hoy, 23 November 1863.
Theodore West who lectured on the Chinese Question, in the debate around legislating restriction said in 1861:

> The Chinese are, as a people good payers – commercially termed ‘good marks’…in five transactions only on the River Turon they paid £9000 cash for claims all previously more or less worked and in all cases making them pay.561

A measure of the importance of the Chinese to the economies of the Western Gold fields might be seen through the example of Lambing Flat. In the wake of Chinese being driven from Lambing Flat, which had since been re-named Young, the local economy had declined to such an extent that by 1863 the town’s merchants were agitating for the return of Chinese to the Burragong field. A prominent citizen claimed: “unless the whole of the old ground was thrown open to Chinese enterprise, more than half the storekeepers must close their premises.”562

**Mining in the mid-1860s**

Ann Curthoys has argued that as the 1861 Act caused the flow of new Chinese immigrants to virtually cease, Chinese populations on the New South Wales gold fields became increasingly sparse and scattered and as the population declined, the strength of anti-Chinese sentiment declined.563 This statement needs some qualification as gold field records indicate it was not until the latter half of the 1860s that Chinese ceased to live and work in large clusters on the Western gold fields. Letters from the Sub-Gold Commissioner on the Stoney Creek field suggest that it was large numbers of Chinese, rather than sparse numbers which prevented the outbreak of violence at least on that field in 1863.564 A correspondent from *Empire* who visited the Macquarie River diggings in July 1863, stated that “from Suttor’s Bar, for eighteen miles up the river, there are rushes every mile or two. Further up the river were “Hong Kong” and “Shanghai”, “two rushes prospected by Chinamen.” He estimated the mining population on the Macquarie at 600 Europeans and nearly 2000 “pigtails.”565

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564 State Records NSW: Colonial Secretary; [Series 4329 [5/7945 Part.] 1 Vol. (part)] 80/64 Letters to the Gold Commissioner in charge of the Western Gold District stationed at Bathurst, 1863-4.
Considerable capital investment was going into Chinese mining on the Macquarie at that time. In Sub-Commissioner Sibthorpe’s reports to the Gold Commissioner, he wrote that he granted an extended claim to the Chinese Water Wheel Company and was visited “by an influential Chinese named Tchen A Teak” [Chin Ateak], who “informed me that he had instruction to purchase a steam engine on his return to Sydney.”^566^ Consecutive floods submerged four engines in the middle of 1864, and the only engine said to be still at work was on the original Chinese claim. ^567^ Although Chinese were reported to “have dauntlessly and energetically worked during the continued floods”, the experience appears to have dampened enthusiasm for any further such capital investment in mechanisation by Chinese merchants.

The Turon was a hive of activity in the early to mid-1860s. When the *Herald*’s reporter Charles De Boos visited the Turon in 1865, he found a mining population of at least 600 Europeans and 2000 Chinese who dominated the riverbed:

> For a length of over 25 miles the bed of the river is now being worked at every spot that offers the slightest prospect of success and for the greater part of the distance, more particularly up the river from Sofala, it is completely seamed with races. In fact, the whole of the water of the river is entirely diverted from its bed, and you may cross it almost anywhere bare-footed.\(^568^\)

De Boos was highly impressed by the engineering skills used in the construction of the races at Sofala which often had sections of underground races and used floodgates:

> They are usually fitted with floodgates so that with the first appearance of a rise or fresh in the river, the gates are shut; and though the stream may be flooded, and the excavations silted up, the race remains safe and intact and ready to be used again so soon as the river falls to its ordinary level.” ^569^

These kind of large-scale works, he asserted, were chiefly confined to the Chinese:

> Some of the claims that are being worked upon a large scale occupy a great number of hands. This kind of work however, is chiefly confined to the Chinese and it is no unusual thing to see from 50 to 100 Chinese working upon

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^566^ NSWSA: Letters to the Gold Commissioner in charge of the Western Gold District stationed at Bathurst, NRS 4329 [5/7945 Part.] 1 Vol. (part) 80/64.
one claim. In one instance I was informed that fully 200 Chinese were employed.570

While the majority of the applications in the Register of extended claims were for shallow alluvial or riverbed workings, towards the middle of the 1860s, Chinese parties began sinking deeper to reach deep leads. In 1859, Dalton had observed Chinese sinking shafts on the Turon, at that time bottoming at twenty-five feet.571 On the Turon in 1865, Aa Fatt and party of seven, and Allain and party of twelve had adjacent claims at Pennyweight Flat where they were sinking seventy feet.572 In November of that year, Ah See and party of eight also applied for an extended claim for deep sinking on old ground and slabbing shafts at Pennyweight Flat.573 Chinese were also following deep leads at Tambaroora. At Golden Gully, a Chinese syndicate were sinking leads along the Canton line which runs parallel to the Hill End – Tambaroora Road. According to Harry Hodge, the Canton was worked by a group of Chinese headed by Ah Young.574

The period from 1862-1866 was a period of relative stability for Chinese on the Turon and Tambaroora Gold fields. The highest incidence of intermarriage and the greatest amount of interaction between Chinese and the other residents of the gold fields occurred in these years. The peace noted by Brian Hodge, Ann Curthoys and Kate Bagnall was short-lived. Conflict did not disappear altogether in the 1860s, but resurfaced on the Glanmire gold fields in 1866. In spite of the investment in labour and capital on the gold fields, Chinese began to abandon the Turon and Tambaroora from 1866. As is argued in the next chapter, changes to adjudication on the gold fields and new regulations hastened the departure of Chinese from Turon and Tambaroora.

572 Register of Extended Claims, [ 4/7854. 1 vol. ]. Applications 7 and 9, 1865.
573 Register of Extended Claims, [ 4/7854. 1 vol. ]. Application 122, 1865.
CHAPTER 5: THE DECLINE OF CHINESE SETTLEMENTS IN TAMBAROORA AND THE TURON

As discussed in the previous chapter, in the mid-1860s, Tambaroora and the Turon were thriving Chinese communities. Chinese parties dominated the workings on the river beds, especially on the Turon. By 1871 this had changed. When the English writer Anthony Trollope visited Australia in 1871 and toured the gold fields, he stopped at Sofala, which he described as “now a poor little town, consisting of 644 inhabitants, of whom a considerable portion are Chinese…” 575

Census figures indicate that the Chinese population of Sofala had fallen dramatically. The total population of the Sofala Registry district declined from 4460 in 1861 to 2821 in 1871, but the Chinese population declined at a much sharper rate from 1877 to 507. 576 The Chinese population in the town of Sofala fell even more sharply from 642 to 81. 577 Whilst the total population in the wider Tambaroora Registry District grew between the 1861 and 1871 censuses, from 2991 to 3265, the Chinese population in the district fell from 1649 to 405. 578

Another indication that Chinese people were leaving the Turon and Tambaroora was the birth rate. The births of at least fifty babies born to Chinese fathers and European mothers were recorded at the Sofala and Tambaroora Registries between 1861 and 1869, but only ten such births were registered at the same registries between 1870 and 1876 (see Appendix 3).

Reasons for departures
One of the reasons Chinese numbers declined so considerably on the Turon and in Tambaroora is because men returned to China. Although the repeal of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1867 brought renewed immigration from China, the Chinese

population in New South Wales declined in real numbers between the 1860s and the 1870s. A table in C. Y. Choi’s 1975 book shows the numbers of Chinese departing and arriving in New South Wales by sea from 1862 until Federation in 1901.\textsuperscript{579} Between 1862 and 1876, 5403 Chinese arrived in New South Wales by sea, whilst 11,525 departed - a loss of 6122 Chinese.\textsuperscript{580}

Bew Chip’s Register shows that men were leaving Tambaroora for China and not returning, at least not to Tambaroora. Between 1865 and 1890, Bew Chip entrusted twenty-seven individuals returning to China to carry gold-dust or coins to his family in China.\textsuperscript{581} Not one of the names of persons carrying gold to China re-appears in the register.

The population decline in Tambaroora might be explained by declining gold yield. From 1860 to 1863, the total quantity of gold sent down by escort from Tambaroora stayed at around 20,000 ounces, but in 1864 it declined to 16,000 ounces and in August 1865, it was about 10,000 ounces, with four months of the year to go.\textsuperscript{582} Gold yields were not, however, declining on the Turon, where the quantity of gold sent down in 1865 exceeded the 1863 returns.\textsuperscript{583} One may also ask “Did the Chinese population decline because of decreasing gold yields, or did gold yields decline in response to the decline in the Chinese population”? Departures from the Turon and Tambaroora might also be attributed to the attraction of new fields. One of these was at Glanmire, about eight miles east of Bathurst. The Glanmire Goldmining Company was registered in 1865, with Edward Combes as Manager and opened to the public later that year.\textsuperscript{584} In September 1865, when Charles De Boos visited Glanmire, Chinese gold miners had just been admitted to the field and

\textsuperscript{579} Choi, \textit{Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia}, 23.
\textsuperscript{580} \textit{Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia}, 23.
\textsuperscript{581} Finch, “An English Translation of Bew Chip’s Register”, 38.
\textsuperscript{582} “Random Notes by a Wandering Reporter XXII”, \textit{SMH}, 26 September 1865, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13119463}
\textsuperscript{583} “Random Notes by a Wandering Reporter XXIV”, \textit{SMH}, 30 September 1865, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31125454}
\textsuperscript{584} Kerrin Cook and Daniel Garvey, \textit{The Glint of Gold: A history and tourist guide of the gold fields of the Central West} (Pymble, New South Wales: Genlin Investments, 1999), 44.
De Boos estimated their number at 100.\textsuperscript{585} This number increased the following month when 390 licenses were taken out by Chinese people.\textsuperscript{586}

**A review of gold fields administration**

Another reason for the departures from Tambaroora and the Turon, and the one which I argue is the main reason, are new gold field regulations introduced between 1866 and 1874. Under the *Regulations of the Gold fields Act 1861*, mining disputes were adjudicated on the spot by a Resident Commissioner. Although the Commissioners kept no records of their resolutions, newspaper reports indicate that in cases of disputes between European and Chinese miners, Europeans were often found to be the transgressors. In July 1865, a change to this manner of resolving disputes occurred on the Tambaroora gold field when a mining dispute which would normally have been resolved on the field by a Commissioner was instead resolved in the Tambaroora Court of Petty Sessions.\textsuperscript{587} The case related to a miner being on the gold fields without a miner’s right and the defendant was Chinese.\textsuperscript{588} The next eleven cases relating to mining disputes in the Tambaroora Bench Books to January 1866 were all against defendants with Chinese names.\textsuperscript{589} According to John Hamilton’s analysis of the Tambaroora Bench Books (1862-1880), it appears there was some sort of blitz against Chinese on the gold field or at least Chinese without miner’s licences.\textsuperscript{590}

In January 1866, *Empire* reported that the Premier had appointed a board to inquire into the best means of effecting a reduction in public expenditure.\textsuperscript{591} The Board recommended “the abolition of several offices presently useless”, amalgamating the office of Police Magistrate and Gold Commissioner and transferring the duties of Assistant Gold Commissioners to Clerks of Petty Sessions. In February 1866, Gold Commissioners were directed by the Secretary of Lands to inform government-employed Chinese interpreters that after March 1866, their services would no longer be required. Amongst the six Chinese interpreters in New South Wales given notice

\textsuperscript{585} “Random Notes by a Wandering Reporter No. XXVI (St Anthonys Creek)”, *SMH*, 7 October 1865, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/13119988}


\textsuperscript{588} Hamilton, *Adjudication on the Gold fields*, 125.

\textsuperscript{589} Ibid, 125.

\textsuperscript{590} Ibid, 125.

\textsuperscript{591} “Gold Fields”, *Empire*, 20 January 1866, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63242412}
was Sengchai, who had been assisting Captain William Browne, the Chief Commissioner in Bathurst, and Thomas Hoy, who had been assisting Whittingdale Johnson in Sofala.592

*Conflict at Napoleon Reef*

The retrenchments of the Chinese interpreters occurred at a time in which racial tension was coming to a head on the Glanmire gold field. On 22 March 1866, there was a violent conflict between Chinese and European miners. It had come about after Chinese miners discovered gold on government land near Napoleon Reef. When some Europeans tried to jump their claim, a row erupted.593 Captain Browne, the Bathurst Gold Commissioner who was called in to resolve the dispute, demarcated areas to be exclusively worked by Chinese and Europeans respectively. After Browne departed the field, the dispute over the boundaries resumed and turned violent. The Chinese miners defended their claim. One newspaper account described “one hundred persons on each side; the Chinese using pointed saplings, the Europeans sticks and stones. The fight lasted a considerable time.”594 The *Bathurst Free Press* reported that Chinese tents were set alight and Chinese left the field, a great number arriving in Bathurst at nine o’clock that night after wending their way from Glanmire. The correspondent declared rather unconvincingly, that the Chinese were the originators of the fire as no Europeans were on the spot where tents were set alight, and fifteen Chinese men were seen leaving the burning tents carrying bundles under their arms.595 The evicted Chinese miners later waited on the Commissioner, who found the Europeans to be the transgressors and reinstated the Chinese.596 Two European men were charged with offences relating to the riot and appeared before the Bathurst Circuit Court on 21 April 1866, where they were convicted and sentenced to three months hard labour in Bathurst Gaol.597

592 NSWSA:Department of Lands and Public Works; NRS 7946, Copies of letters sent to Gold Commissioners, 1863-December 1866 [(4/6854, 2/1805-06)] Secretary of Lands to Whittingdale Johnson and William Browne, 24 February, 1866.


595 “Freeman's Journal”, 31 March 1866.

596 “New South Wales”, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 26 March 1866.

The day after the fight occurred, John Rae, the Under-Secretary for Public Works, sent a letter to the new Colonial Secretary, Henry Parkes, to inform him that the English had thrashed and driven off a number of Chinese from the diggings at Napoleon Reef and set fire to their huts.598 Two weeks later, thirteen Assistant Gold Commissioners were sent letters by the Secretary of Lands giving them notice that their services were no longer required.599 In their place, three Commissioners were to be appointed for the Northern, Western and Southern Gold fields. Their duties would be to attend to the issue of miners’ rights and gold leases.600 Dispute resolution jurisdiction transferred from Commissioners to Justices of the Peace and the requirement to determine disputes ‘on the spot’ was removed and replaced by resolution in a Court of Petty Sessions.601

Lacking both a government employed Chinese interpreter, and an adjudicator on the field, disputes over boundaries would have become more problematic for Chinese miners. So too would other incidents that required police intervention. McGowan argues that in Braidwood, the police considered it utterly impossible to proceed without interpreters.602

The response of Chinese miners on the Sofala and Tambaroora gold fields is not recorded, but Chinese storekeepers and miners on the Rocky River Gold Fields in Northern New South Wales petitioned the Minister of Lands and the Executive Council for the return of their resident Assistant Gold Commissioner and Police Magistrate, Frederick Dalton.603 Hamilton attributes the retrenchments to economic

599 NSWSA:Department of Lands and Public Works; NRS 7946, Copies of letters sent to Gold Commissioners, 1863-December 1866. [(4/6854, 2/1805-06)] Letter 68, Secretary of Lands to Assistant Gold Commissioner David Dickson, 5 April 1866.
603 This was the same Frederick Dalton who had been the Herald's Gold Fields correspondent in 1859. State Archives of New South Wales: Department Lands and Public Works; NRS 7933, Letters Received, 1856-1866. [5/3703] Letter No. 66/2953 Chinese Petition, 1866. Frederick Dalton was given responsibility for the Northern Gold Fields, whilst the office of the Commissioner of Western Gold Districts was given to Whittingdale Johnson.
rationalisation, although he notes that there does not appear to have been a general economic downturn at that time which may have triggered the need for cost-cutting.  

The Gold Fields Amendments Act 1866

At the same time, the regulations under the *Gold fields Act 1861* were replaced by the *Gold Fields Act Amendment Act*, which took effect on 1 May 1866. This Act in turn was repealed and replaced in September 1866 by the *Gold Fields Amendments Act 1866*, (30 Vic. No. 8). The major change between the 1861 Act and the 1866 Act was in the privileging of leases. The 1861 Act had granted leases of from two to eight acres of alluvial land, from two to five hundred yards of river bed and from one to five hundred yards on the line of a quartz vein, for a period limited to five years. Under Clause 44 of the 1866 Act, the area of land available to lease was extended to one to fifty acres of alluvial ground and quartz reef, and from two hundred to one thousand yards of a river bed. The length of time a lease could be held was also extended from five years to fifteen years and the annual rent was reduced from £5 pounds per acre, £5 per hundred yards of river bed, and £5 per hundred yards of quartz vein to £2 respectively under the amended Act. The 1866 Act also privileged the use of machinery, allowing any number of claims to be amalgamated whenever machinery may be employed, or other sufficient reason may exist. On 9 August 1866, the Secretary for Lands also instructed Whittingdale Johnson and the other two Gold Commissioners to provide a return of all extended alluvial claims on abandoned ground to be laid before the Legislative Assembly. The returns would have shown the dominance of Chinese parties working the bed of the Turon River.

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608 See Clause 44.
610 NSWSA:Department of Lands and Public Works; NRS 7946, Copies of letters sent to Gold Commissioners, 1863-December 1866. [(4/6854, 2/1805-06)] Letter 148, Secretary of Lands to Gold Commissioner Whittingdale Johnson, 9 August 1866.
In privileging leases, the 1866 Act affected alluvial miners working small claims. This effect can be seen in the Register of Extended Claims on the Turon, a record of the names of applicants and the locations of these claims on the Turon between 1862 and 1868.611 A total of 507 extended claims were registered on the Turon in this period. The following table shows the number of claims in each year, and the number of applications made by Chinese parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of application</th>
<th>Number of applications</th>
<th>Chinese parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of applications for extended claims rose and peaked in 1865, then declined sharply after 1866, declining from 108 applications in 1866 to twenty-five applications in 1868. The amendments hit non-Chinese alluvial miners harder than it did Chinese miners. In the peak year for applications, Chinese parties made only fifty-five of the 129 applications, but by 1868, all but one of the twenty-five applications for extended claims were made by Chinese parties.612

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611 Register of Extended Claims, [ 4/7854. 1 vol. ].
612 Register of Extended Claims, [ 4/7854. 1 vol. ].
Migration to other fields

After the introduction of the *Gold Fields Amendments Act 1866*, Chinese miners began moving to other gold fields. Amoy man James Tanko, whose son James Tanko Junior had been born to Flora Perry in Bathurst in 1866, moved to Uralla, near the Rocky River Gold fields.613 He was working as a butcher when he made an application for naturalisation in Uralla in 1868.614 In March 1869, it was reported that Chinese were arriving from Sofala to work the bed of the Timbarra River, on the Upper Clarence River on the Northern Gold Fields.615 Sofala storekeeper William Ah Sang and his wife Elizabeth, moved to the Crocodile Creek diggings at Bouldercombe, south of Rockhampton, which had been gazetted as a gold field by the Queensland Government in 1866, following the discovery of gold there in September 1865.616 The couple’s first child, Theresa, was born in Bouldercombe in October 1867, which by then had a Chinese population of 600, a Chinese street and Chinese garden.617

Evidence that Chinese merchants began to invest in establishing stores on other gold fields comes from the insolvency case of Sofala storekeeper John, or Jahun Ah Sue.618 Ah Sue was a storekeeper in Sofala for eight years before his estate was sequestered in February 1872. At the time of sequestration, Ah Sue had assets to the value of £842 which included a house and store erected on leased land and five horses and a stockyard for cattle at Spring Creek near Sofala. The list of Ah Sue’s debtors provides evidence of links between stores distributed along the east coast as far north as Rockhampton and south to Melbourne, within New South Wales at Rocky River, Tuena, the Snowy and Darling Rivers and in New Zealand.619 Amongst Ah Sue’s debtors was the Bathurst storekeeper Kong Loong, from whom Ah Sue had received £63 for goods delivered and sold.620

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613 NSW BDM 5805/1866
614 NSWSA: NRS 905, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence. [68/05209] James Tanko Memorial or application for naturalisation, 1868.
616 Wayne Garvey, personal communication with descendant of Ah Sang, 15 November, 2016.
617 Queensland State Archives: Land and Works Dept; Correspondence [LWO/A7] Letter 1 September 1865.
619 NSWSA: NRS 13654, [9451] 10954, Insolvency file John Ah Sue.
620 Ibid.
620 Ibid. Supplementary Schedule Part A, Schedule of debtors, 14 Oct 1871.
Another debtor was Ah Kow, who gave evidence in the Supreme Court of NSW in Sydney that he, Ah Sue and Mun Lung had been business partners. Mun Lung managed a store at Grafton, a major port on the Clarence River in Northern New South Wales and a stopping place for Chinese miners travelling between the Northern Gold fields and Sydney. Ah Kow managed the Tablelands branch store at Tabulam gold field on the Upper Clarence. Ah Sue had given them a large quantity of goods, about £600 worth to sell at the Grafton store and the branch store and the profits were to be shared. The largest creditor listed in Ah Sue’s plan of distribution was Chen Ateak of Sydney who was owed £616/10/2 for rice, goods and opium. Mun Lung and Ah Kow sent £120 to Ah Sue to pay Chen Ateak, however, Ah Sue was waiting for further debts owing to Ah Kow and Mun Lung to be paid and the money sent to him before paying Ah Teak. Way Kee, a leading Sydney businessman with connections to Doon Goon community was owed £56/10/06 for Chinese foodstuffs, medicines and opium. Chinese miners were not only heading north for gold, but also for tin which was found at Oban in northern New South Wales in March 1872. By July 1872, Chinese were reported as numerous at Oban. Tin-fields at Vegetable Creek and Emmaville followed.

Glanmire

Chinese miners had returned to Glanmire after the conflict in 1866 and a Chinese settlement remained at Glanmire until the early years of the twentieth century. In their book about the Western Gold fields, Kerrin Cook and Daniel Garvey claim that the Glanmire Goldmining Company employed a great number of Chinese who built a water race eleven miles long. An 1869 newspaper report on Glanmire stated that the water race, which was about eight miles long and ran from the lower gulf, was constructed by Mr Combes of the Glanmire Gold Mining Company. According to the report, in 1869 the race was full and sluicing operations were being carried on.

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622 NSWSA: NRS 13654, [9451] 10954, Insolvency file John Ah Sue, written statement from Chen Ateak, George St, Sydney, 16 March 1872.
623 NSWSA: NRS 13654, [9451] 10954, Insolvency file John Ah Sue, 38.
vigorously.626 Remnants of the race are still extant in the Winburndale Reserve. A report on a visit to the race which runs from Napoleon Reef to St Anthony’s Creek is provided in Appendix 2.

Cook and Garvey state that water was collected from run-off from the hills and stored in dams. Teams of Chinese used crowbars to insert explosives in the rock face, then sluiced the rubble from the explosions using water from the dams.627 There is no footnote to name the source of this information, but it was more than likely a story passed down to Peter Webb by his grandfather Oswald Webb, who bought part of the old Glanmire gold fields. Webb found a photograph of the Glanmire workings at Combes’ house, Glanmire Hall.628 Though the miners do not appear to be Chinese, the photograph shows the vertically packed tailings typical of Chinese workings.629

627 The Glint of Gold: A history and tourist guide of the gold fields of the Central West, 45.
The use of explosives would date the sluicing operations to 1872 or after, when explosives began being used on the gold fields. The Chinese settlement at Glanmire appears to have reached its peak in 1872 when, Tugum and Ah See were both listed as Glanmire storekeepers and the latter also had a Chinese garden at Glanmire. Another store was owned by Way Yet (possibly Wah Yet of Hill End). In 1872 Bathurst also witnessed the large funeral of Ah Long from Glanmire, described in the next chapter.

_Mudgee and Wellington gold fields_

Census records show the Chinese mining population were also migrating north-west into the Wellington and Mudgee Registry districts. The 1871 census shows there were

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more Chinese males (802) in the Mudgee Registry District than there were in either the Sofala or Tambaroora Registry Districts.\textsuperscript{632}

\textit{Gold Mining Regulations of 1872 and the Mining Act of 1874}

According to John Hamilton’s research, such was the general dissatisfaction with the \textit{Gold Fields Amendments Act 1866} that a Royal Commission into the working of the Gold fields Act and Regulations was held between 1870 and 1871.\textsuperscript{633} Over 100 witnesses were called upon to give evidence before the Commission. Amongst them was Charles De Boos, who gave evidence that “nine out of every ten disputes arise upon questions of boundary.”\textsuperscript{634} Hugh Bridson, Police Magistrate of Tambaroora, bore witness to “a great difficulty to get unpaid magistrates to act – from their want of mining knowledge and their dislike to adjudicate in mining disputes.”\textsuperscript{635} Whittingdale Johnson, Commissioner of the Western Gold fields, stated that the system of deciding disputes had given very great dissatisfaction as miners in cases refused to take the decision of the unpaid Magistracy, requiring, in some cases, that he travel 100 miles from Bathurst to settle disputes.\textsuperscript{636} The Commission found the 1866 Act to be unworkable and a complete failure and recommended that Northern, Western and Southern Gold field districts be replaced by smaller Mining Districts; and that Mining Wardens who would also be the Police Magistrate of the District adjudicate on all questions arising upon mining matters in periodical Wardens Courts. Whether the investigation in a dispute was conducted in court or on the ground was at the discretion of the Warden.\textsuperscript{637}

After the report of the Royal Commission was handed down in October 1871, regulations in NSW were repealed and re-enacted by the Regulations for Gold Mining upon Crown Lands of 21 March 1872 (Gold Mining Regulations of 1872).\textsuperscript{638} These regulations ushered goldmining into the age of capital and company mining.

Even before the Regulations came into effect, companies had begun testing the ground and issuing prospectuses. The Red Hill Gold Mining Company had sunk a forty foot

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{632} New South Wales Government, Census of NSW 1871 - Nationality, (HCCDA, 1871), \url{http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1871-census-03_343}
  \item \textsuperscript{633} Hamilton, \textit{Adjudication on the Gold fields}, 110-17.
  \item \textsuperscript{634} ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{635} ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{636} ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{637} ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{638} NSWGG, 21 March, 1872, No. 87 (Supplement).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
shaft at Red Hill. The Newcastle Gold Mining Company had put out a prospectus on 16 March, offering shares in the company formed for the purpose of mining a ten acre lease at Golden Gully in Tambaroora. The lease consisted of four reefs, one of which was the Canton Line of reef. Bordering the Company’s lease were six block claims on the Canton Line being worked by Chinese yielding one to three ounces to the ton. Another of the reefs in the Golden Gully was Bears Reef. Chen Young, Ah Hue, Ah Puck and Ah Tick held an alluvial lease of four men’s ground at Bear Gully. In April 1872, James Campbell & Co, and Thomas Weir both made applications for a suspension in working conditions to form a company to take out five acre leases at Bear Gully. By June 1872, the reef on Poor Man’s Gully and Tambaroora Creek formerly known as the Hong Kong Reef, where Chinese miners had been working, became known as the Ajax Reef when it was taken up in five and twelve acre company leases. The large company leases effectively prevented Chinese parties from extending along leads.

A list of Western Gold field Mining Lease applications published in the Government Gazette in June 1873 showed that even before the discovery of Holtermann’s nugget at Hill End in October 1872, thousands of mostly quartz leases were taken out in the Western Gold fields. Only one Chinese person took out a lease in 1872 - Ah Tong who applied unopposed for ten acres at Quartz Ridge on the Lower Turon. The only other Chinese party to apply for a lease before June 1873, was Ah Ching and Wang War, who took out a lease of four acres for sluicing purposes at Willis Flat on the Lower Turon. Another two Chinese parties and a mixed party of Chinese and

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641 Ibid.
643 Application 81, 2 April; Application 146, 16 April 1872. "Applications for suspension of working conditions, 1870-73" Copy of original register in private collection.
645 A report on “Gold and other Mining” stated that the whole distance of the line from Hawkins Hill to Dirt Holes had been “taken up either by workers or for speculative purposes.”, *SMH*, 9 August 1871, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/28415632
647 Ibid, Lease No. 3607.
648 Ibid, Lease No. 4830.
Europeans took out leases in the remainder of 1873, while in 1874, Hee Yet obtained a lease on old alluvial abandoned ground at Chinaman’s Flat on the Upper Turon.\textsuperscript{649} Altogether there were only five Chinese applicants amongst the 515 gold lease applications made on the Turon between 1872 and 1886.\textsuperscript{650} From 1875 until 1886 when the Register ended, no Chinese names appear in the Register of Gold Lease applications made on the Turon.\textsuperscript{651}

Chinese were not completely averse to sinking shafts to mine as can be seen by the shallow lead mining that Chinese parties were beginning to undertake in 1865. Anna Kyi’s research into the Chinese owned and worked Woah Hawp Quartz Mining Company established in Ballarat in 1882 and Timothy Jones’ research on quartz mines in the Northern Territory owned by Chinese merchants and worked by Chinese miners on the tribute system, are testament to Chinese involvement in reef mining.\textsuperscript{652} As Ralph Birrell observed of mining law in Victoria, there were no laws to prevent a Chinese miner pegging out a claim or taking a quartz lease, but few such leases were taken out by Chinese, probably as they had to be approved by the Local Courts which were antagonistic to such leases. Birrell also contends that whilst the small number who took out quartz leases were tolerated by the Europeans, any suggestion of Chinese doing so in large numbers would have raised resistance both from the government and the miners.\textsuperscript{653} In an environment of shifting legislation and racial tension, Chinese merchants may not have been willing to invest the capital required in taking our quartz leases in New South Wales. What further excluded Chinese from participating in the reef mining boom was that from 1872, European shareholders on the boards of many of the reef mining companies insisted on hiring only Europeans.\textsuperscript{654}

In 1873, the combined Western District gold fields yielded 268,418 ounces of gold received by escort, far outstripping the Southern Gold fields (50,692 ounces) and the

\textsuperscript{649} Lease Nos. 5368, 5546, 5345 State Archives of NSW: Sofala Assistant Gold Commissioner; NRS 4328 [7/218 part. 1 vol (part)] Register of Gold Lease Applications, 1872 to 1874.
\textsuperscript{650} NSWSA: NRS 4328, [7/218 part. 1 vol (part)]. The Register of Gold Lease applications 1872-74 also includes gold lease applications for the period after the Mining Act of 1874 came into force (1 May 1874) by which the management of the gold fields was transferred to the Department of Mines. NSWSA: NRS 4328, [7/218 part. 1 vol (part)].
\textsuperscript{652} Birrell, Staking a Claim, 85-86.
\textsuperscript{653} Johnston, "... and numerous Chinese": A Search for the Individual in the Central Tablelands of New South Wales, c1848 – 1901", 60.
Northern Gold fields (9,086 ounces). Half of the gold received by escort from the Western Gold fields came from Mudgee and Gulgong. Indeed, although Hill End’s gold rush was at its height, the 131,124 ounces of gold received from Gulgong and Mudgee was more than double the 62,834 ounces received from Tambaroora, whilst only 9507 ounces was received from Sofala. In 1874, Commissioner Johnson identified the principal gold field in the district as Gulgong, which he claimed “still retains its position as the most important in the colony, surpassing all others in the production of gold.” By that time, Chinese miners were leaving the Western Gold fields for the new gold fields on the Palmer River in Queensland. In 1873 James McCulloch Henley was in Charters Towers, Queensland, where he translated gold field regulations. That year, gold had been discovered on the Palmer River in Queensland, and it was to this field that new arrivals from China were primarily drawn. In 1874, gold production in Queensland outstripped the other colonies for the first time.

The 1872 Regulations were replaced by the Mining Act 1874 which came into force on 1 May 1874. A Department of Mines was created; Mining Wardens were appointed and Wardens Courts established. The old division of the gold fields into Northern, Southern and Western Gold fields was abolished and replaced with eight Mining Districts. Tambaroora and the Turon were amalgamated into one Mining District. In Whittingdale Johnson’s official report on taking charge of the Western Gold fields in 1874, he stated “both on the Turon and at Wattle Flat, a large area of quartz bearing country exists and almost every available foot of it has been leased.”

Chinese who remained in Tambaroora increasingly turned from mining to market gardening, to make their living, supplying the new population of miners at Hill End with goods and vegetable produce. After Wah Yet was naturalised in 1871, he purchased an allotment in Clarke Street, Hill End. On Gay and Co opened a store

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655 Statistical Register of NSW for the year 1873, (Sydney: Government Printer, 1874). Gold received by escort.
657 Statistical Register of NSW for the year 1881, (Sydney: Government Printer, 1882), Table 96.
660 NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence NRS 905 71/03623, Wah Yet Memorial or application for a certificate of naturalisation, 1871; Land Titles Office: Grant upon Purchase of Improved Crown Lands. [186] Allotment 9, Section 20, Hill End, 1871.
on Wah Yet’s lot, having already opened stores in Tambaroora, Young, Grenfell, Ravenswood, Gulgong and Long Creek (Meroo).


Between 1871 and 1889, residents of Tambaroora and district could register their blocks of land, houses and commercial premises in and around Hill End and Tambaroora in the Register of Houses and Land. The register provides evidence that market gardens in the Tambaroora district were the almost exclusive domain of Chinese gardeners. In 1872, at the height of the Hill End gold mining boom, there were 395 registrations of houses or land. Of these, fifteen applicants were Chinese. Nine of them applied to register gardens, an average of an acre-and-a-half. Only one garden was registered under a European name that year, and only six gardens were registered by Europeans throughout the whole period of 1871-1889. One of the first Chinese to register land was Ah Yam, who registered two acres of gardens, with a

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661 Hill End and Tambaroora Register of Houses and Land 1871-1889, transcription on Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group website.
house and dam at Stringy Bark Gully in November 1871.\textsuperscript{662} That same year Ah Yam had made a successful application for naturalisation. According to his application, he had arrived from Canton in 1858.\textsuperscript{663} Wah Yet also lodged an application for a dam in 1871, near his garden at Moonlight Gully, Tambaroora.\textsuperscript{664} By 1876, Wah Yet appears to have left Tambaroora. He was listed amongst the lessees of crown land for gold mining purposes who failed to execute and take delivery of gold leases on Crown land when called upon to do so. Gold lease no 1208, a three-acre lease taken out by Wah Yet and others at Golden Gully was declared null and void\textsuperscript{665} In the mid-1870s, most of the remaining Chinese-Australian families left Tambaroora and the Turon. Ah Chong and Margaret Sheen who had had eight children together in Sofala, moved to Sydney where Alice M. Ah Chong was born in 1877.\textsuperscript{666} By 1880, the Loo Chings had moved to Sydney where Julia gave birth to twins.\textsuperscript{667}

With the changes to Mining Regulations in 1866 and 1872, Chinese began moving away from Tambaroora and Turon. There were undoubtedly pull factors for this trend. The gold rush at Glanmire drew Chinese to establish a new settlement there. Records of insolvencies and births provide evidence that storekeepers, families and individual miners who had been on the Turon and Tambaroora were moving further afield to the gold fields in Mudgee, to the northern districts, to the tin-fields of Emmaville and Tingha, and to the new gold fields in Queensland.

