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Astride two worlds: The Chinese response to changing citizenship in Western Australia (1901-1973)

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Astride Two Worlds

**The Chinese response to changing Citizenship
in Western Australia (1901-1973)**

BY

TIAN MING CAI

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of

Master of Arts (History)

At the Faculty of Arts, School of Community Services and Social Sciences

Edith Cowan University

DATE OF SUBMISSION: 20TH JANUARY 1999

Abstract

Citizenship is central to understanding the nature of Chinese migrants and their relationships within the social and political environment in Australia. Utilising the concept of citizenship can be a new way to interpret the human experience of the Chinese survival in Australia and to show that a historical balance can be found between the Australian social environment on the one side and the Chinese experience in Australia on the other. How the Chinese community reacted to the changing issues in citizenship and attitudes towards Asian immigration become the focus of this thesis.

This research is designed to ask how Chinese responded to changing issues in citizenship during the politically transitional periods of 1901-1973. The research deliberately focuses on the period commencing with the implementation of the 'White Australia Policy' to the official removal of this legislation, a period embracing two world wars and two Chinese revolutions, to enable the responses of potentially different generations of Chinese to be analysed within these changing political and social contexts.

World War Two becomes an important signifier of change and the thesis develops an argument, in Part One, that before this war Chinese maintained a status of non-citizen. The war and its aftermath ushered in new political alignments between Australia and China, and these shifts are reflected in the changing political and social profile of Chinese in Australia. Part Two investigates the transition in

the ideological positioning of Chinese as they become citizen seekers in the new post war environment.

Central to this thesis is the question of how Chinese responded to their status of non-citizens, and citizen seekers, and how these responses can be measured. For example, what was the role of Chinese organizations and can these community bodies reflect the perceived changing status of Chinese citizenship. Peripheral but important questions are raised about the fluctuating loyalties of migrants revisiting China that may significantly influence their allegiances and inform their understandings of citizenship. The site to test these questions is Western Australia, however, the broader investigation of interrelationships with Chinese from other states and in China inform the thesis.

Extensive use of Chinese language sources in this thesis convey important insights into the way Chinese created their own subject positions on issues such as rights, responsibilities, loyalties and a sense of belonging.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature:

Date:.....

Acknowledgments

Life is never easy. Encouragement, caring, help and support were all essential for my survival in a strange environment when I came to Australia from China in 1989. This work in particular could not have been completed without all the encouragement and help given in many ways...

When I approached Professor Geoffrey Bolton regarding the study of Australian history four years ago, he kindly accepted me as his student. He not only encouraged me but also gave me guidance from the beginning to the end of the thesis. My first supervisor Dr. Jan Ryan made her comments and helped me build up the structure. If she had not supported me, this work would hardly have been finished. Dr. Anne Atkinson also helped me to get a proper construction in the thesis when Dr. Ryan was on leave. The thesis was inspired by their works.

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The Chung Wah Association and its Historical Group provided invaluable and unlimited help. Mrs. Kaylene Poon read through the manuscript and reduced its mistakes. Chinese descendants Ms. Renie Yuan, Mr. and Mrs. Bill & Beryl Chiew, Mr. Norman Moy, Ms. Teresa Moy continually helped me with my work. A list of Chinese descendants and Chinese migrants Mr. John Kee Fong, Mr. Jack and Mr. Ken Sue, Mr. Albert Yuan, Mr. Xu Xizhong and others I interviewed and mentioned in the thesis, told me of their experiences and feelings enabling me to write the history created by their parents and themselves. Also Libraries and staffs in Western Australia for providing materials should be mentioned.

The expectations of my friends, colleagues and teachers in China required that I press on and never give up. Mrs Ma Wenwei used all her efforts to help publish my previous book while I am in Australia. This is something I should never forget for the rest of my life. Professor Fan Jun, my colleague in the Chinese Academy of Social Science and Professor Wu Guoqin, my teacher in Zhongshan University, especially Mr. Qian Zhongshu, who in 1991 wrote in a letter to me: Never say die. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Supported by Edith Cowan University's fund, I went during January and February 1998 to the villages of county Xin Hui, Guangdong province, where the majority of the early Chinese in Western Australia came from, to do research about the pioneer Chinese. On a holiday in December 1996 and January 1997, I also visited Kai Ping, one of the Si Yi counties. These trips helped me to understand how Chinese migrants committed themselves to the family and commuted between China and host countries, such as Australia. The Xin Hui and Kai Ping Overseas Chinese Offices and Chen Hanzhong, Fan Junrao, Li Duanming, Liu Jiqing, Li Xiantang, Ou Jilin, Wu Haizhong, Zhou Qihong also gave me help and support.

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My essay which came from part of the thesis (see Chapter 2) won the 1998 Lee Steere Award presented by the Royal Western Australian Historical Society in March 1998. This was of great encouragement to me.

To all those people mentioned I give my sincerest thanks.

Cai Tian Ming
May 1998 Perth WA



Figure I The Chung Wah Association Historical Group and Australians of Chinese descent (R-L) Mr.Doug Sue, Mrs.Beryl Chiew, Mr.Bill Chiew, Ms Renie Yuan, Mrs. Kaylene Poon and Mr.Norman Moy in 1996 (top), and Mrs.Norma Markovic, Harold Shem's daughter, showed the author her 'Pon family tree' (six generation) at home in Kalamunda, WA 1997



Figure II Visited Yuan Cun in Kai Ping 1997(top) and Nan He Cun and Zhong Dayan's home with his grandson and granddaughter in Xin Hui, China 1998

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Introduction

Chinese in Australia are a part of the history of Australia. Not only because the Chinese have been living in Australia for as long as the Europeans, but also because they have made their special contributions to the development of Australia. To an extent, 'the Chinese question'¹ in Australia is a kind of force linking Australian society from the past 'White Australia' to the present 'Multicultural Australia'.

This research is designed to ask how Chinese responded to changing issues in citizenship during the politically transitional periods of 1901-1973. The research deliberately focuses on the period commencing with the implementation of the 'White Australia Policy' to the official removal of this legislation, a period embracing two world wars and two Chinese revolutions, to enable the responses of potentially different generations of Chinese to be analysed within these changing political and social contexts.

Central to this thesis is the question of how Chinese responded to their status of non-citizens and how these responses can be measured. For example, what was the role of Chinese organizations and can these community bodies reflect the perceived changing status of Chinese citizenship. Peripheral but important questions need to be

¹ In the 1850s, the Chinese who entered the goldfields brought questions to colonial Australia. In 1900, an Adelaide merchant Way Lee published 'The Chinese Question: from a Chinaman's point of view'. Rolls called it 'a severe and lucid questioning of Australia's treatment of the Chinese'. See Rolls (1996) *Citizens* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, p249.

raised about the fluctuating loyalties of migrants returning to China that may significantly influence their allegiances and inform their understandings of citizenship. The aftermath of World War Two ushered in new global configurations that intimately affected Chinese migrants. Within this context there are discernible changes evident in the Chinese community in response to Australia's changing attitudes towards 'Alien' immigration. It is necessary to know how Chinese responded to shifts from alienation, to assimilation to multiculturalism. The site in which to test these questions is Western Australia, however, the broader investigation of interrelationships with Chinese from other states and in China significantly form part of the thesis.

I. Review of the Chinese Australians' History

The subject of the Chinese in Australia is not a new one, but it is a growing one.² Historians have not only examined the Chinese as passive victims of white racism in the past, but also as active participants in Australian society at the present time. As Diana Giese has pointed out it is clear how quickly the blank spaces in Australian history are being filled in.³ Eric Rolls' two books *Sojourners* and *Citizens* show a sense of co-operation between Australians and Chinese-Australians, as well as the value of

² Inglis, K.S mentioned that more and more historians were turning to the study of a society made by migrants. 'Multiculturalism and National Identity' in Price (ed) (1991) *Australian National Identity*, Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, p30.

³ Giese, D (1997) *Astronauts, Lost Souls & Dragons - voices of today's Chinese Australians in conversation*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, pp2-3. She mentioned Ryan, J (1995) *Ancestors*; Fitzgerald, S (1997) *Red Tape, Gold Scissors: the story of Sydney's Chinese*; May, C (1984) *Topsawyers*; Loh, M and Winternitz, J (1989) *Dinky-Di*; Rolls, E (1992) *Sojourners* and (1996) *Citizens*; Yong, C.F (1977) *The New Gold Mountain*; and Choi, C.Y (1975) *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*.

this cooperation.⁴ Ten or fifteen years ago, the scholars who worked on the subject realised how difficult it was to locate evidences of Chinese life in Australia, even of the Chinese in their own communities.⁵

The fact that some Chinese apparently tried to forget their Chinese background is a matter for regret.⁶ Nowadays, the voices of the Chinese can be heard. The oral history-based publications, *Dinky-Di: The Contributions of Chinese Immigrants and Australians of Chinese Descent to Australia's Defence Forces and War Efforts, 1899-1988* (1989) and *Astronauts, Lost Souls & Dragons - Voices of Today's Chinese Australians in Conversation* (1997), not only give readers a feeling for the Chinese way of thinking, but is also a reminder that then times were different.⁷ These days, to look into the issue of how Chinese reacted to changing citizenship is quite an important theme in the understanding of Chinese in Australia.

Specifically, Yong's *The New Gold Mountain* (1977) represents important sources for the literature that set out to raise the consciousness of Chinese migrants in Sydney and Melbourne in 1901 to 1921, such as the fact that Chinese were united in a struggle against the 'White Australia Policy' and required the Australian Government to treat

⁴ Although some material and points are worth discussing, Rolls's books are of broad views, and provide useful knowledge for our understanding of what the Chinese lives were like in Australia. As a writer, Rolls pays attention to various material, which scholars cannot ignore when they attempt to reconstruct a pattern or analyze models. That is why Rolls' books are so significant. Chinese say, 'man of scholars is not as good as man of letters'. Rolls's book is an example. In this sense, it is not necessary for Rolls to claim it as an 'academic writing'. Geoffrey Blainey commented that undoubtedly it is the most compelling book yet written on the topic. *Age*, in *Citizens*. *op.cit.*

⁵ Jean Gittins said that she tried to obtain personal memorabilia from some members of the Chinese community in Melbourne, but the response was not encouraging. See Gittins, J (1981) *The Diggers From China - story of the Chinese on the Goldfields*, Melbourne: Quartet Books Australia Pty Ltd, p X.

⁶ Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* p256.

⁷ Manying IP also mentioned the situation. See IP, Manying (1990) *Home Away From Home: life stories of Chinese women in New Zealand*, Auckland: New Women's Press Ltd.

them as equal citizens, while they kept a strong traditional family connection with homeland China. Did Chinese in Western Australia operate in the same manner as Sydney and Melbourne Chinese? If so, why? Obviously, there is a need to further explore the essential character of Chinese migrants, such as their 'sojourning' lifestyle and their adjustment to the natural and social environment; their commuting migration systems ('clan-sponsorship' and 'highly mobile'); and their organisations for survival. This study will build on previous studies, such as Huck (1967) *The Chinese in Australia*, Choi (1975) *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Wang (1978) *The Organisation of Chinese Emigration* and May (1984) *Topsawyers: the Chinese in Cairns 1870 to 1920* (1984),⁸ raising new investigative areas of study as outlined in the aims of this thesis.

The Question of the Sojourners

So far, the literature on Chinese migrants in Australia is a reminder that the Chinese were sojourners in the past or that they are citizens of the present. As Rolls's books suggest, Chinese in Australia went from 'Sojourners' to 'Citizens'.⁹ But the situation is not so simple. To an extent, a new generation of Chinese migrants would like to keep the status of 'permanent resident' in Australia or they would like to work in their birth countries while holding 'Australian citizenship'. This is an important link to the status of 'sojourner' similar to that of the pioneer Chinese in Australia.

⁸ May's book impressed me that the local Australian authorities did not carry out the so-called 'White Australia Policy' until 1920 because the Chinese in Cairns had played an important role in the economical development in the Cairns area, although the book is based on English material rather than on Chinese material. This view of mine was published in a Chinese newspaper *The United Chinese Times*, 17 and 31 March 1995.

⁹ Rolls did not discuss the question of citizenship in his books. I borrowed from his title and made further exploration of the issues.

According to the customary pattern, the sojourn (a period abroad) is perceived as a 'Job', and the area of temporary settlement is the 'Workplace'.¹⁰ In the past, the Chinese took a 'job' in Australia's 'workplace' returning to their home villages after finishing it. Today, this process is reversed to a degree. Quite a few Chinese take 'jobs' in their home countries' and look after their new living places in Australia. Clara Law in her film *The Other Half and the Other Half* explored such a phenomenon: these modern Chinese were involved with airlines and commuted at weekends between Australia or New Zealand and the booming cities of Asia: Hong Kong, Singapore, Taipei, Guangzhou, Shanghai and Beijing.¹¹ She called these flying migrants 'Astronauts', in Chinese terms 'Taikongren'.¹² Of course, not all Chinese migrants in Australia are in this situation. So it becomes a matter of opinion as to the way in which Chinese are regarded as sojourners or citizens.

Gungwu Wang supports the view that the Chinese sojourner was pervasive in Asia and elsewhere for centuries.¹³ So a pattern created by Sui's 'Sojourner'(1953)¹⁴, and Daley's 'The Chinese as sojourners' (1977)¹⁵ could help us understand the Chinese migrants' transient lives to a degree, but it would not lead to an understanding of the nature of these commuter migrants. There is a need to question Chinese attitudes and responses to the changing social environment both in Australia and in other countries.

¹⁰ Atkinson, *The Socio-Economic Experience of Chinese Sojourners in Perth, Western Australia 1900-1920*. B.A. Hons thesis, Murdoch University, 1984: p21.

¹¹ Clara Law in Giese (1997) *op. cit.* pp4-5.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp4-5.

¹³ Gungwu Wang, 'Sojourning: the Chinese experience in Southeast Asia', in Reid, A. (ed) (1996) *Sojourners and Settlers: histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, p2.

¹⁴ Sui, P.C 'The Sojourner', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, July 1952, pp34-44. and *The Chinese Laundryman: a study of social isolation*. Ph.D thesis, University of Chicago, 1953.