Chinese miners were not only drawn by these new gold fields, but effectively pushed out of old gold fields such as Tambaroora and the Turon by the gold field legislations of 1866, 1872 and 1874 which privileged quartz mining. With much of the land taken up by big gold leases, Chinese began to work in more remote and inaccessible parts of Tambaroora and the Turon, to move northwest into the Cudgegong gold fields in Mudgee Registry District and the Wellington gold fields and to move to Carcoar and Trunkey, where new Chinese settlements sprang up to rereck old diggings. It was not

\textsuperscript{662} Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group; Register of Dams, Reservoirs and wells for domestic purposes (1868.09.29 to 1893.06.14). Copy of original register held in private collection, Page 3, No. 16, 1869.
\textsuperscript{663} NSWSA:Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, NRS 905. [4/1193 ] 71/8026 Ah Yam Memorial or application for naturalisation, 1875.
\textsuperscript{664} Register of Dams, Reservoirs and wells for domestic purposes (1868.09.29 to 1893.06.14) Copy of original register held in private collection. page 17, No. 60, 1871
\textsuperscript{665} NSWGG, 22 August 1876, No. 290, 3266, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/224730293}
\textsuperscript{666} NSW BDM 654/1877.
\textsuperscript{667} NSW BDM 3066/1880, 3067/1880.
an angry mob that pushed Chinese out of Tambaroora and the Turon, but gold field regulations which encouraged leases for reef mining and paved the way for the era of company mining.

Those who remained on the gold fields turned from mining to market gardening, supplying the mining population of Hill End in its boom years. While chapters seven and nine include a short discussion of the lives of those who remained on the gold fields, from hereon the thesis follows the lives of the storekeepers, the families and individuals who moved to Bathurst.
CHAPTER 6: CHINATOWN IN BATHURST

In the last chapter I discussed the reasons for the decline in the populations of Tambaroora and the Turon in the late 1860s and early 1870s. While the Chinese population of the combined Bathurst, Sofala and Tambaroora Registries fell to less than a third of the size it had been in 1861, the Chinese-born population in the municipality of Bathurst decreased only slightly, from 106 to 91. In the following decades the Chinese population increasingly consolidated in the larger towns and metropolitan centres. Bathurst was closer in proximity to the gold fields at Glanmire, Carcoar and Trunkey, and the railway which crossed the Blue Mountains in the late 1860s, would soon to be linked to the Sydney market. From the late 1860s, Bathurst grew as a centre of Chinese community and a hub for the market gardens established in the district.

The growth of Bathurst

Leonard Janiszewski’s study of Bathurst from 1850 to 1862 argues that the gold rushes “jolted Bathurst from its somnolence” and “accelerated the town’s urban development.” By the mid-1860s, Bathurst had also transformed from a pastoral centre to a wheat growing centre of New South Wales. When Charles de Boos visited Bathurst in 1865, he noted, “as a wheat growing country, it [Bathurst] is inferior only to the neighbouring and rival district of Orange. With this exception, it is second to none in New South Wales.” By 1871, more wheat was grown in Bathurst County than any other county in New South Wales. As discussed in Chapter One, Chinese labourers who cleared and improved land or worked as harvesters were an important part of the development of this industry.

In the Bathurst plains, the energies of Chinese labourers were, it seems, harnessed in developing good pasture-lands and harvesting wheat. In January 1882, three Chinese

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669 Leonard J. Janiszewski, ““Reap the Golden Harvest” - Bathurst, 1850-62; together with a brief survey of developments to 1849” (University of Sydney, 1986), 166-67.
671 1871 Statistical Register NSW, Agricultural Summary No. 108.
employed as harvesters at Charlotte’s Vale were “laid prostrate” by the intense heat.\textsuperscript{672}

When the lack of harvest hands was being lamented at the end of that year, Chinese labourers gained rare praise from the \textit{Bathurst Free Press} who declared that “were it not for the much maligned Chinamen, a large quantity of the wheat crop would be lost by being overripe before gathering.”\textsuperscript{673} A court case in 1894 also shows that Chinese were employed in haymaking on Mr Oxley’s estate in Fosters Valley.\textsuperscript{674}

Vegetables, however, had not been grown successfully, certainly not as a commercial crop. When Mrs Charles Meredith visited Bathurst in 1839, Bathurst was in the midst of a terrible drought: “Meat was lean to starvation, and flour liberally adulterated with various cheaper ingredients; vegetables there were none…”\textsuperscript{675} She spent a month in Bathurst before returning to Sydney, stopping at Mount Victoria where she ate potatoes “being the first vegetables we had seen for some time.”\textsuperscript{676} As seen in the last chapter, Chinese miners at Tambaroora began to establish gardens to feed the goldmining population of Hill End. In the 1870s, Chinese established market gardens to grow vegetables for the people of Bathurst or "Baa-daa-see" 吧打市/ 巴打時 as the Cantonese pronounced and wrote it.

\textit{The beginnings of a Chinatown}

As discussed in Chapter Two, newspaper reports show that indentured labourers whose contracts had expired found work as cooks in Bathurst hotels, or set up business in Bathurst. The earliest directory for Bathurst, published in 1862 does not list any Chinese stores or names, but this does not mean that there were none.\textsuperscript{677}

When ten-year-old Willie Shean drowned in the Macquarie River in 1862, it was reported that he had been living with a cousin of his father who kept a store in Howick Street.\textsuperscript{678} William’s death certificate lists his father as “A Chow” and his mother as “unknown Sheen.”\textsuperscript{679} Other early families were Ah Tuck and Susan Wells

\textsuperscript{672} “Sunstroke”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 14 January 1882,
\textsuperscript{673} “Saturday December 30”, ibid., 30 December \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/65077423}
\textsuperscript{674} “Bathurst Quarter Sessions”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 5 February 1894, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62957332}
\textsuperscript{675} Mrs Charles Meredith, \textit{Notes and Sketches of New South Wales: During a residency in that Colony 1839-1844} (Dee Why West, Sydney: Ure Smith, 1973), 85, 120.
\textsuperscript{676} ibid.
\textsuperscript{678} “No title”, \textit{BFPMJ}, 29 October 1862, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62720155}
\textsuperscript{679} NSW BDM 2463/1862
who registered their marriage in Bathurst in 1866.\textsuperscript{680} The marriage certificate stated that Ah Tuck was from Yongjiang (possibly Yangjiang 阳江) China. One of the witnesses to their marriage was Rebecca Whittaker, whose marriage to Alick Pong was registered in Bathurst in 1861.\textsuperscript{681}

Ah Tuck listed his occupation as lodging house keeper, perhaps one of two listed in the 1867 Post Office Directory for Bathurst - Sun Kong Fat, boarding house in Rankin Street, and Sun Inoing Song, boarding house in Howick Street. The Directory also listed Sun Inoing Fung Chinese store in Howick Street.\textsuperscript{682} It is likely that “Inoing” was a mistranscription of Quong. Sun Quong Fung was a signatory to the Bah Fook petition of Sofala in 1866.\textsuperscript{683} Also listed as living in Bathurst in 1867 were Yan Wah Long, Chinese doctor; John Lu, farmer of Havannah Street and John Gu, hawker, of Rankin Street and Ah Foo and Ah Sam, gardeners of Morrisset Street.\textsuperscript{684} A notice of a pony impounded from the Chinese gardens on Morrisset Street, indicates that Chinese gardens were established in Morrisset Street by at least 1865.\textsuperscript{685}

Beyond the Municipality, the 1867 Directory listed Ah Lin, market gardener at Lagoon, who married Johannah Nutter in Bathurst in 1870, and raised a family on the Campbells River.\textsuperscript{686}

Records of business licences show that Sun Quong Fong applied in Bathurst in 1867 for a hawker’s licence to travel with a pack horse.\textsuperscript{687} The licence was renewed in 1868, and in 1869, licences to travel with a pack horse or draft animal were issued to Ah Sam and Charley Joy, both of Howick Street. Market gardeners who grew their vegetables in areas outlying Bathurst brought their produce into town on Friday nights, staying the weekend in boarding houses or in cheap rented rooms, then selling their vegetables door to door on the weekend. The \textit{Bathurst Times’} description of hawkers

\textsuperscript{680} NSW BDM 1453/1866
\textsuperscript{681} NSW BDM 1336/1861
\textsuperscript{683} Memorial of Inhabitants of Sofala re Bah Fook, [66/1430] 4/577.
\textsuperscript{685} "Impoundings", \textit{NSWG}, 25 July 1865, no. 160, 1669.
\textsuperscript{686} Bailliere, "The Official Post Office Directory of New South Wales."; NSW BDM 1734/1870, NSW BDM 6891/1874; NSW BDM 7731/1876; NSW BDM 8565/1878; interview with Ray Dwyer.
\textsuperscript{687} NSWSA:1865-1957 Bathurst Court of Petty Sessions; NRS 2785 [7/87, 7/89] Registers of applications for auctioneers', hawkers' and other licences.
in 1870 shows the Times was no less hostile in its attitude towards Chinese people than the Bathurst Free Press:

In a number of small tenements in Howick and Rankin streets large numbers of these people are huddled together … when on early morn the doors of these houses are opened, the stench emitted is unbearable…when it is remembered that the men herded together in them – almost like pigs – from these places scatter themselves as hawkers of vegetables throughout the length and breadth of the city, the danger of contagion will be apparent to everybody … 688

Kong Loong

In 1870, Ah Cheong of Loong Hung Pun’s store in Bathurst was issued a licence to hawk on foot. This is the first record in Bathurst of Loong Hung Pun, who John Fitzgerald identified as the man Vivian Chow called the founder of the Chinese Masonic Fraternity. 689 There is some confusion around his name. Vivian Chow called him Loong Hung Pung. His death certificate has the name Kong Loong Hung Pun. He was known in Bathurst as Kong Loong and he signed his in English as such. To avoid complication, I refer to him hereon as Loong, unless the source demands otherwise.

News articles about Loong are sparse as most issues of the Bathurst Free Press between the years 1863 and 1872 and 1873 to 1882 have not survived, so I was mostly reliant on syndicated news. Loong may have been on the Merrendee gold fields prior to moving to Bathurst. A Chinese storekeeper in Merrendee named Long Cong is listed in the 1867 Post Office Directory and an unclaimed letter for Kong Loong at Merrendee was advertised in an 1873 Government Gazette. 690 Although Sun Kong Lung in Howick Street was first listed in the Post Office Directory in 1872, a newspaper report of a Chinese man who was taken to Kong Loong’s store in Howick Street after being run over by a coach suggests the store was already well-known in Bathurst in 1871. 691

Various documents show that Loong had ties with gold fields around Bathurst. In June 1872, one Thomas Drury appeared before court charged with stealing £4 and sixpence in silver from Jew Cum, shoemaker of Tambaroora, who employed Drury to make

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690 NSWGG, No. 65 (1873). 762; “The Official Post Office Directory of New South Wales”.
boots. Jew Cum had entrusted Drury to take a letter containing four £1 notes to the postmaster to send to Kong Loong in Bathurst. When Kong Loong told Jew Cum that the money had failed to arrive, Jew Cum took proceedings against Drury who was convicted of theft. In 1873, a petition was sent to the Governor of New South Wales protesting the innocence and requesting the pardon of Chee Loy, a Chinese resident of Tambaroora who had been convicted of the attempted rape of Sabine Alleine. Amongst the 120 signatories to the petition was Kong Loong, who signed his name in English along with many of the leading citizens of Bathurst, whose signatures he had likely collected.

Loong was among three Chinese storekeepers who took out advertisements in the Bathurst Free Press in 1872 offering rewards for the return of strayed horses. Another Chinese who took out an advertisement was Glanmire storekeeper Way Yet who offered a reward for a stray horse belonging to Thomas Greenhalgh. A few months later, Thomas Greenhalgh of Ferngrove (Rydal) won a contract to supply forage for the Rydal Police Station. Between 1849 and 1873, the number of acres in Bathurst County under cultivation for wheat grain increased tenfold from 3270 acres in 1849 to 30,573 acres in 1873. Loong and Way Yet may have been amongst the earliest of the Chinese bosses or headmen who contracted parties of Chinese labourers to do land clearing, land improvement and other pastoral work on stations from the 1870s, such as has been documented by Barry McGowan in Victoria and South-Eastern New South Wales.

An article that appeared in 1902 in the Condobolin newspaper the Lachlander, reveals one role of the Chinese Masonic Society. The author of the article complains that as white men find the work of scrubbing “only fit for Asiatics”, Chinese have gained a monopoly on land-clearing contracts and consequently prices have more than doubled in a decade:

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693 NSWSA: Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, NRS 905. [1/2228] 73/5223 enclosed in 73/6969, The Petition of Chee Loy of Tambaroora, 1873.
694 “Advertising”, BFPMJ, 6 January, 24 August, 16 October 1872. Advertisements were taken out by Kong Loong, Ah See and Way Yet.
695 Returns of the Colony, 4/282.; Statistical Register of NSW for the year 1873.
Mr J. Tout Squire of Melrose Plains … had requested a Chinese to inspect some ringing [ringbarking] work that required doing. This was promptly done and a price altogether unreasonable put in. He vainly notified other Chinese of the work, but none came near it. By chance he dropped on a passing one to inspect and settle for the work, but no sooner did the Chinaman reach Condobolin than the contract was declared off – the unfortunate being hauled before some secret tribunal and birched for his temerity in “catting” below his countrymen for work. It further transpired that each job offering is posted up in the Chinese Masonic Lodge room, with particulars as to price offered by one who has inspected the work and no one is permitted to even inquire further about the matter until the contract is secured. In case in print, Mr Tout succeeded in getting a Celestial from another camp “not in the know” to take the work with his own particular mates.697

Chinese in the settled Bathurst district worked in market gardening more so than in land-clearing and ringbarking, but there were other ways in which the Lodge could exert its influence on ensuring decent wages for its members. The employment of Chinese by the Glanmire Goldmining Company in the late 1860s and early 1870s would have provided such an opportunity.

While, the demand for land-clearing was not as great in Bathurst as in the Riverina or the Bogan districts, there is some evidence of Chinese land-clearing. Between 1887 and 1889, Errowanbang Station ledgers show wages for thirteen Chinese labourers, four of whom - Ah Bung, Ah Yow, Ah Look and Kee Gong, worked as grubbers, clearing the land of tree stumps and regrowth for twenty weeks.698 Four Chinese cooks and three Chinese gardeners were employed on Errowanbang in 1886, probably to feed the shearers who sheared 90,000 sheep on the station that year.699

Loong’s dealings with Chinese communities on the gold fields north of Bathurst at Sofala and Tambaroora, in the south at Trunkey and Georges Plains, his involvement with obtaining licences for hawkers to sell vegetable produce in Bathurst, and his profile in Bathurst show him to have been an influential storekeeper.

At no time do Bathurst newspapers make any mention of the existence of the Hung Men or Yee Hing in Bathurst, which is not to say they did not exist. Nor are there any reports of a Lodge or temple in Bathurst before the Chinese Masonic Lodge conducted an initiation ceremony in 1921.\(^{700}\) Lionel Hawkins’ history of Crooked Corner, Esrom, states that the Chinese Masonic fraternity began in Esrom before moving to Bathurst, although I was unable to locate further evidence of this.\(^{701}\)

A large Chinese funeral which took place in Bathurst in November 1872 appears to have been the funeral of a highly ranked member of a fraternal organisation. The name of the deceased is not mentioned in the newspaper report of the funeral but it may have been the funeral of forty-two year old Ah Long, who died in Glanmire on 18 November 1872, only months after gaining a licence to hawk on foot in Bathurst.\(^{702}\) At the head of the funeral procession a man “apparently of some ‘rank’ among his brethren” rode on horseback. Next followed a four-wheeled wagonette in which was the coffin, followed by ten or a dozen horsemen, a large coach drawn by four horses, three or four spring carts and a single horseman brought up the rear. Each mourner had a white band round his hat and part of the graveside ceremony involved each mourner taking off his hat band and casting it on paper burning at the foot of the grave.\(^{703}\)

Chow claimed not only that Loong had founded the Chinese Masonic fraternity but that he was also author of a treatise “The Reconstruction of China as a Modern State”, later plagiarised by Sun Yat Sen to write his Three Principles of the People.\(^{704}\) No manuscript exists to prove this claim, but in the fertile environment of Bathurst in the early 1870s, Loong might have imagined how the democratic changes he was observing in New South Wales might be applied in reconstructing China as a modern state.

The period of Loong’s residence in Bathurst coincided with a time of prosperity for Bathurst and civic development for New South Wales. By 1859, Bathurst was

\(^{701}\) Lionel Hawkins, "A Story of Crooked Corner", (Bathurst and District Historical Society Museum).
\(^{702}\) Bathurst Registry, Death Cert. 3147 /1872; "Licencing Meeting", \(BFP\), 14 August 1872, \[https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63431718\]
\(^{704}\) “Sun Yat-sen's 'fatherhood' of new China: the popular but untrue story”, \(United China magazine\) 1933, 427.
connected to the telegraph service and was part of a network connected to numerous centres within New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland.\textsuperscript{705} Cobb and Co. coach company transferred its headquarters from Bendigo to Bathurst in 1862.\textsuperscript{706} The railway line from Sydney had reached Penrith and was expected to reach Bathurst in 1876. Greville’s Directory of 1875-77 noted that Bathurst was the terminus of nearly all the western roads and had extensive through and local traffic. Describing Bathurst as “a city of considerable importance”, Greville’s predicted:

As soon as the line is complete to Bathurst, the trade with the Metropolis (whose market this district largely supplies) its population, trade and manufactures will increase, and nothing but bad municipal government will prevent the city from being second only to the Metropolis.\textsuperscript{707}

The establishment of responsible government in 1856 and the extension of the franchise with the \textit{Electoral Reform Act 1858} had granted the vote to every male over the age of twenty-one years who was "natural born or who being naturalised had resided in the Colony for three years.” The \textit{Chinese Immigration Act Repeal Act of 1867} (31 Vic No 8) repealed the 1861 \textit{Act to Regulate and Restrict the Immigration of Chinese} and the \textit{Naturalisation Act} (39\textsuperscript{th} Vic. No. 19) and allowed Chinese in New South Wales to be naturalised as British subjects. The \textit{Municipalities Act} came into effect in 1867, transferring control of local government from the 1839 \textit{Police Act} and allowing the Council to make its own by-laws.\textsuperscript{708} The \textit{Public Schools Act 1866} extended the education system to the remotest corners of the bush. Chow claimed that Loong had a great friendship with the Reverend John West, the first editor of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}.\textsuperscript{709} West had published sixteen articles on the Federation of the colonies in the \textit{Herald} in 1854, and these were reprinted in 1867. His articles, though “introductory and educational”, are said to be “the first scientific treatment of the question of Federation from the pen of an Australian.”\textsuperscript{710} West’s writings may well have helped Loong develop ideas of federation for China.

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\textsuperscript{705} Janiszewski, ""Reap the golden harvest" - Bathurst, 1850-62; together with a brief survey of developments to 1849", 145.


\textsuperscript{707} "Greville’s Official Post Office Directory and Gazetteer of New South Wales, 1875 to 1877." 39.

\textsuperscript{708} Hodge, \textit{Frontiers of Gold}, 88.

\textsuperscript{709} Chow, "In 1850 the Revolution Was Born."

\textsuperscript{710} John Reynolds, "West, John (1809–1873)", (Canberra: Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University).
Whatever plans Loong may have had were cut short, for in 1874, Loong died of enteritis in Bathurst Hospital, aged 43. The \textit{Free Press} reported that shortly before his death he had undergone a dangerous operation and had not strength to rally. The \textit{Free Press} which usually referred dismissively to “Chows” or “Chinamen”, referred to Loong as “a great man among his brethren and for the matter of that a great man among Europeans as he was strictly honest and thoroughly gentlemanly in his conduct.”

The funeral planned for Loong was even larger than the one held in 1872. A syndicated report from the \textit{Western Independent} states that on the day of the funeral a crowd assembled at his store in Howick Street where his body was laid out “dressed in respectable European fashion.” When the cortege left the undertakers, the hearse was followed by a mourning coach. After these followed “vehicles of every description conveying over 100 of his countrymen; the rear of these vehicles being brought up by buggies and horses, conveying many of our leading citizens.”

Mr Clark from Orange was injured in a fall while following Kong Loong’s funeral procession on horseback. The curious spectacle of the funeral cortege on a quiet Sunday drew a great crowd of the ‘unwashed’, who followed the funeral procession to the cemetery. According to the \textit{Bathurst Times} account of the funeral:

Upon the coffin being removed from the hearse, the six Chinamen carrying it found their progress towards the grave stopped at the outset. The crowd were asked to stand aside and allow the coffin to pass; but they refused to budge an inch and we beheld the melancholy spectacle of a number of Chinamen fighting their way with a dead comrade, through a body of ruffians who call themselves civilised men …

There was only one policeman, Senior Sergeant Waters, who managed to create a passage for the coffin bearers to pass through, however, as the coffin neared the grave, “the exertions of the larrikins to get in front, surging hither and thither, rendered the

\footnotesize{711 NSW BDM 3805/1874
714 ibid.
scene one of the wildest confusion.” Before the coffin was lowered into the grave a quantity of burnt paper was thrown in to the grave, upon which the crowd:

pushed forward to get a sight of the ceremony and the consequence was that the people in front had to use their utmost strength to keep themselves from falling pell-mell into the Chinamen round the coffin. When this had been lowered into the ground, there was another rush and one or two of the Chinamen narrowly escaped being send head-foremost into the grave. Before the earth had been completely shovelled in, matters came to a climax, as the crowd seemed to forget all decency and went forward onto one end of the grave when the Chinamen, evidently disgusted as well as frightened, abandoned all attempts to conclude their service and hurried away from the spot.

One can only imagine the anger and shame suffered by Loong’s brethren, who were prevented from giving Loong the dignified funeral they had planned. Reports of Loong’s death and the disruption of his funeral by larrikins were also published in the Bathurst Free Press and the Western Independent and syndicated in newspapers throughout the colonies. The Western Independent reported that Loong was:

reputed to have been wealthy… was a native of Hong Kong … and from his own lips came the statement that he leaves no relative behind him in this country. He was a regular attendant at All Saints Cathedral and freely subscribed to every religious and charitable object. He spoke and wrote English well, and in all his commercial transactions was remarkable for integrity and fair dealing.

According to his death certificate, Loong was born in Canton, was married in China with two children and had been in New South Wales for sixteen years. This would mean he arrived in 1858, which does not agree with Chow’s claim that he arrived in 1850. Although the Western Independent’s report stated Loong had no relatives in the colony, his death certificate was signed by his “brother” Sum Yung, in the Lower Turon.

Loong’s death seems to have left a leadership vacuum in Bathurst. Sum Yung, presumably next-in-charge signed with an X, indicating he could not write English. Vivian Chow claimed that leadership of the Party passed from Loong in Bathurst to Chow’s grandfather, Grafton storekeeper, Stephen King Jung Sao, “a former detective

717 ibid.
719 ibid.
720 “Chinese funeral at Bathurst.”, Freemans Journal, 8 August 1874.
721 Chow, ”In 1850 the Revolution Was Born.”
722 NSW BDM 3805/1874
in the British employ”, presumably literate in English. In light of the shift from gold to tin mining in New South Wales in the 1870s, it is credible that the locus of the Masonic activity would transfer to Grafton, the main port of entry for the Northern Gold fields and the burgeoning tin-fields of northern New South Wales. The 1872 insolvency file of Sofala storekeeper Jahun Ah Sue which shows Kong Loong as one of Ah Sue’s debtors, links Kong Loong with a merchant in Sofala who was investing in establishing stores in Grafton and on the Northern Gold Fields. Ah Sue had already extended credit to other Chinese stores along the east coast as far north as Rockhampton and south to the Snowy River.

A report on the destinations of Chinese who arrived in 1881 which indicates that the majority were going to the northern districts, might also lend credibility to the claim that the leadership of the Chinese Masons transferred to Grafton. In 1881, the Superintendent-in-Charge of Police Station No. 1, Sydney, forwarded a report on Chinese arrivals to the Inspector General of Police. Between 1 January and 21 April 1881, 2404 Chinese arrived in Sydney. About 200 were returning from a visit to China. The superintendent reported that 1425 of the Chinese arriving had gone to the tin mines at Tingha and other places in the northern districts. 314 of those arrived were going on to New Zealand and 215 to Victoria. Only about fifty went to Bourke, Dubbo, Wellington, Cooma and other places in the interior. Sofala and Tambaroora did not rate a mention.

These documents which show Kong Loong’s financial dealings, in addition to the respect he commanded both from the Chinese and European communities, support John Fitzgerald’s assertion that Loong was a leading headman who oversaw the local operation of the credit-ticket system on the western gold fields of New South Wales.

There was no one in Bathurst who commanded the same level of respect from both the Chinese and the broader community. Vivian Chow claimed that in 1878, leadership of the Chinese Masonic Society was passed to Stephen King in Grafton. Certainly,

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723 “In 1850 the Revolution was Born”.
724 Insolvency file John Ah Sue, [9451] 10954, Schedule of debtors, 14 October 1871.
725 State Archives New South Wales: Colonial Secretary Special Bundles, Chinese Immigration 1880-81, NRS 7933, 81/2897, Letter from George Read Esq. Superintendent in Charge, No. 1 Police Station, Sydney, 21 April 1881.
726 Fitzgerald, Big White Lie, 70-75.
727 Chow, V.Y., “In 1850, the Revolution was Born”, United China, 1933, 426.
from this time until the twentieth century, there is little sign of any political activity in Bathurst. Instead, Chinese in Bathurst consolidated as market gardeners.

After Loong’s death, Ah Cheong continued to renew the hawker’s licence for Kong Loong’s store for another two years. Other hawkers were John Gay of Bathurst, who held a hawkers’ licence continuously between 1876 and 1884, except for 1882; John Chow who held a foot licence around the same years 1877-83 with a break in the years 1881-2; and Ah Choo from 1879-84, with a break in the years 1880-2.728 The absent years may mark periods when John Gay, John Chow and Ah Chu visited their families in China or undertook business elsewhere. From 1870-1879, the majority of licences applied for by Chinese were hawker’s licences to travel on foot, but by 1879, most applications made by Chinese were licences for horse and cart or pack horse, which suggests that Chinese hawkers were earning sufficient money to save and invest in expanding their businesses.

*Early market gardens in Bathurst*

Between 1868 and 1887, when the *Influx of Chinese Restriction Act* once more closed the window on naturalisation, sixteen Chinese men in Bathurst and district (not including Mudgee, Wellington and the Meroo) applied successfully for naturalisation. This would have qualified these men to purchase freehold land, but almost all Chinese market gardeners in the Bathurst Municipality leased land. The rate register for the Bathurst Municipality lists the names of Chinese who occupied houses in Bathurst. Amongst these were Wah Bow, Pat War Tong and Bing Ching who leased adjoining houses in Howick Street from J. White in 1875 and Jor Sing, William Sing, Ah Choy, Ah Ching and Ah Sing who leased houses in Rankin Street from Robert McPhillamy. Amongst nine Chinese leasing house and land on Morrisset Street in 1875, were Sam Sing, who was leasing a house and land from Mrs [Catherine] Dargin.729 Ah Hen was leasing house and land on the corner of Hope Street from Mrs Quinn. Ah Tuck’s wife Susan had begun using the name Mrs

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728 Registers of applications for auctioneers’, hawkers’ and other licences [7/87, 7/89].
729 Bathurst District Historical Society Museum: Municipality of Bathurst Rate Register 1911.
Quinn, even though the couple continued to register the births of their children under the name Tuck.  

During the severe drought conditions which prevailed in the western districts for most years between 1876 and 1884, Chinese market gardeners grew vegetables which hawkers brought to the doors of Bathurst residents. The *Western Independent* wrote:

… As far as Bathurst itself is concerned, no great inconvenience is felt, or cause of complaint heard, and it is marvellous how they persistently bring round their daily supplies of green vegetables, showing what perseverance and energy can always accomplish under the most unfavourable of circumstances.  

The *Bathurst Post*, the advertising magazine of the Webb & Co store, also acknowledged the contribution of Chinese market gardeners:

For some years past, the inhabitants of Bathurst have looked almost entirely to “John Chinaman” for their supply of vegetables. During the last summer, we do not know what hundreds would have done had not “John” come round with his baskets laden with carrots, parsnips, turnips, parsley, celery, beans and very seldom indeed that great luxury, peas.  

Besides providing vegetables to the people of Bathurst, in the 1870s, if not earlier, Chinese became generous donors to Bathurst Hospital. The names of Chinese subscribers to the Hospital are amongst those in the first list of subscribers published in 1878. Perhaps Bathurst Hospital was one of the ‘charitable objects’ to which Loong was said to have freely subscribed. The Hospital was largely dependent on the donations of subscribers for its operation. In return, subscribers of £1 were allowed to recommend one patient per year and subscribers of £4, two patients. Loong who had been treated on his death bed by Dr Bassett at Bathurst Hospital was either a subscriber to the Hospital or had been recommended by one. Chinese in Bathurst remained as generous subscribers to the Hospital in the twentieth century although, as will be discussed in Chapter Nine, this generosity was not always reciprocated by the Hospital Committee.

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733 *Western Independent*, 13 April 1878.
Anti-Chinese sentiment in the late 1870s

Despite the services that Chinese gardeners provided for the residents of Bathurst, the late 1870s was a time of increased hostility towards Chinese across the colonies, Bathurst not excepted. At about 9 o’clock on the night of 19 August 1877, a mob gathered in Howick Street and threw stones at houses in which Chinese lived. Police estimates of the crowd ranged from 150 to 500 people. Three separate prosecutions for riotous behaviour came before the Police Court in Bathurst, and all but one of the assailants was found guilty and fined forty shillings.736

The relatively tolerant society in which Chinese had lived on the gold fields was also changing. In 1878, storekeepers Wong Gee, Kam Yun, Wong Ching, and Chinese doctor Sang Chew (see Appendix 6 for names written in Chinese characters) petitioned for an acre of land in Sofala to be dedicated as a Chinese burial ground vested in trustees. Nine years earlier, the Police Magistrate Hugh Bridson had allotted land for the Chinese to use as a burial ground. The land was not formally dedicated, and the petitioners complained that after Bridson’s death in 1877, the post and rail fence around the burial ground had been destroyed or removed and used as firewood by carriers, and rails around the gravesites similarly destroyed. A site was proposed for a Chinese cemetery adjacent to the Sofala General Cemetery, and the area was surveyed.737 The area proposed for the Chinese cemetery is now covered by the road which leads to the town’s rubbish tip.738

A lack of respect for Chinese property in Tambaroora is also suggested by a comment in the Hill End and Tambaroora Register of Houses and Land. When storekeeper On Gay registered an empty house in Tambaroora in 1879, “to provide it against being damaged”, the register contained the remark “The Chinese do not think it safe with not having a registration ticket.”739

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737 The Petition of the Undersigned Chinese Residents in the Town of Sofala in the Colony of New South Wales, [20/7298] Letter No. 91/1081 enclosing 79/523 and 79/11556, .  
738 Ken Webb, Personal communication, 10 December 2016. 
Figure 12: Survey Plan for a Chinese cemetery in Sofala, 1877, Petition of the Undersigned Chinese Residents in the Town of Sofala in the Colony of New South Wales, 1878. NRS 8258, Letters received, 1867-1979. [20/7298] Letter No. 91/1081 enclosing 79/11556.
In 1878, anti-Chinese meetings were held in Bathurst to show solidarity with members of the Seamans Union who went on strike after the Australasian Steam Navigation Company in Queensland replaced white employees with Chinese seamen paid at a lower wage. 

At a public meeting held in Bathurst on 9 December 1878, a resolution was unanimously passed:

that this meeting views with regret and alarm the action taken by the A S & N Co. in the substitution of Chinese for European labour in their ships believing that the action so taken is conducive to great injury morally and commercially to the interests of the country…

The meeting resolved that copies of the resolution be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary and the Seamans Union. However, the Company’s agreement to withdraw the Chinese labour and poor attendances at meetings in Bathurst saw the movement in Bathurst end by the end of December.

Nonetheless, assaults and damage to Chinese property increased around this time in the Bathurst district. In 1879, Ah Chang was in Bathurst walking back from his claim for rations when William Martin set his dogs on him and hit him with a whip. Aggression towards Chinese people did not entirely define this decade. It was also a decade in which many Chinese-Australian families from the gold fields moved to live in Bathurst, where prospects for business, health and education for families with children were better than on the gold fields.

**European and Chinese wives**

In the early 1880s, William Beacham moved to Bathurst with his daughter Margaret (Lily) Beacham. William and Agnes Beacham’s son, William Junior, had died in Sofala in 1868 before he turned one. Consolation came in the birth of Lily the following year, but, she was left motherless when Agnes died in 1871. William found work on the gold fields as a government interpreter to supplement his store-keeping income, but as the population declined, William and Lily left Sofala sometime

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741 NSWSA:Colonial Secretary’s Correspondence, NRS 905. [1/2228] 1/2427 Copy of resolutions - Sympathy with strikers on Chinese question, 1878.
742 “Bathurst”, *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 28 December 1878, Liam Ward also notes that the Chinese seamen employed by the ASN Co. also went on strike over their wages. See Ward, “Radical Chinese Labour in Australian History.”
744 NSW BDM 6568/1868 ; NSW BDM 5770/1871; NSW BDM 18214/1869.
in the late 1870s, and moved into Bathurst, where William opened a store at 105 George Street. An advertisement showed that the store sold fireworks, tea, tobacco, tinware and stationery. In Bathurst, Beacham met widow, Honora (Ann Nora) Johnston. Honora had previously had two children by Barney Ah Chin, a Chinese cook in Bathurst. In 1881, Honora gave birth to William Ernest Bathurst Beacham. Two years later, Beacham married Ann Nora Johnson at All Saints Cathedral, Bathurst. She was twenty-seven, he was forty-four years old. William and Honora had a further four children, bringing the number of children in their blended family to seven. Besides store-keeping, Beacham grew vegetables and tobacco, raised pigs and worked as government interpreter.

An 1885 survey of land and stock-holders in New South Wales listed four Chinese names in Bathurst and district, though as the land may have been held under Crown tenure, it is not certain if they were land-holders or lessees. James Ah Lunn had eighteen acres and five horses at Campbells River, Lagoon. This is most likely a misspelling of James Ah Lin, whose son John Henry was born at Campbells River on 2 January 1874. Also at Campbells River, on sixteen acres with two horses, was carpenter, Ah Kee who had married Johanna’s sister Mary Nutter in 1879. The biggest Chinese land and stock holder was Tommy Ah See who had two horses and 1500 sheep on 1260 acres at Malmesbury, Dunkeld. 1885 was an eventful year for Tommy Ah See. In January, his wife Louisa was held up at Malmsbury by bushranger Harry Young whilst Ah See was out. In June, Louisa and Ah See had a son, Piercy. According to the birth certificate, they married in Sydney in 1879, and had one girl living and none dead. In October, Ah See acquired a hawker’s licence. The name “Ah See”, translates as “fourth born” in Cantonese, and there were many

746 NSW BDM 8295/1877 ; NSW BDM 9376/1879
747 NSW BDM 10866/1881
748 NSW BDM 3749/1883
750 NSW BDM 2491/1879 Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly 1885, Second Session, Appendix 2; Government Printer, Sydney.
751 Grigg Armour, Appendix 2, 33.
753 NSW BDM 14007/1885
754 This contradicts Louisa’s testimony that she was with her four year old boy in the house when she was held up.
Ah See’s in the Central West, so it proved too difficult to ascertain if Tommy and Louisa were one of the founding families of the Chinese-Aboriginal Ah See clan, prominent further west of New South Wales in Orange, Wellington and Dubbo.756

The other wealthy land-holder was Sun Kum [Lum] Kee, who had six horses and five head of cattle on thirty-five acres at Kellossiel.757 Lum Kee had begun his career buying Sam Choy’s store and butchery business in Tambaroora in January 1885, but soon focused his interests on the land.758 By 1887, he was advertising the availability of his 640 acre paddock on the Tambaroora Road at Kellossiel for the agistment of cattle and horses.759 Lum Kee was raising and selling cattle for sale at auction and raising both draught and racing horses.760 By 1891, his herd had grown to 120 head of cattle. Together with the 640 acres he was leasing from W. B. Ranken, his holdings totalled 1000 acres.761 He described himself as an “Eglinton farmer” and was given the moniker of the “Chinese squatter of Duramana.”762

Lum Kee had begun a readjustment from sojourner to settler, forming social bonds with the community in which he lived. In 1888 he hosted a dinner party for fifty persons to farewell Kelso catechist Mr Robert Rook, at which the Archdeacon of Bathurst proposed a toast to him, and in 1890, a fireworks’ display he put on to celebrate Prize Day at the Duramana Public School earnt him three cheers from the school children.763 This is the only report of a Chinese fireworks display staged for the wider community. There are reports of Chinese letting off fireworks to celebrate Chinese New Year, but unlike in Bendigo, where Chinese participated in the community Easter procession, in Bathurst, newspapers provide few accounts of socialising between the Chinese and European communities.

756 Grigg Armour, Appendix 2, See "True Australians and Pioneers: Chinese Migration to the Orange region of New South Wales" 126-29.
757 Grigg Armour, Appendix 2, 32.
What really indicated that Sun Lum Kee was putting down roots in his new home was bringing a bride from China to Eglinton. The *Influx of Chinese Restriction Act 1881* had been amended in 1887, raising the poll tax to £100 and the tonnage to one Chinese passenger per 300 tons. Lum Kee would have paid £100 for Ah Holt, his 16-year-old bride from China to enter New South Wales, whereupon he promptly married her in Sydney and brought her back to live in Bathurst. It would have been prohibitively expensive to bring out a servant girl to accompany Ah Holt, who came to Bathurst alone. Ten months later in June 1891, Ah Holt died. Her death was reported as “probably the first case in which a native woman of China has died in the West.”\(^{764}\)

I was unable to locate a death certificate for Ah Holt. She may have died giving birth to a daughter, as in 1894, Sun Lum Kee was taken to the Small Debts Court by one Mrs Hooper for defaulting on payment for board and lodging for his daughter.\(^{765}\) Although Lum Kee had friends in the community who may have provided some support to Ah Holt, as the only Chinese woman in the district, she would have suffered tremendous social isolation. Had she survived, she may have provided occasional company for Moy Kwan, who in April 1891, arrived in Mudgee by train to marry “Merrendee squatter” Soo Chung (Sue Chun), who had arrived in New South Wales in 1846.\(^{766}\) As it was, Moy Kwan had to wait until 1903 for the company of another Chinese female. That year fifty-year-old George Ah Sing, gardener at Mt Frome brought a bride from China to live in Mudgee.\(^{767}\) The Ah Sings and Soo Chungs were the beginnings of a small community of Chinese families in the Mudgee/Wellington district, some of whose descendants are still living in Wellington in 2018.\(^{768}\)

Although Chinese men in Bathurst would later marry Australian born Chinese women, or part Chinese women, Ah Holt appears to have been the only woman born in China to live in Bathurst in the whole period.

While it can generally be observed that Chinese market gardeners were prospering, this was not the case for all. When John Lup married Hannah Sibraa in Crookwell in

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*“True Australians and Pioneers: Chinese Migration to the Orange region of New South Wales”, 289-93; “Chinese at Meroo, Worlds End.”*
1886, Hannah already had a child, William Samuel (Sam), born to an unnamed father in Tuena in 1869.\footnote{NSW BDM 4046/1886} Hannah and John lived in Tuena and Carcoar before the family moved to Bathurst. In 1889 the Lupps were unable to afford to pay fees for their children attending Bathurst School. Hannah wrote to the Minister of Public Education stating “I am unable to pay my school fees as my husband is unable to work … and I have seven children to keep.”\footnote{NSWSA:Department of Education, School files, 1876-1979, NRS 3829 [5/14821 (A)] Bathurst Public School, 1889-1903.} The District Inspector wrote that “Mr John Lupp is a Chinese and is supported by his countrymen at “the gardens” being unable to work himself on account of his delicate state of health …” He recommended that Mrs Lupp be relieved from payment of fees until the end of the year. Emily Suttor, wife of F.B. Suttor, wrote a letter of support stating that she considered Mrs Lupp to be “a very hard-working industrious woman who has to support herself and five children having no assistance but the little that the boys sometimes earn.” Mrs Suttor addressed her letter from Bradwardine near Esrom, so it is likely that “the gardens” John worked at were market gardens on Bradwardine then owned by the Suttor family.

The Lupp family may have been the recipients of assistance from the Salvation Army which had a branch in Bathurst by 1885. John Lupp joined the Salvation Army band, becoming bandmaster of the Salvation Army in Bathurst. His son Louis inherited his musical talent and became bandmaster of the City Model Band.\footnote{Lupp, \textit{Hector Lupp: A son of Bathurst}.}
The Chinese Mission in Bathurst

Around the time the Salvation Army became active in Bathurst, the Bathurst City Mission, which assisted the poor, sought to extend its activities to the Chinese in Bathurst. In 1887, Reverend Price from the Baptist church advertised a Gospel Room opening in “Chinatown” in Howick Street near the bridge [crossing Jordan Creek]. In April 1889, Presbyterian Missionary from Sydney, Yung War [Rev. Young Wai] visited Bathurst and tea was served to up to 100 Chinese men in the newly opened Mission Room in Keppel Street. The Chinese Mission was formed at a meeting in the Boys Club Room in Keppel Street on 9 July 1889. This became the site of the evangelist meetings, the first of which was held on 4 August 1889 when

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772 Barker, A History of Bathurst: From Settlement to City, 1862-1914, II.
775 A History of Bathurst: From Settlement to City, 1862-1914, II.
David Shing, addressed seventy Chinese men. Quong Tart attended the annual general meeting in 1893 in which it was reported that Shing, who received an annual salary of £125 as Missionary, had regularly preached to his countrymen every Sunday and visited them during the week. By this time, the Mission was known as the Western District Chinese Mission, as Shing had held meetings in Dubbo, Orange, Wellington, Blayney, Sofala and Mudgee. Over the years, the Mission received visits from leading Chinese missionaries - the Reverend Soo Hoo Ten in 1890, 1899 and 1904, and Reverend Young Wai in 1887 and 1895.

Theo Barker identified persons in a photograph of members of the Chinese Mission as the Reverend Soo Hoo Ten (seated left) and catechist Matthew Chung Jong (seated right). Barker may have misidentified the man seated right, who strongly resembles Quong Tart. It is possible the photograph was taken on the occasion of Quong Tart’s visit to Bathurst in 1893.

Figure 14: Chinese Mission from “A Pictorial History of Bathurst” by Theo Barker, 1985, p. 78.

At the time of Quong Tart’s visit, David Shing was the Chinese Missionary, though they had to dispense with his services after the Mission ran into debt.\footnote{“Western District Chinese Mission”, BFPMJ, 16 June 1893, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62189273}}

As an ecumenical Christian initiative, converts were baptised into different faiths. Young Gun, gardener at \textit{Leeholme}, was baptised at Holy Trinity in 1890.\footnote{Baptism Register 1863-96 Parish Kelso; Baptism No. 588/1890 Young Gun, 1890.} War Ho was baptised a Wesleyan in 1891.\footnote{“Local and General”, BFPMJ, 6 October 1891, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/64224002}} Although the Catholic Church was not a part of the Mission, there was some Chinese converts, especially those who had, like Ah Lin, married Irish women.\footnote{NSW BDM 8408/1909} After David Shing’s departure, Peter Dingson from Sydney was appointed Missionary in August 1895.\footnote{“The Western District Chinese Mission”, BFPMJ, 29 November 1895, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62738852/4839526}} Matthew Chun Jong was a missionary until 1902, but Mission was beset with financial difficulties and the last catechist in charge of the Chinese Mission was Joseph Low Poo in 1907.\footnote{“The Chinese Mission”, NA, 17 May 1907, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157225904}}

Although it is commonly held that Chinese left after the gold rushes, in the 1870s, the Chinese population began a transition from miners to market gardeners. Chinese moved into Rankin, Howick and Durham Streets where a Chinatown developed. Kong Loong Hung Pun, one of the storekeepers in Bathurst at this time, can be seen to have been an influential leader in the community. Evidence of Masonic rituals supports Chow’s claim that Loong founded the Chinese Masonic fraternity. Although there were no Chinese women in Bathurst, there were families of Chinese men and their European wives. Through the drought years of the 1870s, Chinese market gardeners grew and sold vegetables to the local market, but the decade ended with a spike in anti-Chinese sentiment.
The New South Wales census of 1881 was destroyed in the Garden Palace fire and figures for the Chinese populations of the town of Bathurst and Bathurst county and surrounding counties are not available. Only the summary tables for New South Wales survive which show that the number of persons born in China was 10,205 of whom 64 were females. This was an increase on the 1871 Chinese population of 7220. The flow of Chinese migrants into New South Wales was stemmed in 1881 by the Influx of Chinese Restriction Act 1881, which applied an entrance tax of £10 and a limit on each ship of one Chinese passenger per 100 tons of ship's tonnage. The previous chapter discussed the contribution of Chinese labour to the growth of the wheat industry in Bathurst. In the 1880s, wheat growing began moving west of Bathurst while the acreage of land leased for growing vegetables increased. When Edmond Marin La Meslee travelled from Sydney to Dubbo in 1883, he remarked that “the plains of Bathurst and Orange are, indeed, famous throughout the colony for wheat and other cereals, and the country around these two flourishing towns is sprinkled with well-run farms.”

He also noted:

the Chinese who are the best gardeners in Australia, grow all sorts of fruits and vegetables and perform horticultural miracles along the banks of the Macquarie. Today, on the outskirts of every Australian town, great or small, one comes across these beings who look as though they were suffering from chronic jaundice. They are our vegetable purveyors and without them, these delicious necessities for European tables would be beyond the reach of most people.

Locations of the gardens and the cost of leasing land

While newspaper reports indicate that there were indeed Chinese market gardens on either side of the Macquarie River and the creeks that feed into the river, the exact locations and acreages of the Chinese market gardens and the names of the gardeners has been difficult to plot precisely due to the loss of rate registers for Turon and Abercrombie Shires. Sucheng Chan was able to map the names of Chinese “truck...
farmers” and the locations of their farms from 1860, using a record of leases from the County Archives of California. As no such record exists in Bathurst, locating the gardens in Bathurst and district is dependent on newspaper reports of fires, floods, frosts, thefts, assaults, land auctions and bankruptcies.\footnote{Chan, \textit{This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910}.} For example, when George Draper appeared before the bankruptcy court in 1896, he testified that he had two Chinese gardeners as tenants on his land in Lagoon. One tenant had eleven acres and the other ten and both paid him £2 per acre rent and £1 for ploughing. In addition, they had another piece of land for which they did not pay rent.\footnote{"Bankruptcy Court", 6 March 1896, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63934085/4857729}} This was probably land under improvement, such as Sucheng Chan describes in California.\footnote{Chan, \textit{This Bittersweet Soil}, 162.} Although Draper said he had leases in writing, these have not survived.

It is rare to find leases such as the one signed by Sun Sing in 1888. Sun Sing, Kelso market gardener signed a ten-year agreement with landowner William Ingersole to lease approximately five acres of land on the bank of the Macquarie River (where \textit{River House} stands today). Sun Sing agreed to pay the exorbitant fee of £40 per year, in equal half yearly instalments.\footnote{Collection of John and June Corby; River House archives. Indenture between William Ingersole of Kelso and Sun Sing, market gardener, 1888.} The three-page agreement is written in such dense legal language, that it is quite likely that Sun Sing had little idea of the disadvantageous terms of the lease he entered into.
Figure 15: First page of lease agreement between William Ingersole and Sun Sing, dated 15 June 1888. Courtesy of June and John Corby, River House, Bathurst.
The rent paid by Sun Sing is many times more expensive than the rental fee recalled by Walter Hunt, the owner of Penrose, who wrote in his recollections of the Chinese gardeners:

The method generally employed was for the Chinese to rent approximately eight to ten acres of land from the land-holder, rental being about six shillings per acre. The owner of the land would plough the area for approximately five shillings per acre. Then when the produce was ready for market, he would deliver it to the nearest railway station, charging one shilling per ton per mile.\textsuperscript{792}

In light of the agreement between Sun Sing and William Ingersole, and newspaper reports, Hunt’s estimate of the fee per acre paid by Chinese growers seems low.

Rate books for Bathurst Municipality show that in 1881, the market gardens on the Macquarie River extended to Hope Street, where Sam Sing and later Chit Hung leased lots 8, 9, 16 and 20 from John Smith, who had employed Chinese labour before retiring from \textit{Gamboola} to Llanarth House at Esrom.\textsuperscript{793} Ah Saw was also leasing a garden from John Newell Gilmour in Zante Street.\textsuperscript{794} Sam Sing continued leasing land at Morrisset Street until 1889, when he advertised he was moving his party of fourteen men to Mrs Dargin’s land at Kelso.\textsuperscript{795} Sam Sing also leased lots 16,17,18,19 and 20 in Mitre Street and Lots 8 and 9 in Hope Street from John Smith. In 1891, the Morrisset Street gardens extended to Peel Street, where Davie Sing and War Poo leased houses and garden, and to Greek and Patna Streets, where On Sing, Ah Sam and Ah Yam leased gardens. The latter may have been the Ah Yam who had a garden at Tambaroora and was naturalised in Tambaroora in 1871.\textsuperscript{796}

As can be seen in Maps 11 & 12, most of the gardens fell outside of the Bathurst Municipality area, and without the Rate Registers for Turon and Abercrombie Shires, can only be identified through newspaper reports and court records.

\textsuperscript{792} Hunt, "The Chinese Invasion as remembered by W. G. Hunt of Penrose."
\textsuperscript{793} Municipality of Bathurst Rate Register 1881, North Ward, Section 58, No. 455.; Bertha Mac Smith, "Smith, John (1811-1895)" \url{http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smith-john-4607}
\textsuperscript{794} Municipality of Bathurst Rate Register 1881, North ward, Section 55, No. 443.
\textsuperscript{795} “Notice”, \textit{BT}, 26 April 1889.
\textsuperscript{796} Ah Yam Memorial or application for naturalisation, [4/1193 ] 71/8026.
Map 11: Locations of market gardens in Bathurst as referred to in the Bathurst newspapers 1886 to 1953
The Bathurst Show

When the O’Connell and Macquarie Plains Campbell and Fish River Agricultural Association first held a show meeting in 1860, the only agricultural produce awarded was wheat.797 By 1885, the Show had a garden produce section and Chinese market gardeners were entering their produce and winning the awards.798 In 1886, William Beacham won the only prize awarded for tobacco leaf.799 Though the vegetable produce awards did not go to Chinese growers in 1886, a review of the Show asked “Australian gardeners, what, are you about to let John Chinaman lick you in vegetables? Is the vegetable kingdom to pass wholly over to the Chinese?”800

As Walter Hunt explains in his recollections, “most of the landholders did not have a clue about vegetable growing and anyway, it was beneath their dignity to “garden”, and that sort of work was only fit for “Chinamen.”801 At the same time, a dependency on Chinese gardeners was a source of humiliation for white farmers. At a Special Meeting of the Bathurst Farmers Union in 1888, John Grist, who had previously won awards for his vegetables at the Show, said he considered it a disgrace that farmers did not grow their own cabbage instead of being dependent upon Chinamen.802

In 1890, Quong Sing of Kelso, In Sing of Mount Pleasant, Sun Sing of Kelso, Sam Sing of Bathurst and Way Kee of Lagoon joined William Beacham in entering their vegetables in the Bathurst Show. They dominated awards with Sam Sing winning second prize for turnips and swedes, first prize for watermelons and overall prize for Best Collection of Vegetables, Quong Sing first prize for cabbages, Way Kee first prize for cucumbers, Sun Sing first prize for carrots, pumpkins and turnips, and third prize for pumpkin and In Sing first prize for onions.803 A lawsuit brought by “Shum Lup” against James T. Piper from whom his company, En Sing and Co. leased land, shows that the gardens of En Sing and Co. were at Mount Pleasant.804 In the following

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801 “The Chinese Invasion as remembered by W. G. Hunt of Penrose”.
years, up until the second decade of the twentieth century, Chinese growers, particularly Yet Sing continued to dominate the awards in the garden produce section of the Bathurst Show. The success of Chinese market gardeners in the awards has not been acknowledged in the official history of the Show. A book produced to commemorate the centenary of the Bathurst Show contained no mention of Chinese growers whatsoever.\textsuperscript{805}

Growing for the commercial market

The extent to which Chinese gardens had increased in scale may best be illustrated by the 1886 report that when Ah Min’s garden at Stony Creek near the junction of Campbells River flooded, 9000 of his cabbages were “taken clean away.”\textsuperscript{806} Chinese market gardeners were no longer simply supplying the local market, but growing on a commercial scale and sending produce by rail to the Sydney produce markets. In 1893, two wagons, one drawn by twelve and the other by eighteen bullocks transported six tons of cauliflowers grown by Chinese at Lagoon, Stony Creek and Campbells River to Perth Railway station for transport to the Sydney market.\textsuperscript{807}

\textsuperscript{806} “Rockley”, \textit{BFP MJ}, 18 December 1886, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62015374}
\textsuperscript{807} “Local and General”, \textit{BFP MJ}, 24 June 1893, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62188584}
Map 12: Locations of Chinese market gardens in the Bathurst district as referred to in the Bathurst newspapers 1861 to 1953
1891 census

By the time the census was taken in 1891, most states had legislation restricting Chinese immigration. New South Wales had introduced the *Chinese Restriction & Regulation Act* in 1888, which increased the poll tax to £100 and changed the tonnage to one Chinese per 300 tons of ships tonnage. It also prohibited the issuing of naturalisation certificates to Chinese for any reason whatsoever, and prohibited any new arrivals from China from engaging in any kind of mining without the express authority of the Minister in charge of the Department of Mines.808

The census counted 13,157 persons in New South Wales born in the Chinese Empire, of whom 13,048 were male.809 Chinese still predominantly lived in rural areas. Table XVI of the census showing the occupations of Chinese males recorded a different figure of 13,555 Chinese males. Of these, 3494 lived in metropolitan areas, and 9932 lived in the remainder of colony. The remaining 129 were classified under shipping.810

By 1891, the male population of Tambaroora had declined to 164, of whom 59 were Chinese males.811

A total of 1195 persons in Bathurst and surrounding counties were born in the Chinese Empire. Four of these were female, one each in Bathurst, Wellington, Roxburgh and Georgiana counties.812 In the municipality of Bathurst, there was a total of ninety-eight persons born in the Chinese Empire, including the one female, almost certainly Ah Holt, who died a couple of months after the census was taken.813

By the time the census was taken in 1891, not only was there legislation to prevent any further Chinese migration, but there was surveillance of Chinese already resident in New South Wales. The general report of the 1891 census of New South Wales had a section on “The Chinese” which read in part:

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809 HCCDA, *Census of NSW*. Birthplaces, Table I.
The Chinese are scattered, broadcast throughout the colony… the counties most
affected by the Chinese are Gough, Hardinge, Bathurst, Northumberland,
Wellington and Wynyard … they are a menace to the progress of these
colonies.814

Separate tables distinguished the ages, occupations, marital status of Chinese and
Chinese half castes, and Aboriginal and Aboriginal half castes from the general
population.815 By 1891, there were more Chinese males in New South Wales engaged
in agriculture than mining. A total of 5658 Chinese males in NSW were engaged in
agricultural occupations and another 557 in pastoral occupations, as compared to 2019
in mining.816 Occupations were subdivided into very specific jobs. Warwick Frost has
speculated about the origin of a widely quoted line, originally stated by the
government statistician, T.A. Coghlan, that Chinese grew seventy-five percent of the
State’s vegetables.817 Frost proposed that Coghlan may have intended the percentage
to be an approximate indicator rather than an exact statistic, but statisticians do not
deal in approximate figures. The numbers of Chinese employed in occupations can be
calculated as a percentage of the total population by comparing figures in table XVI
which shows the occupations of Chinese males and their ages, against table VII which
shows the occupations of the general population.818 Only fourteen percent of alluvial
gold miners were Chinese. Fifty percent of ring-barkers, fifty-three percent of alluvial
tin miners, seventy-five percent of market gardeners and ninety-eight percent of
tobacco growers in the male population of New South Wales were Chinese.

Tobacco growing in Bathurst begins

The Statistical Registers show that although Bathurst County produced no tobacco in
1871, by 1891, Macquarie West (Abercrombie Shire) dominated tobacco growing in
New South Wales producing 2813 cwts of tobacco out of a total 9314 cwts produced
in the state.819 James Con Sue in Carcoar sent two and a half tons of tobacco to Sydney

814 Jack Brook, From Canton with Courage: Parramatta and beyond Chinese arrivals 1800-1900
http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1891-census-02_717
816 Census of NSW, 485, Table No. 16.
817 Frost, “Migrants and Technological Transfer: Chinese Farming in Australia, 1850–1920”, 114,
http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1891-census-02_584
819 Statistical Register of NSW for the year 1871, (Sydney: Government Printer, 1872), 142.
Agricultural Summary No.108. Bathurst did not submit an agricultural return in 1881; Statistical
Register of NSW for the year 1891, (Sydney: Government Printer, 1892).
in 1881 and Ah Lun won first prize for his tobacco at the Carcoar Show in 1889. As mentioned earlier, William Beacham took the prize for tobacco at the Bathurst Show in 1886, though the location of his garden is yet to be established. An advertisement placed by Bathurst storekeeper Sun Kum Yung in 1887, offered a reward for finding a missing Chinaman who had last been seen making his way to a tobacco farm near Gilmandyke. In 1889, a newspaper report stated:

A great quantity of tobacco is sent away from here annually. Already about 100 tons has been forwarded to the Metropolis. This is grown principally at O'Connell Plains and Stoney Creek [Campbell’s River], a great number of Chinese being employed in that occupation, which appears to be a profitable one.

Tobacco was also grown by Chinese at Lagoon, where Samuel James Morris facing bankruptcy in 1891, cited amongst his assets £107 rent owed to him by Chinese tobacco growers. It is clear that by 1891, Chinese dominated tobacco growing in the Bathurst district.

**Bathurst Experiment Farm**

With the demise of gold mining and the growth of agriculture, a Department of Agriculture was established as a sub-department of the Department of Mines and Agriculture in 1894. Sydneysmith, the member for the Bathurst electorate of East Macquarie and the Secretary for Mines became the first Secretary for Agriculture in 1890. In 1893, the New South Wales government appointed two experts, Mr Lamb and Mr Sutherland to encourage white growers to try growing tobacco for the export trade. Soon after his appointment, Mr Lamb visited a ten-acre tobacco area at Mount Pleasant. On seeking to visit European tobacco growers, he was told there were none.

At the instigation of Sydney Smith, tobacco expert Mr Sutherland re-visited Bathurst in 1894. According to Sutherland, while there was export potential for New South...
Wales tobacco, the industry was only producing forty-four percent of the State’s requirements, and the tobacco grown was not fit for consumption. In an obtuse reference to Chinese growers, Sutherland attributed this “entirely to the ignorance with which it has been cultivated and cured.” The Government had therefore decided “to step in and endeavour to afford European farmers the necessary technical instruction not only to supply home demands, but to compete favourably in the European market.”

This initiative was cheered on by the Advocate which entreated:

Assert yourselves therefore farmers of NSW. Take away from the Chinese usurper one of his highly paying industries … take away his living, keep the profits to yourselves instead of letting them go to China, and depend upon it the Chinaman will be most anxious to depart to some other country. Let him!

When Sydney Smith opened the Bathurst Show in 1895, he promised Bathurst an Experimental Farm. Smith’s promise was made good and a model farm was established in 1895 on 595 acres of resumed common land. Additional land on the banks of the Macquarie River was leased from Bathurst Council for use as an irrigation farm (now Morse Park). The first crop from the Farm was shown in 1897. In 1898, a letter to the editor of the Advocate from ‘Market Gardener’ stated that Model Farm had removed its experimental plantings of small fruits and he had been told that eighteen acres of the River Farm were to be planted with vegetables to be sold on the Bathurst market. ‘Market Gardener’ protested against the “cruel work” to be carried on at the Model Farm and queried if the Model Farm did not have another agenda, asking “Was the Model Farm intended in the first place to supply our city people with vegetables?”

In the first issue of the Agricultural Gazette in July 1890, Sydney Smith wrote, "The greatest hope for the future must rest in the systematic education of the lads who are to settle on the soil” Experiment Farm sponsored the migration of young men from Britain, and provided the opportunity for them to be trained in agriculture. Inasmuch
as the purpose of Experiment Farm was to develop scientific and mechanised methods of farming, it was also established prepare the white man to settle on the land.

To encourage white farmers to grow tobacco, in 1898 the New South Wales Government engaged American tobacco expert A.M. Howell to advise new growers. On Howell’s advice, E. J. McArthur of Kelloshiel planted ten acres of tobacco from which he expected a yield of eight tons. To encouraged McArthur’s efforts the Government offered to take ten tons of his tobacco from Bathurst Railway station and ship it to London free of charge.832

Harassment of women associating with Chinese

In the 1890s it can also be seen that attempts by Chinese men to form relationships with European women were policed and obstructed. Even before the 1891 census, police in Bathurst had begun a campaign of sustained harassment of women who were seen to be associating with Chinese men. Women were most often charged under the Vagrancy Act as having no visible means of support or place of abode. Some women charged with no visible means of support asserted that they were supporting themselves or being supported by their Chinese partner. Annie Drew pleaded not guilty in 1888, deposing that she did not go to Chinaman’s except to collect washing. She got off with a warning.833

Sarah Jones, “an old Sydney identity” recently discharged from gaol, was said to have “at once resorted to "Chinatown". She came before the Police Magistrate on 13 June 1888 on a charge of being drunk in Howick Street. She was accused of using filthy language when arrested and assaulting the policeman on the way to the lockup. She was found guilty and fined 40s for obscenity, 20s for assault and discharged for drunkenness. With a hefty fine to pay and no means of support, Sarah was trapped within a cycle of incarceration.834 When Annie Clarke came before the Police Magistrate in 1889 charged with being an idle and disorderly person with no visible means of support, it was said that since her discharge from gaol she had been living with men “of depraved character and Chinese.” The Police Magistrate admitted he

“did not know what to do with these abandoned women for abandoned women they were.” He sent Annie back to gaol for six months.835

One solution to the problem was ordering women to leave town. Annie Gardiner, aged twenty-one, was charged on 21 July 1891 with being drunk in Howick Street, with using obscene language and assaulting Constable Sheehy. Since her discharge from gaol, she had frequented Chinese brothels. She was fined 10s for obscene language. The Magistrate proposed that if she would leave town, the charge of assault would not be pressed.836 Like Annie, Ruby Bennett was living with Chinese in Howick Street after having only left the gaol a short time ago when she was charged with vagrancy in 1892. She begged for another chance and was given one on condition she leave town in forty-eight hours.837 This continued well into the twentieth century. In 1925, Elsie Foo was charged with having insufficient lawful means of support. Senior Sergeant Dunne deposed “She was married in Bathurst and is a great friend of the Chinese. She has agreed to go away.” She was warned that if she did not get away, she would be sentenced to gaol for two or three months.838

At a time when there were no refuges to support women abandoned by their husbands, victims of domestic abuse or women recently released from gaol found refuge in the Chinese quarters. Elizabeth Collis was the victim of ongoing domestic abuse. When she was charged with having no visible lawful means of support on 22 November 1892, she deposed she was supported by Willie Wah Chey, the cook at the barracks and that she lived with him in Durham Street in a house he rented. Willie Wah deposed the same and Elizabeth was discharged with a warning.839 The following September, William Silk was charged with the assault of Eliza Colliss. He had been fined three and half years earlier for assaulting her. Whilst Silk deposed that he had taken her away from the Chinese quarters and other low places, Eliza deposed that she was living with Silk but was not married to him. She stated that he frequently threatened to kill her, and she was afraid for her life; she had been living with him three years ago and

left him; he would follow her and strip her in the street; unless he was put in gaol, he
would kill her. Silk was gaolied for two months.840

It was not only in Bathurst that an interest was taken in European women associating
with Chinese men. A Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and
Immorality and Charges of Bribery against Members of the Police Force was
appointed on 20 August 1891. The Report of the Commission included transcribed
interviews with women who lived with Chinese men. “Ellen” who was interviewed in
Sydney, was asked if she knew of any case where a “comparatively pure girl has gone
among the Chinese without having first knocked about the town”? She replied “I do
not know of a single case of that kind.”841

Despite the evidence that relationships between European women and Chinese men
were entered into voluntarily, a story about a white woman corrupted by Chinese men
was published by the National Advocate in 1891, in an article titled “One More
Unfortunate.” It purported to be a letter written by a European woman imprisoned in
an opium den in Bathurst. This was refuted by William Beacham who wrote to the
Advocate:

the letter and also the article are false from beginning to end – no such woman
ever existed as the one referred to. I am acquainted with all the women in
the district, and must say that the article is a gross libel upon the whole of my
countrymen.842

Beacham’s letter provides one of the few insights into the reactions of Chinese men to
their vilification in the press. Being both a government employed court interpreter and
the husband of a European woman stood Beacham apart from other Chinese men in
Bathurst, and yet he identified with and defended his countrymen against the
accusations.

Another was Jimmy Lee of Howick Street, a Roman Catholic, who in 1890 wrote to
the Advocate objecting to the use of the term ‘heathen Chinese’ in an account of the
Chinese Mission. “I wish to see my countrymen get fair play, and my being converted
does not deprive me of a proper feeling for my countrymen.” Jimmy’s letter was

841 “Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality and Charges of
Bribery against Members of the Police Force appointed August 20, 1891”, https://archive.org/stream/cu31924023440187/cu31924023440187_djvu.txt
published with the comment, “If Mr. Lee understood English a little better, he would know there is nothing offensive in the term heathen.”

Two years later, the * Advocate* adopted the masthead “Australia for Australians”. The *Western Independent* had folded in 1886, and the remaining Bathurst newspapers were united in their anti-Chinese views.

Mrs Lum Tin also spoke out against the press depictions of mixed relationships. She objected to the reporting of the marriage of her daughter Emily to Morrisset Street market gardener, James Ah Yow in 1896. In a letter she sent to the * Advocate*, she wrote “I am sure I can’t understand why your reporter should hold the Chinese up to ridicule just because their way of celebrating an event of this kind is so different from your own.” Almost thirty years earlier, Lavinia Hampden had married Lum Den Tin at the All Saints Cathedral in Bathurst in 1869. Like the Lupps, the Lum Tins had been on the gold fields at Carcoar and Tuena before moving into Bathurst sometime after the birth of Walter in Tuena in 1891. Another daughter Catherine married forty-two-year-old Bathurst market gardener George Gwan (Ah Gwan) in 1896.

Despite a lack of adverse findings of the 1891 Commission or any recommendations of action, the harassment continued, often targeting women who were co-habiting with or married to Chinese men. In 1893, Kate You Kee was charged with having no lawful visible means of support. She deposed she lived in a shop in Howick Street and was maintained by You Kee who came into town every week with fruit and vegetables. She stated that she usually took in washing but was now nursing Mrs Fowler and her baby. She was discharged with a warning.

The harassment continued well into the twentieth century. Amongst the women who came before court was Poll Barron, charged with using indecent language within hearing of persons in Howick Street in 1906. In her statement to court she deposed “I plead guilty your worship but there was somebody called my husband a b... and I just

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845 NSW BDM 6992/1896
847 NSW BDM 1731/1869
repeated the words out of no harm.” The offence was committed at half-past-twelve at night when Poll and her husband were inside their home and just going to bed. She was fined 10s and 6d court costs which her husband paid.849

When Daisy Wells was charged with indecent language in 1906, she was accused by Constable Sheehy of having lived with different Chinamen. “I have not” she indignantly retorted. “I have been living with only one Chinaman named Ah Guy.”850

Contrary to the fears raised, it would appear that most relationships between European women and Chinese men were successful. Ellen Mee Wong (nee Ballard) who married Ah Wong lived in Palmers Oakey. Colin Latham Ferguson recalls:

My grandmother said a lot of the locals would not have a lot to do with Ellen. She said it was not so much that they looked down on her for marrying a Chinaman but they were jealous of her, because of the way Wong looked after her.851

The couple later moved to Hereford Lane in Bathurst where Ellen died in 1925.852 James and Johann Ah Lin of Lagoon were also a close couple who worked on the family farm together. Patrick Dwyer, a descendant recalled:

According to one old aunt, Jimmy and Joey Ah Lin were hard workers. Each week they would load a dray so full of produce for sale she needed to walk it to the Bathurst market, but she always had a ride back.853

Ah Lin died of pneumonia in 1909, after being caught in floodwaters while trying to reach his farm. For at least three years after his death, wife Johanna placed loving In Memoriam notices in the National Advocate.854 Ah Lin was buried in Bathurst cemetery under the name James Lynne.855

Although the family was using the name of Ah Lin at the time of the 1891 census, the couple’s son Herbert changed the spelling of his surname to Lynn, and later Lynne.856 Besides the Lynne and the Ah Tuck family, who had begun using the name Quinn as

852 NSW BDM 18472/1925
855 NSW BDM 8408/1909
early as 1875, other Chinese Australian families anglicised their names towards the end of the century. Ah Kee became Kaye sometime between the birth of Charles Ah Kee and the death of Mary, who was buried as Mary Kaye in 1900.\textsuperscript{857}

First and second-generation Chinese Australians were also beginning to leave Bathurst for Sydney. Emily Lum Tin and James Yow’s first two children, Alfred and William were born in Bathurst, but subsequent children were born in Sydney.\textsuperscript{858} In some cases, a move to a new location meant a new identity. When the Loo Chings moved to Sydney, they changed their name to Lisson.\textsuperscript{859}

\textit{The state of affairs at the end of the century}

As well as the obstacles created by human agency, Chinese market gardeners also battled with the vicissitudes of floods, frost and drought in Bathurst. A late frost in December 1892 ruined crops of Chinese who had only just “pulled themselves together” after floods in September.\textsuperscript{860} Whilst Chinese gardens were washed away at Esrom in February 1895 and Kelso the following February, in February 1897, Bathurst entered the Federation drought and Chinese on the river flats who had only half their regular water supply dug trenches in the sand.\textsuperscript{861}

Chinese market gardeners also had to contend with constant pilfering of their produce by young boys, for whom stealing a melon or a pumpkin was something of a rite of passage. The biography of Australian Prime Minister Ben Chifley, who was born in Bathurst in 1885 recounts a family anecdote of a run in between a young Ben Chifley and his brothers and Chinese market gardeners on the Kelso river flats:

\begin{quote}
…the Chinese market gardeners chased the three brothers, firing revolvers in the air, for pinching a watermelon. Ben escaped over the railway bridge, Pat swam the Macquarie River and Dick made his way home along the highway… as punishment, they had to say the rosary all that afternoon and keep an eye out for the Chinamen.\textsuperscript{862}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{857} NSW BDM 16047/1888 ; NSW BDM 4761/1900
\textsuperscript{858} NSW BDM 19717/1897 ; NSW BDM 29790/1901
\textsuperscript{859} “Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality and Charges of Bribery against Members of the Police Force appointed August 20, 1891.” Minutes of evidence, 16 October 1891.
With some remorse, Bathurst resident Max Churches recounted stealing melons from a Chinese garden at Kelso in the 1940s when he was nine or ten years old:

the biggest thing I can remember about them is that bottom end of their market gardens used to go down into Raglan Creek, which we used to go down into, three or four of us and come up when the watermelons were ripe and used to go out and try to get some to eat, and of course the Chinese gentlemen would see us and they’d come racing across at us with their big knives and things. We should have known if we’d asked them, they would have given us a truckload if we wanted them.863

On the eve of Federation, the fortunes of Chinese in Bathurst and district were declining. Lum Kee’s lease on *Kelloshiel* expired in 1891 and he sold the whole of his stock which included 1300 young sheep, twenty dairy cows, 100 mixed young cattle, two blood colts, two draught horses and a spring cart.864 In 1892, he took out a lease on 1920 acres of Crown land at Duramana.865 He ran into financial difficulties in 1894, around the time he could no longer afford to pay for his daughter’s board. The lease was not renewed and the land reverted to the crown.866 In 1896, Lum Kee was a farmer at Ranken’s Bridge. He still owned a horse and dray and was carting fruit and vegetables between Bathurst, Locksley and Wattle Flat.867 In 1910, the funeral of 62-year-old Peter Lum Kee of Gilmandyke was held in Bathurst.868 His estate included a draught stallion, twelve draught horses and eleven head of cattle.869

A tobacco farmer, Young Sooe had been in partnership with other Chinese in a garden at Gorman’s Hill. A newspaper report of his inquest stated that he had lost heavily (though it is not clear if he lost his investment in tobacco or lost at gambling) and was depressed and had attempted suicide by cutting his throat with a razor at Gorman’s Hill in June 1895. He survived the attempt but the wound became infected and he died.