The question remains: Were the Chinese really sojourners? If so, how do we explain those who applied for naturalisation and who married Australians after they came here? (The fifth or sixth Chinese generation family can be found in Australia similar to that of other Australian pioneers). How do we explain their struggle for the right to live in Australia? Also the meaning of sojourner could be interpreted in a different way. Atkinson recognized that the 'Chinese in commercial enterprise exhibited fewer characteristics common to sojourners',¹⁶ but Wang considered 'trading classes' to be in this category.¹⁷

The word sojourner itself might easily be related to unassimilationist. In the past, official Australian views on immigration have always been based on 'assimilation'.¹⁸ 'Everyone who came was a potential citizen, a one-way migrant'.¹⁹ Chinese migrants had been condemned as they were seen to be unassimilable because of the status of sojourner.²⁰ In today's multicultural society people are encouraged to become Australian citizens without the need to forget their origin.²¹ Australian residents can be multi-way migrants. Therefore, to understand the Chinese migrants, sojourning should be considered as a process. As Wang said:

¹⁵ Daley, C. L. *The Chinese as sojourners: a study of the sociology of migration*. Ph. D. thesis, City University of New York, 1977.

¹⁶ Atkinson (1984), *op. cit.* p iii. Wang had different views of the sojourners. He considered 'the trading classes' as sojourners and 'contract workers' as labour migration during the nineteenth century in Southeast Asia. Wang, in Reid (ed)(1996) *op. cit.* pp5-6.

¹⁷ Atkinson (1984), *ibid.* p iii.

¹⁸ Jupp, J (1996) *Arrivals and Departures*, Melbourne: Cheshire-Lansdowne, pp144-55.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p144.

²⁰ Price, C.A (1974) *The Great White Walls Are Built - restrictive immigration to North America and Australia 1836-1888*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, p274.

²¹ See an address by R.J.F. Boyer in 1954, in Goldlust, J (1996) *Understanding Citizenship in Australia* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, p20.

' it is unimportant whether Chinese who decided to settle down were at some earlier time referred to as migrants or sojourners. It was the treatment received in the host country, their prospects there, and conditions in their place of origin that led them to decide whether to stay or return.'²²

A historical development of Chinese migration clearly shows that for the Chinese migrants, economical function and what seemed convenient and natural were of greater importance than migratory intention or political identification.²³ In this sense, they were 'commuters' rather than 'sojourners' if one wants to find a word to describe them. To be exact, Chinese migrants in the twentieth century present more attitudes of commuters than those Chinese in the nineteenth century, the literature of which needs to be explored.

The main difference between commuters and sojourners is that the 'commuters' might possibly become citizens in any host country but still communicate with their birth country. While the 'sojourners' temporarily stay in the host places but eventually return to their mother land. After 1901, the Chinese sojourning pattern was determined by the 'White Australia Policy', which denied to Chinese residents the right of naturalisation and of bringing their families into Australia. The evidence shows that during the period 1901-1910 before the 'Policy' became more restrictive, Chinese wanted their sons or other relatives to succeed them when they retired or returned to China.²⁴ Therefore, the Chinese migrants in this period can be seen as commuters

²² Wang, in Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p3.

²³ *Ibid*, p5.

²⁴ See Chapter 1. Also see Atkinson (ed) (1988) *Asian Immigrants to Western Australia 1829-1901: the Bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians Vol V*. Nedlands: The University of Western Australia Press.

generally, which was decided by the pragmatic nature of the Chinese and by their traditional family values.

The standing of some ethnic Chinese who re-migrated to Australia from Southeast Asia in the contemporary period is that of temporary residents in Australia or temporary workers in their birth countries and other places as Australian citizens.²⁵ This situation is affected by several factors. Firstly, Australian citizenship is based on a person's sense of commitment to Australia rather than a person's desire to secure particular benefits for himself.²⁶ More important is the fact that the non-Australian born citizen in Australia can retain dual citizenship if dual citizenship is accepted in the birth country.²⁷ Secondly, Chinese migrants might have Australian citizenship while living in Australia, but economic opportunities in their countries of origin could possibly encourage a reappraisal of their lifestyle. Consequently, recent Chinese migrants receive benefits from Australian citizenship, and protection from the Australian government when they are away from Australia, which was not the case for the early Chinese migrants who commuted between China and Australia. Comparably, such status of Chinese migrants in Australia appears not to have been encouraged in Southeast Asia because the modern nation demands that migrants settle and identify with it. 'Citizenship must always refer primarily to nationality',²⁸ although there is a growing spirit of world citizenship rather than nationalism in today's world.²⁹

²⁵ Clara Law in Giese (1997) *op. cit.*, pp4-5.

²⁶ Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1994, *Australians All: Enhancing Australian citizenship*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, p XV.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p177.

²⁸ Shklar, J. N (1991) *American Citizenship - the quest for inclusion*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p4.

²⁹ Wang, in Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p3.

Does the idea of temporary residence cause Australians much anxiety? Do Chinese have a personal sense of commitment to Australia? In other words, could the history of the Chinese experience in Australia provide evidence to support their commitment to Australia or their response if citizenship is denied them? This thesis uses citizenship as a theory to examine Chinese responses to belonging, community and identity.

Clan-Sponsorship

Accordingly, what this thesis will discuss is the so-called clan-sponsorship³⁰ which assured Chinese movements and commuting after Chinese migrated to Australia and especially helped their survival in a strange social environment which denied them rights as British subjects because of the 'White Australia Policy'. As Chan argues those Chinese who came under a clan-sponsorship system were tied to their lineage organisations in their home villages in China and to their districts or dialect groups in Australia.³¹ More importantly, their traditional education including commitment to family life were potential factors that encouraged them to commute between countries, and between states in Australia.

Chinese in Australia could be seen as 'highly mobile',³² and they were very much so on the goldfields in the eastern colonies.³³ When restrictive legislation was enforced after

³⁰ Some literature mentioned the clan relationship, such as Gittins, J (1981) *The Diggers from China: the story of the Chinese on the goldfields* and Choi, C.Y (1975) *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*.

³¹ Chan, H. M 'The Chinese Communities in Australia: the Way Ahead in a Neglected Field of Research', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Vol. 10. No 1. 1989:37.

³² Wang mentioned Europeans saw the Chinese as highly mobile. In Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p6.

³³ Price pointed out the Chinese were very mobile, moving from field to field, or prospecting new country, with great rapidity. See Price (1974) *op. cit.* pp80-1.

1901, this feature of 'mobility' - the movement back and forth between China and Australia and between states within Australia was obvious among Chinese migrants.³⁴ In a dictionary, *Asian Immigration to Western Australia 1829-1901*,³⁵ the movement of the Chinese migrants between countries was recorded. Atkinson found that some Chinese travelled overseas many times, in some cases, some commuted eight times. Many Chinese had families in China.³⁶ Yet some still returned to Australia after staying seven or eight years in China.³⁷ Previous studies of sojourning patterns fail to explain this complex situation and why some Chinese were fighting for naturalisation. The Chinese who had stood astride two worlds since first coming to Australia had been tried and tested, especially in the development of the Chinese community in Western Australia, and were found to have shown great strength of character.

Community's Functions

What are the functions of the Chinese community in a changing social environment in Australia? Jenny W. Cushman and Henry Chan argued that the Chinese community in Australia was a neglected field of research.³⁸ An important reference book C. F. Yong's *The New Gold Mountain* (1977) dealt with the Chinese community in Sydney

³⁴ Diana Gises collected such stories when doing oral history. For example, her video traced the life of Kwong Sue Duk, who was a herbalist and married four wives and produced 24 children, from southern China to Darwin, Cairns, Townsville and Melbourne. See Giese, 'Editing Lives', *Voices*. Vol VI No 1 Autumn 1996:29.

³⁵ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op.cit.*

³⁶ In the *Register of the Chinese in Western Australia in 1931*, it shows 90% of the Chinese had wives and children in China. The *Register* is kept in the Chung Wah Association.

³⁷ Atkinson (1988) *Ibid.* Chung Jaw' case, p142; Chung Pon's case, p143. Also see *Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931*, kept in the Chung Wah Association.

³⁸ See Jenny. W. Cushman, 'A Colonial Casualty: the Chinese community in Australian historiography', *ASAA Review* 7.3 April 1984, pp100-113. Henry Chan's paper was presented at the Chinese in Australia conference organised by the centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies, Monash University, in March 1988.

and Melbourne in 1901-1921. Chan's argument is meaningful because effort still needs to be made to fill the space in this field of research.³⁹

Yong's *The New Gold Mountain* gives us a picture of the Sydney and Melbourne Chinese and their economical and political lives in 1901 - 1921. Yong's work reflected the Chinese communities that struggled for identity in Australian society. The book, however, neglected the values and features of the Chinese community. For example, Chinese community and its organisations have always considered the image of the whole Chinese community first rather than that of individuals; Chinese organisations have often connected with each other, especially when facing discrimination. The direction the Perth Chinese organisations were taking tested such general roles that are performed by ethnic organisations while still presenting their own characteristics. More importantly, changes from 'group consciousness' to 'welfare function'⁴⁰ can be seen by analysing the Perth Chinese organisations, which responded to changing circumstances from 1901 to 1973. Thus evidence indicating that Chinese relations with the host communities were not always hostile⁴¹ will be further explored by analysing the civil rights within the citizenship content.

It is not surprising that the population and experiences of Chinese in Australia seem to differ in Perth, Sydney, Melbourne and other cities and country areas. Even so, the Chinese communities were not isolated from each other, which further evidenced the

³⁹ Chan, H 'The Chinese Communities in Australia: the way ahead in a neglected field of research', *Journal on Intercultural Studies*. Vol. 10 No. 1 1989:43-4.

⁴⁰ Rosario Lampugnani points out that 'the two general roles that are performed by ethnic organizations are group consciousness and welfare function'. See Lampugnani, Rosario 'The Role of Non-Government Organisation In Immigrant Settlement', *BIPR Bulletin*, No.10, November 1993:62.

⁴¹ Chen, H *op. cit.* p35.

mobility among these migrants. The Chinese community in Western Australia, though small in number, had always kept not only its relationship with the Chinese consulate and China, but also its close connection with Sydney and Melbourne. Investigating these links is important not only to the understanding of Perth Chinese but also to that of their compatriots in other Australian cities.

The Study of the Chinese in Western Australia

Although local historians have tended to ignore Chinese, there are exceptions, such as Geoffrey Bolton who connected the Chinese experience with the history of North Queensland in his book *A Thousand Miles Away* (1963)⁴². Predominantly, close examination of Chinese communities have been carried out by historians specific to Chinese immigrant histories, such as Cathie May's doctoral thesis on the Chinese in Cairns 1870-1920 that has been published as *Topsawyers: the Chinese in Cairns 1870 to 1920* (1984)⁴³ which showed a rural Chinese community outside Sydney and Melbourne.

Previous studies of Chinese in Western Australia are of particular relevance to this thesis. Jan Ryan (1983, 1989) and Ann Atkinson (1984, 1991) concentrated on the

⁴² Bolton's book published in 1963 seems to be ignored by scholars in the research field of the Chinese migrants in Australia. As an Australian historian, in the early years instead of at present, he did not fail to point out the Chinese contributions to the development of Australia: 'If there were no Chinese in the district there would be no land under cultivation.' (p225) In the book, not only did he make some points leading to the understanding of the nature of the Chinese migrants in Australia, but also mentioned the different views of the Chinese migrants in Australia in the different areas within the same period of the times. I am indebted to Professor Geoffrey Bolton's historical views and have based some of my thesis on his material.

⁴³ May's book impressed me that the local Australian authorities did not carry out the so-called White Australia Policy until 1920 because the Chinese in Cairns had played an important role in the economical development in the Cairns area, although the book is based on English materials rather than Chinese materials. This view of mine was published in a Chinese newspaper *The United Chinese Times*, 17 and 31 March 1995.

study of Chinese migrants in the area of Western Australia and explored the history of Chinese in the West.

Jan Ryan's doctoral thesis published as *Ancestors: Chinese in Colonial Australia* (1995) challenged the existing literature which depicts colonial Chinese migrants as a homogenous group. Ann Atkinson's doctoral thesis *Chinese Labour and Capital in Western Australia 1847-1947* (1991) focused on Chinese (working and business classes) and the Chinese response to the controls imposed on their activities by White Australia. Their works constructed the social history of the Chinese community in Western Australia and its economical activities, and was of great value in the writing of this thesis.

However, their works offer an alternative argument to the view of the Chinese experience in Australia. For example, Ryan's book described the Chinese heterogeneous situation. Chan asked questions after reading Ryan's book: 'Were the Western Australian Chinese bound together by their pre-migration experience in Singapore? When, and by what process, did the Chinese sub-communities develop a sense of belonging to a broader Chinese community?'⁴⁴ These questions will be raised in this thesis. Chan commented that the more heterogeneous Chinese communities in Sydney and Western Australia became, the more diverse and lacking in a cohesive identity they had become.⁴⁵ This thesis identifies changing patterns in the Chinese population after 1901 and the implications that can be deduced. The Perth Chinese

⁴⁴ Chan, 'Community, Culture, and Commerce: New Approaches to the History of the Chinese in Australia', in Jan Ryan (ed) (1995) *Chinese in Australia and New Zealand - a multidisciplinary approach*. New Delhi: New Age International P Limited, p109.

⁴⁵ Chan, 'The Chinese Communities in Australia: the way ahead in a neglected field of research' in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Vol.10. No.1 1989:38.

population was very active in establishing a community after the beginning of the twentieth century. Obviously, the 'White Australia Policy' encouraged a survival bonding of Chinese.

Atkinson's important thesis, which closely examines the Chinese situation until 1947, focuses on the reactions by Chinese to social and economic restrictions and exclusions in Western Australia, providing relevant insights into the context of the Chinese community. However, Atkinson while emphasising the values of the Chinese community shaped by social isolation neglected to mention their connections with the host society. This thesis will concentrate on social interactions among the Chinese community, Australian society and China, showing that a historical balance can indeed be found between the Australian social environment on the one hand and the Chinese experience in Australia on the other.

II. Citizenship

To understand the Chinese response to issues of citizenship, it is essential to clarify the concept of citizenship appropriate to this thesis. As the concept of Australian citizenship has changed during Australia's history, a brief discussion of the notion and evolution of citizenship in Australia will provide the framework to contextualise Chinese experiences.

The origins of the modern idea of citizenship can be traced to some of the Greek city-states more than 2500 years ago. The Greek philosopher Aristotle considered the

concept of citizenship a complex one when he said that 'the nature of citizenship... is a question which is often disputed: there is no general agreement on a single definition.'⁴⁶ In fact, different types of political parties and communities give rise to different forms of citizenship.⁴⁷

One influential view of citizenship in the modern concept comes from the British sociologist T.H. Marshall.⁴⁸ He considered citizenship a package of the 3R's - civil right, political right and social right⁴⁹ which will be discussed further in this chapter. Civil right was composed of rights for individual freedom associated with the rule of law and a system of courts; Political right consisted of the right to participate in the exercise of political power associated with parliamentary institutions; Social right was made up of a right to the prevailing standard of life and social heritage of society. These rights were realized through the social services and educational system.⁵⁰ However, in the contemporary world, substantive citizenship rights for immigrants should be considered. So S. Castles has proposed 'cultural rights' meaning that immigrants have the right to maintain their own ethnic identity, language and culture in the concept of citizenship.⁵¹

Marshall's concepts of citizenship and citizen rights have been challenged by other scholars. Richard Norman argued that one cannot simply define citizenship as a certain

⁴⁶ Aristotle, 'The Politics of Aristotle', 4th century BC, in Goldlust, John (1996) *Understanding Citizenship in Australia*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, p1.