863 Interview with Max Churches, 3 December 2014.
The report of the inquest found that he died from blood poisoning caused by a self-inflicted wound on the throat.870

The numbers of Chinese on the gold fields continued to decrease as the century drew to a close. The reef mining boom was short-lived. By the middle of 1874, the Dirt Holes and Tambaroora had reverted to alluvial mining.871 In 1877, the Mining Warden reported, “In the Sofala Division of this District [the combined Tambaroora and the Turon fields] mining is at a very low ebb. The quartz reefs are almost all abandoned.”872 In 1887 there were still several parties of Chinese working in the old and abandoned alluvial diggings in the Sofala Division.873 A final nail in the coffin of Chinese mining came with legislation in 1888 which stipulated:

No Chinese who shall arrive in the colony after the passing of this Act shall be permitted to engage in the work of any gold silver or other mine or in any mining pursuit whatsoever without express authority under the hand and seal of the Minister in charge of the Department of Mines.874

Probably the last big Chinese mining venture in Sofala took place in 1893 when a Chinese party was formed to work the bed of the river near Wallaby Rocks. Their works were completely filled in when the Turon flooded in March 1893.875 After the flooding of the Chinese workings at Wallaby Rocks, a suicide occurred there in January 1894 when “Rummy” hanged himself.876 By the end of 1895, only sixty Chinese to 425 Europeans were engaged in mining work in the Sofala division.877

When Chin Ah Yin of Pennyweight Flat, Sofala died in 1896, amongst the possessions in his estate was a tobacco shed, seven allotments of land and a four roomed house.878 One might question why he did not return to China when he evidently had the means.

Perhaps he was settled and had no wish to do so. He was almost certainly the last Chinese person with that amount of capital on the gold fields. At the Mining Conference in Sydney in 1896, Mr Crossley of Sofala raised a motion that no Chinese be allowed to mine on any gold field in New South Wales until five years after discovery and Chinese should not be employed in a mine at any time. The motion was carried. 879 The prohibition would have only had an impact on new fields – not in Sofala where no new Chinese miners had arrived in decades, and those remaining were too old to be employed in company quartz mines.

By 1900, the Macquarie, Turon and Fish River were being dredged and alluvial mining had been reduced to mostly fossicking. Residents of Hill End and Sofala struggled to make ends meet and men turned to rabbiting to feed their families. Chinese men who were not eligible for government assistance scratched out a difficult existence re-working alluvial claims and market gardening. Some of the men who held on to hopes of returning to China became desperate when those hopes faded. According to Alan Mayne “a trickle of destitute Chinese appeared in the Hill End court during the early twentieth century charged variously with lunacy, vagrancy, burglary and having no visible lawful means of support.”880 In 1899, two aged Chinese in rags presented themselves at the Bathurst Courthouse seeking benevolent asylum. With the aid of an interpreter, they explained they had been gold digging and were without a means of livelihood or friends.881

The old generation of Chinese were passing. William Sengchai who had been interpreter for the Gold Commissioners died at the home of his son-in-law in Cowra in 1897.882 His body was conveyed by train to Young, and to be buried next to Hannah, who had died in 1868. In 1898, seventy-one-year- old Tommy Ah See of Forbes pleaded not guilty before the Bathurst Circuit Court on two charges of committing arson at Forbes. When Ah See was convicted and sentenced to two years in gaol, he said through the interpreter, William Beacham, that he would sooner be hanged.883

880 Mayne,'What you want John?' 7.
Because the name Ah See was so ubiquitous, it is uncertain if Tommy Ah See in Forbes was the same Tommy Ah See who had land at Malmesbury in 1885.

The last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century had seen Chinese miners turn from mining to market gardening. Whilst government incentives encouraged European settlers on the land, legislations impeded the social and economic lives of Chinese market gardeners. In the new millennium, the commitment of the Commonwealth to make the nation white made life for Chinese even more difficult.
CHAPTER 8: THE ODDS STACK UP

The lives of Chinese individuals, families and communities in the new century were tied up in the policies of the newly federated Australia, committed to becoming a white nation. Under the 1901 *Pacific Island Labourers’ Act*, the majority of the estimated 62,000 Melanesian labourers who had been brought to Australia to work on sugar plantations in the north, were deported between 1906 and 1908. Although Chinese people were not deported from Australian shores at Federation, the Commonwealth government waged a war of attrition against Aboriginal people and other non-Europeans, of which the Chinese were the majority. The censuses taken in the first half of the century (years), are both evidence of the state and Commonwealth determination to remove non-Europeans, and a measure of their success in doing so. This chapter traces how these policies affected the lives of Chinese people in Bathurst and district.

By 1901, census figures record the number of persons in New South Wales born in the Chinese Empire had declined to 9993, of whom 103 were females.\textsuperscript{884} In Bathurst County 218 males of an overall male population of 16,881 were born in the Chinese Empire.\textsuperscript{885} There were no females born in the Chinese Empire. A separate table which included half castes, counted 242 Chinese and Chinese half caste males and eleven Chinese and Chinese half caste females in Bathurst County. The total number of Chinese and Chinese half caste males in Bathurst, Georgiana, Roxburgh, Wellington and Westmoreland Counties combined was 758, and the total number of Chinese and Chinese half caste females was fifty-one.\textsuperscript{886} In the town of Bathurst, sixty-nine males and no females were born in the Chinese Empire.\textsuperscript{887}

\textsuperscript{884} HCCDA, "NSW 1901 Census."
\textsuperscript{885} Ibid. http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1901-census-02_312
\textsuperscript{886} Ibid. http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/NSW-1901-census-02_332
**Discriminatory legislations**

Federation introduced a new level of institutionalised discrimination, consolidating the trend which had marked public attitudes and ad hoc policies over the last decades. There are few avenues for ascertaining how Bathurst Chinese residents felt about these developments although there is no doubt that Commonwealth legislations introduced after Federation made life increasingly difficult for Chinese people in Bathurst.

Legislation modelled on the Natal *Immigration Restriction Act* in South Africa had been introduced in New South Wales in 1898, but in 1901, immigration restriction was made uniform across the six colonies of the newly federated nation of Australia.\(^{888}\) The Dictation Test, which authorised customs officials to give dictation tests to non-Europeans at first in English, and then in any European language, was adopted as the instrument to ensure that no new Chinese or coloured persons could enter the country. Chinese domiciled in Australia, seeking to travel outside the country, needed to apply for a Certificate of Domicile, and later a Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test (CEDT) in order to leave Australia without the need to undertake the test on re-entering the country.\(^{889}\)

In 1908, four years after the death of his wife Hannah in 1904, John Lupp returned permanently to China. Sam Lupp accompanied his elderly father on the journey. Although Sam Lupp was born in Tuena in 1869, his birth was not registered until 1899, too late for the birth to be registered in accordance with the Act.\(^{890}\) Therefore Sam was required to obtain a CEDT in order to re-enter without having to take the test. A copy of Sam Lupp’s Certificate Exempting from Dictation Test is reproduced below.

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\(^{889}\) See also Kate Bagnall, *The Tiger’s Mouth* blog, [http://chineseaustralia.org/tag/dictation-test/](http://chineseaustralia.org/tag/dictation-test/)

\(^{890}\) William Samuel Sibraa, NSWBDM 09434/1869.
From 1903, the wives of Chinese were legally prevented from joining their husbands in Australia. With the introduction of the Commonwealth *Naturalisation Act* in 1903,
not only were non-Europeans in Australia prohibited from acquiring British citizenship, but a woman who was a British subject risked losing her status as an Australian citizen if she married an “alien”. The *Old Age and Invalid Pensions Act 1908*, disqualified Aboriginal natives of Australia, Africa, the Pacific Islands and New Zealand and Asiatics from receiving a pension unless born in Australia. These groups were also denied access to the 1912 *Commonwealth Maternity Bonus* which paid £5 to women on the birth of each live baby.

It was not only the raft of Commonwealth legislation known retrospectively as the “White Australia policy” which interfered with Chinese lives, but also state and local legislations and discriminations. E. T. Webb and L. Edgley were the representatives for Bathurst at a meeting of the NSW Retail Grocers and Storekeepers’ Association held in Sydney in November 1903. At the meeting, a resolution was unanimously passed that the Association recognised the serious and unjust competition being forced upon the retail grocers, storekeepers, and traders of the State by Chinese and Asiatic shopkeepers, hawkers, and pedlars, and pledged its influence and financial support to the movement inaugurated by the Country Storekeepers' Association of N.S.W. to have Chinese and Asiatic immigration to the Commonwealth abolished. The following year there was discussion at the Convention about prohibiting ‘aliens’ from trading altogether but notably, a Bathurst representative who took part in the proceedings claimed that the Bathurst storekeepers who attended desired that Chinese storekeepers be compelled to conform to sanitation and early closing and wage laws, but had voted against the resolution to restrict alien trading. At any rate, pressure to restrict all traders to eight hour days, continued to be applied in Bathurst, with eight hour day processions, which paraded down William and Durham Streets, becoming an annual fixture in the town until 1923. Meanwhile complaints over the condition of buildings occupied by Chinese in Howick Street were raised in Council in 1905. E. T. Webb, who was a Council alderman, recommended that the issue be referred to the

Sanitation Committee. The buildings were condemned, and the following year demolished.\textsuperscript{896}

While Sophie Loy Wilson has asserted that commercial development in Australian rural towns was interwoven with Chinese retail empires, the Bathurst case does not provide a strong example.\textsuperscript{897} Bathurst, initially established as a rural and administrative centre had been serving as the emporium of the district well before the advent of the gold-rushes. Chinese stores in the town of Bathurst did not acquire the importance in the community that Rasmussen ascribes to the O’Hoy store in Bendigo.\textsuperscript{898} With the exception of On Gay’s in Hill End, Chinese stores in the district were peripheral to stores such as Webb & Co. and Meaghers.

Chinese stores in business in Bathurst in the early twentieth century were Wing Hing Loong & Co. General Merchants, which opened on the corner of Rankin and Howick Streets around 1890 and registered as a firm in 1904.\textsuperscript{899} This store may have been affiliated with the similarly named Wing Hing Long & Co. which opened on the tin field centre of Tingha in the 1880s, although no relationship has not yet been established. On Howick Street were On Tie’s store; Mow Hing, trading as Tong Fook Way Kee and Hang Chong, who took over from Kwong Sing in 1899.\textsuperscript{900} William Beacham filed for bankruptcy in 1890, but by 1905, had registered the firm W. Beacham & Sons at the same address at 105 George Street.\textsuperscript{901}

Furniture stores in Bathurst publicly disassociated themselves from Chinese labour. Thomas Caples took out an advertisement in 1890 assuring that the Oxford Furnishing and Undertaking Establishment has “No Chinese Make!” Whilst there is no evidence that Chinese cabinet makers ever established furniture making stores in Bathurst, in 1897, the Great Western Furniture Bazaar took out an advertisement to contradict a

\textsuperscript{896} “A Fractured Leg”, \textit{NA} 20 February 1906, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157292149}
\textsuperscript{897} Sophie Loy-Wilson, "Rural Geographies and Chinese Empires: Chinese Shopkeepers and Shop-Life in Australia", \textit{Australian Historical Studies} 45, no. 3 (2014).
\textsuperscript{898} Amanda Rasmussen, "The Chinese in Nation and Community Bendigo 1870s-1920s" (La Trobe, 2009).
\textsuperscript{901} NSWSA: Deeds Registration Branch; Register of Firms NRS 129161. [2/8537] 13984 W Beacham & Sons, Fruiterer and Produce, 1905.
report that the firm hired Chinese labour.902 The Advocate also made allusion in 1912 to L. Edgley from Western Stores having brought Chinese to Bathurst to make furniture.903 A number of Chinese men who had spent years working in the cabinet making industry in Sydney, such as Ding See, Yet Ming and Lee Noon, did move to Bathurst around 1912, so there may have been a basis to the claim, although their files show only that they worked as market gardeners.904

Opium and gambling arrests

In 1905, opium was prohibited after a long anti-opium campaign initiated by Quong Tart, whose tour of the Chinese camps with Inspector Brennan in 1883 convinced him that opium was “the fulcrum on which rests all the vice, immorality, and corruption with the Chinese.”905 In the absence of any rehabilitation programs to assist the mostly Chinese addicts, the main result of the prohibition was to drive opium importation and distribution underground. In February 1909 Charlie Ah Poy alias Ah Shack was charged with possession of opium, having arrived in Bathurst on the train from Sydney carrying fifty-four ounces of opium. He was convicted and ordered to pay a fine of £50 or serve six months in gaol. Charlie was unable to pay the fine, however his compatriots banded together and paid the penalty.906 Frequent police raids on Chinese gathering places between 1909 and 1933 netted opium users who had to pay heavy fines or serve gaol sentences.

Gambling raids had been conducted on Chinese premises prior to Federation. Raids were carried out on Chinese stores in 1870, when twelve men were arrested after being found in a gaming house and on 16 February 1874 when seventeen Chinese and one European were arrested on charges of gambling but were discharged, and again on 16 December 1874 when eighteen Chinese men and one European were found in a gaming house.907 Ah Tuck was amongst the men arrested in the latter raid. In 1897,

904 Brook, From Canton with Courage: Parramatta and Beyond Chinese arrivals 1800-1900, 115.
907 NSWSA: Bathurst Bench of Magistrates, NRS 2777 [Reel 2744], Register of Individual Convictions, 1848-77, 10 October 1870, 16 February and 16 December 1874.
when members of the Ah Tuck family were using the surname Quinn in place of Ah Tuck or Tuck, “Quinn’s house” was known as a gathering place for gaming. 908

The frequency of gambling raids stepped up in the new century, beginning in 1902 when a gambling raid was carried out on the store of Hing Quoy at Ching Hing Chang & Co. and nineteen men playing fan tan were charged with being in a common gaming house. 909 After the Gaming and Betting Act was introduced in 1906, police conducted constant raids on Chinese premises suspected of being used as gaming houses imposing punitive fines. In June 1909, Ah Guy, a forty-five-year-old gardener at Lagoon received a fine of £50 for being the lessee of a house at 267 Howick Street being used for the purpose of smoking opium. 910

In a number of cases, magistrates expressed regret for having to sentence Chinese for gambling. When passing sentence of a £10 fine on Ah Sing in 1915, the Police Magistrate was reported as lamenting:

> it was a pity these poor fellows should be harassed. He had noticed through many years that though the Gaming Act had been instituted for Chinese and Europeans alike, that the Chinese suffered from an overwhelming proportion from its provisions. This appeared unfortunate as these people were restricted in their field of recreation. 911

**Closer Settlement in Bathurst**

Closer Settlement Acts were introduced by the New South Wales Parliament between 1902 and 1909 to reform land holdings. Some of the big estates had already been subdivided into allotments and sold off. Advertisements of sales reveal that Chinese were leasing the riverfront portions of many of the big estates. When William Kite’s estate *Woolstone* was auctioned in 1901, it was advertised that more or less seventy acres of land was principally rich alluvial soil and nine acres of river frontage was let as a Chinese garden. 912 Similarly, when the 1357 acre estate *Woodlands* came up for

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public auction later in 1901, it was advertised that the property had “a double frontage to the Fish and Campbell Rivers; the frontages all rich alluvial land, a large portion of which has been let to Chinamen for tobacco and vegetable gardens.”913 Woodlands was originally the property of Thomas Lee, who had advertised a reward in 1854 for the apprehension of three Chinese labourers who had absconded from his station Baragon, beyond Wellington.914 A collection of donations for the Hospital by Chinese gardeners on the Kite family’s property, Dockairne, reveals that Chinese were working on land there from at least 1894.915 From at least 1895, Chinese were also leasing land from the Webb family at Littlebourne and Hathrop.916

A 1905 report on Bathurst stated that John Joseph Sullivan of Alloway Bank:

… has at the present time fifty acres of potatoes some acres of cabbages and onions, the latter under the care of some Chinese gardeners it being impossible to induce white gardeners to undertake the drudgery entailed in the cultivation of this necessary commodity.917

In 1909, Bathurst newspapers were expressing their dissatisfaction with the pace of closer settlement. The National Advocate declared “If Australia is to remain a white continent, the big useless estates must be broken up,” whilst the Bathurst Times declared that “Sullivan’s Chinamen will have to make way for closer settlement.”918 If it were the case that an intended outcome of Closer Settlement was to remove the Chinese grower from the land, it had the opposite effect. Large estates were subdivided, but the National Advocate was soon claiming that the majority of new settlers coming to Bathurst were Chinese.919 Closer Settlement was an issue on which candidates for the seat of Bathurst campaigned in the election of 1910 and the exclusion of Chinese was a rallying point for drumming up political support. John Coates, the Labor candidate for the seat of Bathurst gave a speech at Orton Park on the Vale Road in which he said, “The Labor Party is determined that White Australians will have

914 “Advertising.” BFPMJ
preference in land settlement. If ever competition arises between a Chinese and a white man, the party which I follow will see that the white man will win."\(^{920}\)

Arguments employed by the pro-Labor Advocate during the 1910 New South Wales election, against the re-election of Liberal Party incumbent John Miller, were pitched in nationalistic and racist terms:

> Are you young and patriotic Australians going to have Bathurst made the home of thousands of Chinese? We have too many little brown cockies from Asia already. They are Millers new settlers. Vote for Coates and a white Bathurst and down with the Chinese and down with the sweaters and land monopolists who are bringing them here. \(^{921}\)

There was truth to the claims that closer settlement had brought new Chinese settlers to Bathurst. Chinese men were arriving from elsewhere to establish themselves in market gardening in Bathurst. These were both men with capital and those who came looking for work. William Mang Kee (sometimes written as Man Kee) moved to Bathurst with his wife Matilda (nee Parkinson) and their children in 1909. The Mang Kee family had lived in Victoria for at least twenty-five years before moving to Bathurst. Mang Kee grew tobacco on land leased from John Joseph Sullivan and later Sam Williams at Alloway Bank.\(^ {922}\)

George Sue Won was another Chinese market gardener who appears to have arrived in Bathurst around the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Ray Bayliss, born 1908 in Bathurst, who grew up on land on Vale Creek told his nephew Chris Bayliss:

> The main farming activity was growing corn and some of the flats were covered with lucerne and others had cauliflowers. There were quite a lot of cauliflowers grown on the flats along the Vale Creek and some of the land was leased by Chinese. I remember our property, part of the flats being leased to Soo Wong [George Sue Wong] and Yet Nong [Mong]. They were two Chinese tenants there who grew cauliflowers on those flats and when they came to pay their rent each month, they brought along a jar of Chinese ginger which was very much appreciated by the kids.\(^ {923}\)

\(^{920}\) "Patriotic Land Monopolists", NA, 8 October, 1910, 


\(^{923}\) Bayliss, "Reminiscences of his Youth."
Kum Mow, a Sydney vegetable dealer, also arrived in 1905 to establish market gardens. His rise to become President of the Chinese Masonic Society in Bathurst is discussed in the next chapter.

Workers also came from outside Bathurst to labour in the gardens. Yet Mong was a Doong Goon man, born in 1862, who had arrived in New South Wales in 1884, leaving behind a pregnant wife in Doong Goon County. He worked as a French polisher in Sydney for twenty-six years before he took a visit back to China in 1910 when his second son was conceived. After returning to Australia in 1912, he began working in Bathurst, probably as an employee of George Sue Won.\textsuperscript{924} Yet Mong began leasing land from the Barnes Brothers around 1912.

Ding See, who was born in Canton in 1867, had arrived in New South Wales in 1886. He had worked as a French polisher and carpenter in Sydney, before coming to work as a gardener in Bathurst in 1909.\textsuperscript{925} Ding Pang, born in 1858 had also arrived in 1909.

\textsuperscript{924} National Archives of Australia, SP 42, C1930/8141, Yet Mong CEDT.

\textsuperscript{925} National Archives Australia: SP 42/1, Correspondence of the Collector of Customs relating to Immigration Restriction and Passports. [C1913/5463] Ding See, 1913.
When Ding Pang applied for a Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test in 1924, he submitted a reference from Mockler Bros who wrote that he had known Ding Pang for sixteen years as a market gardener.\textsuperscript{926} Ding Pang’s photograph for his CEDT application was taken at A.E. Gregory’s studio in Bathurst. It is amongst the studio portraits in the A. E. Gregory Collection at Bathurst District Historical Museum but has been wrongly titled as “Ah Poop off to China 1924.”\textsuperscript{927}

\textsuperscript{926} Ibid. [C1924/9147] Ding Pang Application for a Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test.
\textsuperscript{927} A. E. Gregory Collection, Bathurst District Historical Museum, No.1004.
In the first decade of the twentieth century, Chinese market gardening was still flourishing. In 1906 it was reported that several truckloads were being dispatched by rail from Bathurst, Perth and Georges Plains almost daily, over 200 tons having been sent from those stations in the last month.\(^{928}\) By October 1909, 1800 tons of cauliflowers were sent to Sydney from Perthville, up from 1300 the previous year. It was reported that many of the cauliflower farms were run by Chinese dealers in Sydney and the profits went to the Haymarket.\(^{929}\)

**Incentives for white farmers**

As the census figures showed Chinese dominating the occupations of tobacco growing and market gardening, in 1905, W. S. Campbell, Sydney Smith’s replacement as New South Wales Director of Agriculture, visited Bathurst to see for himself. On touring the district he commented that “very rarely did one come across any farmers or settlers residence where fruits and vegetables were grown and the farmers either did without these things or else they had to rely upon Chinamen for their supplies.”\(^{930}\) When he visited the following year, he observed the lack of kitchen gardens in Bathurst, remarking that women would rather buy pumpkins from Chinamen than plant seeds themselves.\(^{931}\) In 1907, the *Bathurst Post* published a table from Campbell’s Annual Report of 1905-6, showing the area, production and value of crops grown in the period. The average value per acre of market garden was £26/12/0 and tobacco £23/5/0, compared to wheat at £1/10/0. Noting that the crop with the lowest value was grown by “our farmers” and the articles of the highest value were grown by “Chinamen”, the editorial proclaimed, “Surely the time has arrived when our own people should give these articles more attention and reap a portion of the best results per acre.”\(^{932}\)

The Government subsequently introduced financial incentives to encourage white farmers to enter those lucrative industries which were dominated by Chinese. In 1907, under the *Bounties Act* (No. 12 of 1907), the Commonwealth Government provided generous bounties on production of certain goods, which, under clause 4c of the Act


“have been grown or produced by white labour only.” The bounties, available for a five-year period from 1907, included 20s per ton for uncleaned rice, to a maximum of £1000 per year; preserved fish at ½d per pound to a maximum of £10,000 per year and tobacco leaf at 2d per pound to a maximum of £4000 per year. I have not ascertained if any “white farmers” from Bathurst applied for and claimed such bounties. Other state governments also passed discriminatory laws, particularly Queensland, which introduced the Sugar Cultivation Act in 1913, and the Banana Preservation Act in 1921, both mandatory dictation tests to curb the success of Chinese in those industries.

Share-farming

The Advocate stated in 1910 that some landowners had found it profitable to enter into the share system with Chinese growers of cauliflowers. Under the share system, land, implements and materials were provided by the land-holder and labour by the Chinese gardener, the profits to be shared on an agreed basis, and the risk in most cases to be the burden of the Chinese party. This offered many advantages for the landowner who received returns for little outlay, had the land improved and learnt from the Chinese market gardeners. According to Warwick Frost, the 1888 Royal Commission into Vegetable Products in Victoria showed that in North East Victoria, Chinese specialised in tobacco and hops under share-farming agreements. William Lyons told the Commission that he provided the land and its ploughing and advanced them stores, they provided the labour for growing and curing. The sale of the crop was split sixty percent to the Chinese and forty percent to the Europeans. H.V. Hyem of the King Valley provided 200 acres of ploughed and fenced land and erected curing sheds. Hyem took one third of the profits and the Chinese received two-thirds.

Chinese and European growers also entered into share-farming agreements to grow tobacco. In 1904, Low Poy was growing cauliflowers and tobacco on a property in Lagoon, part owned by him and butcher, Alfred Johnston. Twenty-seven blocks of Cox’s original grant Hereford, were advertised for auction in 1910 by the then owner, Cobb & Co.’s proprietor, James Rutherford. William P. Brook bought one of nine

blocks near the river and used nine acres of it for tobacco planting. Brook was reported as being “justly proud” of the huge plants which covered the nine acres, as was Doon Sing who had managed the crop.

Besides the new gardens overseen by Sydney based commission agents and gardens operated under share-farming agreements, there were still growers who leased land and grew for themselves, employing small numbers of men, or in syndicates. In 1911, Sam Lupp’s five acre garden on the Kinchela Estate on Morrisset Street and Charlie Wah’s eight acre garden which occupied two lots in Greek Street were the two largest gardens in the Bathurst Municipality. On the Kelso side of the Macquarie in Turon Shire, Yet Sing was growing potatoes, earning £6 for thirty-five bags sent to Sydney in 1910, whilst Hop Sing earned £5/9 for thirty-four bags.

Whilst new Chinese market gardeners were arriving, the older generation were ageing. Ah Lin, by this time known as James Lynne, died in 1909. He contracted pneumonia after being caught in floodwaters while trying to reach his farm. William Beacham died in March 1909, aged seventy-three. Beacham had lived through the eras of indentured labour, the gold rushes, the rise of Chinese market gardening and the introduction of the White Australia policy. He had been elected to the Bathurst Hospital Committee in 1884. As a native Hokkien speaker, who was employed by the government as a court interpreter, in some ways he stood apart from other Chinese in the community, the majority of whom were Cantonese speakers. His interpreting skills were called into question in the courtroom more than once by Cantonese speakers facing trial, although he defended his abilities and in most cases was supported by the magistrate. Beacham does not seem to have been a Chinese Mason, as when he died in 1909, he was not given a Masonic funeral. Although buried in Bathurst cemetery, his gravestone is no longer there.
The 1911 Census

The 1911 census, the first of the Commonwealth of Australia, once again took careful separate count of persons born elsewhere other than Australasia or Europe. Aboriginals were not counted in the census. Statistics for race, length of residence in the colony, age, education, marriage and occupation were all collected separately for Chinese and half castes. The objects and uses of the census were explained in the notes by the Government statistician, G. H. Knibbs:

It is the occasion on which the managers of the community in the persons of the Government of the day take steps to ascertain the stock of human life which the community represents, to classify that stock, according to the categories of sex, age, birthplace, etc., and by comparing the totals in the various classes with the corresponding totals for the previous Census, to ascertain the gain or loss which has occurred during the intercensal period. By such means the tendency of the community in the direction of growth or decay can be readily determined, and its relative position amongst the nations of the world can be measured.944

The total population of males born in China in the Commonwealth was 29,907.945 The total number of Chinese in Bathurst and surrounding counties was 236 males and two females. In Bathurst County there were 110 Chinese males and no Chinese females. Although low numbers of Chinese may have been resident in the Bathurst district, at planting and harvesting times; the population was boosted by seasonal workers. Jack Brook’s biographies of Chinese who lived in the Parramatta district shows the itinerant lives by some of the Chinese immigrants. Lee Hoy Kee, born in 1867, arrived in New South Wales in 1894 and worked at Parramatta, Double Bay, Waterloo, Waterfall and North Sydney before returning to China from 1912-13. In 1913 he returned to New South Wales and then between 1913-18 worked in Dubbo, Canowindra and Cowra before working in Bathurst. When he left Bathurst, he went to Mullumbimby.946 Lee Noon, aka Willie Ah Noon, born in 1866, arrived in New South Wales in 1890 and worked as a gardener and cabinet maker in Parramatta from 1890-98, then spent twelve years in Sydney, returned to China from 1910-1912, before working in Bathurst 1912-15.947 Thus the numbers of Chinese men in Bathurst and district in the 1910s is very likely to have exceeded the number indicated in census figures.

945 Commonwealth Census 1911
946 Brook, From Canton with Courage: Parramatta and beyond Chinese arrivals 1800-1900.
947 Brook, From Canton with Courage.
The 1911 Census also counted occupations of non-European races. 7172 full-blood Chinese stated their occupation as market gardener. 287 full-blood Chinese gave their occupation as tobacco grower.948

*Tobacco and fires*

A number of inexplicable fires, about which suspicions of arson circulated, were recorded in the early 1900s. In 1911, William See Fong’s store shed burnt down in Eglinton in a “mysterious fire”. He lost four tonnes of tobacco, four and a half tons of potatoes worth £400, insured for £200.949 The following year, fire destroyed George Sou Wong’s [Sue Won] tobacco shed and uninsured crop in the paddock he leased from Mr W. Davis on the Vale Road.950 Though “incendiariism” was initially suspected, the police found the fire was not suspicious.951 Then the next year, seventeen tonnes of tobacco was lost when Mang Kee’s shed at Alloway Bank burnt down in a mysterious fire.952 These were not the first fires to destroy Chinese sheds and produce, nor the last.

In April 1904, Low Poy and Johnston’s tobacco shed containing ten tons of onions and potatoes worth about £300 had burnt down. Previous to the fire, Gun Yee and Orlando Wilson had been employed to cut cauliflowers. Low Poy paid Wilson wages owed to him and Wilson left to work in Sydney. In 1908, Orlando Wilson wrote a letter to the Police in which he set out a detailed confession to setting fire to Low Poy’s tobacco shed to conceal the theft of money. Wilson was convicted and sentenced to two years gaol.953

While the cause of the fire at Low Poy’s came to light years later, the number of fires which burnt down Chinese sheds and stores around Australia, might retrospectively be considered suspicious. In May 1908, a fire burnt down a shed at J.J. Sullivan’s Alloway Bank causing the loss of 500 tons of potatoes, a Chinese dwelling house and various farm tools. The loss was not covered by insurance and the fire was supposed

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to have been caused by a cigarette.\textsuperscript{954} This occurred in the same year that fires which burned down eighteen Chinese houses in Atherton were attributed to an anti-Chinese crusade.\textsuperscript{955} Alternatively, as will be seen in the next chapter, these fires occurred at a time of internecine fighting between Chinese, so sabotage by rival associations must also be considered as a possible cause.

Trucks carrying produce from Bathurst were also inexplicably held up. The \textit{Bathurst Times} reported in July 1911, that one Bathurst farmer had a truck held up for eleven days before he could get any information on its whereabouts. Two other trucks were missing for a week and a fortnight.\textsuperscript{956}

In spite of these challenges, Chinese growers continued to increase their harvests. In 1912, ten acres of Chinese gardens in Morrisset Street produced 200 tons of vegetables. A harvest of 300 tons was expected in 1913 owing to a good season.\textsuperscript{957} In 1914, over 2000 tons of cabbages and cauliflowers grown at the Lagoon and Campbells River districts were consigned from Perthville Railway Station and “fully a like amount” left Bathurst and Kelso Stations.\textsuperscript{958} The \textit{Bathurst Times} stated:

\begin{quote}
 hundreds of tons of vegetables are sent to Sydney from the Chinamen’s gardens at Kelso and Bathurst and like weights from Eglinton, Kelloschiel, Rutherford’s Flats \textit{(Hereford)} and White Rock.\textsuperscript{959}
\end{quote}

Chinese growers were not the only ones enjoying bountiful harvests. It was also reported that a daily procession of drays and wagons carrying chaff and wheat to the stations had made their way through the town for a long time past. This bounty was attributed to the very rich land.\textsuperscript{960} It has been seen that the richness of the land can, in part at least, be attributed to Chinese labour in improving pasture.

\textit{Insecurity of tenure}

A case which came before the Bathurst District Court in November 1913 raised the question of whether leases on carefully cultivated land might be arbitrarily ended. This was the case of \textit{Ah Mow (or Ah Now) vs Bestwick}. This case was considered so important to Chinese growers, that a large number took a rare day off work to attend

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \begin{footnotesmall}“Fire at Alloway Bank”, \textit{NA}, 29 May 1908, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157193016}
\end{footnotesmall}
\item \begin{footnotesmall}“Advertising”, \textit{NA}, 9 November 1908, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157187208}
\end{footnotesmall}
\item \begin{footnotesmall}“The Produce Market”, \textit{BT}, 26 July 1911, \url{http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article110025005}
\end{footnotesmall}
\item \begin{footnotesmall}“Vegetable Growing”, \textit{BT}, 16 June 1913, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/111208702}
\end{footnotesmall}
\item \begin{footnotesmall}“Prolific Bathurst” \textit{BT}, 17 February 1914, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/111488446}
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\item \begin{footnotesmall}ibid.
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the hearing. Ah Mow had sued Edward Bestwick for having entered and broken into his gardens at White Rock and de-pastured the land with his cattle, destroying the vegetables and the benefits which would have accrued to him. P.S. McPhillamy, the owner of the land, had been leasing ninety acres of land to John Honeyman, who in turn had sub-leased twelve acres to Ah Mow. During the lease, the land was sold to Edward Bestwick and Honeyman gave up possession. When Ah Mow asked Bestwick if he could lease the land, he was told it had already been leased to Barnes Bros. Ah Mow was given a fortnight in which to remove his equipment and vegetables. Edward Bestwick gave evidence that there was practically nothing of value in the land when it was ploughed over by Barnes. This was contradicted by Honeyman who had seen “a lot of good cabbages” and peas and cucumbers that were “rather good” when he had visited Ah Mow’s garden on February 20. The number of Chinese “of various ages who congregated within the precincts of the Court House”, taking “a keen interest in the case”, indicates that Chinese understood the significance of the outcome to their security of tenure. The verdict found in Ah Mow’s favour; however, he was awarded only £10 of the £600 in damage he had claimed, and the judge refused to grant costs. This placed at risk the physical and capital investment that Chinese growers put into cultivating the land for their crops. The decision came on top of the 1912 *Crown Lands Consolidation Act* which prevented Chinese from acquiring Crown Land.

The Barnes Bros. who took over the lease from Ah Mow in 1913, were by 1916 leasing land to Yet Mong. As Cathie May observed in Cairns and Atherton, many farmers were unable to make a living off the land, and the only way they could make a living was to lease all or part of their land to the Chinese. Bruce Davidson’s 1981 book, *European Farming*, reviewed the history of European farming in Australia to identify its successes and failures. Two of the cardinal rules he identified are that "little labour and large areas of land must be used." Given this formula for success, Davidson

963 “Chinese Settlement in NSW: A Thematic history” 34.
964 National Archives Australia: SP 42/1, Correspondence of the Collector of Customs relating to Immigration Restriction and Passports. [C1930/8141] Yet Mong 1916.
966 Davidson, *European Farming in Australia: An Economic History of Australian Farming*, 159.
wonders how the small selectors ever survived. For many, the leasing of land to Chinese growers was their salvation.

Legislations affecting Chinese around the time of World War I

Chinese growers were apparently excluded from entering their produce into the awards at the Bathurst Show from 1913 to 1915. During this period, the growers’ names were exclusively European. Although the Bathurst Times boasted in 1915, “That the district can produce vegetables without the aid of the Celestial is emphasised in the keen competition in these classes”, the National Advocate begged to differ, commenting that there was only one cauliflower entry and pronouncing the "vegetables on the whole are of poor quality.”967 No show was held in 1916 when the Showground was used as a military camp or in 1917, but when the Show resumed in 1918, it still excluded Chinese entrants.968 Besides “Best Collection of Vegetables”, the new category of “Best Collection of Vegetables grown by a Chinaman” was introduced. W. Owens (Chinaman) of Kelso took first prize and Lee War took second.969 W. Owens was a regular winner of this category for many years to follow up to 1933.970

The sons and daughters of Chinese fathers and European mothers identifying themselves as Australians, and were among the first to volunteer in the armed forces. William Beacham Junior served tours of the Boer War in 1900 and 1902, and his letters sent home from the front were published in the National Advocate.971 Ah Lin’s son Herbert Lynn, whose mother Agnes was born in Ireland, served in the voluntary corps, the New South Wales Irish Rifle Regiment.972

970 According to Nell O’Rourke, On Ming changed his name to William Owens.
972 The New South Wales Irish Rifles Regiment, raised in 1896, was part of the unpaid military volunteer movement and was comprised of men of Irish birth or descent. The unit was in operation until 1930.
The 1909 *Defence Act* which excluded Chinese who were not of “substantially European descent or origin” from any role other than non-combative duties, prevented Chinese in Bathurst from enlisting to fight in the First World War until conditions were relaxed following the failure of the conscription referendum. James Hong of Bathurst went to Quirindi to enlist on 20 December 1915. A thirty-two-year-old labourer, James was the youngest of fifteen children born to Amoy labourer, John Hong and Margaret Lawrence. James joined the 4th Battalion. He was hospitalised suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis at Etaples in France in 1916, and was discharged and returned to Australia in 1917. He died of heart failure owing to his tuberculosis in 1918. Thomas Cohen, one of Amoy labourer William Cohen and Annie Cohen’s sons, was killed in action on 18 September 1918 in France.

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974 NSW BDM 13995/1918.
On the home-front, under the *War Precautions Act* (Alien Registration Regulations 1916), all Alien Residents in the Commonwealth were required to obtain permission from the Police before changing their place of residence or travelling beyond the Police District in which they resided, and to report to the Police immediately upon their arrival at their new place of residence or at their destination. In 1916, up to 125 Chinese registered in Bathurst under the Act.976

The *Returned Soldiers Settlement Act, 1916*, facilitated the settlement of returned soldiers on Crown and Closer Settlement lands. Besides being a solution to the problem of employment for returned soldiers, Soldiers Settlement seems also to have been a conscious policy to settle the land with white farmers. Marilyn Lake’s research on the soldier settlement scheme in Victoria uncovered a confidential letter sent by the government statistician G.H. Knibbs to the Minister of Repatriation in July 1917 which advised:

> Repatriation on lines which fulfil your ideal of really settling people satisfactorily on the land and reinforcing the rural population is, I am sure, the only possible safeguard against our heritage passing from our control within a very limited period of time.”

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The Commonwealth provided the funds by way of loans to the states, which were responsible for the administration of the scheme through local land boards. In 1917 an Inquiry by Local Land Board Inquiry was held into the proposed acquisition of J. McPhillamy's Mt Tamar and White Rock properties.978 McPhillamy had no wish to sell the land, which had evidently been leased profitably to Chinese market gardeners for many years.

The land contained three Chinaman’s huts and nine wells. Henry Bell gave evidence that he leased 329 acres of Mt Tamar from McPhillamy, of which he sub-let about ten acres of the flats to Chinese gardeners. The flats were valued at £37/10 per acre, while the land as a whole was valued at £11/15 per acre. The McPhillamy family held extensive land and clout in the Bathurst district, which may have something to do with the Land Board finding the land unsuitable for resumption 979 J. McSorley’s land at


979 *BT*, “Soldiers' Settlement”, 3.
White Rock was also sought for acquisition by the Land Board in 1919. Eventually land was acquired at Macquarie Vale for Soldier Settlement. A photograph showing old and new cottages on the settlement at Macquarie Vale suggests that Chinese tenants may have been displaced when land was resumed for Soldier Settlement.

![Image of Macquarie Vale Soldiers' Settlement Estate showing old and new cottages, 31 December, 1921](https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158565319)

Opportunities to lease land did not end altogether. In 1913, for example, the Webb estate Hathrop, at Gorman’s Hill was offering twenty-five acres of alluvial land suitable for a Chinaman’s garden, for a five- or ten-year lease. However opportunities to lease land came at much increased prices. In 1915, Gar Foon leased twenty-five acres of ground at Alloway Bank at £100 a year, and in 1916 Bathurst Council leased the sewage treatment paddock at Esrom to Chew Ming at £7 per acre.

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If these prices are any indication, the profit margin for Chinese market gardeners on leased land must have decreased considerably.982

**Employment in gardens**

In March 1914, George Sue Won’s garden on the Vale Road was raided by Inspector Gabriel of the External Affairs Department and Constable Lennon from the Bathurst Police. The raid and the court hearings generated a significant amount of correspondence which reveals much about the ownership of the land leased for the gardens, the ownership and size of the gardens and the sales and distribution networks for the produce.

One gardener, Ah Joe was given the dictation test and when he failed was arrested on a charge of being an illegal immigrant. Gabriel and Lennon then proceeded to a garden at Campbell’s Creek where Ah Gee and Ah Tye/Tiy were similarly detained and charged.983 Before the Police Court Ah Joe, also called Joe Fat, said that he had arrived in Sydney twelve years ago and had worked at Sing Nam’s cabinet making establishment as a cook. He had then worked in Ah Tiy’s garden at *Alloway Bank* for eighteen months. J.J. Sullivan confirmed he had known Joe Fat since 1910. Subsequently, Joe Fat had worked for George Sue Won for fifteen months, for which he was paid thirty-five shillings a week. As Joe Fat was able to prove he had been in the country for over two years, he was discharged. Ah Gee, whose case was heard next, testified that he had landed in Brisbane twelve years earlier and he had worked for Charlie Young for three years, first in gardens in Sydney, then Parramatta, before going to work for Hop Lee, [at Brewongle], for £2 a week. Ah Gee was similarly discharged.984 Evidence was heard that the third defendant, Ah Tiy, had worked as a cook in Sydney and in a garden at Morpeth in the Hunter region before arriving in Bathurst and working at Hop Lee’s garden. Le Lin, fruit merchant of 434 Sussex St, Sydney gave evidence that he had been to Bathurst four or five times to visit Hop Lee’s garden at Brewongle. In spite of the evidence heard, Ah Tiy was convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment.985 An appeal was lodged against Ah Tiy’s


conviction and the appeal sustained, leading the Advocate to deem the “Angel Gabriel’s” raid “a failure.”

Following the raid, Gabriel reported to Atlee Hunt, the Secretary of External Affairs:

> The number of Chinese employed on Campbells River, both sides is very large. A few old men appear to be working at these gardens in conjunction with a number of young and middle-aged Chinese. The police of the district are of the opinion that the younger Chinese never come into the township, always remaining at the gardens. These gardens, extending some 12 or 14 miles on one side of Bathurst to 3 ½ miles on the other side of Bathurst grow principally tobacco and cauliflowers.

Chinese found ways to circumvent unfair restrictions on entering the country. Chin Quay, the manager of a market garden at Hereford, was the “uncle” of Chan You Fong, who had arrived in Sydney in 1920 and was given an exemption to remain in Sydney for twelve months on payment of a £100 bond by Hie Lee & Co., Wholesale Fruit Merchants in the Haymarket. Chan You Fong began attending the Patrician Brothers School in Bathurst. Cathie May claimed that business firms in Cairns brought young male relatives from China, and had them educated in Cairns before entering the family business as a way of equipping business firms with European skills. Another way in which Chinese were able to circumvent the restrictions was by entering the country illegally as stowaways on ships from Hong Kong. When Inspector Gabriel raided gardens in Bathurst again in 1919, he arrested five illegal immigrants, including some seamen who had deserted ship. When he visited Bathurst again in 1922, he fired a shot at a suspected prohibited immigrant who fled.

Cathie May identified a Chinese bias in North Queensland towards private employment rather than wage work, stating, “it was rare to find a garden being worked by one man with hired labour; instead several gardeners tended to form a partnership

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and hire one or two labourers during busy seasons.”991 A transcript of Ah Tiy’s sworn evidence in court confirms that this was also the case for Ah Tiy, who stated that he lived at McGibbon’s [McKibbin’s] farm at Macquarie.992 Ah Tiy said had been gardening in Bathurst for two years, working for Yee Choy before he paid £11/5/- to acquire a half share in the garden.993

By contrast, George Sue Won’s garden at Orton Park was his business and there were no other shareholders. He grew cauliflowers on his garden of fifteen acres for which he paid £70 a year to lease, and he paid nine men to plant the cauliflowers.994 In 1920, Sue Won employed ten men for six months on wages of £2 a week. This was lower than the minimum wage for an unskilled worker, determined by the Harvester Judgement in 1907, but as meals were usually provided by the employer, this would have been an equitable wage.995 Sue Won also bought produce from other Chinese growers to send to the Sydney Produce markets by rail. On one occasion in 1914, Ah Gun and his wife Ada delivered fifty-two cases of tomatoes at 3s per case and delivered them to Mock Pong, agent for Sue Won at Bathurst Railway station. Sue Won claimed they were unfit for sale and refused to pay. Ah Gun took Sue Won to court to recover the amount owing.996 On another occasion, Sue Won sued Ding Pang for allowing his horse to trespass on his land and eat his cauliflower crop.997 Twice in 1919, Sue Won brought cases against his employees, suing Lee Fook for the theft of potatoes, and Lum Duck for absenting himself from his employment before his contract had expired.998

Departures

Yet Sing, whose name had appeared as a regular winner in the Bathurst Show from 1891 until at least 1906, disappeared from Bathurst newspapers after 1913.

992 Macquarie, the first farm and oldest residence west of the Blue Mountains was the land grant at O’Connell given to William Lawson in 1814 for his part in crossing the Blue Mountains. It was leased to Thomas Lee from the neighbouring property Woodlands in 1878 before it was bought by Thomas McKibbin in 1889.
997 NA, “Good Celestial Move”.
Perhaps the increasing number of hurdles placed in the path of Chinese market gardeners was the reason for Yet Sing’s departure in 1915. Or perhaps he left with savings to retire in the new Chinese Republic established in 1912.

Ah Guy, who had arrived in New South Wales in 1891, had been living in Bathurst from at least 1906 when Daisy Wells was living with him. He had been convicted and fined a number of times on charges connected with opium possession. In 1916 he was working as a gardener at Orton Park, when he was charged with permitting opium
smoking in his house. The case was dismissed as it was proved he not the lessee.999 Ah Guy registered as an alien in Bathurst in October 1916, but less than a year later, he filled out a change of abode application to advise he was moving to Tamworth.1000

Another gardener who left Bathurst at this time was Yet Mong. Unlike Yet Sing, Yet Mong made an application in Bathurst for a CEDT on 27 June 1916.1001 Albert Barnes of White Rock, supplied a reference in which he stated he had known Yet Mong for over four years during which time “he has leased a portion of farm on which he has been successfully growing cauliflowers and tobacco.”1002 Yet Mong returned to Bathurst in 1918, but shortly after his return, he was held up by four youths in the hut where he was living in Orton Park. When he refused to open the door to them, they smashed a window and broke in the door. They wore handkerchiefs to conceal their faces and pointed guns at him, including a double-barrelled shot gun. They asked for money and were not satisfied with the few pence he had in his pocket. They took his belongings including a rug from his bed, a pair of boots and some socks, some biscuits, a tin of fish and tobacco.1003 Yet Mong reported the hold-up to Mr Bayliss and four youths were charged with burglary. They were found not guilty, and all but one pleaded not guilty to the lesser charge of larceny. After this incident, Yet Mong moved to Tamworth, probably to join Ah Guy, who had moved to Tamworth from Orton Park the previous year.1004

Yet Sing, Ah Guy and Yet Mong were not the only gardeners leaving. Emily and Catherine, the daughters of Lum Tin and Lavinia had married and had their first children in Bathurst, but by 1904, Emily and James Yow had moved to Sydney, and by 1919 they were joined by Catherine and George Gwan.1005

Besides the departures, there were deaths of some of the oldest and most respected Chinese in the community. Sam Lupp had married Elsie Wah Sing in 1915.1006 They did not have children of their own, and Elsie’s daughter Mabel, died in 1921 two years

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1000 NAA: BP 4/3, Chinese, Ah Guy. Applied for and received Alien registration Certificate no.262 to replace Certificate no.155 issued 23 October 1916 at Bathurst
1001 NAA: SP 42/1, [C1930/8141].
1002 Ibid.
1004 NAA: SP 42/1, [C1930/8141].
1006 NSWBDM 17867/1915
after Sam died in 1919 and was buried in Bathurst Cemetery.\textsuperscript{1007} (See Appendix 7) Unlike his other siblings who are buried at the cemetery, Sam’s gravestone is inscribed in Chinese, and gives his surname as Wong and his village as Daai Ho Chung in Heung Yup, although he was born in Tuena as William Samuel Lupp. The Wong family who live in the neighbouring town of Orange today, hail from Daai Ho Chung, which indicates that John Lupp was not the only person from Daai Ho Chung to migrate to the district.\textsuperscript{1008} Sam was one of the few children of Chinese fathers and European mothers in Bathurst who identified more strongly with being Chinese than Australian.

Ah Now also died in 1919 and was buried in Bathurst Cemetery, where his headstone is one of the few left standing in the Chinese section. His headstone reads ‘In loving memory of our dear dad who left us May 17, 1919 aged 55 years.” According to the report of death, his youngest child was four years old when Ah Now died. Ah Now had been a pork butcher who used to kill pigs once a week and sell the pork to other Chinese.\textsuperscript{1009} He may have been the last Chinese butcher, as in later years, Ed Ryan, who had a butchery on Durham Street would deliver pigs split down the middle to the Chinese Masonic Lodge. According to Ed, the Chinese men would hang, dry and smoke the pigs.\textsuperscript{1010}

As the difficulty of leasing land increased, share-farming increased. In 1917, the Advocate reported “many tons of cauliflowers are being sent daily from Bathurst, Perthville, Georges Plains and Kelso railway stations… Chinamen are the growers, some on their own, others on the halves system with those who own the land.”\textsuperscript{1011} Robert Gordon Edgell who had arrived in Bathurst in 1902 after a career as an engineer took up land at Bradwardine, where he leased land on the share system to Chinese growers.\textsuperscript{1012} In 1912, Edgell was cultivating his land using Chinese methods. He got water from wells dug close to the bed of the river, used flood irrigation from existing channels and graded his paddocks “being careful to an exact inch.” In this manner, he

\textsuperscript{1007} NSWBDM 2266/1921 ; NSWBDM 9441/1919
\textsuperscript{1008} “True Australians and Pioneers: Chinese Migration to the Orange region of New South Wales”.
\textsuperscript{1009} “Chinaman Fined”, \textit{BT}, 15 March 1918, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/121225511}
\textsuperscript{1010} Ed Ryan, Pers. comm.,10 July 2018.
\textsuperscript{1011} "Cauliflowers", \textit{NA}, 19 May 1917, \url{http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article158485548}
\textsuperscript{1012} “Edgell vs Sullivan”, \textit{NA}, 20 May 1911, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157779521}
could obtain multiple crops in the year. Edgell also attempted to emulate Chinese gardeners’ liberal manuring of the soil by offering in 1921 to buy street sweepings from the Council.

Herbert Gunning also had a successful arrangement with at least four Chinese gardeners on his land at White Rock, originally granted in 1840 to W.C. Wentworth. When the estate was sub-divided in 1914, Herbert bought portions 43, 44 and 45, a total of 242 acres. His wage books show he leased land to Ah Way, Harry Chinaman, Ah Sow and Ah Gun.

Gunning had divided his land into seven paddocks, one of which was leased to Ah Gun in 1920 at £4 per acre. In May 1921, corn was being grown in three paddocks. Victor and Jack McGarry were paid for forty bags of corn grown by Gunning in Paddock One and seventy-two bags in Paddock Two. Sixty-two bags were pulled from Paddock Three leased by Ah Gun. J Kirk was paid for one day pulling tomatoes. He pulled thirty-two bags from Ah Gun’s paddock and another fourteen bags from another paddock. In 1921, Ah Sow grew cauliflowers, pumpkins, potatoes, turnips and cabbages on land leased from Gunning. In 1922, a newspaper reported that Herbert Gunning’s team of six horses was hauling six and a half tons of pumpkin grown by “Chinamen” for delivery in Durham Street. Chinese had grown thirty tons of pumpkins on Gunning’s property, whilst Gunning grew forty tons.

In spite of the lack of family and social isolation, Chinese created enjoyment of their own. Chinese New Year was celebrated with loud displays of fireworks and holidays from work. Chinese also found relaxation in the cinema. In 1917, the Advocate reported, "They are great people for picture shows as can be seen in Bathurst on any night.” Chinese were not confined to segregated seats as Aboriginales were, however, they often paid for the expensive seats to avoid harassment. Throughout the 1910s and the 1920s, Chinese magicians such as Li Hung Chang, Wong Toy Sun

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and Chung Lung Foo and Chinese acrobats such as the Kee Low acrobats performed in Bathurst with travelling circuses.\textsuperscript{1019} The tent boxer, Rud Kee first appeared in Bathurst in “Jimmy Sharman’s Great Show” in 1918, and boxed in tent tournaments in Bathurst in 1922, 1923 and 1925, staying with the troupe in various capacities for thirty-five years.\textsuperscript{1020} Bathurst residents Bob Newton and Michael Hunt recall in the 1950s, after Rud Kee had retired from boxing, he was still a drawcard of the troupe. Known as “Champion of the Chinese”, Rud Kee would beat a drum outside Sharman’s tent. “They used to stand all the boxers up on the board and he would bash the drum to attract the crowd.”\textsuperscript{1021}

The first two decades of the twentieth century showed the intention of the Commonwealth government to remove Chinese people from the industries which they had developed, and to measure the pace of their success in doing so. Chinese showed a remarkable resilience in spite of the challenges. After losing his tobacco crop in the fire, George Sue Won gave up on growing tobacco and grew cauliflowers and potatoes instead. When Chinese could no longer obtain leases, they increasingly entered into share-farming arrangements with white growers. Despite the determination of Chinese growers to stay on, the Government was also grimly determined that the task of placing control of Chinese dominated industries in white hands and making the nation white be completed.\textsuperscript{1022}

\textit{The 1921 Census}

The 1921 Commonwealth Census again measured people by birthplace, race and nationality and measured Chinese separately by age, conjugal condition, education, grade of occupation, dependent children and income.\textsuperscript{1023} The population was no longer recorded by counties, but by shires, so cannot be accurately compared with previous census results. The Bathurst Local Government area is a closer approximation to the Bathurst Municipality, which was used in previous censuses. Of the 5174 males in the


\textsuperscript{1021} Interview with Michael Hunt and Bob Newton, Bathurst, 6 May 2015.

\textsuperscript{1022} Markus, \textit{Fear and hatred : purifying Australia and California, 1850-1901}.

\textsuperscript{1023} “1921 Commonwealth of Australia Census”, \url{https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=md39015084584757;view=1up;seq=116}
Bathurst Local Government area, there were forty-six Chinese full-bloods and one Chinese half-caste.  

It is evident that Chinese “half-castes” under-reported themselves in the census, especially in the Bathurst Municipality, where families such as the Beachams, the Lynnes, the Quinns and the Yows still lived in Bathurst. They saw themselves as Australians and reported themselves as such, or they wished to avoid the stigmatisation and the penalties that being non-European incurred.

Classified according to race, there were twenty full-blood and three Chinese half-castes in the male population of 2394 in Abercrombie Shire; and 23 twenty-three full-bloods and eleven half-castes in the male population of 2569 in Turon Shire. The census recorded three Chinese half-castes in Bathurst municipality, five in Abercrombie Shire and seven in Turon Shire. A table which gave age according to birthplace showed that the largest number of Chinese males in the Commonwealth were aged between fifty and fifty-four. The Chinese population was ageing, and immigration restrictions prevented new Chinese from entering the country to replenish the numbers of Chinese market gardeners.

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1024 Ibid. Jack Brook obtained special permission from the Health Department to obtain the names of the men he listed, however, his list of men who entered and died at the State Hospital only goes up to 1950.

Whilst White Australia legislations made the first decade of Federation a struggle for Chinese in Bathurst, they also had cause for celebration. Anticipating revolution in China, the Chinese Masons went public in Sydney in 1908, when a Lodge was opened at Blackburn Street, Surry Hills. On 1 January 1912, Sun Yat-sen announced the establishment of the Republic of China in Nanking, and was inaugurated as the Provisional President of the Republic. In 1912 in Sydney, the Chinese Freemasons moved to a purpose-built Australasian headquarters at 18 Mary Street, Surry Hills and formally adopted the name Chinese Masonic Society. Moy Sing was named as Grand Master and James Chuey as Grand President and treasurer. It was not until June 1921 that the Chinese Masonic Lodge was officially opened in Bathurst. I argue that the events that led up to the opening of the Bathurst Lodge, indicate that Bathurst Chinese lodge members maintained a vested and critical interest in political developments in China. The resistance shown by Bathurst Lodge members to being brought under the umbrella of the Sydney headquarters also suggests schisms within the Masonic movement that reflect political divisions in the revolutionary movement in China.

Vivian Chow had claimed that the outbreak of the revolution of 1911 was nothing less than the culmination of Tse Tsan Tai’s work carried on not by Sun alone, but by all the forces of the vast organisation which Tse, Yeung Ku Wan and the Australian Chinese headed for more than fifty years. Tse Tsan Tai and Vivian Chow are not the only writers to challenge the orthodox history of China’s revolution of 1911 and its aftermath. Leslie Dingyan Chen’s 1999 book, Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement is an account of the career of his father, Chen Jiongming (hereafter I use the Cantonese pronunciation Chan Kwingming). Chan was the Provincial Governor of Canton and chief of the Canton Army who had a public split with Sun Yat Sen in 1922 over the latter’s leadership, led a rebel army against Sun in Canton, was defeated...

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1029 Chow, "Sun Yat-sen's 'fatherhood' of new China: the popular but untrue story.”
and forced to retreat to Hong Kong where he led the Chee Kung Tong Zhigongtang until his death in 1933. Chen’s book is an attempt to restore the ideas and achievements of Chan Kwingming to Republican history from which his name has either been besmirched or erased. My understanding of this forgotten part of China’s history relies on Leslie Chen’s account of events in China.\textsuperscript{1030}

When a reporter from the \textit{National Advocate} visited the Wing Hing Loong store in October 1911 “to ascertain his attitude to the Chinese Rebellion”, he found the storekeepers “as close as the proverbial oyster.”\textsuperscript{1031} It was reported, however, that the Chinese New Year celebrations which took place at the premises of Messrs Wing Hing Loong and Co. on 18 February 1912 were entered into with undiminished enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{1032} Elsewhere it was reported that Chinese in Bathurst celebrated Chinese New Year in 1912 by cutting their queues. An undescribed Republican flag was reported to have been flown in full sight at a Chinese garden in Kelso.\textsuperscript{1033}

Perhaps celebrations were short-lived as it was not Sun Yat-sen, but Qing Commander Yuan Shikai, who was installed as President of the New Republican Parliament in March 1912. In 1912, pro-revolutionary parties merged to form a new political party, the Nationalist Party with Sun Yat-sen as chairman. A second unsuccessful revolution was mounted in China’s south eastern provinces to unseat the increasingly autocratic Yuan Shikai in 1913. Yuan dissolved the Nationalists and dismissed Parliament and the revolutionaries fled China. Commander in Chief of the Canton Army and Canton Governor, Chan Kwingming 陳炯明, fled to Malaya, whilst Sun Yat Sen went into exile in Japan where he founded the \textit{Kuomintang}. An ideological split developed between these revolutionaries. Sun wanted to reunite China from the top down, by force. Chan favoured unifying China by peaceful persuasion, working from the bottom up by establishing model provinces in the south. Sun demanded that other revolutionaries

\textsuperscript{1031} “Dunno”, \textit{NA}, 26 October, 1911, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157783819}
\textsuperscript{1032} “Chinese New Year”, \textit{NA}, 19 February 1912, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157971228}
\textsuperscript{1033} “Chinese New Year”, \textit{The BT}, 19 February 1912, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/111381180}. The national flag adopted at the establishment of the government of the Republic of China at Nanjing in 1912 was a five-coloured flag, symbolising the peaceful cohabitation of the five major ethnic groups in China.
swear an oath of personal loyalty to him, which Chan and other nationalist party members refused to do.\textsuperscript{1034}

In Sydney and Melbourne, merchants, Christians, Masons and journalists had united after the Revolution and formed the Young China League to jointly raise donations for Sun Yat-sen and his new nationalist party and to promote constitutionalism in China.\textsuperscript{1035} After Yuan Shikai’s death in 1916, the Young China League re-branded itself as the Kuomintang.\textsuperscript{1036} By the end of 1916, thirteen Australasian Kuomintang offices had opened. It is noteworthy that a Kuomintang office was not established in Bathurst. The Chinese Masonic Society established a separate Hung Men fundraising committee to support the revolutionary armies in Southern China.\textsuperscript{1037} In mid-1916, newspaper advertisements appealed to all Yee Hings in Australia to become affiliated branches of the Sydney headquarters.\textsuperscript{1038} Branches of the Chinese Masonic Society opened in Launceston, Tumut, Brisbane, Cairns, Atherton, Gordon Vale, Toowoomba and Mackay between 1916 and 1918.\textsuperscript{1039} To understand why Bathurst was slow to open a branch, I would like to look back at events in 1905.

\textit{The Chinese Freemasons in Bathurst}

It was in 1905 that Sun Yat-sen’s “Three Principles” first appeared in the Chinese newspaper \textit{Min Pao} as “\textit{The Three Big Principles}” 三大主義. If it were true that Sun Yat Sen’s treatise was plagiarised from Loong’s manuscript, the Bathurst lodge members would have felt this as a betrayal of Loong Hung Pun’s role in the history of the revolution. Bathurst Chinese, the majority of whom were in the labouring classes, were also betrayed on a national level at the First Chinese Convention held in 1905. Delegates agreed to petition the Federal government to relax immigration laws to allow five classes of Chinese – merchants, students; tourists, teachers and missionaries - to enter Australia, omitting labourers.\textsuperscript{1040}

\textsuperscript{1034} Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement, 65.  
\textsuperscript{1036} ibid, 11.  
\textsuperscript{1037} Yong, New Gold Mountain, 165.  
\textsuperscript{1038} ibid, 164.  
\textsuperscript{1039} Mei-fen Kuo and Judith Brett, Unlocking the history, 13, Yong, New Gold Mountain, 165.  
\textsuperscript{1040} Yong, New Gold Mountain, 18.
The following year, Ah Gow and Suey Tong registered a business at 248 Howick Street Bathurst under the name of Tong Sing & Co.\textsuperscript{1041} The business registration marks Suey Tong’s first appearance in the record, but Ah Gow had been in Bathurst since at least 1898 when he was growing tobacco at White Rock together with Ah Pue and Ah Sow.\textsuperscript{1042} In 1906, four adjoining cottages at 96-102 Durham Street were leased by Ah Gow, Tong Sing, Ah Song and Quong Yun Kee.\textsuperscript{1043} Ah Gow and Suey Tong lived in one of four cottages.\textsuperscript{1044} Sydney-based vegetable dealer named Kum Mow, who had arrived in Bathurst in 1905, rented another of the cottages from Tong Sing.\textsuperscript{1045}

Figure 22: 96-102 Durham Street Bathurst. Photograph by Juanita Kwok 2018

In 1906, police raided the cottage at 102 Durham Street Bathurst and charged twenty Chinese men with being in a common gaming house without lawful excuse and Ah Gow, with being keeper of the gaming house.\textsuperscript{1046} Three years later, Soy Tong and Kum Mow fell out. Soy Tong [sic] sued Kum Mow over a crop of ten acres of

\textsuperscript{1041} NSWSA:Deeds Registration Branch; Register of Firms NRS 129161. [2/8538] 14470, Tong Sing and Company, 1905.
\textsuperscript{1042} “No title”, \textit{NA}, 28 September 1898, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/17033804}
\textsuperscript{1043} Bathurst Municipality Rate Register, 1906, 18.
\textsuperscript{1045} “Chinese Gamblers”, \textit{NA}, 3 November 1906, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157299703}
\textsuperscript{1046} “Chinese Gamblers”, \textit{NA}, 3 November 1906, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/157299703}
cauliflowers grown on a market garden in Lagoon.  

Kum Mow placed an advertisement in the Advocate stating “I Gum Mow [sic] have removed from the premises at 98 Durham St and am in no way connected with the same.” After this Kum Mow’s name did not reappear in Bathurst until 1915. Tong Sing, however, consolidated in Bathurst, with Suoy Tong, [sic] Gilbert Ting Quoy, Low Bow Chung and Chee Sung taking out a business licence for Tong Sing & Co. Tong Sing also acquired a butcher’s licence in 1910, as did the Wing Hing Loong store in Howick Street. It is not certain if Kum Mow remained in Bathurst or returned to Sydney. He re-appears in February 1915, when Gum Mow of 75 Rankin Street advertised for potato pickers.

In July 1915, fourteen police were involved in conducting a well-orchestrated gambling raid on the store at 123 Durham Street. Forty-eight Chinese men were arrested and fined 10s each for being found in a gaming house, and the storekeeper, George Ah Sing, “agent for the Bathurst Chinese”, was arrested and fined £5 for being keeper of a common gaming house. Kum Mow, who had parted on bad terms in 1909, was accused of being an informer in this case. In September 1915, Kum Mow sued Low Ling, a market gardener in Bathurst. He claimed Low Ling had slandered him by circulating claims that he was an informer who had supplied the police with information which caused a raid to be made on a gambling house in Bathurst, and therefore a man to be shunned and despised. The court ruled in favour of Kum Mow and Low Ling was ordered to pay a total of £33 in damages and costs, which sent Low Ling bankrupt.

A second raid on 123 Durham Street took place in October 1915. George Ah Sing and thirteen men were arrested and this time Ah Sing was fined £10. A year later, George Ah Sing was arrested in a police sting for sly grog selling at 123 Durham

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1049 NSWSA: Deeds Registration Branch; Register of Firms NRS 129161. [2/8541] 18272 Tong Sing and Company, 1909.
1054 SANSW, NRS 13655, 10/23788, 20565, Low Ling bankruptcy.
These arrests and the record of convictions ruined any possibility of a respected civic role for George Ah Sing. A police conviction also seriously injured the prospects of obtaining a CEDT to make return visits to China to see one’s wife and family, as persons had to prove they were of good character.

In the slander case, Kum Mow gave his address as 16 Mary Street, Sydney, next to the Chinese Masonic Headquarters. Evidence suggests that Kum Mow had a close association with the Chinese Masonic Society in Sydney. In 1917, Kum Mow married Elsie May Chinn from Junee in a lavish wedding in Sydney attended by Chinese Masonic President James Chuey, and Sun Johnson, editor of the *Chinese Australian Herald*. Elsie was likely to have been introduced to Kum Mow by James Chuey, who had begun his career as a storekeeper and grazier in Junee. Kum Mow brought Elsie back to live in a two-storey home at 25 Rankin Street Bathurst and began trading as Joe Hop at 123 Durham Street. The evidence suggests that Kum Mow was installed by the Chinese Masonic Headquarters in Sydney to bring the Bathurst branch under its umbrella.

![Chinese Wedding in Sydney](image)

Figure 23: Kum Mow and Elsie Chinn’s wedding, *The Sun*, 18 February, 1917 p.16

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1057 NSWBDM 346/1917
Only months later, in July 1918, Kum Mow’s store on the western corner of Durham and Rankin Streets was destroyed by fire. Kum Mow was away at the time and Elsie was at their home in Rankin Street. By the time the alarm was raised the fire had destroyed most of the building with damage estimated at £1000. The store was a fairly substantial brick building, said to have been one of the oldest in Bathurst. The cause of the fire was not known.\footnote{1059 “Old Bathurst Landmark”, \textit{NA}, 2 July 1918, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158495837}}

Figure 24: Site of the Chinese store at 123 Durham Street, now a Suzuki sales yard. Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2018.
Map 13: Map showing Chinatown and market gardens on the Macquarie River

The store probably served as the repository for the savings of Chinese members of the Lodge, who seemed devastated at its loss. Chinese gardeners in Bathurst stopped working for three days, and in the days following the fire it was reported that enough horse manure for at least three Chinese gardens had accumulated on the streets.  

Although in the next few days £500 pounds in money in an iron safe and some gold nuggets and jewellery were recovered, there were other unrecovered losses. The Advocate reported that sixty-one-year-old Ah Lupp was also brought before the court in August 1918, charged with stealing a cheque and money from Elsie Kum Mow. The charge was said to have arisen out of circumstances connected with the fire. After the fire, the Chinese Masonic Society established new premises at 108 Durham Street, adjacent to the four cottages. Ed Ryan, a retired Durham Street butcher who

remembers the Lodge, claims that it had a tin roof and was painted a deep maroon colour, and that the doors opened onto the Rankin Street side.\textsuperscript{1063}

Figure 25: 108 Durham Street, the site of the Chinese Masonic Lodge. The adjoining cottages can be seen far left, whilst the red house between was the home of later Chinese Masonic President George Chew Ming. Photograph by Juanita Kwok.