⁴⁷ Barbalet, J.M. (1988) *op. cit.* p2.

⁴⁸ Marshall, T.H. (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁹ Norman, R. 'Citizenship, Politics and Autonomy', in Milligan, D and Miller, W.W. (ed) (1992) *Liberalism, Citizenship and Autonomy*, Brookfield: Avebury Publishing Company, p36.

⁵⁰ Marshall (1950) *op. cit.* pp71-2, in Barbalet, J. M. (1988) *Citizenship: rights, struggle and class inequality*. England: Open University Press. p6.

⁵¹ S. Castles (1995) in Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p44.

set of rights because there were no natural rights at all and the concept of rights was inherently social. He regarded citizenship as commitment. 'Citizen's rights are correlative with, and conditional on, obligations: the rights are what you receive in return for fulfilling your obligations.'⁵² Judith N Shklar placed more emphasis on participation. She defined citizenship as having four quite distinct features: standing, nationality, active participation and ideal republican citizenship.⁵³ In her view, the good person was not necessarily a good citizen just because he was an integral part of a democratic order that relied on the self-direction and responsibility of its citizens rather than on their mere obedience.⁵⁴ Alastair Davidson considered that citizenship was decidedly not simply or primarily about outcomes, or viewing each individual as a consumer. 'The centrality to citizenship using the active political rights as the measure, gets lost once the focus shifts on to what a person gets rather than what they do.'⁵⁵ It would neglect ethnic, gender and other differences if only some people, not all were given the right to act as citizens.⁵⁶

More recently, in the contemporary world, nation-states attempt to understand the global economic development in a highly competitive world. Following the job market in a move from one place to another, millions of people leave their place of birth for short or long-term absences. The world becomes increasingly a place of multi-ethnic states. As Davidson suggested a 'National state' will be shifted into a 'Regional state'

⁵² Norman, R. in Milligan, D. (eds) (1992) p37.

⁵³ Shklar, J. N. (1991) *American Citizenship: the quest for inclusion*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p6.

⁵⁵ Davidson, Alastair (1977) *From Subject to Citizen: Australian citizenship in the twentieth century*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, p31.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p32.

(multi-ethnic) and further to a 'World state'(global citizen) in future.⁵⁷ Australia, a multi-ethnic society, is a forerunner. In this circumstance, the centrality of 'belonging' to understanding the concept of citizenship needs to be explained. Who do these newcomers and multi-ethnic populations belong to? They share a present but have no common histories. So for this reason, their existence will be considered by the older, stable homogeneous societies as very threatening. These are new questions about citizenship. Chinese migrants experiences in Australia both in the past and the present offer unique viewpoints and responses to citizenship.

This thesis will consider the concept of citizenship not in a future state but rather during a specific period of change. In this period, Australia shifted from the White Australia Policy to the Multi-cultural Policy. Although Norman's and Shklar's statements about citizenship were concerned with the important aspects of citizenship, they were also related to the question of rights. So rights and commitments are double-edged questions in the concept of citizenship. The thesis will consider the concept of citizenship with two points of view - what rights the Australian government conferred on or denied Chinese migrants and how Chinese fulfilled or failed their obligations and commitments in return.

III. Approach and Sources

In this thesis, the study of Chinese responses to changing citizenship criteria will focus on Western Australia as the site of investigation. The approach taken in this thesis is eclectic, in that it draws on narrative and analysis as well as comparative disciplines to explore major issues that are related to Chinese adapting to a changing social

⁵⁷ *ibid.* pp5-6.

environment. It does not attempt a pattern, but rather a coherent historical explanation relating to citizenship transition that can help our understanding of the varying Chinese experiences in Australia. The aim of the thesis is to leave us with a sense of the complexity of the relationship between Chinese and the dominant Anglo-Australians.

Chinese Sources

The study draws on Western Australian evidences. Firstly, the Chinese sources, especially original materials are particularly important to understand the status of the Chinese in Western Australia.

In the Chung Wah Association, there are various kinds of original materials written in Chinese, which are used in the thesis. *Minutes of the Chung Wah Association* record in detail the activities of the Association from the beginning of its establishment in 1909 to 1925. These sources detail the Chinese Association's form and functions and how they responded to discriminatory legislation (analysed in Chapter 2).

The thesis explores the Chinese who were involved in the political movement and defence of their country, and how those Chinese had a closer relationship with China. In Chapter 4: *The Chinese Nationalist Party in 1920s*, the following original materials are widely used: *Minutes of the Perth Branch of Guomintang* (4 March 1929 - 23 March 1930), *Minutes of Western Australian Branch of Zhongguo Guomintang* (11 October 1931 - 20 November 1932), *Members Fees Book of the Perth Branch of the Guomintang* (Vol. 1, May 1921), *Register of Guomintang Members* (Vol. 1, 1926-1927), *The Form of the Party Member* (Made by the Committee of Overseas Investigation of the Zhongguo Guomintang, December 1927). Other Chinese material

such as *Facts on the Development of the Australian Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party* (Sydney, 1935), *The Album of the Establishment of Melbourne Branch Building and the Chinese Nationalist Party Convention* (Melbourne, 1922) and Chinese newspapers have been consulted.

The newspapers mainly reported about Sydney or Melbourne yet they provided an important broader context for this thesis and enabled commonalities and differences between Chinese communities to be examined. A closer study was made of two Chinese newspapers. *The Chinese Republic News* published in Sydney in February 1914, once a week. It is the latest paper available today because it dates from 21 February 1914 to 25 December 1937.⁵⁸ *The Tung Wah News* was published in Sydney in 1898. It was renamed *The Tung Wah Times* in 1902. The latest date that can be found is 25 June 1927.⁵⁹ As the ownership was different, the two newspapers showed their different political opinions, especially about the Chinese Reform Party and the China Republican movement. A careful examination is made in this thesis to distinguish the ways in which they were different and how Perth Chinese actively participated in the republican movement under the influences of the Chinese communities in eastern Australia.

Previous studies and general works of the Chinese in Western Australia provided information for this thesis but with limitations. Reworking sources, such as utilising coolie lists, certificates of domicile, local government and court records, Chinese newspapers, oral history and other material were essential if new questions were to be investigated.

⁵⁸ Yong mentioned *The Chinese Republic News* was published from 1914 to 1925. See Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p288.

⁵⁹ Yong mentioned *The Tung Wah News* from 1898 to 1925. See Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p288.

Another is re-interpreting materials. Not only do different statistical analyses produce different results but the same materials could also have quite different interpretations. For example, the Chinese population figures Ann Atkinson used in her thesis were different from that of the Commonwealth. She may have neglected the fact of changes in population numbers,

Oral Sources

The small numbers of Chinese in Western Australia who lived there after 1930 and the scattered evidence of the same have encouraged oral interviews to be carried out to inform both an individual and collective viewpoint. Participants were asked how they responded to the changing situations, if and when they became Australian citizens or permanent residents. Some sources of evidence were obtained through interviews with descendants of the Chinese migrants. As it has not been possible to interview those Chinese who were directly involved in the Association and the Nationalist Party in the 1910 and 1920, the information provided by descendants has its limitations. Firstly, they could not represent the majority of Chinese who had gradually returned to their home villages because of old age and the 1930s depression, or had rejoined their families who were denied entry to Australia. Secondly, oral history has its limitations due to questions of accuracy, memory and subjective overlays of time and perspective. However, Chinese left their mark on the lands in the West and supporting evidence will test these oral testimonies where possible. The interviewee's feelings about the matters rather than the 'facts' they had told, helped me to understand their views of their journeys and their search for new directions.

The term 'Chinese'

The term 'Chinese' in this thesis means those Chinese who mostly came from mainland China. They were born in particular villages in South China. The book *Asian Immigrations to Western Australia 1829-1901* compiled by Ann Atkinson gives much detailed information about those early Chinese who commuted between two worlds. The book is based on research from the Australian Archives, such as *Certificate of Domicile*, *Certificate of Exemption From The Dictation Test*, *Registers of Applications for Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test*, *Form of Applications for Registration Under War Precautions (Alien Registration) Regulation* and *Registers of Births, Deaths and Marriages*.⁶⁰ The book though giving readers an insight into Chinese in Western Australia remains incomplete, mainly because it lacks Chinese characters for the names of Chinese and their birthplaces in villages or counties. Nearly all Chinese in the book were recorded as having 'Canton' as their birthplace, which is of limited use in understanding the existence of various counties and dialect groups. This thesis analyses some materials such as *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia* (10th May 1931) and points out for the first time that migrants from Xin Hui county were one of the biggest groups in Western Australia by this time.

Chinese names in this work are written according to the western order of given name first and surname last, which is contrary to the custom of Chinese. The mandarin transliteration of Chinese names is used to keep a certain uniformity of pronunciation, although Cantonese was the dominant speaking language at the time. However, if there are names that are in general use, whatever the origin or dialect, these names are

⁶⁰ Appreciation of the author's effort is unlimited because there seems to have been no similar book in other states, which will certainly help readers to understand the whole Chinese community in Australia.

verbatim. This may legitimate the historical fact that those early Chinese who left their footprints in Australia were mainly from Southern China. A list of Chinese characters of personal, geographical and institutional names used in the text is attached as Appendix. As the Chinese names were spelt in a multitude of ways, it was difficulty to identify and link people. It was interesting to find this culture-exchange phenomenon with adaptations of English /Chinese names and some Chinese descendants adapting their father's first names as their surnames.⁶¹

This thesis, written by a mature Chinese who has also written a book in appreciation of a modern Chinese scholar Mr Zhongshu Qian whose classic works dealt with the roundabout way of Chinese thinking, as the title suggests, is about being 'Astride Two Worlds'.⁶²

IV. The Evolution of Australian Citizenship: Four Periods

Australia's attitudes towards citizenship have been changing. John Goldlust claims the evolution of citizenship in Australia can mainly be divided into four periods. Firstly, the colonial experience; Secondly, the period of the British subject, from the time of Federation in 1901 to the year 1948; Thirdly, Australian citizenship and the abolishment of the *Immigration Restriction Act*: 1949-69; Fourthly, Australian citizenship after

⁶¹ For example, Roy Hoy Poy's father was Hoy Poy Yuen.

⁶² Professor Kirkpatrick points out two different ways of thinking and writing: Chinese people will often give a series of reasons first, and then come to the main point, but Australians tend to make a declaration first and then substantiate it later. in 'How Not to Rub Salt into Racial Wounds', *Sunday Times* 8 June 1997.

1970.⁶³ As the concept of citizenship had different meanings in different periods, so Chinese migrants received treatment that was different according to the period and may have responded differently. This chapter explores how the evolution of citizenship happened and in particular what impact it had on Chinese migrants and their thoughts on citizenship.

First Period

In the first period, the Australian continent was occupied by Europeans. As conquerors, the settlement took place within the legal assumption that the British Crown retained unquestioned land rights and political rights as well as moral authority over the continent.⁶⁴ Such legal assumption did not care about 'Jus soli' (law of the soil), rather 'Jus sanguinis' (law of the blood or descent).⁶⁵ Indigenous people, the 'Aborigines', had been stripped of rights in the land of their birth until the 1967 referendum that altered their status entirely. At the time, most of the migrants, convicts or free settlers who came from Great Britain and Ireland, had a 'common culture', although they had different cultural traditions.⁶⁶ This status ensured they shared a common language and they saw themselves as British to a large extent.

But changes took place after the gold rushes in the 1850s. A substantial number of migrants from other countries came to Australia. The largest non-British immigrant group in Australia were the Chinese. Although the Chinese might be thought of as a

⁶³ Goldlust (1996) *op.cit.*

⁶⁴ Smolicz, J.J. 'Who is an Australian? Identity, Core Values and the Resilience of Culture', in Price (ed) (1991) *op.cit.* p42 and see Goldlust (1996) *op.cit.* p7.

⁶⁵ Jus soli is one of the two internationally recognised legal principles used to determine an individual's country of citizenship at birth. A person is attributed the citizenship of country in which he or she is born. Jus sanguinis is another legal principle. If one or both parents are citizens their offspring are automatically endowed with the citizenship at birth. See Goldlust (1996) *op.cit.* p vii

major ethnic division and the regional groups as ethnic sub-divisions,⁶⁷ they retained their loyalty to traditional beliefs and showed a higher degree of racial homogeneity.⁶⁸ Therefore, Chinese were perceived as a threat to the established standing of common culture, especially when they came together and represented themselves as not only distinct in the aspect of culture and race, but also in the aspect of economical competition. Anti-Chinese sentiments led to the enactment of legislation restricting the entry of the Chinese and other non-Europeans.⁶⁹

It was not only Chinese who conflicted with the 'common culture', but also some people within the 'common culture', particularly the Irish.⁷⁰ Also, in new generation of Australian born people some had the desire to divest themselves of their British identity. The demand for their own new nation was reflected in the Eureka stockade rebellion and the formation of a republican movement.⁷¹ As the dominant group in society was British and Australia had a close economical connection with the United Kingdom, the independent movement became impractical. It did not produce a republican Australia. Instead, it created the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. Obviously, Australia's official 'birth' was not tied to any war or revolution, which had often been the case of many new nations like the United States of America. This particular situation decided

⁶⁶ Patrick Ofarrell mentioned Irish had three very different cultural traditions - Gaelic Catholic, Anglo-Irish and Ulster Protestant. Ofarrell (1993) *op. cit.* p5.

⁶⁷ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p11.

⁶⁸ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p10. Sun Yat-Sen had stressed the racial elements in nationalism to Han Chinese overseas when he distinguished Han Chinese from Manchus in the Chinese republic movement. See Gungwu Wang, 'A Note on the Origins of Hua-Ch'iao', in Gungwu Wang (1981) *Community and Nation: Essays on Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, Heineman Educational Books [Asia] Ltd and George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, p124. I heard such comment that the Chinese were the most racially aware people in a recorded story of the Chinese in Australia. For several reasons, I do not identify with it.

⁶⁹ Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p7.

⁷⁰ 'Irish are always rebels.' See Ofarrell (1993) *op. cit.* pp8-10.