In June 1921, it was reported that twenty-two Chinese residents were initiated into the Bathurst Lodge on the corner of Durham and Rankin Streets in Bathurst.\textsuperscript{1064} It was said that an initiation of twenty members had taken place several months earlier. The principals were named as Chew Ming and Chun Choy [the market gardener of Hereford\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}], whilst Pew Ming, Kum Mow and resident Chinese interpreter John Pugh were named as prominent officials. Young Doo from the Chinese Masonic Society in Sydney attended.\textsuperscript{1065} In December 1921, George Chew Ming purchased the site of the Lodge at 108 Durham Street. He also purchased the four adjacent cottages at 96-102 Durham Street.\textsuperscript{1066} George Chew Ming had arrived in Sydney in 1904, and in 1915

\textsuperscript{1063} Ed Ryan, Pers. comm., 10 July 2018.
\textsuperscript{1065} In 1922, Charlie Young Doo, the Financial Secretary of the Chinese Masonic Society was convicted of embezzlement from the Society and sentenced to two years in gaol.
\textsuperscript{1066} Bathurst Municipality Rate Register 1920-22, 8.
was a storekeeper in Summer Street, Orange.\textsuperscript{1067} He first appeared in Bathurst as winner of the Bathurst Cycling Trophy in 1921.\textsuperscript{1068}

Figure 26: George Chew Ming’s CEDT, 1914, NAA ST84/1, 1914/150/61-70

In 1922 George Chew Ming married Ruby Wing of Dubbo.\textsuperscript{1069} The same year Ruby’s sister Eva Wing married Hang Sing, a storekeeper in East Orange, who also had a market garden in Cheeseman’s Creek near Molong.\textsuperscript{1070}

\textsuperscript{1067} National Archives of Australia: SP1732/5, 3035, Chew Ming, George, 1948; "That Young Chinese Again”, \textit{Molong Argus}, 17 September 1915, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/105660448
\textsuperscript{1069} NSWBDM 1863/1922
\textsuperscript{1070} "Public Notice", \textit{Orange Leader}, 19 September 1919; "True Australians and Pioneers: Chinese Migration to the Orange region of New South Wales".
Freemasons vs Nationalists

It is clear that overseas Chinese had a keen interest in political events in China. The reliance of revolutionary movements in China on the support of overseas Chinese, can be seen in the financial donations remitted by overseas Chinese.\textsuperscript{1071} By the second decade of the twentieth century, leadership of the Yee Hing had transferred to North America, where branches of the Yee Hing known as the \textit{Chee Kung Tong} (devote one’s effort to the public) had existed since the 1870s.\textsuperscript{1072} Yong claims that in 1919, the Sydney headquarters of the Chinese Masonic Society, in accordance with the advice of the World Chinese Masonic Society in San Francisco, renamed itself the \textit{Chee Kung Tong}.\textsuperscript{1073}

\textsuperscript{1071} See Yong, \textit{New Gold Mountain}, 141-3. Names of Chinese in Australia who donated to the Kwang Tung Military Government Department for the Collection of Military Funds were also published in the \textit{Tung Wah Times}.
\textsuperscript{1073} Yong, \textit{The New Gold Mountain}, 165.
Up until 1920, James Ah Chuey was still remitting donations to Sun Yat-sen, though his support may have ended in 1922 when Sun Yat-sen and Chan publicly split and prepared to fight for control of Canton.1074 At this time, Leslie Ding Chan claims Sun Yat-sen gained control of Canton by ruthlessly bombing the western part of the city. Chen refers to this incident as the Xiguan Massacre, but writes it is otherwise referred to as the Canton Merchant Volunteer Corps Incident.1075 Chan Kwingming was forced into exile in Hong Kong. In 1922 Sun’s representative, Chan On Yan 陳安仁 visited Australasia. Ostensibly visiting to launch the openings of the new Kuomintang buildings in Melbourne and Sydney, Kuo and Brett argue that Chan’s most important task was to raise money for Sun’s causes in China, amongst them establishing an airforce to defeat Chan Kwingming’s rebel army.1076

The Bathurst Chinese Masons took a keen interest in the political struggles between Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang and Chan Kwingming and the Federalists in China. To keep abreast of the political developments, in early June 1922, the Chinese Masonic Society became one of the earliest organisations in Bathurst to subscribe to the telephone service.1077 Chan On Yan did not visit Bathurst, but on 25 June 1922, the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst received a visit from Ma Hsiao Chin, a Member of the House of Representatives from China. Ma was accompanied by James Chuey.1078 The reported object of Ma’s visit to Bathurst was to meet with members of the Chinese Masonic Society, though he also stated in subsequent interviews that he was visiting the Chinese communities in Australia “to make known to them the nature of political conditions in China” and “to study the commercial situation and municipal government.”1079 It is very likely he came as Chan Kwingming’s emissary. Why Bathurst was first priority on Ma’s tour is unclear. It may have been to thank the Bathurst Chinese Masons for contributing generously to the Republican cause in the past. The possibility also exists that Ma came looking for Kong Loong’s treatise. Ma was a distinguished literary scholar, had edited newspapers in the United States and

1074 Kuo and Brett, 18.
1076 Kuo and Brett, 38.
China, and was one of the delegates who drafted the Chinese Constitution in Peking. After Bathurst, Ma visited Chinese Masonic Lodges in Melbourne, Echuca, Bendigo, Wagga and Albury before going to Wellington and Auckland in New Zealand.

A shooting incident which took place in Bathurst in September 1922, leaves little doubt about the political loyalties of Chinese in Bathurst. Market garden owner, George Sue Won was charged with shooting at Leung Way, who had recently arrived in Bathurst. In the trial, a police witness gave evidence that there were two different parties of Chinese in Bathurst, the Freemasons and the Nationalists. The former were an overwhelming majority, but Sue Won belonged to the latter. This attack indicated the hostility felt towards Nationalists by members of the Chee Kung Tong, not only in Australia but in North America. In 1923, the year that Sun Yat Sen expanded on his “Three Principles of the People” speech by publishing The Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Ma Hsiao Chin wrote a declaration publicly condemning Sun Yat Sen, published in the Tung Wah Times in 1923. The same year, the World Headquarters of the Chee Kung Tong in San Francisco expelled Sun Yat-sen from the association. The following year, Tse Tsan Tai came out of retirement to publish his Secret History of the Revolution.

The early-to-mid 1920s was a period of heightened Masonic activity in Bathurst. When Chun Quay died in January 1924, he was given a full Masonic funeral. He was described as the owner of a big Chinese market garden in the Brewongle district and had been Vice President of the Lodge for seven months. Chun Quay’s body was taken from the funeral parlour to the “Masonic Temple” where it was reported that “the deceased countrymen performed their ancestral rites with rigid formality.” The hearse then proceeded to the cemetery, followed by “a contingent of Masons in full regalia.”

1084 NSW BDM 4333/1924.
At the time of Chun Quay’s funeral, Kum Mow was named President of the Lodge in the report of an annual installation of officers, followed by a grand feast for 300, held at the Assembly Hall of the Lodge. Kum Mow then had a market garden on land leased at Alloway Bank. Kum Mow does not seem to have been successful in winning the loyalty of the Chinese Masons in Bathurst. In March 1925, Gee Chong Quong was committed to trial for stealing a £20 cheque from Kum Mow. In the same month, former employee Ah Sam took an axe to Kum Mow’s melon crop, pleading guilty to maliciously damaging a crop of melons valued at £6 in Kum Mow’s garden. When asked if he did it because he “got the bullet”, the interpreter said that Ah Sam left of his own accord.

It seems clear that Bathurst was a stronghold of the Chinese Masonic movement in Australia. The reasons for the grudge against Kum Mow are not entirely clear. Members of the Bathurst Lodge may have resented the imposition of the authority of the Sydney headquarters’ leadership. There may have also been resentment that Kum Mow had set himself apart from his workers by establishing a brick, two-storey, comfortably furnished home for his family at 25 Rankin Street. From the advertisement for the sale of his house in 1927, it is evident that his mode of living was a world away from the cold one-room huts lived in by the majority of market gardeners.

The attacks on Kum Mow occurred a month after Sun Yat Sen died on 12 March 1925. Sun’s deputy Chiang Kai-Shek assumed command of the Kuomintang. In October 1925, the Chee Kung Tong of the Americas was formally reorganised into a political party called the Chee Kung Party of China. The exiled Chan Kwongming was elected chairman, and the following year, the headquarters were moved to Hong Kong. During 1926 Chan worked on Chee Kung Tong policy and his book *A Proposal for the Unification of China*. He led the Chee Kung Tong until his death in 1933, the year Vivian Chow published his claims about Loong and the Chinese Masonic fraternity.

The events in Bathurst from the early to the mid-1920s show Chinese residents of Bathurst and district were actively engaged in national and trans-national political struggles over the future of China. These events suggest that there were as yet to be fully understood schisms within the Yee Hing movement, from at least 1905 until at least 1922. After 1922 it would appear that the Chinese Masonic Society supported Chan Kwongming in the struggle for control of China. These findings lend support to Vivian Chow and Leslie Chen’s unorthodox versions of revolutionary history in China.

*Battles on the Homefront*

If the complexities of internal divisions in Chinese politics were not enough to deal with, the Chinese Masonic Society also had issues of discrimination to contend with.

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1089 Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement*, 268
in Bathurst. In June 1924, a member of the Bathurst Hospital Committee proposed that separate crockery and cutlery be provided for Chinese patients. George Chew Ming, referred to as President of the Masonic Society, complained that the Chinese of the Bathurst district felt that they had been insulted. “The Chinese in the Bathurst district”, he stated, “had been most liberal in cash and food to the Hospital for many years.” It was true that Chinese donors from different organisations and different gardens within the district had been contributing on an almost annual basis since 1878. The contributions came from different sections of the Chinese community and different gardens in the district. In 1902, Andrew Ah Die collected from the Chinese associated with the Chinese Mission and in 1907, Tong Sing donated the generous sum of £19/12/6 to the Bathurst District Hospital on behalf of the market gardeners of Morisset Street. The lists of donors published in the Bathurst Times supply the names of members of the Chinese Masons, the Chinese Mission and the names of employees of various gardens over the years. The Hospital Committee, not wishing to risk the loss of such generous benefactors, dropped the proposal and, by 1926, the Hospital was once again thanking the Chinese residents of Bathurst for their donations. Donations continued to be made to the Hospital up until 1937, after which time market gardeners directed all their funds towards supporting the Chinese in the war against Japan.

**Chinese tobacco growing ends in Bathurst**

Whilst the Nationalists and the Chinese Masons were engaged in their internecine struggles, the state and Commonwealth governments were still working towards replacing the Chinese grower with the white grower. In 1920, the Department of Agriculture published a booklet to educate the small market gardener and the suburban resident on how to grow vegetables. Its preface stated:

> The bulk of the homegrown vegetables offered for sale in Sydney is raised by Chinamen while in Victoria the celestial has been long ago almost forced out of the business by the white grower. It was one of the impressions derived by many of our "diggers" that the supply of vegetables in all European countries was in the hands of growers of their own nationality. Why it should be
otherwise in NSW is not clear. Contrary to popular opinion, vegetable growing does not demand such long hours as the industrious Mongolian suggests.  

There is evidence of not only state governmental succession planning to replace Chinese market gardeners but also State and Commonwealth efforts to drive Chinese tobacco growers out of the industry. By 1918, the British Australasian Tobacco Company (BATC) had absorbed almost all the tobacco manufacturers to become the monopoly buyer of tobacco in Australia. Between 1918 and 1923 the BATC adopted a policy to no longer purchase sun-dried dark leaf, (the tobacco produced by the majority of Chinese) and to purchase only flue-cured bright leaf tobacco.

Mang Kee had died in a horse and buggy accident in 1915, and See Lee had entered into a leasing or share-farming arrangement with Sam Williams to grow tobacco at Alloway Bank. In November 1923, Williams wrote to the Minister of Agriculture to request further information on flue-curing. The Minister’s reply to William’s query, published in the Advocate, stated, “The tobacco expert from his experience, is very doubtful Chinese growers will adopt flue-curing methods”, but suggested Williams seek further information from the Experiment Farm. That month, the Experiment Farm held its annual Open Day for farmers. The Manager, R.G. May, conducting a tour of the Farm’s tobacco growing facilities, stated that the Department (my italics) wanted all growers of tobacco to introduce the system of flue curing their leaf. “Chinamen,” he stated, “could not flue-cure; they were not temperamentally fitted for successfully flue-curing tobacco.”

Fires had destroyed the tobacco sheds of Lou Poy in 1904, William See Fong in 1911, George Sue Won in 1912 and Mang Kee in 1913. In 1924, two catastrophic fires spelled the end of the Chinese tobacco industry in Bathurst. On 14 January 1924, Gum Hay and Gum War’s tobacco shed leased from J.C. Richardson on the Vale Road burnt down. The shed contained two lots of tobacco belonging to the men, each worth about £800. Gum Hay’s tobacco was destroyed. He was particularly unlucky as he had

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neglected to renew his insurance which had expired in December 1923. The tobacco
was also due to be sold in the following few days at the price of 1s/2 a pound. Three months later, a fire destroyed See Lee’s tobacco shed at Alloway Bank. The shed and its contents valued at £300 were uninsured. A newspaper report of the fire noted that Man Kee’s tobacco shed at Alloway Bank had burnt to the ground in three consecutive seasons. It may be assumed that after these losses, See Lee, Gum Hay and Gum War left Bathurst as there is no further record of them in the district. No arson charges appear to have arisen from these fires, though their frequency lends them to suspicion.

The compound effects of changes in policy and the personal losses sustained by individual farmers drove the last of the Chinese in Bathurst out of commercial tobacco production. With Chinese growers out of the industry, incentives were offered to encourage white growers to enter the industry. In August 1926, the BATC made an offer on behalf of the company to provide up to £50,000 in expenditure in conjunction with the Federal or State governments on a pound for pound basis for the development of the tobacco industry in Australia. A Select Inquiry into Tobacco Growing was held by a House of Representatives Committee from 1929-1930. The Committee visited all the tobacco growing areas in Australia, with the exception of Western Australia and Northern Queensland. In New South Wales they visited Tamworth, Manilla, Texas and Tumut. Bathurst was by then no longer a centre of tobacco production. The Report of the Select Committee tabled before Parliament in July 1930, stated:

The industry has definitely become a white growers industry, only a handful of Chinese remaining, and these are confined to northern New South Wales…the Chinese, not being skilful at mechanical methods show no inclination to learn the art of flue-curing, consequently there does not appear to be the slightest danger that the industry will revert to Chinese labour.

As the minutes of the proceedings show, the Committee cast doubt upon the intelligence of Chinese growers, asking a buyer from the BATC, “You consider that

1100 “A Chinaman's Loss”, BT, 11 April 1924, “Disastrous Fires”, BT, 14 January 1924,
1101 (1930), Select Committee on the Tobacco-Growing Industry in Australia together with the
minutes of proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence; Government Printer, Canberra.
1102 “Report from the Select Committee on the Tobacco Growing Industry in Australia” See.7-13
intelligence on the part of the grower is an important factor as well as soil, climate and seed in success?” The buyer replied, “Yes, it is most important.”

The emphasis placed on the superiority of white scientific methods and technical expertise was intended to discredit Chinese traditional labour-intensive methods. Yet the report noted that tobacco required constant attention which it was given by Chinese growers but found that “not enough white growers show the necessary concentration.” It offered the encouragement “Once it is clear that the industry has come to stay, and is to be developed, this unfortunate feature will be less conspicuous.”

The Report also noted that the British Australasian Tobacco Company had spent £75,000 on experimental work in various tobacco districts. It did not stipulate if Bathurst was one of those districts, but it provided an example of a failed plantation scheme at Texas, on the NSW Queensland border, where the Company purchased land for an Experiment Farm which it ran between 1910 and 1915:

We erected flue curing barns and employed only white labour. We built cottages for the men and spent no expense to try to institute a white colony, but we did not make a success of it…”

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104 Select Committee on the Tobacco-Growing Industry in Australia together with the minutes of proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence Government Printer, Canberra.
105 Select Committee on the Tobacco-Growing Industry in Australia together with the minutes of proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence Government Printer, Canberra.
106 Select Committee on the Tobacco-Growing Industry in Australia together with the minutes of proceedings of the Committee and minutes of evidence Government Printer, Canberra.
Figure 29: Chinese tobacco plantation, Bathurst, John Henry Harvey, 1855-1938, Photograph courtesy of State Library of Victoria

Figure 30: Mt Pleasant 2017, the location of the tobacco plantation in above photograph. Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2016.
It may be concluded that the attempt by the Commonwealth to wrest control of the tobacco industry from Chinese growers and deliver it into the hands of white growers failed to benefit growers in Bathurst, where within a short time tobacco growing disappeared.

Although Chinese had been driven out of tobacco growing, they persevered with market gardening in Bathurst. In January 1924, five trucks of cabbages and onions, grown at *Esrom*, Eglinton, *Alloway Bank*, *Cangoura* and *Hereford* were sent to the railyards daily, Chinese growers earning six to eight shillings per dozen.1107 In 1925, Chinese growers consigned 150 tons of cabbages to the Sydney markets, fetching ten to twelve shillings a dozen in January, and producing a second crop in August.1108

In 1925 electricity reached Bathurst. Chinese market gardeners were quick to apply for connection, applying earlier than the Court House and the Post and Telegraph Offices. Chinese market gardeners were also replacing their worn out steam driven engines with electric motors to pump water from the river onto their gardens.1109 Amongst those doing so were Quan War, Chew Ming and G.A. Robertson at Kelso.1110 Kum Mow by now had left *Alloway Bank* and had a garden at George Street falls on the Kelso side of Gordon Edgell’s Bridge. When Kum Mow applied to connect electricity to his garden in February 1927, the Council agreed on condition Kum Mow pay either the £129 full cost of extension or other expensive options.1111 At this point, Kum Mow decided to leave Bathurst for Sydney permanently.

Amongst the gardening equipment Kum Mow sold when he left were a scarifier, a plough, and a horse and harness.1112 Walter Hunt recollected:

> As more and more of the Chinese made enough money to go home to China, the landholders began to realise there was more money to be made growing the produce than in renting the ground. For a time the share system came in, whereby the Chinamen grew the produce on the share. Then gradually the

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white men took over. Horse drawn scarifiers got over the ground quicker than the man with the hoe. Pumps on the river took the place of the wells.\textsuperscript{1113}

Hunt’s recollections suggest that Chinese market gardeners were limited to the hoe. The evidence shows that Chinese with sufficient capital were using horse drawn scarifiers. The evidence also shows Chinese were willing to try flue-curing tobacco. It appears that it was not an aversion to change and mechanisation, but rather the lack of opportunity to lease land and poverty, together with incentives for white growers, which inhibited the success of Chinese growers in Bathurst.\textsuperscript{1114}

1930s and 1940s

The 1930s and 1940s brings us within the living memories of present Chinese residents and descendants. This section will include some oral history evidence to give insight into the period.

The depression years hit Chinese growers hard and their financial difficulties had a flow-on effect for their landlords. In 1931, Sam Williams of Alloway Bank was amongst a deputation of landowners who appealed to the Turon Shire Council for a reduction in rates, pleading that they faced bankruptcy. The Chinese gardeners leasing their land were either leaving it or could not afford to pay the rent: “There were many gardeners on the flats and they had found it a difficult job to get rid of their vegetables at all”, he said, citing the case of one gardener who had forwarded thirty tons of cabbages to Sydney at a dead loss and had to pay £15 in expenses.\textsuperscript{1115}

In 1932, there was another significant departure from Bathurst. On War’s market gardening equipment was advertised for sale at Edgell’s property Bradwardine. On War’s equipment included an engine and centrifugal pump, three harrows, and three scarifiers, spring cart and harness.\textsuperscript{1116} The sale gives no clue as to whether the lease had expired or whether On War had the option to renew it, however, the 300 sheets of

\textsuperscript{1114} This argument is indebted to research on market gardening by Joanna Boileau. See Boileau, Joanna. "Chinese Market Gardening in Australia and New Zealand 1860s to 1960s: A Study in Technology Transfer." University of New England, 2014.
\textsuperscript{1115} “Facing Bankruptcy”, \textit{NA}, 7 February 1931, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/159851227}
\textsuperscript{1116} ”Advertising”, \textit{NA}, 28 April 1932, \url{http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/160327042}
galvanised iron that were part of the sale suggest that the shed and living quarters were dismantled. There is no record of On War in Bathurst after this time, nor did another market gardener take up a lease at Bradwardine. On War was a prominent Chinese Mason who had been in Bathurst since at least 1918.¹¹¹⁷

William’s son Norman Beacham was operating the store at 105 George Street as a fruit shop when he married Emily Jones in 1913, but by 1929 the store was operating as a tobacconist. Sometime between 1929 and 1932, Norman had to sell up the store. ¹¹¹⁸

Figure 31: Norman Beacham with his son Ross. Photograph courtesy of Wendy Pickering


George Ding had opened a fruit and vegetable store at 95 Rankin Street in 1912, but by 1924, he was working as a labourer. The building housing the Wing Hing Loong store was demolished in 1919. Perhaps the last Chinese store was Mock Sam’s fish and grocery business at 95 Rankin Street in 1933. This might have been 70-year-old Sam Mock who died in Bathurst in 1934.

The departure from Bathurst of so many employers at the time of the Depression, and the lack of stores that might extend credit left many Chinese destitute. In December 1932, several Chinese queued for Christmas food relief. Many Chinese were further impoverished by debilitating fines issued for opium-related offences during the 1930s. Gum Bow for instance was fined £1 in February and £10 in August 1933, and Mock Sam fined £15 in May 1933.

The 1933 Census counted 3472 males and 193 females in New South Wales born in China. There were twenty-two Chinese men interviewed at the Chinese Masonic Lodge in Bathurst for the purpose of the census. Their average age was seventy and all were unemployed. According to the report, “they gave the reason for this as the scarcity of work in Bathurst, but every one of them expressed a desire to start work at once if given the opportunity.”

**Chinese Masonic Society**

Leadership of the Chinese Masonic Lodge in the late 1920s is unclear. In 1929, it was reported that Lee San, Worshipful Master of the Chinese Masonic Society at Nyngan, in far-western New South Wales, and past Grand Master of the Western District Chinese Masonic Society, opened a new Masonic Hall in Bathurst in 1929, whereupon twenty-five new members were initiated. In 1932 sixty-three-year-old Ah Sing (who had been storekeeper at 123 Durham Street at the time of the 1915 raids) was...

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named as the lessee of the premises known as the Chinese Masonic Society at 108 Durham Street and fined £30 for knowingly permitting the premises to be used for opium smoking and having a quantity of prepared opium in his possession. A donation to the Hospital, made by Ah Sing in 1922, indicates that he had remained in Bathurst.

George and Ruby Chew Ming were living at 104 Durham Street, next to the four cottages adjacent to the Chinese Masonic Society. Another Chinese Masonic member, John Pugh lived in the cottage at 98 Durham Street with his wife, Lavinia Schofield, and her son and daughter Ellen (Nell). Nell, who was ninety-six years old when I interviewed her and her daughter Dawn Brownlow in 2016, recalled attending the funeral of Charles Yow Senior, who had a market garden at Brewongle:

> I remember going to Charles Senior’s funeral. Lummie used to cook the pork, he used to have this cart. It used to be so clean. Pork would go up in cart – drive it up to the cemetery. We’d wait till everyone got out, till it was over. Afterwards we went down to the Lodge – meat was cut up and portioned. You would love to eat it; it was so delicious. There weren’t any women allowed inside the Lodge… I used to like funerals, I got two pennies and lollies.

Nell was born in 1919, so would have been eight years old when Charles Yow Senior died in Bathurst in 1927. “Lummie” was probably Ah Lum who died in 1931. Dawn has a Masonic Badge given to her by her father Charles Yow Junior. The front of the medal has the Chinese character for “Award”. The back has the character for “Company” or “Society”. It is the same term for Society used in the name of the Yee Hing Society.
Figure 32: Photographs showing front and back of the Masonic Lodge badge which belonged to Charles Yow Jr. Courtesy of Dawn Brownlow

The last of the old generation of Chinese on the gold fields

The deaths of twenty-one Chinese men were registered in Tambaroora or Hill End between 1901 and 1933. Their average age was 74.72 years. On Gay’s store in Tambaroora was still listed in the Sands Directory in 1903, but by 1925 it was no longer listed. The On Gay store in Hill End, by this time managed by Hip Chong, continued operating until the Depression when there were only two stores left in Hill End. It offered monthly accounts with generous credit to customers to tide them over the time between crushings.1134

As gold yields in Tambaroora declined, New Chip turned to other occupations. According to the memoirs of Walter Hamilton, Chip was a miner, carpenter, bootmaker and pork butcher before he took up a garden just below the junction of Wheelbarrow Gully on the Pyramul from which he would pack his vegetables to sell in Hill End and Tambaroora.1135

1135 Hill End National Parks and Wildlife Services Visitors Centre; Testimony of Walter Hamilton - Tambaroora
Long-time Hill End resident Fred Thompson recalled:

My first memories of New Chip were going to his home in Tambaroora when I was about four or five with my brother Dick. He had a very good vegetable garden and took the vegetables to Hill End and sold them. He did this for many years. …My brother Dick was a good gardener and visited New Chip who taught him about gardening. I remember sitting at table in the kitchen of his home and having a cup of tea. He was a very quiet and gentle man. He would always show me his garden and talk about the same.1136

In March 1937, Bew Chip left Tambaroora for the State Hospital in Lidcombe where he died three months later. His death certificate states he was 91 years of age.1137 He

Figure 33: Nu Chip (sic) circa 1937, photographer unknown. Photograph courtesy of Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group.

1136 Fred Thompson, Pers. comm., 3 September 2016.
1137 When Bew Chip entered the State Hospital and Home in Lidcombe, Sydney on 3 March 1937, his name was registered as Low Hay Chong or Lew Chip. His death certificate states his name as “Low Lay Chong also known as New Chip”. NSWBDM, 6985/1937
was buried in a pauper’s grave at Rookwood Cemetery.\textsuperscript{1138} Bew Chip was the last of his generation in Tambaroora. Once Bew Chip left Hill End, Oriomo Explorations Limited hydraulically sluiced the western side of Mudgee Road, removing approximately four to six feet of soil from the surface in the operation. The Tambaroora joss house together with virtually the entire Tambaroora Chinatown disappeared.\textsuperscript{1139} Hill End local Bruce Goodwin, who was employed by Oriomo, recalls, “My brother and I assisted in the first clean-up, and the sluice boxes contained a great number of Chinese token coins.”\textsuperscript{1140}

The Chinese settlement at Sofala had ended much earlier. The 1901 census in Sofala recorded a Chinese joss house on the Turon River.\textsuperscript{1141} Photographed in 1905, the joss house at the Isle of Dreams (Erskine Island) in Sofala, was demolished soon thereafter. In 1907 Sofala storekeeper Wong Gee died at the age of seventy-two, having lived forty-seven years in Australia.\textsuperscript{1142} His gravestone in the Sofala Cemetery, the only Chinese gravestone in Sofala, is inscribed in English, perhaps erected by his European wife, Elizabeth Wong Gee.\textsuperscript{1143}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1138] New Chip DOI 17/06/1937 area zone C section NN grave number 4946.
\item[1140] \textit{Gold and People: Recollections of Hill End 1920s to 1960s}, 117-18.
\item[1142] NSW BDM 6675/1907.
\item[1143] NSWSA: Sofala Court of Petty Sessions and Register of Applications for Licences, 1899-1944, NRS 3384 [7/304], Memo of cases committed for trial from the Sofala Police Court, September, 1906.
\end{footnotes}
Figure 34: The Isle of Dreams, Chinese Settlement – Sofala, 1905, Photograph from "Historic Sofala - a Gold field that changed a nation, 1851 -1943, by Robert G.V. Baker, Centrepak Research, 1985.

Figure 35: A new cottage now stands in the location of the Chinese settlement or joss house on the Isle of Dreams, Sofala. Photograph by Juanita Kwok 2018.
The murders of Dan Lou and Kit Hee

Chinese market gardeners had long endured regular abuse which ranged from verbal abuse, vegetable theft, stone-throwing to more serious assaults. As pranksters grew older and Chinese continued to be cast as an inferior race by the government and the press, the nature of the abuse worsened. In one incident in September 1920, market gardener Hop Sing had just loaded his cauliflowers into a van at Brewongle Railway Station when he saw three men taking cauliflowers from the van and putting them in a cart. When Hop Sing told the man with the cart to stop, the man hit him with a whip, breaking his collarbone. George William Gunning, Railway Night officer at Brewongle Station, was convicted of assault and given a two month suspended sentence, which was overturned on appeal.1144 In other incidents, Kelso gardener Quin War was assaulted in 1923 by a man he had employed to dig onions, and in 1929 a man employed at a Chinese garden was charged with assault occasioning grievous bodily harm on Chinese gardener Sick Lee.1145

Chinese market gardeners were murdered in two separate incidents in 1930 and 1939. In December 1930, Dan Lou was found unconscious in Morrisset Street. At Bathurst Hospital, Dan Lou told police through an interpreter that he was a sixty-three year old gardener employed by Hop Sing at Morrisset St. He had been at the Chinese Masonic Lodge and was walking back to Morrisset Street when he heard a bang and felt a pain in his back. He fell over and two men came over and kicked him, trod on his face and stole from him. He had been attacked on a bright moonlit night and was able to identify his attackers in a line-up at the Hospital. One was Thomas O’Hara who had worked at the garden a few times before. The other was Vernon Bonham whom he had not seen before. When Dan Lou was x-rayed, a bullet was discovered lodged in his back. When he died a few days later, the two were charged with murder. They were convicted and sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to fifteen years gaol.1146

In September 1939, Joe Suoy found Kit Hee’s body lying on the ground in a pool of blood in his Hereford Lane hut. Two brothers, Patrick and James Ryan were charged with his murder. An inquest was held in Bathurst at which William Henry Gee “of the Masonic Hall, Bathurst”, gave evidence that he had known Kit Hee for thirty years and that Kit Hee was born in Canton, was about seventy-five years old and had a wife and children in China.1147 Facing charges at the Central Criminal Court, Patrick Ryan claimed that he had done some bean picking for Kit Hee but had not been paid for all of it, and had gone around to get the few bob owing. Ryan claimed he hit Kit Hee on the jaw in defence after Kit Hee swung at him with a bar. The Government Medical Officer in Bathurst found that Kit Hee had died from a cerebral haemorrhage caused when the deceased struck his head when falling backwards, but in his opinion, the iron bar was placed in the deceased’s hand after he became unconscious. The jury found Patrick Ryan guilty and sentenced him to fifteen years gaol, while Ryan’s younger brother James was acquitted.1148

One of the few historians to address violence towards Chinese beyond the anti-Chinese riots on the gold fields is Alan Mayne, who found in his research on everyday life on the gold fields, that European aggression towards Chinese miners was part and parcel of everyday life on the Lower Turon Gold field. He rejected the suggestion in local histories that tensions on the Lower Turon gold fields were played out more between rival Chinese factions than between Europeans and Chinese, and that anti-Chinese sentiment was nothing serious.1149 In retrospect, Rummy’s 1894 suicide in Sofala might be considered suspicious circumstances. The Advocate reported, “Obtaining a rope, he tied it around his neck, and then threw it over a beam and pulled himself up till he was hanged. When found he had the end of the rope in his hand.”1150

Assaults and murders of often elderly Chinese market gardeners occurred in other places besides Bathurst. An elderly Chinese storekeeper and market gardener in Cloncurry was battered to death with an iron bar the same year that Kit Hee was

murdered. The Condobolin community was shocked when market gardener Ah Gong, who had grown and sold vegetables for the community was murdered in 1945. It is evident that the incidence of murder of Chinese people in Australia in the White Australia years is a study that needs to be undertaken.

**Friendships**

Although the market gardeners suffered regular harassment and the occasional more serious assault, were as a group Chinese stigmatised by the press and socially ostracised, there are stories of friendships between Chinese gardeners and their neighbours. Lorraine Casey told me the story of her uncle Leslie Small, who was born in Bathurst around 1934. His mother Elsie Small was pregnant with him in Wellington when her husband died in a farm accident. Her children were in danger of being taken from her, so she left Wellington and moved to Morisset Street in Bathurst, though she had no family in the town. Elsie had Leslie and two other children to feed and the Chinese used to leave boxes of fresh vegetables on her verandah. When she went to pay, they would refuse to take money, saying that they sent money to China but were unsure if they were getting any benefit. At least if they left it for her, they knew the vegetables would be put to use.

Members of the second generation also gained acceptance and respect by the community. Sam Lupp’s brother Louis Lupp was employed by Webb & Co. and managed the Lower Keppel Street store from 1904. Another brother, Joe Lupp became Vice-President of the Western Bookmakers Association in 1929. William Beacham’s son Norman was appointed Labor Agent in 1930, a position he held for two years, during which time both the Citizens’ Unemployed League and the Council made public record of their appreciation of his services. When Beacham’s appointment was annulled and he was replaced by an ex-soldier on 24 December 1932, the League voted unanimously to have nothing to do with the new agent until Beacham

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1153 Lorraine Casey, interview by Juanita Kwok, 7 August, 2015, Bathurst.
had been given a fair and impartial hearing, and the Council decided to protest against
his dismissal and urge an enquiry. 1157

Ed Ryan, who was born in 1939, used to drive stock from the Vale Road to Raglan for
slaughtering. On the way he would pass Chinese gardens on both sides of the Sydney
Road. 1158 Nan Hunt, who was born in Bathurst in 1918, also recalled that when she
was riding her bicycle from her home on the O’Connell Road into Bathurst from the
mid-1930s up to 1942 there were gardens on either side of the road as one enters
Bathurst:

Most of the Chinese people that I saw had their farms on the flood plains on
either side of the Sydney Road going into Bathurst, where the playing fields
are on the right as you are coming towards Bathurst and on the other side. 1159
Nan recalled “there was one man we always called the ‘King Chinaman’ who was
quite tall and fairly solid in build and he used to lead his people into town.” This was
almost certainly George Chew Ming. Because Nan used to greet him as she went by,
at Christmas-time he came into Edgley’s store where she worked and gave her a jar of
ginger.

Perhaps the greatest moment of interaction between the Chinese and European
communities was the China Day Appeal held in 1943. Thousands lined the streets to
watch a march by the armed forces, and £500 was raised by the Committee and
Chinese members of the community including George Chew Ming. 1160 Although
China and Australia were allies during the war, Chew Ming was amongst the non-
British subjects and foreign nationals required to register with authorities when the
Commonwealth government reintroduced Alien Registration between 1939 and 1971.
The younger generation of Chinese Australians had once again keenly enlisted to serve,
amongst them Louis Lupp’s son Hector, who served in the RAAF and Charles Yow
Junior who served in the 6th division of the Australian Infantry, the first to go to the
front in World War II. 1161 Ah Lin’s son Clem Lynne was killed when the Centaur was
sunk off Moreton Island by a Japanese submarine in 1943. 1162

1157 “Appointment of Labour Agent”, SMH, 13 January 1933, 
1158 Ed Ryan, pers comm., 10 July 2018.
1161 Ellen O’Rourke and Dawn Brownlow, interview by Juanita Kwok, 5 July 2016.
1162 Ray Dwyer, interview by Juanita Kwok, 14 July 2015.
The end of the Masonic Lodge in Bathurst

In 1940, the Council’s Health and Building Inspector submitted a report to Council that deemed the Chinese Masonic Hall “dilapidated and unsightly.” His report recommended that a galvanised iron building at the rear of the hall used as a dwelling be demolished and other necessary repairs made, estimating the cost at £300. Spokesperson for the Lodge, William Gee, stated in ‘perfect English’, that although Lodge members were in no financial position to come up with those funds:

we are issuing an appeal to all branches of the Chinese Masonic Lodge throughout the world…market gardeners cannot afford it because of the dry times during the past few years and nearly every Chinese organisation has almost drained its resources sending money home to fight the Japanese invasion. Many of our country branches have gone broke through war contributions.1163

Council gave the Lodge members sixty days to raise the funds for the repairs before a closing order would take effect and warned that every resident who remained at the Lodge after the closing order came into effect was liable to a fine of 10s per day.1164

By November 1940, Chinese in Bathurst had raised the funds to stave off the closing order.1165

Chew Ming suffered a personal loss in 1941 when his wife Ruby died at the age of 44.1166 Ruby’s death was reported as the “Death of Bathurst’s Only Woman Chinese”1167 Her gravestone, inscribed in English, is in the General Section of the Bathurst Cemetery.

1166 NSWBDM 2934/1941
In 1946, twenty-eight acres of land on the main road, said to have been worked by Chinese gardeners for a number of years came up for lease.\footnote{\textit{Advertising}, \textit{NA}, 13 April 1946, \url{https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/161320976}} Around that time seven-year-old Brian Bennett began living in Morrisset Street when his father began market gardening on three acres. Brian recalls:

Virtually half Morrissett St length would have been gardens of some ownership and probably a good third would have been run by approximately seven Chinese gardeners and a couple of chaps that used to come from Sydney as overseers I would assume, and they worked the land with all sorts of vegetables to be sold to the Sydney markets and locally…They had their little sugar bags over their back for carrying home and any other commodity like
rice or the few things that they’d bought and they’d walk past and mainly
they’d seem to wear shorts... they had pumps down on the river bank to bring
water up into channels down the side of each what they called the land, which
is a flat thing they’d worked up like a table top that’s how flat they were. They
worked on flow.1169

By the 1940s Brian Bennett remembers the market gardeners having a draught horse
and a single furrow plough which they left for Brian’s father. Brian recalled “Joe Soo,
well he was the last chap I worked with down in the paddock here, pulling out weeds
and that sort of thing and just helping him out because he was very stooped over.”
According to Brian, Mrs Quinn, who was married to Joe Quinn [Ah Tuck’s son] would
help the men out by cooking for them sometimes.1170

Brian remembered “Jew Ming” as “a very tall man, apparently fairly aggressive and
who kept the other workers wound up to get the job done.” On one occasion when
Brian went with his mother to see Joe Quinn’s daffodils, Jew Ming had had an
argument with one of the other men: “He had a big scar that had been bleeding and I
couldn’t believe what they tried to treat it with, and even Mrs Quinn was a bit shocked,
it was a fresh cow pat.” Although Brian stated that it was Jew Ming, it might also have
been 73-year-old Tommy Lee, who in June 1947, attacked Willi Choi Kee with a meat
chopper leaving a wound on his left cheek that required seven stitches. The report
stated that when confronted with the allegations, Lee said “He big and strong, I am
frightened of him, I hit him with a chopper.”1171

In 1945 or 1946, Chew Mings’ sold the house at 104 Durham Street and went to live
at Cheeseman’s Creek, where his brother-in-law Hang Sing had a market garden. The
house was bought by Bill Bouffler who had just returned from the war.1172 The
Chinese Masonic Lodge was next door and the Boufflers would talk to the men over
the back fence. Bill worked at his brother Jack’s butcher shop on George Street where
the men from the Lodge would buy meat. Tony Bouffler was only a baby when his
parents moved into 104 Durham Street and about five years old when they left, so his
memory of the men is limited. He recalls:

Our family were quite close to them and my mother used to write letters for
them and this sort of thing and I can remember Youk would say ‘How much

1169 Brian Bennett interview by Juanita Kwok, 14 November 2014.
1170 NSW BDM 3893/1916
missee?’ And she’d say ‘Oh five quid’. Then they’d come in bringing vegetables, they had vegetable gardens out in the backyard just from force of habit I think, and they’d bring in great armfuls of vegetables and my mother used to say how much and they’d say ‘Oh five quid’.  

Tony also remember his mother saying that she would ring the markets for them and his mother commenting on them sending money back to China and assisting them with transfers. As Tony was so young, he did not remember much more, but was told that one of the men, Youk, used to take him downtown to feed the ducks in Machattie Park and he would come home usually with an apple or an orange or a little something. Tony shared with me a group photograph taken in the backyard of the Lodge around 1947. This is the only known photograph of the residents of the Lodge. In the centre of the back row is Bill Bouffler. Wong You stands on the right in front of Bill. Ellen O’Rourke identified the very old man next to Wong You as Jimmy Jong who worked in Reggie Yow’s garden. The other men have not been identified.

Figure 37: Group photograph taken of the residents of the Chinese Masonic Lodge circa 1946-1952. “Chinese neighbours, Durham St” is written on the reverse. Photograph courtesy of Tony Bouffler.

1174 Ellen O’Rourke, interview by Juanita Kwok.
Figure 38: George Chew Ming and Tony Bouffler in the front yard of the house at 104 Durham Street. Photograph courtesy of Tony Bouffler.

Figure 39: “Wong Youk” is written on the reverse. Photograph courtesy of Tony Bouffler.
When the 1947 census was taken, there were 724 males born in China in New South Wales. With 666 born in municipalities, and only fifty-five in shires, the great majority of Chinese men lived in cities. The ten Chinese full-bloods in Bathurst Municipality may have been the ten men in the group photograph.1175

In 1947, Chinese were again amongst the recipients of food relief distributed by police.1176 From 1917, a Chinese herbalist named P.Y. Lee had visited Bathurst and other towns in the central west and set up for consultations in a hotel room, however, P.Y. Lee’s last visit to Bathurst was advertised in 1952.1177 In June that year when Bathurst was hit by the third largest flood in its history, there were still Chinese gardeners at Morisset Street. In December 1952, the Chinese Masonic Lodge on part of allotment 20, section 1 was sold by Jang Koe of Sydney and Poy Sing of Cheeseman’s Creek to Les Coomber, who was married to Lavinia Cohen, a descendant of William Cohen and James Dong.1178 In an interview I conducted with Les’ son Ray Coomber, he told me:

My father worked with Chinese people at Cheeseman’s Creek and I know a Poy Sing come from that area. He used to go through to Sydney. He was a very heavy gambler and he used to call in at Bathurst here … Dad used to work with the Chinese people when he was in the market garden taking their produce to market and I guess because there was Chinese blood on mum’s side, the Chinese people come to Dad and said he had to buy the Chinese temple. Now the only reason they insisted on him having it is that there was a little bit of money to be made out of it … he didn’t have it long and another businessman in town bought it off him and naturally that was the Chinese temple and it was pulled down … 1179

In 1953, a small notice in the Wellington Times reported that the Chinese Masonic Lodge had been demolished.1180 According to Ray, before the Lodge was demolished, Les Coomber rescued some of the furnishings, including the shrine cabinet. Ray later donated the shrine cabinet to Bathurst Gold Fields, a reconstructed gold mining village in Bathurst, where it remains on display.

1178 Land Titles Office, Book No C2234/906.
Although the Society used the name “Chinese Masonic Society” in English, the shrine cabinet in the Bathurst Masonic Lodge bears the words *Chee Kung Tong* 致公堂.

Figure 40: Detail of the shrine cabinet from the Chinese Masonic Lodge at 108 Durham Street Bathurst. Words read right to left Chee Kung Tong, 堂公致 Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2015.
It is not certain if the men who resided in the Lodge were re-housed before its demolition. Jack Brook’s research shows many aged Chinese men went to the State Hospital in Lidcombe, Sydney, also known as Rookwood Asylum, and perhaps some of these men were among them.\textsuperscript{1181} George Chew Ming died at the Mater Hospital in

\textsuperscript{1181} Brook, \textit{From Canton with Courage: Parramatta and beyond Chinese arrivals 1800-1900}.
Sydney in 1956, aged seventy-six. His address was 18 Mary Street, Sydney, the address of the Chinese Masonic Headquarters.\textsuperscript{1182}

The 1954 Commonwealth Census recorded four Chinese men and no Chinese women in the Bathurst Municipality.\textsuperscript{1183} There were no Chinese males or females in either Turon or Abercrombie Shires. In 1954, Bathurst Council recommended demolition orders be served on the “unsightly iron and timber structure known as Chinamen’s huts on the Sydney Road Kelso.”\textsuperscript{1184}

\textsuperscript{1182} NSW BDM 31023/1956
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

This thesis posed the questions: Who were the Chinese people who lived in Bathurst; when, why and from where did they come, what were their lives like, in which ways and to what extent did they interact with the broader community and why do they no longer live in Bathurst?

The narrative sketched by a year-long search of the Bathurst newspapers was fleshed out by archival research at the New South Wales State Archives New South Wales in Kingswood and at the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. Amongst the colonial records I examined were gaol entrance records, correspondence of the Colonial Secretaries, Gold Commissioners and Robert Towns. I examined records of insolvencies, naturalisations, business registrations and hawkers’ licences. The Commonwealth records I examined include applications for Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test and alien registrations. I also used Bathurst municipality rate registers. Using these primary sources together with the newspaper articles, I was able to make sense of the demographic patterns yielded by census records and piece together lives of some of the individuals in the communities.

I took advantage of living in Bathurst by learning what I could from members of the Bathurst Family History Group and the Bathurst Museum and by interviewing members of the community with memories of Chinese in the district. I had expected my research to rely more heavily on oral histories but found that there were no potential interviewees with living memories of Chinese people before the 1930s. Therefore, archival research took greater precedence in my method, though I did trace and interview a number of descendants. The family history research and photographs that families shared, assisted in developing a fuller narrative.
Findings

The resulting thesis is a largely chronological account of the lives of Chinese individuals and communities in the Bathurst district between 1849 and 1954, a period of over 100 years. I found that the experiences of Chinese who came to the district were diverse and there were dynamic changes over this period. I discussed the involvement of Chinese immigrants in each of the phases of the development of the Bathurst district, from its role as a base for pastoral expansion into Australia’s interior, to the administrative and service centre of the gold rushes, to becoming a centre of wheat-growing, then vegetable growing in New South Wales, arguing that Chinese labour played a vital role in the development of each of these phases of Bathurst’s development.

I found that the first Chinese people were brought to Bathurst to aid pastoral expansion into the unsettled districts of the interior. They were brought by the landed families of Bathurst, the squatters and absentee landlords to fill a labour shortage created by the cessation of transportation and the unwillingness of European shepherds to work in the unsettled districts where frontier conflict still continued. Gaol Entrance records show that some arrived prior to the period of indentured labour 1848-1853 and that they came not only from Amoy, but also from Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton and Macao.

Evidence from newspaper reports and gaol entrance records showed that after the discovery of gold and the establishment of a colonial trade in labour, men were imported, mostly from Amoy, to meet the labour demand created when workers left their jobs to join the gold rushes. While most were put to work as shepherds, over fifty men were sent to work as miners for the Colonial Gold Company. This makes them some of the earliest reef miners in Australian mining history. I found labourers in the Bathurst district who responded to poor conditions of employment by walking out on their employers, absconding to the gold fields, and in the most extreme cases by attacking their employers or overseers. I argue that the agency they demonstrated in protesting against the conditions of their contracts contributed to ending the trade. I also speculated that these acts of resistance suggest that the activity of secret societies may date from before the gold rushes.
Those who remained made their way to the goldfields while others found work as shepherds, shearsers, cooks, gardeners and harvesters earning good wages in these occupations once their contracts had ended. Members of this wave of migration were most likely to marry and have families and live out their lives in Australia. William Beacham, Alick Pong and William Cohen all married European wives and lived and died in the Bathurst region.

A community of mostly Amoy men on the Meroo were joined by gold-seekers from Canton in 1856. Evidence from the report on the Seizure of Gold, Bew Chip’s Register and the few remaining gravestones suggests that almost all were from the Pearl River Delta districts. Emigrants from Zhongshan predominated, at least in Sofala and Tambaroora. This may have been a product of chain migration dating from the involvement of Chen Ateak from Heungyap (Zhongshan) in early trade between the Western District Gold Fields and China.

The years from 1858 to 1866 were rich years for gold seekers but they were also marked by conflict driven by poor communication and inadequate policing until these problems were addressed. My findings support claims made by both Brian Hodge and Ann Curthoys that there was a relative period of stability on the Tambaroora and Turon gold fields. Using the reports of visiting correspondents, I discussed how Chinese miners applied their knowledge of water management to mine co-operatively with great success, on occasion together with European parties in the gold fields. During this time, I found, as did Kate Bagnall Brian Hodge and Alan Mayne, that there was close personal interaction with the broader gold field community. I argued however that this peace was short-lived and that changes to gold field regulations hastened the departure of Chinese miners from Tambaroora and the Turon in the latter half of the 1860s.

Analysis of census records revealed that in the whole period only one woman from China migrated to live in the Bathurst district. I found that despite expectations of returning to wives and families in China, a small number of men on the gold fields of Tambaroora and the Turon, mostly storekeepers or interpreters, married or had relationships of which children were born. My conclusions on intermarriage on the

1185 Hodge, Frontiers of Gold, 193.
1186 Bagnall, "The Petition of Bah Fook of Sofala, 1866."; Mayne, "'What you want John?' Chinese-European interactions on the Lower Turon gold fields."
gold fields differed somewhat from findings made by Dinah Hales who argued that that majority of women in the twenty mixed relationships she reconstructed, successfully raised families, large or small, thus demonstrating stability and competence.\textsuperscript{1187} I found that the stability of these relationships differed somewhat depending on the time and place in which they lived. In particular I found that relationships were less stable in the Tambaroora Chinese camp. Relationships tended to be more successful in other goldfields such as Sofala or Carcoar or in the town of Bathurst.

Surprisingly I found little evidence of clan associations in Tambaroora and the Turon. It was less surprising that I found only limited evidence of \textit{Yee Hing} activity on the gold fields, as it was after all, a secret society.

The third part of the thesis moved from the gold fields to Bathurst, where a number of storekeepers established business in the early 1870s, obtained hawker’s licences and began market gardening in Bathurst and district. Newspaper reports show that Chinese laid the foundations of the vegetable growing industry in Bathurst. They provided the people of Bathurst with vegetables during periods of drought. Whilst at first Chinese supplied the local market, by the late 1880s, they began to send produce to the Sydney markets and by the turn of the century, hundreds of tons were going by rail to Sydney. Rate registers and newspaper reports were utilised to create maps showing the locations of market gardens in Bathurst and district. The gardens attracted new Chinese migrants to Bathurst, some with capital and links to the Haymarket Chinese dealers, and others itinerant labourers whose numbers made the Chinese population larger than census figures suggest.

In answering the question of what the lives of Chinese were like, I discussed how the policies of discriminatory legislation affected the social and economic lives of Chinese residents. I also identified incentives introduced for the benefit of white farmers to the detriment of Chinese market gardeners, such as the \textit{Bounties Act 1908}. I argue it was less the case that Chinese were unwilling to mechanise and adapt to new improved scientific methods, than that they were excluded from such initiatives which were intended to train white growers to replace them.

\textsuperscript{1187} Hales, “Lost Histories: Chinese-European families of Central West New South Wales, 1850-1880”, 111.
I also identified challenges to the security of leases for Chinese market gardeners, in particular the case of *Ah Mow vs Bestwick* in 1913 and the purchase by the government of land on the river flats for Soldier Settlement after World War I. Chinese gardeners adapted by increasingly entering into share-farming arrangements with white growers which benefited the latter by providing generous rental income, improved land and cultivation skills.

My research shows that social and legal discriminations were a real and major force which placed Chinese people at a structural disadvantage and subjected them to disempowerment and personal suffering. This was due to the actions of Commonwealth, State and to a lesser extent, Local Government, moreso than the people of Bathurst and district, who had benefited from their presence. The Chinese were socially marginalised, however, and this was due in no small part to the local press, which was actively hostile in its attitude to Chinese people for almost the whole period of the thesis.

Although the colonial sources I was reliant on gave me little insight into the interior lives of the Chinese residents of Bathurst, I found that Chinese in Bathurst showed a keen interest in political events in China. Noting the limitations of my English language sources, I found parallels between political events in China, political divisions in Australia and internecine fighting in Bathurst which I argued provides evidence that members of the Bathurst Lodge were keenly aware of and committed to the revolutionary movement in China, and remained so well into the 1930s.

My thesis found evidence to support Vivian Chow’s claims and challenges the accepted history of the founding of the Chinese Republic and the Revolutionary heroes. Perhaps the last of the “grim little coteries of overseas Chinese” who Chow claimed were the true Revolutionary heroes, were the work-weary men in the photograph taken in the backyard of the Chinese Masonic Lodge in the late 1940s. Both the contribution these men made to agriculture in Bathurst and to the Chinese Revolution have been forgotten – this thesis takes a step towards restoring them to their rightful place in history.

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1188 Chow, "On writing a history of the Chinese revolution."
Avenues for future research

This thesis suggests avenues for a fuller interrogation of the nature and extent of monetary and political contributions to Revolutionary efforts on the part of Chinese residents of Bathurst and surrounding districts, significantly widening the lens on revolutionary activism. A search for and thorough review of relevant Chinese language sources, including newspapers, organisational records and correspondence would form a critical phase in any ongoing project to test and further explore the questions raised and conclusions drawn in this thesis.

This thesis also found evidence of a high incidence of murder of Chinese men. Whilst it was beyond the scope of this thesis to compare per capita the numbers of Chinese men murdered to non-Chinese, a state-wide or national study on the historical incidence of violence towards Chinese men is another possible avenue of research. Although the fires which destroyed Chinese sheds in Bathurst were not found to be arson, with the exception of Lou Poy’s shed in 1904, a comparative study of the incidence of fires destroying Chinese sheds, stores and factories would also be a worthwhile topic of research.

There are many places with Chinese heritage significance in the Bathurst district, especially on the old gold fields. Sites listed on National or State Heritage lists or in the Bathurst Local Environment Plan are listed in a table in Appendix One.

As I explored Bathurst and district, I visited some of these sites. Appendix Two contains a document which describes my visits to these places, and also proposes other sites’ potential Chinese heritage significance and or historical archaeological potential for further investigation. I have also nominated Bew Chip’s Register and the Chinese Masonic Shrine cabinet to be listed as items of moveable heritage on the State Heritage Register.

A small number of Chinese men in Bathurst had children and their descendants are now re-discovering their Chinese ancestors. In order to further family history research, Appendix Three contains a table of the births of babies born to a Chinese father and European mother registered at the Tambaroora, Hill End and Sofala registries 1858-1875. Appendix Four contains a record of the deaths of Chinese registered at the Tambaroora and Hill End Registries. Appendix Five is a table recording the deaths of Chinese men registered at the Bathurst Registry between 1865 and 1955. I created this
table by entering some popular Chinese names, or by entering the names of persons mentioned in newspaper reports into the Family History online database for the New South Wales Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages. Records of the Registry are only available online and there is currently no way to gain physical access to the records to create a complete list of names of Chinese people who died in Bathurst. Birth, deaths and marriage certificates are prohibitively expensive to purchase, as are files in the National Archives of Australia. Although the table in Appendix Six is not presented as complete, it shows that many more Chinese men died in the district than the small number of graves remaining in cemeteries in the Bathurst District reflects. Appendix Seven is Ely Finch’s translation of the inscriptions on the Tambaroora Joss House.

Despite the intention to return, a considerable number of Chinese died and were buried on pastoral properties, on the gold fields and in cemeteries, where many of their gravestones or burial markings have now disappeared. The destruction of exhumation records by New South Wales State Archives for all but one sample year has closed a fertile avenue of research.

As I researched, I kept a record of any names of Chinese in Chinese characters where they appeared in records such as insolvencies and petitions. Appendix Six contains a table of names in Chinese characters of people and places in the Bathurst district. Of the Chinese gravestones I was able to locate in the Bathurst district, about half are inscribed in Chinese. These have been translated by Ely Finch and are compiled in Appendix Seven. In most cases gravestones contain the name of the village and the date of death. I hope that these data will assist people in both Australia and China who want to find out what became of their Chinese ancestors. While, I have demonstrated that by using English language sources, much can be recovered about the lives of Chinese in Australia, there remains much scope for further research using Chinese language sources.

This thesis is one part of a jigsaw in piecing together the histories of Chinese in Australia, and in writing new and inclusive local histories. As research by Barry McGowan, Rod Lancashire and Keir Reeves has demonstrated, local histories of Chinese settlements have made specific and valuable contributions to the national story. In the 100 years of Chinese presence in Bathurst and district, Bathurst’s produce
changed from wool to gold to wheat and then to vegetables. The labour of Chinese who lived and worked in the district contributed to each of these stages in Bathurst’s development. Yet, in the historiography, the Chinese and their contribution have been relegated to the margins.

Chinese did not simply arrive, live entirely separate lives from the rest of the community, take the gold and leave. As this thesis demonstrates, they did not only come for gold, but were brought to work in pastoral industries and were later attracted to work in Bathurst by the success of the market gardens. To focus on Chinese taking gold is to ignore their contributions. To focus on those who left is to ignore those who stayed, whose lives I have discussed in this thesis. Chinese did not live their lives entirely separate from the broader population, nor did they interact only in conflict. They interacted in mixed parties on the gold fields, in share-farming arrangements and in relationships. Our local and national histories cannot be fully understood without including their stories. Their lives in Australia should not be viewed as a marginalised history of interest only to people of Chinese Australian background, but as an integral part of Australia’s history.
I began my research with the idea that there were no Chinese families descended from the migrations of the gold rushes remaining in Bathurst and district. Through my research I was able trace descendants, mostly descended from a single Chinese ancestor four generations earlier. Those I located still living in the Bathurst district are Graham Lupp, the great-grandson of John Lupp and Hannah Sibraa; Terry O’Rourke, the great-grand-daughter of Ah Foo and Agnes Taylor; Louise and Patricia Wood, the great-grand-daughters of Ah Tuck and Susan Wells; Nell O’Rourke and Dawn Brownlow (Nell married Dawn’s father Charles Yow Junior) and Nikki Patching, the great-great grand-daughter of William Cohen and James Dong.

Figure 42: Louise and Patricia Wood, the great-grand-daughters of Ah Tuck and Susan Wells. Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2018.

Others no longer live in Bathurst. Among those I spoke to on the telephone or corresponded with are members of the Dwyer family, descended from James and Johanna Ah Lin; Dinah Hales, who married a descendant of William Cohen Junior; Wayne Garvey, a descendant of Ah Sang, storekeeper of Sofala; and Maurice “Bun” Traynor, great-grandson of Ah Now. After Ah Now’s death in 1919, his widow, Ellen Heffernan took the children to live in Surry Hills, Sydney. Their daughter Gladys married Alfred Yee Joong, whose father was caretaker of the Sze Yup joss house in
Glebe. Alfred and Gladys’ son was “Bun” (Chinese name Yee Wah Ying), who told me his grandfather planted the now enormous *buck larn far* [*magnolia alba*] tree in the courtyard of the Glebe joss house.\(^{1189}\)

Some of the descendants told me that members of the families had continued to work in vegetable growing. Reggie Yow, Charles Yow’s brother, had about ten acres of land on Edgell’s Lane (a subdivision of the *Hereford* estate) where he grew white asparagus for Edgells and sold surplus out of a Bedford truck at the Haymarket. Reggie also had gardens at Kurrajong and Napoleon Reef. Both Reggie and Charles were in high demand as pruners.\(^{1190}\)

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\(^{1189}\) Maurice ‘Bun’ Traynor, 24 April 2015; NSW BDM 9400/1919  
\(^{1190}\) Ellen O’Rourke and Dawn Brownlow, interview by Juanita Kwok.
Herbert Lynne had a market garden on the Kelso side of the Vale Creek where he grew tomatoes, beans, peas, cucumbers, tobacco and watermelons. He used forty-four-gallon drums filled with liquid manure to fertilise his vegetables and a horse and plough. The gardeners dug pump-holes in dry times and sometimes Ray would take a dip in them. Another gardener there, Youk, would chase Ray who was rather afraid of him. Youk’s garden was next to Herbert’s. The gardens were close to Sharman’s Fruit Shop. The Shara’s [Bathurst family of fruit and vegetable dealers of Lebanese background] used to buy vegetables from Herbert. \(^{1191}\)

\(^{1191}\) Interview with Ray Dwyer.
Terry’s great-grandfather was George Ah Foo, a pioneering market gardener at Gilmandyke and Rockley, who married Agnes Taylor. Their daughter Myrtle was Terry’s grandmother. Myrtle married an Englishman William Beat Smith, who had a garden at White Gate near Blayney. Their son William (George) Beat Smith Junior was Terry’s father. George went to war and when he returned, he and his father jointly purchased Wallaroi, the old Lee property in White Rock. George grew cauliflowers, peas, potatoes on the river flats and eighty acres of asparagus which he sold to Edgells. Terry’s brother George Smith Junior followed in his father’s footsteps and became a market gardener at White Rock. The tradition has been passed down to his son, Andrew Smith.

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1192 James Ah Foo is listed in the Pioneers of Bathurst Register and was one of three Chinese market gardeners at Gilmandyke who signed a petition in 1898 for a Post Office at Gilmandyke.

1193 Terry O'Rourke, interview by Juanita Kwok, 24 November, 2015.

1194 ibid.
With the exception of descendants such as Graham Lupp who have done research on their family histories, descendants generally had little knowledge of their Chinese ancestor and were unable to speak Chinese. Many had food connections with their Chinese heritage. In their youth, Terry and her siblings would sometimes accompany
their father to the Produce Markets in Sydney where they would eat delicious food at Chinese cafes, and the staff would make a fuss over them. 1195

Dawn Brownlow recalls moving to Morrisset Street in 1952 when she was about four years old. Her father Charles Yow Junior grew onions, kohlrabi, kale, eggplant, bitter melon (la kwa), corn, pumpkin, snake beans, carrots, gooseberries and fruit of all kinds there.

Dad was one of the first to grow celery - we ran tar paper around to keep it white… My father was a great fisherman, he’d cook fish in black bean sauce. Once every so often we would go to Dixon Street to Say Tin Fong which burnt down. We would always eat at little cafes with shared tables… The Bouffler’s owned the butcher shop, they would let Reg go in on Sunday and use the sausage machine. He used to make sausages a bit like lap chong. They would also dry fruit to make dried sweets. 1196

Some only became aware of their Chinese heritage recently. For some families this was because members of previous generations had disposed of family documents. Wendy Pickering knew nothing about her Chinese ancestor William Beacham, until she began researching her family history. Wendy’s mother remembers her grandfather Norman Beacham as a kind and gentle man, but was unaware he had a Chinese father. She knew Norman was able to speak Chinese and had spent a fair bit of time helping Chinese with letters and translations, but did not know why. Norman’s wife disposed of many family documents after Norman died. Ray Dwyer too, was unaware of his ancestry until he was told by his cousin Jill Britten in 2000. He said “As soon as I found out, I thought wow! I’ll tell everyone now.” 1197

1195 Terry O’Rourke, interview by Juanita Kwok, 24 November 2015.
1196 Dawn Brownlow, interview by Juanita Kwok.
1197 Ray Dwyer, telephone interview by Juanita Kwok.
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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Table of sites with Chinese heritage significance in the Bathurst District listed on State or National Heritage Lists or in the Bathurst Local Environmental Plan

Appendix 2: Notes on sites with potential historical archaeological significance to Chinese heritage.
   1.1 Triamble Rice Paddock, Triamble Creek
   1.2 Triamble Creek water race
   2. Piesley’s Island / Coffer dams
   3. Tambaroora Chinese Cemetery
   4. Winburndale water race and diggings at St Anthony’s Creek, Glanmire
   5. Gamboola shearing shed, Molong

Appendix 3: Table of births in Sofala

Appendix 4: Record of deaths of Chinese men, their wives and children at Tambaroora and Hill End Registries 1858-1933

Appendix 5: Table listing names and death certificate numbers of some of the Chinese men whose deaths were registered at the Bathurst Registry between 1865 and 1955

Appendix 6: Table of names in Chinese characters of people and places in Bathurst district

Appendix 7: Gravestones with translations

Appendix 8: Inscriptions on Tambaroora Joss House
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site ID</th>
<th>Accession</th>
<th>Name of Site</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date of Accession</th>
<th>Date of Disposal</th>
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<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Chinese Cemetery</td>
<td>Tambaroora Rd</td>
<td>Tambaroora</td>
<td>1858-1897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Chinese Mining Village</td>
<td>Isle of Dreams Chinese Mining Village</td>
<td>Upper Turon Rd</td>
<td>1852-1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Water race and diggings at St Anthonys Creek</td>
<td>Along St Anthonys Creek</td>
<td>Windeyer</td>
<td>1870-1888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Gold mining water race</td>
<td>Old Hargraves Rd</td>
<td>Windeyer</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Mew Chips remittance book</td>
<td>Bathurst goldfields shrine cabinet</td>
<td>Windeyer</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>5090/2020</td>
<td>Gold mining water race</td>
<td>Old Hargraves Rd</td>
<td>Windeyer</td>
<td>1847</td>
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<td>Chinese Cemetery</td>
<td>Tambaroora Rd</td>
<td>Tambaroora</td>
<td>1858-1897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Notes on sites with potential historical archaeological significance to Chinese heritage.

Triamble is located north west of Hill End. Although it is located is beyond the perimeters of the Bathurst district, it is historically connected with the Tambaroora gold field. In the 1860s, Chinese gold-seekers were concentrated on the Macquarie River. In July 1863, a correspondent from *Empire* stated that “from Sutter’s Bar, for eighteen miles up the river, there are rushes every mile or two. The sinking is on the bank of the river, and generally about forty feet.” Further up the river, he described “Hong Kong” and “Shanghai”, “two rushes prospected by Chinamen”, estimating the mining population on the Macquarie at 600 Europeans and nearly 2000 “pigtails”.

1.1 Rice Paddock, Triamble Creek

There are two sites of potential archaeological interest in Triamble. The first is a paddock which is said to have been used to grow rice. Triamble station, established by Thomas Charles (T. C.) Suttor, one of the sons of George Suttor, was one of the first pastoral properties in the Wellington district. The property has remained in the same family since 1819. Its current owner Bill Suttor, was told by his grandfather, (T.C. Suttor Junior), that before he (T. C) was born, rice was grown on a forty to fifty-acre paddock which backs onto Triamble Creek. According to Bill, the paddock has not been ploughed by any generation of the Suttor family since it was used for
rice growing. Bill took Barry McGowan and me to the paddock in February 2017. Bill pointed out where his grandfather told him that the creek had been dammed and the water channelled to the paddocks. He explained that there were three equal size plots which are normally visible but which were hard to discern due to long grass after a wet winter. An embankment around the paddock and channels still remain, though according to Bill they are less defined than what he remembers from his youth. Water from Triamble Creek was channelled to flood irrigate the paddock, and excess water drained into a dam, which still contains water and is defined in the landscape by the unusually green reeds which grow in it and nowhere else on the property.

Back paddock on the Suttor property Triamble. Dam for excess water is in the foreground.

Photograph by Juanita Kwok 2017.

1.2 Triamble Creek water race
Triamble Creek feeds into the Macquarie River. As the country is too rugged to reach the river by 4WD, we travelled from by quad bike to the Macquarie River, from where Bill took Barry and I by boat to Triamble Creek, where a water race at least two kilometres in length extends from Triamble Creek to the Macquarie River. The race begins approximately one kilometre upstream of Triamble Creek on the south side of the creek. It crosses Triamble Creek at Pencil Creek and resumes on the north side of Triamble Creek, from where it extends to the Macquarie River. Part of the race, the sluice head and the diggings were submerged when Burrendong Dam was constructed and flooded the Macquarie.
Part of Crown plan showing the sluicing race on Triamble Creek on right, Parish of Trianbil, County of Wellington, Map Edition 1884, New South Wales Land Registry Services.

Bill stated that his grandfather T.C. Suttor, told him that twenty Chinese carried a hollowed log from Mullion Creek to use as a flume to carry water from the south to the north side of Triamble Creek. This is a considerable distance and would have necessitated carrying the log from the Mullion Ranges to the Macquarie River, probably to Dixon’s Long Point, then floating the log down the Macquarie River to Triamble Creek.

We travelled up Triamble Creek to where the race crossed the creek. Bill recalled having seen the log which has since been washed away in floods “The log crossed here to the other side to another embankment like this. It was hollowed out … I can remember when there was about 20 feet on this end and about 20 feet on that end.”

Lin Johnston’s thesis contains an oral history account of the State Heritage listed water race at Deep Crossing, Windeyer, constructed by a party of about twelve Chinese and a cook who divided among them the work of cutting and carrying rock, then putting it into position on the wall.1199

About a mile upstream from their claims… the Chinese built a small dam, and led the water along the side of the hill in a small channel about 3 feet wide and about the same depth. After it had gone a few hundred yards, the water had to travel around the steep precipitous side of the hill, most of which consisted of small slate cliffs… When completed the flow of water was

1199 Lin Johnston, "'.and numerous Chinese': A Search for the Individual in the Central Tablelands of New South Wales, c1848 – 1901" (Hons thesis, University of Sydney, 2002), 77-78.
so good the Chinese miners were able to work three sluice heads off the stream.” 1200

The similarity between the race described at Deep Crossing and the one at Triamble Creek supports Bill Suttor’s story that the race was built by Chinese men. It most likely dates from around 1863 when the Chinese mining population on the Macquarie River, near the junction of the Mookerawa peaked. It is possible that rice was grown on the back paddock of Triamble Station and transported to Triamble Creek to feed the miners and those constructing the water race. A forty-acre paddock would feed approximately 240-300 people per year. The easiest way to access the race is by boat.

1200 "...and numerous Chinese': A Search for the Individual in the Central Tablelands of New South Wales, c1848 – 1901”, 78.
Bill Suttor standing atop part of the Triamble Creek water race.

Photograph by Juanita Kwok 2017.

A section of the race on Triamble Creek. Photograph by Juanita Kwok 2017.
2. Piesley’s Island / Coffer dams

Local Hill End historians make reference to Chinese parties damming the river to work the river bed. Harry Hodge stated “For working in the riverbed itself the Chinese built coffer dams of timber with the interstices blocked with mud. By this means they could work to rock bottom.” A coffer dam is a temporary enclosure built within, or in pairs across, a body of water and constructed to allow the enclosed area to be pumped out. This pumping creates a dry work environment for the major work to proceed.

Bruce Goodwin’s book, Of Gold and People in Hill End contains an account of a coffer dam in the Macquarie River. According to Goodwin, his father often spoke of Chinese gangs working on the river when he was a young man. One Chinese man told his father he was a member of a gang working a river bed claim who had struck a seam of alluvial drift, rich in gold and four or five feet thick, lying on the river bedrock. The party “diverted the river with a log dam and then changed the course of the river by cutting a canal across a bend, thus forming an island. Below the main dam wall, box like structures called coffers were built.” The claim was abandoned when the river flooded, the dam was breached and the canal filled with gravel. Goodwin’s father later put together a syndicate to test the story. “During our work at Piesley's Island we came upon one of the coffer dams used by the Chinese. Although

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seventy or eighty years old it was still intact and some of the clay used in sealing the cracks between the logs was still in place." ¹²⁰²

Piesley’s Island in the Macquarie River does not exist on the 1884 plan of the Parish of Ulmarrah, County of Wellington, however, it can be seen on a google satellite map. This indicates that the dam and diversionary canal were built after 1884.

Another diversion of the Macquarie River near the junction of Lewis Ponds Creek is visible on the 1884 map.

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Aerial photograph showing the same section of the Macquarie River. Piesley’s Island is on the right. Google maps.

The Holtermann Collection contains a photograph of a coffer dam at Gallymont, near Mandurama, with a Chinese garden in the foreground.

The location of the dam at Carcoar or Mandurama has not been located, or has changed beyond recognition.
3. Tambaroora Chinese Cemetery

The Chinese Cemetery in Tambaroora is located west of the township of Tambaroora on a hillside adjacent to Moonlight Gully. The location of the Chinese cemetery at Tambaroora is shown on an 1859 plan of Tambaroora. It is difficult to locate and its existence and whereabouts is little known. As part of the Bathurst Regional Heritage Study, the Chinese Cemetery in Tambaroora was listed on the
State Heritage Inventory in 2006 (SHI 1080686). See State Heritage Register listing in appendix.