⁷¹ Grassby, AI (1993) *The Australian Republic*, Leichhardt: Pluto Press Australia Limited.

that Australia keep a British identity, heritage and institutional links.⁷² Therefore, the Commonwealth Government ended a colonial period in Australia, and started a new phase that required its residents' commitment to the British Empire and Commonwealth of Australia, a double loyalty - 'patriotic and loyal'.⁷³ Australia's positive attitudes towards Britain influenced Chinese towards their mother country China instead of Australia, because the majority of Australians at that time considered Britain to be their mother country. This Australian situation influenced Chinese to keep their traditional culture, because there was no other alternative for Chinese migrants who still had strong ties to their home country.

Second Period

In the second period, the Australian Constitution gave no definition of the term Australian citizen. Actually, the so-called Australian citizenship at the time was that of 'British subject', which was uniformly applicable throughout the whole of the British Empire at the turn of the century.⁷⁴ By contrast, those not considered to be members of the community but permanently resided in Australia were called 'Aliens' in the official term.⁷⁵ The term 'Aliens' reflected racial discrimination against Asian people because 'Aliens' were generally understood to be persons substantially different in race and culture from the British. Also 'Aliens' were different from 'foreigners'. 'Foreigners' differed only in regard to nationality. For example, French, Germans, Scandinavians were 'foreigners' and Chinese, Indians and other coloured people were 'Aliens'.⁷⁶ If an

⁷² Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p8.

⁷³ Clark, C.M.H. (1981) *A history of Australia* (V), Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p131.

⁷⁴ Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p9.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p vi.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p10.

Alien wanted to acquire British subject status, he or she was required to demonstrate successful assimilation into mainstream Anglo-Celtic society.

Australia's *Naturalization Act* of 1903 specifically denied individuals identified with the 'aboriginal nations of Asia', and excluded non-whites from naturalization. As Bennett pointed out 'Life was made unendurable for Asiatics who were made non-citizens, and not eligible for naturalization, for the suffrage, to enter the professions, or indeed, work for a public authority.'⁷⁷ Most of the Chinese who had resided in Australia prior to Federation were denied the right to apply for British subjects.⁷⁸ The Mrs Goey Poon case of 1911-1913 was a bitter experience to many Chinese migrants in Australia.⁷⁹ Goey Poon, a Horsham greengrocer, had his wife visit him in Australia in 1911. After being granted further extensions of stay, Mrs Poon had two children who were born in Australia. A decision to deport Mrs Goey Poon and family was made after these extensions had expired. The case not only involved the principle of the 'White Australia Policy' on the one hand, but also of humanitarian grounds on the other. The Labour Government refused to relax the Immigration Act to allow Mrs Goey Poon to stay on the grounds that the number of Chinese would be doubled or multiplied if such a concession were granted, and because the 'White Australia Policy' would be at stake. The Australian public, especially Christian groups, gave their support to Mrs Poon. The Chinese communities in Australia also made their protests on various occasions, such as meetings and in Chinese newspapers. Some joined the petition against the treatment given to Mrs Poon. In the end, all effort was in vain. The case

⁷⁷ Bennett, Neville 'Japanese Emigration Policy, 1880-1941' in Inglis, Christine (eds) (1992) *Asians in Australia: the dynamics of migration and settlement*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies p33

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p11.

⁷⁹ The case was analysed by Yong, See Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p208 and pp26-28.

ended after two and a half years with the quiet departure of the whole Goocy Poon family to China in May 1913.⁸⁰

To exclude non-Europeans who sought entry into Australia, a peculiar device was designed called a 'Dictation Test'. It empowered immigration officers to request of any prospective entrant to Australia that he or she successfully complete a passage of dictation of up to 50 words in any European (later changed to any prescribed) language.⁸¹ As a result, the number of non-Europeans residents in Australia declined. The total number of Chinese in Australia decreased from around 30,000 in 1901 to 6,400 in 1947.

In 1920, Australia's *Nationality Act* which was established on an international 'common code', conferred British subject status by naturalisation upon 'alien' persons under some conditions. All Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders born after 1921 were classified 'natural-born British subject.' In the mid-1930s, an amendment to the *National Act* 1920 permitted a woman who married an 'alien' to retain her right as a British subject, but only while she was resident in Australia.⁸² However, any amended Act could not apply to those Chinese who had resided in Australia before the beginning of the twentieth century. Anti-Chinese sentiment remained pervasive. A 1923 Attorney-General's Department's note clearly showed such emotion:

'I do not think that the Department should make a precedent for naturalization of Chinese. There are about 20,000 Chinese in Australia, and if a precedent be created for the naturalization of such aliens, the Department would find it very difficult to discriminate between those who

⁸⁰ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* pp26-27.

⁸¹ Goldlust (1996) *op. cit* p9.

⁸² *ibid.* p13.

should be naturalized and those who should not... Owing to the operation of the *Immigration Restriction Act* and the White Australia Policy generally, the Chinese residents of Australia know exactly where they stand, and are more or less reconciled to the present state of affairs... [In addition] If we permit the naturalization of Chinese, we cannot very well refuse Japanese and other aboriginal natives of Asia and the Islands of the Pacific.⁸³

Third Period

In the third period, Australia had created its *Nationality and Citizenship Act* 1948. The Act was under the influence of the Government's new immigration plan that aimed at having more migrants to build the country, which started after the war in 1945. The Act was also affected by international circumstances. Canada had passed its *Citizenship Act* 1947 and created a national citizenship separate from that of British subject status in Commonwealth countries for the first time. However, Australia neither followed the precedent of Canada nor asserted a separate identity from Britain although receiving political pressure from Commonwealth countries. It indicated that Australia would continue to keep its loyalty to Britain under the name of Australian citizenship. The Act was clearly based on an understanding of Australians as people of British ethnicity and common culture. In the Act, British subjects had privilege over other residents. For example, 'aliens' had to apply for naturalisation to Australian citizenship while British subjects and Irish citizens were merely required to register for Australian citizenship. People arriving with non-British backgrounds were expected to assimilate before becoming naturalised Australians. The Act actually changed very little by way of citizenship rights.⁸⁴ As the 'White Australia Policy' remained firmly intact, Asian

⁸³ Memorandum from Attorney-General's Department, 11 May 1923, Australian Archives (Canberra), A659/1943/1/1330. Cited by cited by Clarke, Tom and Galligan, Brian "'Aboriginal Native' and the Institutional Construction of the Australian Citizen 1901-48', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol.26. No.5 1995:530.

⁸⁴ Clarke, Tom and Galligan, Brian "'Aboriginal Native' and the Institutional Construction of the Australian Citizen 1901-48', *Australian Historical Studies*, 1995:542.

migrants except for some categories were not allowed entry to Australia until the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was abandoned in 1969.⁸⁵

During this period, Chinese rarely applied for Australian citizenship. The case of Chi Ching Yet was a typical one. Yet arrived at Broome in 1937 as an indentured crewman and diver. When the Japanese bombed Broome, he came to Perth and joined the Australian Army. After discharge, he worked for the United States Armed Forces. He was continually employed in the pearling industry after the war. In 1953, he made an application to become a 'free man'(citizen). His major reasons were that 1) he had lived and worked in Australia for 16 years and had a law abiding record; 2) He had no relatives left in China and he desired to live in Australia; 3) he did not satisfy the status of 'indentured man' because there was some difference between 'an indentured man' and a 'local man'; 4) he asked the authorities to consider that there was a shortage of divers in the industry (that had required Japanese divers who arrived from Japan at the time) and the fact that the Queen's Coronation would take place in June and perhaps the restricted Immigration Law could be waived. His 'respectful request' for citizenship with supporting certificate and reference fell on deaf ears. The Minister for Home Affairs in Canberra refused it but gave no reasons.⁸⁶

In the late 1950s, changing attitudes to Asian migrants were evidenced in the increase numbers of Chinese granted Australian citizenship. From 1945 to 1973, 8,347 Chinese became Australian citizens. Among them, the majority had been granted citizenship after 1958.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* pp11-17.

⁸⁶ Chi Ching Yep's letter and the Minister's responding letter are kept in the Chung Wah Association.

⁸⁷ *The Year Book of Australia 1974*, p166.

Fourth Period

In the fourth period, a distinct status of Australian citizenship began to be formed as Australia changed its policy from one of assimilation to that of multiculturalism. To respond to the new situations and the new waves of migrants, the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* had been amended twenty-seven times since its original enactment.⁸⁸ 1969 was the first time, that 'British subject' was removed from the *Nationality and Citizenship Act*. In 1973, 'Australian citizenship' was available to all residents on a non-discriminatory basis. Both 'British subjects' and 'Aliens' could apply for Australian citizenship after fulfilling a certain required residential term and conditions, although birthplace does occupy a very important place as the main criterion of 'belonging' to the state. This is referred to as 'jus soli' (law of the soil).⁸⁹ In 1988, the Government considered whether certain privileges (social benefits) were to be limited solely to citizens instead of all permanent residents. The proposal was rejected. Today's concept of citizenship assumes that all Australians accept Australian basic structures and policies and share 'an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future'.⁹⁰

Two Characteristics

The evolution of Australian citizenship was a progressive process, which was influenced mainly by the fact of an increasing population of non-European migrants to Australia. The evolution formed two features of Australian citizenship. One of two characteristics of Australian citizenship was related to racial discrimination. Racial

⁸⁸ Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p18.

⁸⁹ Smolicz, J. J. in Price (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p46.

⁹⁰ Jupp, 'Multicultural Public Policy', in Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p21.

categories such as 'Asiatic', 'White' or 'European' did not refer to place of birth but to 'blood'. As Robert Garran, Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department, ruled 'race' meant 'belonging to a particular ethnic stock', so that although 'Australian-born Chinese are natural-born British subjects, they still belong to Asiatic ethnic stock.'⁹¹ The early Chinese in Australia were non-citizens. They could not have the privileges of 'British subjects' or 'Australian citizens', such as the right to vote, naturalisation and the right to buy lands.⁹² They were defined as unassimilable and were discriminated by race. In this sense, they were victims of the 'White Australia Policy'.

However, another of the two characteristics of Australian citizenship was that the concept of citizenship was not directly relevant to the concept of human rights. Australian society was established on democratic principles. The principles of democracy were separated from citizenship rights to some extent. This is not the case in some countries where if one has no citizenship, one has no legal right. So the state of the Australian society meant that resident Chinese were entitled to some 'civic rights'-individual freedom and equality, and 'social rights'-education, freedom of movement and freedom of religion, even though they were not British subjects. This political ethos guaranteed that the Chinese would survive, especially those Chinese without much support from the Chinese government in the early days. Democratic rights even allowed Chinese to protest against inequitable treatment.

As Australian society was based on such principles including parliamentary democracy, the rule of law and equality before the law, freedom of the individual,

⁹¹ Garran in 1922, cited by Clarke, Tom and Galligan, Brian "'Aboriginal Native' and the Institutional Construction of the Australian Citizen 1901-48", *Australian Historical Studies*, p528.

⁹² Price (1974) *op. cit.* p274.

freedom of speech, freedom of religion, equality of women and universal education, the Chinese in Australia were able to maintain their certain freedoms. Not only had they established their own newspapers and organizations, but also they had real properties and buildings. Generally, in law, non-citizen (non-British subject) could not purchase lands in Australia, but some Chinese did,⁹³ which pointed to a flexible (or corruptible) administration.⁹⁴

Chinese political activities during the years of the 1920s in Australia, such as the Chinese Nationalist Party, were encouraged by the Australian communities, unlike Singapore, Malaysia and Canada that banned similar organizations and branches.⁹⁵ Chinese could apply for *Certificates of Exemption From the Dictation Test* and commuted between their home country and Australia.⁹⁶ After 1901, resident Chinese appeared to get a more equitable treatment than in the past. That came at a cost to their family life in China and the lessening of their population under the success of the Act of 1901.⁹⁷ Without doubt, the contraction of the Chinese minority in Australia removed a prime cause of race friction.⁹⁸ Chinese who were ageing had few alternatives but to return to their ancestral villages, although some of them had become naturalized.⁹⁹

⁹³ Bill Gooley's father, who was not a naturalised British subject, had purchased lands in Smith's Lake, North Perth in the 1900s. After 50 years, the lands were resumed by Perth City Council. *The West Australian*, August 1956. Interview with Bill Gooley, 8 April 1997.

⁹⁴ The fact can not be ignored, although A.T. Yarwood said that it was not considered necessary to examine in detail the existence of an element that did not share the general inflexible stand towards coloured migrants. 'Australia and the Restriction of Asian Immigration', in Scott, F.D (ed) (1968) *World Migration in Modern Times*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc, p132.

⁹⁵ Yong, C.F and McKenna, R.B 'The Kuomintang Movement In Malaya and Singapore 1912-1925', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol XII, No. 1 March 1981:118.

⁹⁶ Atkinson (198?) *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ Yarwood, A.T in Scott (ed) (1968) *op.cit.* p136.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p136.

V. Chinese Concept of Citizenship

In China, Chinese seemed not to question their citizenship. What Chinese understood of the notion of so-called citizenship appears to be firmly rooted in racial and class traditions. In 'Xizhou' (B.C.1100), it had referred to two kinds of citizens. One was 'guoren' (the conquerors, country men, civilized) and one was 'yeren' (the oppressed nations, savage).¹⁰⁰ Later, the Chinese called them Hanmin or Tangren because of Han dynasty and Tang dynasty, but called the minority 'yeren' (savage) or foreigner 'yangguizi' (devil). When the minority invaded and became the ruling class, those 'Hanmin' had neither considered the minority as civilized men nor were they willing to become their subjects.¹⁰¹ Thus the Han's racial tradition presented ideological and political struggles among the Manchu and Han races during the 1900s. Dr. Sun (Yat-Sen)'s three people's principles (nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood) puts the modern concept of citizenship into China, but is still based on racial differences to an extent, especially in the earlier times. One of the republican reasons why the Manchus had to be destroyed was that the Manchus were aliens, a minority in China.¹⁰²

The 'Hanmin' in China used to accept the natural family relationships that were reformed into a class relationship by Confucius and his fellows. So the feature of the concept of citizenship was a class or a family morality. This family inequality status was referred to as the five classes, meaning fathers and mothers, eldest and younger

⁹⁹ Bolton (1963) *op.cit.* p252.

¹⁰⁰ Zhan, Z.Q and Tian, Z.B (eds) (1989) *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Shi (Ancient Chinese History.)* Beijing: Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, p68.