Registry records show that between 1858 and 1933, the deaths of at least 155 Chinese men were registered at Tambaroora Registry. There are no Chinese headstones remaining at either the Chinese cemetery in Tambaroora or the General Cemetery in Tambaroora. Nor is there any evidence of burners, altars, pig ovens or any other structure in the Chinese cemetery. Chinese headstones have been souvenired by collectors over the years. After visiting the Tambaroora Chinese cemetery in 1947, Hill End artist Donald Friend wrote in his diary:

we found headstones of quartz and slate incised in characters. I took a few of them and put them under a bush... intending at some future date to bring them back to our house, to be used perhaps in a fireplace.  

Ted Whittingham, former District Officer for the National Parks and Wildlife Services, cannot recall there being any Chinese gravestones in the Tambaroora Chinese cemetery when he was Live-in Manager of the Hill End Historic Site between 1969 and 1978. Ted recalls two or three gravestones at Murray’s Cottage and two at Haefilger’s Cottage in Hill End. There is no record of these gravestones having been recovered, and they may still be there. Ted established the Visitors Centre at Hill End, which contained a Chinese room with Chinese artefacts

1203 Barbara Hickson and Robin McLachlan, Bathurst Regional Heritage Study (Bathurst2007).
1205 Ted Whittingham Interview with Lorraine Purcell and Juanita Kwok, at his home on the NSW North Coast, March 2018.
on display. He had no recollection of any gravestone on display there, although there was one Chinese headstone on display in 2016. This was the headstone of Chan Git Gon of Heungyap (also known as Heongshan). The only other gravestone from the area is on display at History Hill in Hill End. This is the headstone of Chan Chi of Heongshan. According to History Hill owner Malcolm Drinkwater, this headstone was collected by Donald Friend. The dates for the deaths of Chan Git Gon and Chan Chi is unclear from the gravestones, but the use of the name Heongshan or Heung Yap suggests their deaths occurred before 1925 when Heongshan was renamed Zhongshan after Sun Yat Sen, who was a native of the province.

The absence of headstones means the loss of an important source of information about the place of origin of Chinese people. In order to facilitate exhumation at a later date, headstones recorded the name, date of death, and province, district and village of the person buried. Had Chinese headstones survived they would have provided information on the names and the places of origin of Chinese who died on the gold fields.

In 1863, it was reported that Chinese were disinterring the dead bodies of their countrymen in Sofala, removing flesh from the bones in order to transport the remains to China. From the 1870s, a period of seven years had to be observed before bones could be repatriated to China, and from 1904, a permit was required for exhumation. Newspaper reports refer to exhumations which took place at Bathurst

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cemetery in 1921 and 1936. According to Harry Hodge, on two occasions in his childhood, a well-dressed Chinese engaged the local gravedigger to exhume bodies from the cemetery. There are no old burial or exhumation records kept by cemeteries. Although the records of Rookwood Cemetery reveal that an average of seventy-five percent of Chinese burials were removed to China between 1875 and 1930, there is no corresponding record of exhumations at State Archives NSW. With the exception of a single sample year between 1928-29, state records of exhumations in New South Wales have been destroyed. Records have been disposed of in accordance with disposal actions for New South Wales records relating to the exhumation and/or reburial of human remains, which are to “retain minimum of four years after action completed, then destroy”, other than those exhumations ordered by the court, in which case records are retained for twelve years. Of the approximately 200 records of exhumations in the sample year, seventy were Chinese, three were from Bathurst General Cemetery, but none were records of persons exhumed from Tambaroora cemeteries or from any of the gold fields around Bathurst.

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1209 Michael Williams, Chinese settlement in NSW: a thematic history (NSW Heritage Office of NSW1996), 49.
1210 State Archives and Records New South Wales Government, Public Health GA39, "Records relating to the exhumation or reburial of human remains, 24.5.2."
The State Heritage Inventory listing notes that an archaeological investigation was undertaken at the Chinese Cemetery in 1978. It also notes that “an excavation in the area in 1978 revealed an urn with bones intact. The urn was replaced. It is assumed that other urns remain.”

The burial of urns containing bones was the second stage of a traditional three stage process of traditional Chinese burials which consisted of 1) initial interment; 2) exhumation, ritual cleaning of bones and reinterment in a ceramic vessel; 3) transport of the urn containing deceased’s bones to the family vault. Abraham and Wegars contend that in the absence of ritual urns, overseas Chinese re-purposed large jars used for shipping bulk foodstuffs as burial urns, citing a barrel jar containing bones in the collection of James Cook University, Queensland. The practice has not been documented in any cemetery in Australia.

A collection of slides from the personal collection of Ted Whittingham, provide photographic evidence that an archaeological survey of the Chinese cemetery did take place in January 1978. The photographs show the Chinese cemetery at Tambaroora, a lidded urn in the process of being unearthed, human bones in a shallow grave, the urn with the lid removed revealing human bones, and an urn being pieced together by a ranger. The photographs were not identified, except for

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1213 "Urns, bones and burners: Overseas Chinese Cemeteries", 63-64.

1214 Copies of the photographs are now in the collection of the Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group (HEATGG).
the date. However, it is assumed at least two urns were unearthed, and the one containing the human bones was reburied. One slide of a man kneeling near the digging was identified as the local Hill End grave digger, “Red Jack” Ellis, and this has been confirmed by his daughter, although she has no knowledge of the dig.\textsuperscript{1215}

Ted Whittingham had no record or memory of commissioning or participating in the survey. The man photographed piecing together an urn has been identified as Martin Davies (since deceased) who was employed by NPWS as a seasonal worker at the time. The survey appears to have taken place in January 1978 around the time when Ted Whittingham and family moved to live in Bathurst. No report of the survey could be located despite extensive efforts. An urn which was on display at the Visitors Centre in the old Hill End hospital was most likely the urn which can be seen bring pieced together in the photograph. The urn is currently on display at the new Interpretation Centre at Hill End.

The photographs of the in-situ urn containing bones appear to be unique evidence that in at least one burial, the Chinese tradition of placing bones in an urn for burial was practiced by Chinese in Tambaroora. As it is a commonly held belief that Chinese smuggled gold inside bones repatriated to China, theft from the graves may have been a reason for the practice of shallow burial and exhumation and reburial in urns to have ceased.

A selection of photographs from the 1978 dig. All photographs from the collection of the Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group.

\textsuperscript{1215} Personal communication with Lorraine Purcell, convenor of HEATGG, 24 January 2018.
Fence and gate of the Chinese Cemetery at Tambaroora.

Photograph taken from inside the Cemetery, January 1978.

The lidded urn in situ, January 1978
The in-situ urn with lid removed, January 1978

Martin Davies piecing the broken urn together.
From 23 – 25 November 2017, Stedinger Associates undertook a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey of the Chinese cemetery commissioned by the Hill End and Tambaroora Gathering Group and funded by grants from the Royal Australian Historical Society and Bathurst Regional Council. The survey was intended to clarify the likely presence or absence of human remains at the Bald Hill Cemetery, the Tambaroora Pioneers Cemetery and the Chinese Cemetery in Tambaroora. The GPR survey of the Chinese Cemetery found shallow subsurface patterning occurred between depths of 600mm and 800mm. Contrary to the fenced boundaries of the cemetery, the anomalies appear to align from north west to south east. Although it
was supposed that some anomalies would be tree roots or ironstone, the authors of
the report concluded that such general consistency of depth and general patterning
across the horizontal coordinate planes suggests human intervention.

Gerald and Louise Steding conducting the GPR survey at Tambaroora Chinese Cemetery,
November 2017. Photograph by Juanita Kwok

Assuming that the anomalies do represent burials, the survey showed that the depths
of these burials’ anomalies are less than half the required depth of 1.8 metres (6
foot), a legal requirement in the 1850s. The report concluded that shallow burials
would have facilitated the retrieval of bones for stripping and reburial in urns.\footnote{1216}

The Report concluded that initial burials are likely to be represented by those slightly
deeper anomalies found between 600mm to 800mm. Some of the shallow anomalies
may well represent the top of urns at a depth of 300mm to 400mm. The horizontal

\footnote{1216 Louise Steding, \textit{A Search for Three Cemeteries at Hill End and Tambaroora using Ground Penetrating Radar}, ed. Louise Steding (Camden NSW: Stedinger Associates, 2018).}
distribution of anomalies also suggests that people were originally placed along
aisles or alignments from northwest to southeast.

Broken pieces of old glass located on the surface, including a piece of winter green
celadon suggests that the annual *ching ming* ceremony, at which graves are swept
clean and food offerings made, was practiced at the cemetery.

Winter green ceramic piece found on surface at Tambaroora Chinese Cemetery.
Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2017.

The Tambaroora Cemetery which appears to have burial urns remaining in situ, is
unique amongst Chinese cemeteries in Australia. The evidence available suggests the
Chinese cemetery in Tambaroora is a highly significant site which warrants further
archaeological investigation.
4. Winburndale water race and diggings at St Anthony’s Creek, Glanmire

The Water Race and diggings at St Anthony’s Creek, Glanmire was heritage listed by Heritage Consultant, Barbara Hickson in 2005 (SHI no. 1080773).

A historical background to the water race is given in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Napoleon Reef to Winburndale Dam

I took three trips to trace the water race from its source at Winburndale to the workings at Glanmire. In 2014, members of the Central West Bushwalking Club and I traced a section of the race from its source at the Lower Gulf Stream, beginning the walk from Gulf Boundary Road. The landscape is rugged and the race follows the contour lines. We followed the race for about two kilometres to Winburndale Dam. The race is difficult to follow from here as it is on private land and has been demolished in places.

![Stone wall embankment on section of race between Napoleon Reef and Winburndale Dam](image)

Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2014.
Map of Napoleon Reef and Glanmire with two sections of the race traversed indicated in light green line, and probable course of race following contours marked by dotted lines.

A map of the race shows the declivity in elevation as the race runs westward. This would have allowed a steady stream of water to be brought to the gold workings north of Blackfellows Lead Gully.

Blackfellows Lead Gully to the face of the workings
To explore the other end of the race, on 14 June 2015, Geoff Harrop took me to a private property at St Anthony’s Creek, Glanmire owned by Amanda Paul. This land passed from Edward Combes to his nephew Mr Morton. It was bought by Oswald Webb (Geoff’s grandfather) from Morton. Oswald Webb subsequently subdivided the land. The site has been disturbed as it was used during World War II as an army training ground and was later part of the Bathurst Migrant Camp. We followed the race from where it crosses from the east to the west side of St Anthony’s Creek at Blackfellows Lead Gully. Geoff pointed out where a flume would have crossed the creek. There were no remains of a flume. We followed the race on the western side for approximately two kilometres. The race can be observed in places as a track cut into the hillside.

A section of the race between Blackfellows Lead Gully and the face of the workings.

Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2015.
Small depressions in the ground are evident in many places along the race and may indicate the prior existence of shafts or sites where the ground was tested.

According to Geoff there were hundreds of shafts in the land above the race which were filled in with bulldozers when the area was used as an army training base during WWII. In addition, army training involved men manually filling in shafts.

The face of the diggings are about 200 metres from the Creek. The race ended at the area of the diggings, about 200 metres from the junction of St Anthony’s Creek and the Winburndale Rivulet. The area appears to have been hydraulically sluiced and had large mullock heaps. Above the diggings was evidence of a dam. The section of the race between Winburndale Dam and St Anthony’s Lead has not been traced. Oral accounts suggest that stone walled sections of the race on private land may have been demolished in parts.
Mullock heaps at the workings where the race ends. Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2015.

I was also taken to a second site of workings by Geoff Harrop, on land owned by a Mr Fardios. The land was owned by Oswald Webb before he subdivided it. This site is off Mersey Lane. It is approximately four times bigger than the first site and Geoff believes this was the site of the main diggings and also the site of the village [of St Anthony’s Creek]. Where we entered through the fence, there was a house to the left. Geoff didn’t know who the house belonged to but said it was built on the site of an old rubbish tip where he had found many Chinese artefacts. These included objects such as an intact soy sauce bottle, a bone toothbrush without bristles, the lids to opium tins, medicinal vials and a clay opium pipe. Objects in Geoff’s collection
were measured and photographed by Janis Wilton as part of the *Golden Threads* project.\textsuperscript{1217}

A selection of the objects found near St Anthony’s Creek by Geoff Harrop.


Intact soy sauce bottle.

Toothbrush minus bristles
Clay opium pipe

Part of opium tin
5. Gamboola shearing shed, Molong

The Shearing Shed at Gamboola was constructed in 1848. Its loft area was used for drying tobacco. The main growers of tobacco in New South Wales were Chinese. John Smith’s papers show him to have employed at least Chinese men as pastoral labourers between 1854 and 1860. (See Chapters 1 & 2). Smith’s neighbour Andrew Barton, proprietor of Boree Nyrang at Molong employed two Amoy labourers from the Royal Saxon in 1853. (See Chapter 2). Although records from Gamboola do not show Chinese men in employment until 1854, it is possible that Chinese carpenters were at Boree Nyrang or Gamboola in 1848. Chinese carpenters were known to have been in the colony as early as 1818. Shying (Mak Sai Ying) was one of three carpenters employed by John Blaxland on his Newington Estate in Sydney in 1819.\textsuperscript{1218}

According to Wing-Fai Wong, expert in the field of feng shui measurement in traditional Chinese construction, photos of the old part of the Gamboola shearing shed show “the typical Chinese construction technique of wooden joinery for the main support structure.”\textsuperscript{1219} Elsewhere in New South Wales, the shearing shed at Mungo is reputed to be of Chinese construction. A close examination might reveal if fengshui measurement and unique Chinese carpentry techniques were used in the construction of the shed at Gamboola.

\textsuperscript{1218} Jack Brook, \textit{From Canton with Courage: Parramatta and beyond Chinese arrivals 1800-1900} (Blacktown: Self-published, 2011), 16.

\textsuperscript{1219} Wing Fai Wong, Personal communication, 1 July and 1 November 2016.
Interior of Gamboola Shearing Shed. Photo courtesy of Chris Stewart
Exterior of shearing shed at Lake Mungo, believed to be of Chinese construction.
Photograph by Juanita Kwok, 2017.
APPENDIX REFERENCES

NSW State Archives: Department of Public Health; [Series 4833] 10/430435 Exhumation Files, 1928-29.


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Appendix Three: Table of births in Sofala (cont.)
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Ah Lee
James
Ah Lee
Allene
Jane
Allene, William
Rosen [Lawsen]Benjamin
Charley
Ah Hung
Elizabeth
Ah Hung
Ah Hung
William
Ah Hung
Parker
Ellen Elizabeth
Ah Lee
Charles George
Ah Lee
Lawson
Maria
Lawsen, Charles
Ah Chong
Agatha Adelina MauAh Chong
Buckli
Bridget
Buckli, Bridget
Ah Leet
Ah Leet
Robert
don’t know
Married according to Dinah Hales
Married later in Victoria BDM (reg No. 1448)

Fanning
Kerwin
Nixon
Bridget
Cross
Cross
Kerwin

Agnes
Sarah
Margaret
Alice
Alice
Sarah

Cross

Cross
Nixon
Sheen

Rose

Jane
Caroline
Jane
Alice
Margaret
Margaret
Bridget
Alice

Appendix Three: Table of births in Sofala (cont.)
1869
1869
1869
1869
1870
1871
1871
1871
1873
1873
1873
1874
1874
1875
1875
1876
D/K
Y*
Y**

Sofala
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Sofala
Sofala
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Tambaroora
Sofala
Tambaroora
Sofala
Hill End
Sofala

18214/1869
18304/1869
18318/1869
18334/1869
17273/1870
19229/1874
17815/1871
17826/1871
no
Bapt 1873
18879/1873
19229/1876
19373/1874
19655/1875
19787/1875
20303/1876

Y
Y
Y
D/K
Y
Y
Y

Y
Y
Y*
D/K
Y

345


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Appendix Four: (cont.)
| Patient ID | Name       | Age  | Gender | Race | Ethnicity | Marital Status | Admission Date | Discharge Date | Diagnosis       | Treatment        |
|------------|------------|------|--------|------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 12345      | John Smith | 45   | Male   | White| Other     | Married        | 01/01/2021     | 01/30/2021     | Cancer          | Chemotherapy     |
| 67890      | Jane Doe   | 55   | Female | Black| Other     | Single         | 02/01/2021     | 02/28/2021     | Diabetes        | Insulin Therapy  |
| 01234      | Mike Brown | 65   | Male   | Asian | Other     | Divorced       | 03/01/2021     | 03/30/2021     | Heart Disease    | Medication Therapy|

Note: This table is an example of how patient data might be structured in a hospital setting.
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Appendix Seven

AN ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF ELEVEN CHINESE GRAVESTONES FROM BATHURST AND HILL END, NEW SOUTH WALES, AND TWO OF UNCONFIRMED ORIGIN.

COMMISSIONED BY DOCTORAL CANDIDATE JUANITA KWOK, CHARLES STURT UNIVERSITY, BATHURST.

ELY FINCH, MELBOURNE, JULY 2018.
– WITH RESPECT –
NOTES:
- Gravestones I to V are from the Chinese section of the Bathurst Cemetery.
- The Chinese symbol for a missing character, a square box (□), is used in this document’s transcriptions to represent a single illegible or unidentifiable character. Characters transcribed in grey were unclear in the images but could nevertheless be deduced with relative certainty.
- All the names in this document’s trans literations, with the exception of those used for Gravestone VII, are spelled according to the romanisation system for Cantonese that is in common use in Hong Kong, which reflects an older style of standard pronunciation.
- “Ho” is a common Chinese surname. Ah Sau “Ah Sau” appears to be the short form of a given name, in the same way that “Will” is a short form of “William” in English.
- “Heung Yup” or “The City/District of Heung” is an alternative name for Guang Tung Province’s 香山縣 District/County of Heung Shan.
- Heung Shan lies not far to the southwest of Canton (A.K.A. Guangzhou), and neighbours the island of Macau, which once formed part of it. The district took its name from a mountain in its interior called Heung Shan “Fragrant Mountain”, which was later renamed 五桂山 Wǔguìshān (Mandarin pronunciation) “Five Osmanthus Mountain”. The district’s name of Heung Shan, having remained the same from the 1100s, was changed in April 1925 to 中山 Chung-shan, in honour of Sun Yat-sen, who was a native (Sun Yat-sen had become known as “Sun Chung-shan”, the “Chung-shan” actually being the Chinese pronunciation of the surname “Nakayama” in his Japanese name 中山樵 Nakayama Shō). Chung-shan has since been elevated to city status, and is now best known by the Mandarin Pinyin spelling of its name, Zhōngshān. This gravestone was erected in the early part of the Republican era, when Chung-shan was still Heung Shan.
- “Cheung Ka Pin” is the name of a well-known village in the north-eastern corner of Heung Shan. Its location is shown on the Google Map appended below.
The names in this document’s transliterations reflect Cantonese pronunciation. Cheung Ka Pin, however, is not a Cantonese speaking village. It lies in one of the pockets of Heung Shan where unique varieties of Fujian languages are spoken. These pockets are believed to have been settled from the sea many centuries ago by émigrés from Fujian. Because the settlers came from very different parts of Fujian, the vernaculars spoken in these pockets—隆都 Lungdu in the west, 南蓢 Nam Long in the east and 三鄉 Sam Heung in the south being the main ones—are highly divergent, and not always interintelligible. Cheung Ka Pin’s vernacular (which is known as 得都話 “Tak Subdistrict Speech”) is sometimes classed as part of the wider Nam Long vernacular; other linguists consider it to be a separate vernacular altogether. In any case, it is a distinct minority language very different to Cantonese. The transcription of the deceased man’s name given here is therefore unlikely to accord with its pronunciation in his native language.

The characters that give the day in the date are not visible in the image. In his transcription and translation of the same, Kok Hu Jin gives the day as the 20th on the Chinese calendar, which he correctly observes would correlate to December 4th 1917 on the Gregorian calendar.
NOTES:

- 黃 “Wong” is the deceased’s surname, 昌基 “Cheung Kei” his given name. His native place is given as the district of 中山 Chung-shan/Zhongshan’s 大蠔涌 “Tai Hou Chung”, which translates as “Big Oyster Creek”. This would be the village near the town of 斗門 Dōumén in the present-day city of 珠海 Zhūhǎi whose name is now written with a slightly different yet homophonous middle character (as “大濠涌”). In 1944, this village formed part of the county of Chung-shan. Wong is still its dominant surname, and its vernacular appears to be a variety of the See Yip language. The village’s location is marked on the Google Map below.
NOTES:
- The transliteration “Leung Jong” shown in the English inscription is a good match for the Cantonese pronunciation the deceased’s name. This suggests that he was a Cantonese speaker, and not, therefore, from the See Yip region.
- The Chinese inscription is odd in a couple of respects: Firstly, the name is given on the left rather than the right, meaning that the date of death is read before it. It would be more usual for the name to come first, as on English gravestones. Secondly, the character for the surname, which like the others appears to be in a 1950s font, is clumsily laid out, which suggests that it might have been affixed by someone who was not literate in Chinese, perhaps a European monument maker.
GRAVESTONE IV

GRAVE OF MISTER LEE AH SHING

A NATIVE OF LEUNG TO, CHUNG SHAN

DIED 20TH JUNE 1951
NOTES:
- 李 “Lee” is the deceased’s surname. 亞成 “Ah Shing” is most likely the short form of his given name.
- 良都 “Leung To” was the name of one of Chung Shan/Zhongshan’s central subdistricts, and home to such well-known diaspora villages as 恆美 Hang Mei and 竹秀園 Chuk Sau Yuen, in which Cantonese was spoken. The Hakka language was also spoken in this subdistrict.
GRAVESTONE V

GRAVE OF WONG AH KAM,
OF KUNG SHEUNG SUBDISTRICT, HEUNG YUP;
WHO DIED ON THE 1ST DAY OF THE 4TH MONTH OF THE 16TH YEAR
OF THE REPUBLIC.

NOTES:

- The 16th year of the Republic was 1927. The 1st day of the 4th month appears to be a date on the Chinese calendar, and this would correspond with May 1st on the Gregorian.
- 黃 “Wong” is the deceased’s surname, and 亞敢 “Ah Kam” his personal name or the short form of his personal name.
- Heung Yup is an alternative name for Heung Shan, as explained in the notes on Gravestone I.
- What is given here as “Kung Sheung Subdistrict” (恭常都) was an administrative division of the erstwhile district of Heung Shan that had ceased to exist decades before the deceased’s death. Furthermore, Heung Shan no longer existed either, having been renamed Zhongshan two years earlier.
- The subdistrict of Kung Sheung encompassed the southern part of mainland Heung Shan and some islands, including Macao. The deceased might have hailed from any of these places.
NOTES:
- This and the next gravestone are from other sections of the Bathurst Cemetery.
- The month and day are given by the traditional Chinese calendar, whereas the eighth year of the Chinese Republic corresponds with 1919 on the Gregorian calendar. However, the 2nd day of the 6th month on the Chinese calendar was the 29th not the 30th of June 1919. Which date correctly reflects the date of death is unclear.
- Heung Yup is an alternative name for Heung Shan, as explained in the notes on Gravestone I.
- What is given here as “Wong” (黃) is the deceased’s surname and “Saam Lupp” (三立) his personal name (the double-P in the spelling of his personal name’s second syllable, which would seem to have been adopted as his English surname, appears to have been an attempt at representing the unaspirated final P sound in Chinese – which sounds like the first syllable of the imaginary word lupping, as opposed to lup on its own, in which the P would be aspirated).
- The “Saam” in “Saam Lupp” means three, and most likely indicates that he was the third boy born in his family. It is coupled with “Lupp” – meaning “to stand/erect/establish/achieve/do or make” – to form an ancient expression that means (roughly translated) to (1) 立德 “Lupp Tak” “achieve virtuousness”, (2) 立功 “Lupp Kung” “make achievements/render meritorious services”, and (3) 立言 “Lupp Yin” “to say things that are worthy of being passed on”. There are many classical expressions in Chinese that contain numbers, and they were commonly used for names, both for their deeper senses and because the number could be used to indicate precedence amongst brothers.
This individual would appear to hail from the same village as Gravestone II’s Wong Cheung Kei, with whom he shares the same surname.
Tsang Yup is an alternative name for the city of Chang Sheng (増城). This city is better known today not by this or any other romanisation of its name according to Cantonese pronunciation, but by the Mandarin romanisation Zēngchéng. It is located roughly 60 kilometers to the east-northeast of Canton (A.K.A. Guangzhou).

There were two languages spoken in Zēngchéng at the time concerned: one was the local dialect of Cantonese, the other was Hakka, of which there were two dialects (程鄉話 and 長寧話). There is something of a paucity of information online about the sound systems of these local Hakka dialects, but all indications are that the pronunciation of the character that forms the deceased’s personal name (萬) is van in both, and therefore not a match for the transliteration shown on the gravestone – mang. However, the transliteration mang matches perfectly the character’s pronunciation in Zēngchéng Cantonese, a dialect in which many words that end in N in standard Cantonese (including this one) take on an NG ending. Mang is pronounced in Zēngchéng Cantonese like marng would be pronounced in Australian English, i.e. with a silent R (note also that the word should be read naturally, without sounding the G in the NG sound).

“Chei” reflects the pronunciation of the deceased’s surname (謝) in the Zēngchéng dialect of Cantonese, and should be pronounced like the English bird name jay.

The “Kee” in the deceased’s English surname is most likely a transliteration of the character 記, which means “mark/sign”. It is often used in Chinese after a person’s name to form a shop name, in the same way that an apostrophe-S is used for this purpose in English. Some Chinese people adopted romanisations of shop or business names as English names, which may have been the...
case here. However, the character 記 was also used in signatures (to mean something along the lines of X’s mark), and this too could explain the origin of the deceased’s English surname.

- The dates given for 1915 of the 24th day of the 2nd month on the Chinese calendar, and the 8th of March on the Gregorian, do not match. The discrepancy may be explained by an error in the engraving of the character 弍 “2nd”, which might originally have been intended to be written 壹 “1st”, thus giving a Chinese date of the 24th day of the 1st month. However, the 24th of 1st month was the 9th not the 8th of March 1915. The Chinese date would therefore be ahead by one day (whereas in the case of Gravestone I the Chinese date was one day behind): why is unclear.

- Vulgar forms of the characters 壹 “one” and 号 “date” are used on the gravestone: the standard forms are given in transcription.
NOTES:
○ This gravestone is held in the collection of the Bathurst Museum.
○ The deceased hailed from Tung Kwun and would therefore most probably have spoken Tung
  Kwun Cantonese, which differs slightly from but is mutually intelligible with Canton Cantonese.
○ What is given here as “Yip” is the deceased’s surname and “Ah Lun” his personal name or the
  familiar form of his personal name, the surname appearing first, as it does in Chinese names.
○ What is given here as “To Kau” (到滘) is the name of the deceased’s district (區), which was its
  status as an administrative division at the time within the then Republic of China. The first
  character in the district’s name was changed in 1953, so it is now written “道滘”, a name which
  is pronounced the same in Mandarin (Dàojiào) but differently in Cantonese.
○ What is given here as “Tung Kwun” (pronounced Dōngguǎn in Mandarin) was at that time a
  county (縣), but has since been elevated to the status of a city.
○ The 8th year of the Chinese Republic was 1919.
○ The Western date of June 10th and the Chinese date of “May” 21st do not match. One explanation
  for this would be a missing 八 “eight” in the Western date. This character, placed after the
  character for “ten” would give a date of June 18th on the Western calendar, which would
  correspond with “May” 21st on the Chinese calendar.
○ The shape of the characters and certain orthographic errors suggest a writer who was not highly
  literate. (The character “歷” should be “曆”, and the character “滘” is miswritten.)

COMMENTS:
○ While Ah Lun may have been the deceased’s original Chinese name (or its familiar form), it is
  also possible that it was actually a transliteration of his English name Alan, which was given on
  the label formally displayed in the museum. If this were the case, it would probably be more
difficult to trace his roots, because one would not have his original Chinese name.
NOTES:
- This gravestone forms part of the collection of Richard Wigglesworth’s Museum in Sofala, and is said to have come from Hill End.
- The inscription is unfortunately too worn, and the images of too poor a quality, for much of the text to be read.
- The name of the district from which the deceased hailed appears on the stone. The crucial character, however, is not clear enough in the photographs.
- The deceased’s surname is 黃 “Wong”. It would appear that both his given and courtesy names were supplied, and that the second character of the latter is 萬 “Man”. 

GRAVE OF MISTER WONG *** MAN, OF *** YUP,
WHO ATTAINED IMMORTALITY ON ***
NOTES:
- This gravestone is part of the collection History Hill collection at Hill End, and is also said to have come from Hill End.
- What is given here as “Chan Chi” is the deceased’s surname and personal name, the surname appearing first, as it does in Chinese names.

COMMENTS:
- The year, month, day, and hour (by the Chinese reckoning) of the deceased’s death, and possibly the name of the area within Heung Shan from which he came, appear to have been recorded down the left-hand side of the stone; however, some of the characters have been lost due to damage, and others are not visible from the image. A higher resolution image, or a photograph taken after the application of talcum powder, might aid in the identification of more characters.
GRAVESTONE XI

NOTES:
- This is a photograph of a gravestone held by the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service Hill End Historic Site. It is also said to have come from Hill End.
- 陳月 “Chan Yuet” could accord with the “Chan Git” of the pictured translation; however, the next character of the deceased’s name, while unclear, appears to be 有 “Yau”, which would not accord with the transliteration “Gon”.
- The character at bottom right may be 日 “day”, which would form part of a date. No date, however, is mentioned in the pictured translation.
GRAVESTONE XII

GRAVE OF TUNG AND TSANG DISTRICT ELDERS.
ERECTED IN THE 21ST YEAR OF THE KWANG HSÜ ERA.

NOTES:
- This and the next image are of photographs in the collection of Mr. Ted Whittingham, a former manager of the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service Hill End Historic Site. Their provenance has not been ascertained.
- The “Tung and Tsang” districts are the neighbouring Cantonese-speaking districts of 東莞 Tung Kwun/Dōngguǎn and 增城 Tsang Shing/Zēngchéng, which lie to the immediate east of Canton.
- The 21st year of the Kwang Hsü Era began on January 26th 1895 and ended on February 12th 1896.
NOTES:
- 溫 “Wan” is the deceased’s surname, and 德榮 “Tak Wing” his given name.
- 寧邑 “Ning Yup” or “The City/District of Ning” is an alternative name for 廣東省 Kwang Tung Province’s 新寧縣 District of Llin Nen/Sun Ning/Sinning, which was renamed 台山 Hoi San/Toi Shan/Táishān in 1914. It is one of the See Yip regions four districts.
- 羅安村 “Luo On Village” is now known as 龍安里 Lóng'ān Village. It is located in the southwest of what is now the city of Taishan, in the vicinity of the former market town of 墩寨 Dūnzài. Its approximate location is marked on the Google Map below.
- The deceased would have been a speaker of the See Yip language.
INSCRIPTIONS ON AN 1870s JOSS HOUSE IN TAMBAROORA, NEW SOUTH WALES.

ELY FINCH, MELBOURNE, MAY 2017.
The photograph is part of the State Library of New South Wales’ Holtermann Collection. It is catalogued under the title “Bark huts in Chinatown, Tambaroora” and dates, according to the catalogue entry, from 1870 to 1875. There is a digital version on the library’s website at http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110040774.

The transcription and translation given here are based on a digital image of much higher resolution that was kindly provided by Lorraine Purcell of the Hill End & Tambaroora Gathering Group.

Unfortunately, despite its high resolution, the inscriptions still pixelated and blurred when magnified. It therefore proved impossible to determine the identity of the characters on the horizontal plaque above the entrance. These characters probably form the temple’s name. Nor was it possible to identify the characters that form the inner couplet, which is written on vertical strips of paper that are pasted to the immediate left and right of the doorway.

The entrance would appear to be formed from a pair of double doors. The left door, however, is not visible in the image, probably because it is open. The inscription on the right door is clear.

The outer couplet is written on wooden boards, which are suspended, in the traditional fashion, from small hangers at their tops. The last character of this couplet’s first line and the last two of its second are barely legible, and have been determined through educated guesswork. A higher resolution image would be required to confirm these determinations, and they are shown above in grey to indicate this fact.

The door inscriptions:
- The characters 左輔 “the left (or Eastern) adjunct” that appear on the right door constitute the name of a star. Chinese lore holds that this star and another called 右弼 “the right (or Western) aide” form a pair of 辅星 “assistant/ancillary stars” to the seven stars of the big dipper. (The exact identity of these stars, which were named thousands of years ago, is unclear.) For this reason, these star names have traditionally been employed as elegant appellations for a king, emperor or deity’s aides/acolytes. It is therefore almost inevitable that the characters 右弼 would have appeared on the left door. A simple Internet search reveals that this pairing of characters appears on the doors of some present-day Chinese temples too: always 左輔 on the right-hand door, or 龍門 “dragon’s door”, through which one enters a temple, and 右弼 on the left-hand door, or 虎門 “tiger’s door”, through which one exits a temple.
- The outer couplet:
  - The characters that form the outer couplet, assuming they have been correctly identified, are the following:
    
    神 “spirit(s)/god(s)/intelligence(s)”
    昭 “to shine”
    北 “North/northern”
    閣 “palace-gate watchtower/palace/court”
福 “blessing(s)/good fortune”
蔭 “to shade/shelter/protect”
南 “South/southern”
溟 an archaic/poetic word for “ocean/sea” that carries overtones of vastness and obscurity

- Taken together, these characters form a short antithetical couplet, written in copybook metre:

  Chinese grammar does not require that sentences be marked for tense or mood, and this one is not, so it could be translated in a variety of ways. E.g. as a plain description of a current situation (simple-present tense, indicative mood):

  “His Spirit shines in northern palace, and
  His Blessing shelters all the Southern Sea.”

  Or as a wish (subjunctive mood):

  “His Spirit shine in northern palace, and
  His Blessing shelter all the Southern Sea.”

  I.e. the difference between “God saves the Queen” and “God save the Queen.”

  (Note that the word “all” was added to maintain the metre in translation.)

  - The “He” referred to is fairly clearly a god called 北帝 Pak Tai (roughly pronounced, in Cantonese, “buck-die”), which translates as “The Emperor of the North.” Pak Tai is the god of the northern sky/heaven, and is sometimes associated with the North Star, and at other times with the big dipper. The latter association would of course fit perfectly given the names of the stellar door gods.

  - Taoism (or rather Chinese folk religion) holds that the northern sky/heaven is the ultimate source of the southern ocean. Pak Tai’s status as one of the most popular deities in the Pearl River Delta apparently stems from this association, because its people depend on the sea, and Chinese culture emphasizes the importance of considering the ultimate source of a benefit upon which one relies (所謂飲水思源). Another popular deity in the Pearl River Delta is, incidentally, the actual god of the southern ocean - 南海洪聖大王/洪聖/赤帝 Hung Shing.

  - Pak Tai was also the national deity of the Ming dynasty, for which reason worship was reportedly suppressed under the Qing.

  - The expression 南溟 “Southern Sea/Ocean” is the poetic equivalent of the term 南洋, which has the literal sense of “Southern Ocean”, and the extended metonymic sense of “the lands of the southern ocean.” This term is still used in respect of Southeast Asia, and that is the usage with which most Chinese speakers today would be familiar. However, it was formerly used in respect of Australia too, as was the poetic equivalent that appears in the couplet.