¹⁰¹ The anti-minority rulers who were in Jin dynasty, Yuan dynasty and Qing dynasty in China were the Hanren traditions. *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Yong (1977) *ibid.* p129.

brothers and sons, and to the obligations of each 'class'.¹⁰³ Ruling a family was just like ruling a country. The Confucian family-style morality emphasised the 'elder's personal character and moral excellence.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, respecting the elders became a tradition. Obeying monarchical orders was natural for common Chinese. The early Chinese migrants considered they were the Emperor's subjects. That was one of the reasons why most of the Chinese migrants in Australia supported Liang's monarchical movement that required a reform carried out under the leadership of the Emperor at the beginning of the twentieth century. This attitude was certainly influenced by the Australian monarchical environment at the time. Japanese political reform that kept emperors ruling was often considered as a successful example for the Chinese political reform by Sydney-based newspaper *The Tung Wah Times*.¹⁰⁵

Such Chinese who thought of themselves as monarchical subjects gradually changed when they came to Australia, especially when Sun's national revolution was successful in 1911. Various church groups that approached the Chinese in Australia had made an important impact on how the Chinese considered citizenship and democracy. The Christian Yougong Huang said that Christianity gave us freedom, we should use it for becoming independent men.¹⁰⁶ Some evidence suggests that Perth Chinese practised western meeting styles and voting systems in their organizations and used human rights or law to protect themselves.¹⁰⁷ Some market gardeners knew about

¹⁰³ Thompson, L.G (1975) *Chinese Religion: an introduction*, California: Dickenson Publishing Company Inc, p12.

¹⁰⁴ The word 'elder' was added up by me. Thompson seems not to be aware that the elder was of great importance to the Chinese. *Ibid.* pp12-3.

¹⁰⁵ *The Tung Wah Times*. 6 May 1911.

¹⁰⁶ *The Chinese Republic News*. 13 November 1920.

¹⁰⁷ See *Chung Wah Association Minutes*. The early record about the Chinese learn western meeting system can be found in *The Tung Wah Times*, 13 July 1901.

social welfare in Australia which was not available in their villages in China and hoped they could have it when they were old.¹⁰⁸

The Chinese political movement in China was another important factor to make the Chinese in Australia question their traditional concept of citizenship. Consequently, they began to have doubts as to whether they were free citizens in their own country and to consider how they could change the traditional inequality status of their country men in China. Naturally, the overseas Chinese interests were economical rather than political in Australia.¹⁰⁹ However, the political and republican movement spread like wildfire throughout whole Chinese communities during the 1920s in Australia. The Chinese Nationalist Party in Australia was tied up with affairs in China. It clearly showed the Chinese belief: Defend the home country first before defending interests in Australia. This belief may be ascertained by comparing the status of Chinese with that of Japanese in Australia.¹¹⁰ While the Japanese government was strong the Chinese questioned China's weak government, yet, at the same time, retained their sense of racial identity. Thus attitudes were relevant to their interests in Australia and their traditional notion of citizenship in China. Interestingly, Kang-Liang's reform movement

¹⁰⁸ This was presented in a letter written by two Chinese market gardeners who asked the Chung Wah Association to help them solve the rating house fees at the time in the 1920s or 1930s. The letter is kept in the Chung Wah Association.

¹⁰⁹ Bolton (1963) *op.cit.* p58.

¹¹⁰ The Chinese always compared their lives with the Japanese who were supported by the Australian government and the Japanese government. The family of a Japanese who died in Australia would get compensation from the Japanese government but China did nothing for the Chinese. That was one of the reasons why the Chinese in Australia were patriotic to their country and fought for a strong China in the hope that eventually a government would support them wherever they were, as did the Japanese government for its people. Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1996. The change of Australia towards Japanese could be seen by comparing the *Bulletin's* denigration of Japan in 1904 with its recognition in 1919 of the 'distinction of the Japanese, their force and their intellectual gifts.', in Scott (ed) (1968) *op. cit* p136.

and Sun's republican movement all strengthened Chinese racial traditions, although the aims of these movements were different.¹¹¹

After World War Two, Australia created its *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*. This Act and the government's new migration plan seemed to bring new opportunities for Chinese who wanted to migrate and to become Australian citizens. Those incoming new migrants, who had been seamen during war time, who were victims of a communist regime, and who had no citizenship rights in their birth countries in Southeast Asia, were much more aware of their citizenship status than the pioneer migrants. The younger generation especially began to shake off their own traditional ideology of citizenship (Hanmin). To struggle for the right to have Australian citizenship became more and more important for them to survive in Australia in the following years.

In this thesis, the responses of Chinese migrants to changing citizenship issues are divided into such two parts or two periods, and relevant Chinese migrants are generally described as 'non-citizens' or 'citizenship-seekers', convenient terms, which will clearly reflect a changing state of Chinese migrants' ideology and attitudes towards Australian citizenship.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 3.

Part One: The Development of the Chinese Community

Introduction

During 1901 to 1940, the development of the Chinese community accounted for many factors. In Australia, the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 and later Factories Act 1904 along with its racial concept of citizenship were responsible for discrimination against Chinese residents in Australia; Chinese were treated as Aliens and non-British subjects. In China, this was a period of both chaos and hope. The reform Movement and the Republican Movement impacted on Chinese men's ideology that was derived from the concepts of Western democracy. Ironically, these movements did not push Chinese in Australia to pursue the acquisition of British subject, but added a new feeling of belonging to their home country. In this period, Chinese hoped China would become strong, which might possibly change their status in Australia.

Most Chinese migrants who had been in Australia for more than ten or twenty years showed their maturity in commercial projects, such as furniture factories, laundries, small business shops and market gardens. The Union movements also developed fast. The conflicts between the Union and the Chinese became regular, which brought a second wave of anti-Chinese feeling in Australia accepting that the first one was on the goldfields in the 1850s. The Chinese in the 1910s appeared to be more united than the

earlier Chinese because they knew more about Australian society and how it was based on democratic principles such as law, humanity and civil rights.

The international relationship between Australia and Asian countries not only shaped the Australian immigration policy,¹ but also helped the Chinese carry out their political movements. Inspired by the boycott movements in China against goods from the United States of America in reprisal for the immigration restrictions of the U.S. government, the Chinese organised a convention at a level of six states to ask the Federal government to relax the *Immigration Restriction Act* and protect their civil rights. The first Chinese Consulate that was established in Melbourne in 1909 was exciting news to those Chinese who had struggled for justice, although later their attitude towards the consulate changed somewhat.

Though they lived in the most isolated state of Australia, the Perth Chinese themselves were not isolated. Their social and political activities were part of these circumstances. On one occasion, Chinese in Perth established a social unit called the Chung Wah Association. Chinese organisations performed the role of 'group consciousness' rather than 'welfare function'² aiming at creating an identity and resisting discrimination. This kind of role was linked to their non-citizenship status.

The following Chapters focus on how the Chinese adapted to Western Australia's social environments, who the early Chinese were, how they came to this harsh land,

¹ See Brawley, S.(1995) *The White Peril: foreign relations and Asian immigration to Australia and North America 1919-1978*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.

² See Lampugnani, Rosario 'The Role of Non-Government Organisation In Immigrant Settlement', *BIPR Bulletin*, No.10., November 1993:62.

what kind of social activities they were involved in, and finally looking at how the Chinese community was able to survive.

Chapter 1

The Formation of Chinese Societies in Western Australia

Difficult government policies, different languages and customs, discriminations and harsh landscapes - they were all part of the environment with which the early Chinese migrants had to contend. This chapter examines some circumstances that were related to the formation of the Chinese community in Western Australia, such as the social environment and Chinese population and dialect groups. As a group of non-citizen people, Chinese tried to identify themselves in such unique circumstances in Western Australia, that were associated with humanity and equality in the development of the concept of citizenship.

1.1 Western Australia: Background

Before 1901

The earliest Chinese who came to Western Australia did not look for gold, instead, they were sold to owners of remote bush properties as coolie labour by their contractors or agents, in Chinese terms called 'mai zhuzi' (sold as a pig).³ Western Australia's

³ The transaction of the Chinese migrants was known as the 'pig business'. See Campbell, P.C. (1971) *Chinese coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, p6. About 3 or 5 pounds sterling per head on coolies imported during 1847 to 1870. See Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* pp24-26.

settlers had their special attitudes towards Chinese labour when the Swan River Colony was established in June 1829. Jan Ryan's *Ancestors* revealed how the settlers perceived the Chinese and how they changed their views.⁴

The Colony's system and its special situations needed Chinese labour because the Swan River Colony was founded on the basis of a land grant system. The grants were apportioned according to the value of assets and labour introduced by settlers.⁵ This system decided that the colony's politics were influenced by landowners and pastoralists. Those 'settlers' knew how important manpower was to their business, but they faced difficult circumstances such as the long distance to remote areas which caused them to assist Europeans with the heavy passage costs to Australia. Added to this was the trouble experienced by Europeans in adapting to the climatic condition in tropical and arid areas.⁶ Another problem too, was that India's coolie labourers could not be recruited.⁷ Therefore the settlers had to find available and affordable sources of Chinese labour to overcome the shortage of manpower. As 'the gateway of the East' and a labour transit centre, Singapore provided such cheap immigrant labour. So most Chinese who came to Western Australia passed through Singapore and then they scattered through the vast rural areas.⁸

The landowners personally favoured the use of Chinese labourers who came from a traditional agricultural background and were capable of doing hard physical labour in the heat and tropical areas. Although some thought Chinese were unsuitable for pastoral

⁴ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.*

⁵ Statham, P. 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', in Stannage (ed) (1987) *op. cit.* p181.

⁶ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p51.

⁷ *Official Year Book of Commonwealth of Australia* 1925, pp952-955.

⁸ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* pp17-18. Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* pp34-6.

work,⁹ they considered them a 'desirable class' of migrant. As Thomas Burges MLC said 'They were not only cheap, but useful and trustworthy. In the capacity of cooks, shepherds, and "knockabout" hands, they made excellent servants.'¹⁰ Many representatives and nominees of the Legislative Council were directly involved in the employment of Chinese labour. These situations placed Western Australia in a dilemma when discussing the question of Chinese immigration.¹¹

The Swan River Colony tried to introduce Chinese indentured labour in 1848. In fact, one hundred Chinese who were recruited from Singapore had come to the Colony, but the British Government did not approve of such contracts for service.¹² The Colony's labour shortage was temporarily solved by the transportation of British convicts from 1850 to 1869.¹³

As the Colony's modest rates of economical growth did not attract large numbers of migrants in 1870, the Colony examined several labour recruitment policies. The Chinese were again promoted as Western Australia's urgently needed coolies from Singapore, Hong Kong and the eastern colonies.¹⁴ Chinese were especially imported for the pearling industry by employers who used commercial coolie agents.¹⁵

⁹ An article in the *Inquirer* in 1847 questioned whether Chinese would be suitable in the pastoral industry because China was not a pastoral country. The York agricultural society changed their minds when the Chinese who came to Western Australia were employed by them. See Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* p24.

¹⁰ Burges, 'Coolies and Chinese Immigration in Committee' WAPD, Vol.5, 2 September 1889, cited by Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p49

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp46-48.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp41-42. Atkinson(1991), *op.cit.* p26.

¹³ Statham, P. In Stannage (ed) (1987) *op. cit* p181 and p214.

¹⁴ Ryan (1995) *op. cit* p42.

¹⁵ Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p26.

Western Australia's attitude towards Chinese coolie labour was in contrast to the eastern colonies. Western Australia's Chinese recruitment drive using government funds - the only Australian colonial government to have funded and arranged for the importation of Chinese labour ¹⁶ - caused the eastern colonies much anxiety in the intercolonial conference in Sydney in 1881. Under pressure, the Western Australian colony agreed in principle to reach some uniform legislation seeking other colonies to support their self-government; at the same time, they acted in a flexible manner in accord with the local position of Western Australia's vast territory and its different climatic zones. The government protested Western Australia's interest by insisting on a clause being kept that did not lead to the exclusion of indentured Chinese labourers who might be going to the far north. ¹⁷

Compared to the situation in Victoria and New South Wales, where there existed restrictive Acts with entrance taxes and a tonnage limit in order to stop the Chinese migrants, ¹⁸ Western Australia was quite free as a colony to accept the Chinese labour at the time. Later Perth Chinese men remembered their pioneers had told them that it was a happy time for Chinese residents in Western Australia in the mid-1870s. Chinese could easily get a job anywhere. They felt that 'European people were very gentle and English women were even more kind.' ¹⁹ In Charles A. Price's *The Great White Walls Are Built*, people had been told that Australia's gates were almost closed against the Chinese in 1888, but in Western Australia this was not the case. At that time, Western

¹⁶ Although it was debated, the proposal to establish a public Chinese Labour importation scheme received majority support in the Legislative Council in Western Australia in 1878-1879. Atkinson (1991) *Ibid.*, pp31-2.

¹⁷ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p48.

¹⁸ The Act limited the landing of Chinese to one for every 10 tons of ship's burden in Victoria in 1855, and in New South Wales in 1861. See 'Chinese in Australia', in *Official Year Book of Commonwealth of Australia 1925*, pp953-956.

Australia was the only colony which excluded Chinese labour from this restriction,²⁰ although Western Australia had special legislation in some specified areas, such as the pearling banks in Shark Bay and the Goldfields.²¹

The discovery of gold in Western Australia had impacted on local politics and economy, and the population rose dramatically in the 1890s.²² The so-called Crown Colony was becoming a self-governing state in a period of transition. The landowners influences that had dominated Western Australian politics were declining, and the union movement and its representatives became new forces to dominate politics. As the Chinese population increased in the metropolitan area, and by its competition threatened traders and working class alike, the public agitation against Chinese immigration increased. Western Australia began to switch to the practices of Victoria and the other states.²³ After the colony decided that no Chinese be permitted to enter the goldfields and mining areas, the Legislative Council of Western Australia further amended its *Imported Labour Registry Act* in 1893. This Act made the recruitment of Chinese indentured labour illegal.²⁴

Furthermore, an Immigration Restriction Act was passed after a debate in December 1897.²⁵ Western Australia became the first colony that used an English 'dictation test' to prohibit the coming of new Chinese migrants. The creation of *The Western Australia*

¹⁹ Rutang Xie (Owen James)'s 'Reminiscences', cited by Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p93

²⁰ Price (1974) *op. cit.* pp197-8.

²¹ *Sharks Bay Pearl Shell Fishery Act 1886* and *Goldfield Act 1886* were introduced in Western Australia. Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* pp91-5.

²² Appleyard, R.T. 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth', 1850-1914', in Stannage (ed) (1987) *op. cit.* p211.

²³ Statham, P. 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', in Stannage (ed) (1987) *Ibid.* p198.

²⁴ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p62-63.

²⁵ Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* p104.

Act of 1897 became an example of the *Commonwealth Restriction Acts of 1901*.²⁶ Such change of policies seems to have left an indelible impression for the later immigrants, especially Chinese who often thought that Western Australia was one of the most racially discriminating states in Australia particularly in regard to the Act and that Chinese were not permitted to take up miners' rights on Western Australian goldfields.

After 1901

After the Commonwealth of Australia was established in 1901, the Federal Government was committed to establishing a White Australia by legislating against any influx of Asiatic labour. *The Commonwealth Restriction Acts of 1901* clearly expressed its 'White Australia Policy'.²⁷ The Act, 'not to expel but to prevent further entry', marked the end of an era of Chinese migration to Australia.²⁸ Although Western Australia and the other states did not have their own powers to make any immigration policies, the question of how to treat the Chinese who already resided in Australia remained State's business. So internal discrimination against Chinese turned into an issue in 1904. Due to pressure from the Union movement both inside and outside the state, the West Australian Government passed the Factories Act, which prevented Chinese and other Asiatic races from establishing factories after 1904.²⁹ The union also attempted to stop from those working Chinese who had been employed by white people. All these actions made it difficult for the Chinese to survive.

Reactions

²⁶ Ryan (1995) *op.cit.* p68.

²⁷ Crowley, F.K. '1901-14', in Crowley (ed) (1976) *op.cit.* p267.

²⁸ Price (1974) *op.cit.* p275.

²⁹ Atkinson (1991), *op.cit.* pp105-108.

However, Chinese were not always to be denied by a democratic Australian society. At the peak of the emotional anti-Chinese movement, there were no any lessening of support in favour of the Chinese. Alternatively, the Chinese learnt from Western democracy, and used the law to protest their interests.³⁰ One of the impressive characters of overseas Chinese is that they are law-abiding.³¹ This is not only because Western countries had a tradition of law and justice that impressed the Chinese, but also because the law actually protected them. The Chinese were advised by their relatives and agents to keep out of trouble if they could. With this in mind, aware that they possessed little knowledge of English and knowing well that the courts often imposed harsh and costly penalties for even the slightest misdemeanour, most Chinese in Australia were not positively involved with the law. Only when they had to confront discrimination, were they well organized to resist it. This probably is a continuity of the Chinese tradition of 'Bi Shang Liang Shan'.³² The Chung Wah Association and its Hall building, which will be discussed later, was an example of this.

Chinese did survive although they faced discrimination. In the 1910s, the Chinese community and population grew even after the *Immigration Restriction Act* was carried through.³³ The Chinese republican movement and the Nationalist Party had not been prohibited as had its Party in Singapore and Canada. Chinese people lived in a complex and realistic environment that had in it a mixture of the strict Immigration Act

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p4.

³¹ *The West Australian*, 15 October 1910.

³² it means to be forced to do something desperate. This version of the 'Bi Shang Liang Shan' well presented in a famous Chinese novel 'Water Margin'.

³³ Atkinson mentioned this situation but was not aware of its cause. See Atkinson (1991) *op.cit.* p61.

and a flexible government administration, race discriminations and humanity, and unfairness and justice. The two basic principles of citizenship - equality and freedom³⁴ existed to some extent even when there was local discrimination against Chinese residents in the country.³⁵

Historically, in the last decade of the nineteenth century the discussion concerning Chinese immigration in each colony helped the Australian Federation movement. Western Australia's self-government joined in the discussion. In a sense, the Chinese were a kind of force that pushed Australians to make a unified Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. As a mobile society, Western Australia was not completely isolated from other states. Its policy making was influenced partly by the political environment or an international as well as at an Australian level, but more especially by its own physical geography. This could explain why the Western Australian colony changed its immigration policies or even made it a more radical one to a certain extent.

Western Australia's independent history was short but had become a useful resource. In 1910, the Lieut. - Governor Sir Edward Stone laid the foundation stone to a Chinese Hall in James Street. His speech was in a 'reminiscent mood'. He spoke about his esteem for the Chinese who had been tenants of his gardens at South Perth for 28 years.³⁶ Obviously, the pioneers and landowners' attitudes towards the Chinese became part of Western Australia's tradition. They tried to remember this when the racial tension had eased and the social situations had improved. In fact, the whole political and social scene in Western Australia was not unalterable.

³⁴ Marshall, cited by Barbalet (1988) *op. cit.* p58.

³⁵ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p274.

³⁶ *The West Australian*, 15 October, 1910.

Because the early Chinese had not been introduced as permanent settlers as were the European 'migrants', they could not get citizen rights apart from basic human rights. The environment of Western Australia - political, social and natural all combined to present the Chinese labourers with a stern challenge. Their survival became arduous although their nature were such as to enable them to endure humiliation in order to carry out their family mission, a Chinese term called 'Ren Ru Fu Zhong'.³⁷ The experiences of the Chinese who survived the often alien and harsh outback conditions of Western Australia at this time were part of the human experience in the history of Western Australia. The theses of Ryan and Atkinson as well as those of other writers have pointed out the hardships endured by Chinese men in their battle for survival but this thesis presents their social lives and beliefs in other ways - how they struggled against difficulties mentally rather than physically, especially in their lack of civilian rights, and which were their only credentials when they were not treated as 'British subjects'.

1.2 Chinese Population

The history of the Chinese who came to Western Australia is related to Australia's economic and political environment. Growth of the Chinese population in Western Australia might be divided into three periods: 1, The Swan River Colony, 1829-1889; 2, Gold rush and self-government, 1890-1900; 3, Economic and political transition, 1901-1970.

First period

In the first period (1829-1889), there were not many Chinese in the colony. This is linked with the fact that the colony's economy was underdeveloped. The first known Chinese man Moon Chow came to Western Australia on the 'Emily Taylor' with Captain James McDermott on 14th October 1829 from India soon after the Swan River Colony was established in June 1829.³⁸ From that time to 1870, the Chinese immigration into Western Australia was 'sporadic'. The number of Chinese in Western Australia was not more than one hundred.³⁹

After the cessation of convict labour in 1870, the Chinese population began to increase. Partly, due to the Crown colony-subsidised Chinese recruitment scheme being implemented and partly because private agents introduced Chinese labour to the colony. In 1881, the census of Western Australia recorded 144 Chinese males and 1 Chinese female.⁴⁰

Second period

In the second period (1890-1900), more Chinese came to Western Australia after gold was discovered in the 1890s. Apart from the fact that privately introduced Chinese recruitment continued, many Chinese who had lived in the eastern colonies arrived in Western Australia and began their businesses as in the metropolitan area. Table 1.1 charts Chinese population in Western Australia between 1891 and 1900.

³⁷ It means one endures humiliation in order to carry out an important mission.

³⁸ Erickson, R (ed) (1988) *The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians Pre 1829-1888* Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, pp2207.

³⁹ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p41

⁴⁰ *Official Year Book, 1925. op. cit* p955.

Table 1.1 Chinese in Western Australia, 1891-1900

Year	Males	Females	Total
1891	1090	5	1095
1892	1283	5	1290
1893	1362	7	1369
1894	1313	7	1320
1895	1321	10	1331
1896	1540	13	1553
1897	1916	21	1937
1898	1867	9	1876
1899	1812	7	1819
1900	1800	6	1806

Note: estimate of the number of Chinese residing in the Colony. Census of 5th April 1891 recorded 912 Chinese males and 5 Chinese females.

Source: *Western Australia Statistical Register* 1900.

As stated above, the Chinese population respectively increased by 79 during 1892-3 and by 384 during 1896-1897. The growth of the number of Chinese might be explained by certain events and by the Colony's policies. One event was the gold rush after 1890. Another was the two 'Acts' that were passed at the end of 1897. A Western Australian Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 prohibited entry of Chinese migrants by using an English test, and the Imported Labour Registry Act of 1897 limited indentured labour to the north of the twenty-seventh parallel. Obviously, these two Acts were responsible for the decreasing of numbers after 1897.

Third period

The third period (1901-1970), the Australian Commonwealth with its *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901 was the major contributor to the decline of Chinese population in Australia because the Act prevented entry to Chinese migrants from China and other countries. Table 1.2 charts Chinese population in Western Australia between 1901 and 1981.⁴¹

Table 1.2 Chinese in Western Australia, 1901-1981

Year	Males	Females	Total	Note
1901	1,503	18	1,521*	*by birthplace: China
1911	1,775	37	1,812+	+ by nationality: Chinese
1921	1,278	47	1,325+	(a) not available
1933	679	26	705*	
	659	13	672+	
1947	338	47	385*	
	288	22	310+	
1954	383	82	465*	
	306	14	320+	
1961	227	86	313*	
	204	21	225+	
1966	386	102	488*	
	291	24	315+	
1971	(a)	(a)	(a)	
1976	346	291	637*	
1981	463	466	929*	

Source: 1901-1921 see *Official Year Book of Commonwealth of Australia*, 1925.
Pocket Yearbook of Western Australia 1921-1981.
Western Australia Statistical Register.
Census of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Census figures show that there was a steady increase in Chinese population in Western Australia in 1911. The Chinese population reached its highest figure of 1,812 after 1901. The number increased by 291 when compared to 1,521 in 1901. It was

⁴¹ In Atkinson's doctoral thesis, her table of Chinese population was 1,621 in 1901, 1,212 in 1911, 1,031 in 1921. So she could not see Chinese population increased in the 1910s. Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p115.

unusual because the Chinese in all other states showed a decrease in numbers after the Immigration Act of 1901.⁴² This unusual figure might suggest there was steady economic development and a relaxed environment in Western Australia before 1911. For example, the number of Chinese commercial enterprises in the Perth metropolitan areas increased to 44 in 1910 when compared to 25 in 1904.⁴³ In fact, it was a period of modification in Western Australian politics before the Labour Party won the 1911 state election.⁴⁴

The Chinese population was reduced from 1,325 in 1921 to 672 in 1933, almost by half. It indicated how the Depression of the 1930s affected Chinese in Australia. During this time, most Chinese of retiring age went back to China after staying in Western Australia for 30 or 40 years, a factor that might explain why the Chinese population was suddenly reduced in numbers.

From 1933 to 1966, every census used two types of figures to show the population number of Chinese in Western Australia. For those whose birthplace was China, the figure reduced from 705 in 1933 to 488 in 1966. On the other hand, each census showed that the number of migrants with a Chinese background (by birthplace) increased while the number of Chinese (by nationality) was reduced. The figure reflected a change in its compound of Chinese population. Those immigrants who were born in China and came to Western Australia from Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Burma were not considered 'Chinese' by their nationality after 1933. In a sense, 'Chinese' became a

⁴² *Official Year Book, 1925. op. cit.* p955.

⁴³ 'Chinese Commercial Enterprise Advertising Their Services in the Perth Metropolitan Area, 1900-1920', in Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* pp260-61.

⁴⁴ Driesen, I.H. Vanden, 'The Evolution of the Trade Union Movement in Western Australia', in Stannage (ed) (1987) *op. cit.* p351.

broad concept if it was not to mean only those people who were born in China. During this period, Australia's immigration policies did not make any fundamental changes until the late 1960s, so the increase in the number of 'Chinese' from 1954 to 1966 was insignificant.

The census highlighted a significant characteristic of the Chinese population in Australia. That was the disproportionate ratio of males to females. Some factors account for this ratio. On the Chinese side, in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, most Chinese who came to Australia did not bring their wives according to their family tradition. In Australia's environment, the Immigration Restriction Act effectively prevented Chinese from coming to Australia to a great extent. Also the Act prevented Chinese from bringing their families to Australia because they were not British subjects.

To sum up, changes in the Chinese population were reflected in Australia's social environment and its policies. The Chinese were sensitive to these factors, so the movement of population often happened in the period before or after Immigration policies or other regulations were carried out.⁴⁵ Another fact is that from one period to another, Australia's administration was flexible, even though the policies continued. For example, the passenger limitation of one Chinese to every five hundred tons of registered vessel was applied in Western Australia in 1889, but the number of arrivals

⁴⁵ At the end of 1897, the colony passed the Act but did not carry it out until 1898, so the Chinese population were not affected in 1897. Jan Ryan was not aware at the time when she wondered why the Chinese population rose to its highest figure. See *Ancestors*, p63. The Chinese are always sensitive to immigration policy's changes. So when they knew there would be an intensive restrictive legislation in 1897, its relatives or agents would encourage the Chinese to come whatever the condition. That might explain why Chinese population rose to its highest figure in 1897. After 1898, the number was decreased because the Act had come into effect.

of Chinese in 1891 rose to a figure of 178 two years later. This figure is hardly measured by its passenger limitation.⁴⁶ As another example, Chinese business shops decreased when the Factories Act came into effect in 1904 but the number increased again after 1906.⁴⁷ Of course, the 1920 Factories Act threatened the final hope of survival for Chinese factories and shops.⁴⁸

1.3 Dialect Groups and the Clan-sponsorship System

To understand the nature of Chinese migrants in Western Australia one should know who the early Chinese were and how they came to Western Australia. Jan Ryan's *Ancestors* pointed out that much evidence indicated there was 'the absence of family bonds, common language and culture' amongst Chinese entering Western Australia, according to the analysis of 536 Chinese indentured labourers that were listed in the five-year period 1887-1891.⁴⁹ But what happened to the Chinese after 1891 - especially as more Chinese came to Western Australia after the discovery and exploration of gold in the Coolgardie area in 1892?⁵⁰

Generally, the fact that the Chinese population was always small in numbers in Western Australia stands out in sharp contrast to the situation that prevailed in eastern

⁴⁶ See 'Number, Tonnage and Crews of Vessels entered and cleared at Ports in the Colony of Western Australia, 1889-1898', *Western Australia Statistical Register* 1898, p147.

⁴⁷ Atkinson was not aware this changes in her doctoral thesis. Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p121.

⁴⁸ See next Chapter.

⁴⁹ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* pp23-24.

⁵⁰ Appleyard, R. T. 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914', in Stannage (ed) (1987) *op. cit.* p219.

Australia, with their overwhelming preponderance of various dialect groups.⁵¹ For example, most of the Melbourne Chinese came from 'Si Yi' (Sze Yap) - the four districts: Xin Hui, Tai Shan, Kai Ping and En Ping in Canton province, the south of China. People of Xin Hui and Tai Shan were among the majority of them.⁵² So the Chinese who came from Xin Hui county set up the 'Kong Chew Society' in Melbourne when they came to Australia. Later, the 'Sze Yap Society' was founded in Melbourne in 1854.⁵³ Jan Ryan's analysis provided a clue to explain why the Perth Chinese organisations or any kind of social groups were formed later instead of in the early years, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

The Chinese shared a common language and culture, and had quite strong family bonds after being together in the Perth metropolitan area. One of the visible facts that made a change was Western Australia's increasing population after 1890. The massive immigration from other countries and colonies (as well as internal migration) came to the goldfields and resettled in Western Australia. The Chinese responded to this new economical opportunity as quickly as they could.⁵⁴ From 1,095 migrants in 1891 their number had increased to 1,937 by the year 1897 – nearly double in Western Australia – having a significant influence on the pattern of the Chinese community.⁵⁵ The Chinese were in a state of sojourn. Not being British subjects, they were prevented from bringing their families to Australia after 1901. In consequence a survival bonding was easily found within the Chinese community especially in face of discrimination.

⁵¹ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p25.

⁵² See *The Tung Wah Times*, 20 May 1911.

⁵³ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p189. Also Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p34.

⁵⁴ The Chinese were mentioned as highly mobile in European documents. They were often ready to follow opportunities wherever they led. See Gungwu Wang, 'Sojourning: the Chinese experience in Southeast Asia', in Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* pp6-7.

⁵⁵ See table 1.1

The more discrimination Chinese faced, the more united they became. That is why two Perth Chinese organizations - the Chung Wah Association and the Nationalist Party - were formed and emphasised their 'group consciousness'. The particular dialect groups also helped Chinese to keep their cultural traditions.

Xin Hui County

Who the early Chinese were and how they came to Western Australia after the gold rush appears to have remained an unsolved mystery. Jan Ryan and Anne Atkinson's works have provided some explanations. Atkinson used 'free migration' to explain the number of arrivals of Chinese in Western Australia after the 'contracted labourer' scheme ceased.⁵⁶ Ryan was concerned about 'illegal entry' as intensive restrictive legislation was enforced in 1893⁵⁷ and Atkinson focused also on the illegal migrant schemes operating in Western Australia after the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901,⁵⁸ but did not give information about who these Chinese were.

Some original Chinese documents do help to solve the mystery to a certain degree. Usually a Chinese surname represents the family bond in a village, such as the surname 'Zhao' which was from a village 'Gao Tou Cun' in Xin Hui county in general. *Members' Fees Book of the Perth Branch of the Guomindang, May 1921 Volume 1, Registers of Guomindang Members Volume 1 in 1926-1927 and The Register of the*

⁵⁶ Atkinson, 'The Early Chinese in Western Australia', in *Chung Wah Association 85th Anniversary 1910-1995* 1995:13.

⁵⁷ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p 63.

⁵⁸ Atkinson, 'Illegal Immigration: A Method of Acquiring Labour for Chinese Firms After Introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act, 1901', in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.*

*Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931, Volume 1*⁵⁹ list the Chinese giving their names and villages of birthplace in Chinese characters.

According to these documents, with reference to Chinese surnames that often appeared in lists of donations in Chinese newspapers during the years 1900 to 1931,⁶⁰ it might be reasonable to assume by their surnames that the biggest group of people came from Xin Hui and the second one was from Kai Ping among the Chinese in Western Australia after the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶¹ See Appendix A: *The Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931* and table 1.3. The Birth Counties of Chinese in Western Australia, between 1926 and 1931.

⁵⁹ The documents are kept in the Chung Wah Association.

⁶⁰ For example, 41 men with the surname Zhao except for one with the surname Huang were in a list of donations. *The Tung Wah Times*, 25 May 1907.

⁶¹ Atkinson did not identify from which county the bigger group of Chinese in Western Australia came. See her *Asian Immigrations to Western Australia 1829-1901* and Ph.D. thesis.

Table 1.3

The Birth Counties of Chinese in Western Australia, between 1926 and 1931

County	Number in 1926	Number in 1931
Canton		
Xin Hui	71	161
Kai Ping	61	43
Tai Shan	32	37
Zhong Shan	6	8
Qiong Zhou	9	13
Nai Hai	3	1
Dong Guan	2	2
Chao Zhou	1	2
Yang Jiang		2
Pan Yu		2
Si Hui		1
Zeng Cheng		1
Mei Xian		1
Hu Yang		1
Fu Jian		
Long Yan Zhou		1
Zhang Zhou		2
Guang Xi		
Gui Lin	2	
Unidentified	45	
Total	232	278

Source: *Register of Guomindang Members Volume 1, 1926-1927.*

The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931, Volume 1.

The above figures show that the Chinese in Western Australia were made up of people from 17 counties of 3 Chinese provinces in 1926, although some counties were represented by only one or two people.⁶² A large group is shown as coming from the county of 'Xin Hui'. So Xin Hui could be identified as a dominant core group in the Chinese community. The situation was the same as in Melbourne. It suggests that Perth Chinese had more connections with Melbourne rather than Sydney Chinese, at least, at the level of clannish and economical relationships.⁶³

(See Figure 1.1 Map of Xin Hui county)

Clan-sponsorship

The clannish connection between Chinese in Eastern Australia and those in Western Australia might help to explain how some of them came to Western Australia and the manner in which they left their villages. During the gold rushes in Victoria in the 1850s, many Chinese migrants came under a 'credit-ticket system'⁶⁴ utilising Chinese brokers who paid the expenses of the emigration first. Until the debt incurred by the migrant was paid the broker had 'a lien on his service - a lien that might or might not be sold to a bona fide employer of labour'.⁶⁵ When such Chinese migrants came, their relatives usually followed, if there were prospects for them here. By this means, a chain migration was formed and so thousands of Chinese came from 'Si Yi' (the four counties). This kind of chain migration might come under the

⁶² See Yong mentioned that there were 16 Chinese counties represented in Sydney in 1891. Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p189.

⁶³ An example is given by Norman Moy. Moy's grandfather whose family dates back to the 22nd generation came to Victoria and Tasmania in 1879. His maternal grandfather worked in Bendigo in Victoria. Moy's father visited Geraldton in 1922 and worked in the Uncle's store in 1927. Interview with Norman Moy, 6 March 1996.

⁶⁴ See Sing-wu Wang (1978) *The Organization of Chinese Emigration 1848-1888: with special reference to Chinese emigration to Australia*, San Francisco: Chinese Material Centre, Inc, pp 89-96.

⁶⁵ Campbell, P.C. *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*. pp XVII and p58 cited by Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p 1 and the note 7 p230.

so-called 'clan-sponsorship' instead of the 'credit-ticket system'.⁶⁶ The difference between the two was that the broker was a relative in the clan-sponsorship system.⁶⁷

When the contracted labourer scheme ceased and intensive restrictive legislation was enforced in Australia after 1890, the fact that the majority of Chinese migrants came under the 'clan-sponsorship' system might possibly answer the question as to how these Chinese left their villages for Australia. Evidence shows that many young Chinese came to Australia at the age of 15-20 in 1890 to 1902. They were hardly considered 'coolie labourers' or 'credit-ticket workers'.⁶⁸ The family bonds, easily recognisable among the Chinese by their surnames, seem to be further evidence of this. For example, 40 people with the surname of Zhong were from the same village of Nan He Cun in Xin Hui county.⁶⁹ If so, the Perth Chinese population was formed in this operation of clan-sponsorship.⁷⁰ Originally, these fellow county men first came to Victoria for gold,⁷¹ next some later moving to New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia.⁷² Those people who stayed in Western Australia returned to their home villages and brought

⁶⁶ When I visited Xin Hui in January to February in 1998, I met some descendants of migrants. They told me that not only their grandfather but also their great-grandfather were in Australia. Clearly, the father sponsored the son. Many village people who came to Australia during the years 1890-1905 could be considered in this category of clan-sponsorship migrants.

⁶⁷ Atkinson mentioned that Chinese, travelling singly or in small groups, had passages paid and arranged from them by close friends or relations already established abroad after the end of the nineteenth century. Atkinson (1982) B.A. Honours thesis, Murdoch University, pp30-31.

⁶⁸ For example, Ken Sue's father Ham Wong was 15 years old when he arrived in Australia in 1899. He had relatives in Melbourne. Interview with Ken Sue, April 1997.

⁶⁹ See *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931*.

⁷⁰ The kin relationships were under investigation in Western Australia but it was 'legal' (in term of non law) for the Children of Chinese residents to join their parents in Australia during 1901 to 1906. Several Chinese took advantage of this and had their sons join them in 1903. See Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* Footnote 103, p244. Also see Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences'. Xie mentioned Western Australia government allowed the Chinese to bring their children to Australia in the 1890s. In Liu (1989) *op. cit.* pp93-4.

⁷¹ The Chinese called Victorian goldfield 'the New Goldfields'. They referred to California as 'the Old Goldfields'. See Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p 1.

⁷² Bolton mentioned how the Chinese moved around and how they arrived in North of Queensland from South China. Bolton (1963) *op. cit.* pp54-55.

back their relatives to Australia.⁷³ The North of Western Australia was another gate way into the country for those Chinese migrants intending to live in the Perth metropolitan area.

It is worth mentioning that one-third of the Chinese migrants to Victoria in 1857 were free and independent, paying their own passages, and the other two-thirds borrowing money for their passages from wealthy village money lenders or relatives.⁷⁴ This situation showed that a 'clan-sponsorship' system had been in operation so that Chinese who came to Australia by this means did not suffer the isolation from each other as experienced by contracted labourers. This was especially the case among those Chinese who mentioned were independent and free, in a financial sense, and who joined a venture in merchant business when they arrived.

That migrants from Xin Hui county formed a large group helps to explain why Qichao Liang, who was born there, was welcomed by his fellow county men in Perth, Western Australia in 1900.⁷⁵ It also accounts for an incident reported to have happened in the Chung Wah Association regarding the 'leadership' in January 1918. In the meeting, the same fellow Xin Hui county men but from different villages of 'Nan He Cun' and 'Gao Tou Cun' disagreed with each other concerning the result. Some people with surnames 'Zhao' from 'Gao Tou Cun' ⁷⁶ had assaulted the President Zongcuan

⁷³ According to the relatives' information, Dayan Zhong (Joseph Tieghan) came to Australia when he was 20 in 1896. His father had been in Australia at the time. The brothers Danang and Darang Zhong came to Australia in 1896 and in 1902 when they were 20. Their father was in Australia. Interview with Dayan's grandson Haojie Zhong and Danang's grandson Dezhi Zhong in Xin Hui in February in 1998. Also see Atkinson (1988) *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ 'Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Chinese Immigration', V. L. C., V. & P., 1856-57, pp1-2, Q.15. cited by Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p1.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 4.

⁷⁶ The villages in Canton consisted mainly of a few surnames, some of one. The surname represented a 'lineage or clans' in general. See Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p10.

Chen (sometimes called Qiongyi Chen) who was supported by 'Nan He Cun' with 'Zhong' surnames and others at West Perth(now Northbridge), after the meeting. The matter went to court and four persons with the surname 'Zhao' were charged.⁷⁷ Obviously, it was clan-like fighting. In China, village disputes were common because of the diversity of dialects and of cultural peculiarities that could divide groups of villages into small units.⁷⁸ However, this type of serious offence was not so frequent in Perth as in the eastern states because of the relatively small Chinese population in Western Australia.

1931 Register

Interestingly, *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931, Volume 1* was a document required by the Melbourne Chinese consulate.(See Figure 1.2. The examples of the *Register of the Chinese in W.A. in 1931.*)

⁷⁷ See *The Chinese Republic News*, 2 March and 13 April 1918. *The Minutes Books* mentioned a fighting between two groups people regarding whether or not to pay legal fees to a Chinese man named Wen Fu. See 9 January 1918 in *Minutes Books*,

⁷⁸ Gittins, J (1981) *op. cit.* p18. and Skinner, G. W. *Chinese Society in Thailand*, p 39.

姓	男譚灼名	鍾錦旺
名	Tan Joo	Chung Kin
年	五十五歲	四十九歲
籍	廣東台山白水車成村	廣東新會南合村
出生地	廣東台山 Canton China	廣東新會南合 Canton China
現在居住	西澳普扶埠都利頓 Jonahdale West	西澳普扶埠 12. E. Sape St, Perth W.
職	農	工
何吋入境	壹仟九百年	壹仟九百〇一年
夫	李氏	黃氏
妻	庭根	百俊
子	同就	
女		
一	廿年五月十日	廿年五月十日

Figure 1.2 Examples of the Register of the Chinese in Western Australia in 1931

Source: The Chung Wah Association

In the 1920s, The Melbourne Chinese rejected the Consul General's proposal that all Chinese in Australia should register with the Consulate on the grounds that little was done to protect them. Sydney Chinese however were more sympathetic to the proposal.⁷⁹ Later, the situation changed as the Chinese population declined. Perth's Chinese community had no such attitudes towards the Chinese consulate, possibly due to the fact that its population was small. It suggests that in the country of migration, the less populated ethnic groups had closer ties with their consulate. A stable relationship existed between the Chinese consulate and the Perth Chinese community, an example, of which will be discussed at a later period. (see following chapters).

The 'Register' provided detailed information about Chinese in Western Australia, including their family status. It showed that many Chinese including most gardeners were from Xin Hui. The majority of Kai Ping and Tai Shan Chinese formed small business ventures. The status of Chinese occupations in Australia could be explained by the proportion of village land: Xin Hui had 60 per cent of agricultural land clan-owned; Tai Shan 50 per cent; Kai Ping and En Ping 40 per cent each in the four districts in China.⁸⁰ As Xin Hui had more agricultural lands than other counties, the people of Xin Hui had more experience in the management of market gardens. It is natural that Xin Hui migrants chose market gardening as their professional occupation.⁸¹ See Table 1.4 the Chinese shops, their owners and birth counties in 1931.

⁷⁹ *The Chinese Time*, 8 May 1920. Also see Morag Loh, 'The Chinese Time 1902-1922', *La Trobe Library Journal*, Vol. 13, No 53, October 1994:16.

⁸⁰ Chan, Han-Seng (1937) '*Landlords and Peasants in China*,' New York, pp33-5. cited by Choi (1975) *op. cit.* footnote 14, p10.

⁸¹ *Xin Hui Xian Zhi* (1995) Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe.

Table 1.4 The Chinese shops, their owners and birth counties in 1931

Name	Location	County and number
Ah Kwang	Lake St	Tai Shan 2
Ah Sam & Co	Barrack St	Kai Ping 3
C.B. Hie	Beaufort St	Kai Ping 1
Chin Sing	Port Hedland	Tai Shan 1
Chin Hop	Market St (F)	Kai Ping 3
J. W. Wing Ltd	Newcastle St	Zhong Shan 1
Hap Lee	Geraldton	Tai Shan 1 Xin Hui 1
Hap War	Poonce St (F)	Kai Ping 1
Hee Kee & Co	South Terrace (F)	Kai Ping 5
Hop Hing	James St	Xin Hui 1
Hoy Poy	James St	Zhong Shan 1
Huang Xiang	Beaufort St	Xin Hui 1
Hun Sun	William St	Kai Ping 1 and Hai Nan 1
Kuang Hong Sing	William St	Xin Hui 1
Kuang Li	James St	Xin Hui 1 Tai Shan 1
Soon Lee	Little Roe St	Xin Hui 1
Way Lee	James St	Xin Hui 1
Way Lee	South Terrace (F)	Kai Ping 2
Wing Hing	Newcastle St	Tai Shan 2 and Xin Hui 1

Note: (F) Fremantle. Others were in the Perth area, except for Port Hedland and Geraldton.
 Source: *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931, Volume 1*

Table 1.4 clearly shows that the role played by the Kai Ping migrants in business activity was significant compared to that of other county migrants. If this was an incomplete figure, 16 out of 43 men from Kai Ping compared with 8 out of 161 men from Xin Hui were involved in the retail business - according to its total number - providing yet another example.⁸² The status of occupation also helps to explain why those active and important members in the Chung Wah Association and the Chinese Nationalist Party were not gardeners, but business men.⁸³

⁸² *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931*

⁸³ See *Minutes Books*.

Floating population

One characteristic of the Chinese migration phenomena was that Chinese in Australia were a floating population. Not only were Chinese migrants travelling between the states frequently, but also they were often commuting between China and Australia in order to fulfil family and business obligations in China.⁸⁴ From this point of view, they were 'commuter migrants'.⁸⁵

At the time, the vast coastline of Western Australia allowed easy entry to the country because transportation by ship was the only way to reach Australia. Many Chinese travelled to and from Western Australia's ports. When they passed through Sydney and Melbourne, some were tempted to stay there and some returned to Western Australia. With such movement, even in the early days, the Government had little knowledge of private transactions involving Chinese labour although legislation for the same had been carried out.⁸⁶ So it is impossible to trace the number of Chinese who came to Western Australia, although the situation had fundamentally changed after 1901. Under the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, Chinese and Asian people were required to apply for *Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test* when they wanted to travel between Australia and their home countries. Actually, 75,414 migratory movements of Chinese into Australia took place during the white Australia decades up to 1958.⁸⁷

By carefully examining the 'Register', compared to *Members Fees Book of the Perth Branch of the Guomindang, May 1921 Volume I, Registers of Guomindang*

⁸⁴ Atkinson (1988), *op.cit.*

⁸⁵ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p275.

⁸⁶ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p51.

⁸⁷ York, Barry 'The Chinese in Australia: exclusions and admissions, 1901-1957', in Chan (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p362.

Members Volume I in 1926-1927 and *A List of Donations to the Patriotic and War Fund of China* in 1932⁸⁸, it was easy to find that those 'Registers' and 'lists' were never complete. 95 of 166 Chinese names in the 'List' in April 1932 did not appear in the 'Register' that listed 278 Chinese in May 1931. One might wonder how the number of Chinese increased by nearly one hundred in less than a year. If so, where did they come from? Three reasons may account for this. Firstly, at that time, most Chinese had two Chinese names: One was a 'baby name' and the other an 'adult name'.⁸⁹ They also had different Anglicised names; so there was some confusion as to their identity when they were when they used different names at different times. Secondly, they were inclined to move around frequently and quickly, and were prepared to look for new opportunities at any time.⁹⁰ Thirdly, one cannot rule out the possibility that there were people who entered the country illegally. The 'mystery' became more complex when the Chinese came under a 'clan-sponsorship' system. These situations strongly suggest that upward mobility was one of the features of Chinese life in Australia. Were they struggling for survival in this mobile way?⁹¹

The 'mystery' seems to be the ubiquitous Chinese presence in Australia, which often made curious people question the fact that despite the entrenched belief of the Australian Government in the existence of a 'White Australia' policy, there never was a complete exclusion.⁹² 'Dixon Street in Sydney and Little Bourke Street in Melbourne have been centres of Chinese settlement since the nineteenth century and are treasured

⁸⁸ See *The Chinese Republic News*, 16 April, 23 April and 30 April 1932.

⁸⁹ See my Chinese book. Cai (1988) *The Chinese Names*, Beijing: Hua Xia Publishing Co, pp12-4.

⁹⁰ Skinner had mentioned this situation. See Skinner (1957) *op. cit.* pp36-7

⁹¹ Wah Louey was the first president of the Chung Wah Association. His personal details were hardly to be found in Western Australia, except for one certificate from Melbourne. So to understand the Chinese in Australia there needs to be some form of co-operative research between states.

'Chinatowns' today.'⁹³ Also a distinctive two storey Chung Wah Hall has been standing in James Street, Perth, since 1911. These facts are strong testimonies to the Australian tolerance of difference and its democratic spirit, which is one theme of this thesis and has been analysed previously in section one on the social environment in Western Australia.

Common language

The Chinese in Western Australia probably shared Cantonese as a common language. Two factors account for this. Firstly, the Chinese community was mainly made up of people from the three counties of Xin Hui, Kai Ping and Tai Shan in the South of China although there were 17 counties in three provinces. (see above Table 1.3). These three counties were close to each other in geography. Xin Hui, Tai Shan and Kai Ping had their own languages--the so-called 'See Yi' dialect and could communicate with one another, but Xin Hui's language was closer to 'Cantonese'.⁹⁴ In fact, a large group of the Xin Hui people would have influenced other counties in the use of language. So it would be a natural choice to use 'Cantonese' as a common language. Secondly, there were no other large dialect groups in the Perth Chinese community. In Canton, there were three kinds of major dialects - Cantonese, Kejia (Hakka) and Chao Zhou (Teochiu) while Hai Nan (Hainanese) was also popular. Nor were there many Chinese who came from Kejia, Chaozhou and Hai Nan in Canton, or from Fu Jian (Hokkien) a province next to Canton. Chinese from Xin Hui and other counties in Canton could make 'Cantonese' a popular speaking language. This situation was similar to that of the

⁹² Harvey, S 'Ethnic Communities', in Kellehear (ed) (1996) *Social Self, Global Culture - An introduction to sociological ideas*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp118-119.

⁹³ Harvey, *ibid.* pp118-119.

⁹⁴ *The History of Xin Hui County (Xin Hui Xian Zhi)* points out that Xin Hui's dialect is similar to Cantonese. *Xin Hui Xian Zhi, op. cit.* p1070.

eastern states. In Melbourne, people mainly spoke 'See Yi' dialect and 'Cantonese' because large groups from Xin Hui and Tai Shan were among the Chinese migrants there. In Sydney, people of Zeng Chen, Gao Yao and Zhong Shan that were close to Canton city spoke Cantonese, with groups from Hong Kong and Pan Yu also contributing.⁹⁵ That was why the majority of Chinese spoke Cantonese in Australia. In Yong's book, he explained the reason Chinese in Australia spoke Cantonese as a common language was because they were a 'homogeneous people'.⁹⁶ It seems to be an oversimplified comment.

Contrasting sharply with the practices of Chinese in the areas of Sydney and Melbourne as well as South East Asia countries, the groups of Cantonese in Western Australia do not seem to have sedulously created surname club or lineage in the Chinese community. Nor was there an ancestral temple in the Perth Chinese community.⁹⁷ Despite its small population, the leadership of Chinese community played a most decisive role in this phenomenon.⁹⁸ This was no doubt in response to being part of Australian society, although at some cost to their own traditional identity. The Hai Nan Qiong Hai Jule Bu was the only county club that could be found in Perth in the 1930s. Its address was given as 28 Coolgardie Street, Highgate.⁹⁹ The language they spoke was different from other counties and all were working class rather than peasant class people.¹⁰⁰ That might be the main reason for them forming a club.

⁹⁵ Choi (1975) *op. cit.* pp4-5. Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p189.

⁹⁶ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p2.

⁹⁷ Compared to Chao Zhou and Hai Nan, Cantonese was the least superstitious. See Skinner (1957) *op. cit.* p39.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁹⁹ See *Register* 1931.

¹⁰⁰ See *Register* 1931.

Cultural life

The Chinese migrants in Western Australia were not all less well educated and poor people, as previously mentioned, there were some wealthy and educated men from China. Among them, several had a higher traditional Chinese education. A gardener John Gooley Lew had been a teacher in China before coming to Australia.¹⁰¹ A workman Joseph Tieghan was an artist.¹⁰² Certain Chinese had a good English education because they were young when they came and so were able to learn more readily than their elder compatriots. They also attended Christian churches.

Having Chinese or English cultural backgrounds, it would not be surprising that Chinese migrants in Perth had their own cultural activities. A cultural group named 'You Hao She' (the Friends Club) was formed in Perth in the 1910s. This club conducted activities of collecting 'antithetical couplets'. It was a word game and similar to 'cross words'. It required a higher knowledge of Chinese characters. The activity was featured in *The Chinese Republic News* (a Sydney based newspaper) during January 1916 and January 1917.¹⁰³ The 'You Hao She' gave its address as 'Kay Hong', in James Street and 'Toon Lee', at 439 Hay Street, Perth, W. A.¹⁰⁴ These two shops 'Kay Hong' and 'Toon Lee' might have given financial support to the newspaper. No personal name appeared in this cultural game competition except the name of 'the Chung Wah Association'. Later, the Perth 'Chu Wo She' (the Resisting the Japanese Club) was responsible for the collecting of 'antithetical couplets' in *The Chinese*

¹⁰¹ Interview with Bill Gooley, Kaylene Poon, 11 December 1995.

¹⁰² Joseph Tieghan (1876-1971) came to Australia in 1899 and were from Xin Hui county. Some photos of his paintings are kept in the Chung Wah Association. See *Register 1931* and Atkinson (1988) *Ibid.* p266. I saw some of his western style painting in Xin Hui, which are kept by his grandsons. Joseph brought the paintings to the village while he was visiting in the 1930s. One of them was created on 3 April 1916.

¹⁰³ The details were in *The Chinese Republic News*, 10 January, 29 April, 10 June, 19 August 1916 and 27 January 1917.

Republic News in 1933.¹⁰⁵ An antithetical couplet written by Dong Xie, who was a member of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party, had been listed in this competition. A Perth Chinese man Naihe Hu was even awarded second place in a competition of 'antithetical couplets' by a newspaper in 1922.¹⁰⁶ Yingman Tam was known in the Chinese community for his knowledge of Chinese literature. He also wrote a number of plays in English which were performed in Perth.¹⁰⁷

Traditional Chinese medicine and herbal practices seem to have been present since the beginning of this century in Western Australia. Qiongyi Chen (King Ngee), a President of the Chung Wah Association, was a Chinese herbalist.¹⁰⁸ Eight people were recorded as herbalists in Atkinson's book.¹⁰⁹ Jack Sue's father Xianli Huang (Hamli Wong) treated an optician who worked in Murray Street, Perth city, and who had a very serious kidney complaint. In turn his family received a present from the optician on Christmas Day.¹¹⁰

Chinese tried to legitimize their cultures and customs in a strange environment while they lived and did business in Western Australia. In 1911, 709 Chinese worked as market gardeners, 337 as domestic workers, 167 were shopkeepers and 62 were furniture workers.¹¹¹ According to Atkinson's survey, Chinese used their agricultural

¹⁰⁴ *The Chinese Republic News*, 10 January 1916.

¹⁰⁵ *The Chinese Republic News*, 9 December 1933.

¹⁰⁶ *The Chinese Republic News*, 19 August 1922.

¹⁰⁷ Atkinson (1988), *op. cit* p299.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p185.

¹⁰⁹ They were King Ngee (p185), Dytles (p133), Hui King Fong (p176), Pang Chong Fe (p234), Way George (p276), Wong Ham (p285), Wong Shin Su (p288) and Yee Fatt (p293). See Atkinson (1988) *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Interview with Jack Sue, 19 March 1996. Ken Sue has kept a sign of his father's herbalist shop. Interview with Ken Sue, 11 April 1997.

¹¹¹ See Atkinson (1984) *op. cit.* p45.

skills and cultural knowledge in those activities.¹¹² Chinese market gardeners especially were recognised for their valuable contribution to Australian food culture.¹¹³ As one French visitor observed: Chinese were 'our vegetable purveyors, and without them delicious necessities for European tables would be beyond the reach of most people.'¹¹⁴ Although Chinese market gardeners often became objects of children's play and targets of racist abuse at the time, many Australian people were sympathetic and affectionate towards them not only because of their 'stoic endurance and patience'¹¹⁵ but also because of the 'institutional manifestations of their culture'.¹¹⁶ This undercurrent of sympathy towards the Chinese was reflected in Australian people's memories and literature. One resident in Subiaco, Perth, once visited weekly by a Chinese greengrocer, wrote with a touch of fondness that

'at Christmas time he gave all his customers a little stone pot filled with the most delicious preserved ginger. There was a green glaze around the pot, and when emptied, was used as a salt pot. The old chap was familiarly known as 'John', and told us the ginger came "all a longer China."¹¹⁷

Beliefs and Religions

The Chinese in Western Australia had their connection with Christian religion, which is a sign that Chinese were willing to adapt to the Australian social environment. The 1901 census figures record 159 Chinese as being Methodists, 67 as Church of

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Ouyang, Yu 'All the Lower Orders: representations of the Chinese cooks, market gardeners and other lower-class people in Australian literature, 1888-1988', in Macgregor (ed) (1995) *Histories of the Chinese in Australiasis and the South Pacific, Melbourne: the Museum of Chinese Australian History*, p106.

¹¹⁴ Edmond Marin la Meslee, *New Australia*, trans. Russel Ward, Heinemann Educational Books, London 1973 (1883), cited by Ouyang, *Ibid.* p104.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p105.

¹¹⁶ Spillman (1985) *Identity prized: a history of Subiaco*, Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, p108.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p108.

England, 57 as Presbyterian and 29 as Roman Catholic.¹¹⁸ According to a record, the Methodist Chinese Church was established in Murray Street, Perth in the late 1890s. Reverend G.E. Rowe was the first Minister to preach the Gospel to the Chinese of Perth in 1897.¹¹⁹ The Methodist Chinese School used to be held on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings. After the lesson, there was a Chinese solo or prayer in Cantonese. The Reverend Soong Quong Paul, who was considered a Chinese scholar, was a minister in the Methodist Church.¹²⁰ Peter Yingman Tam, who held many important offices in the Chung Wah Association and the Chinese Nationalist Party, was devoted to the Chinese Mission Sunday School. When Yingman passed away, a photograph was unveiled to his memory in the Chinese Mission Chapel on 26th July 1931. Mr Tucker, the Superintendent of the Central Mission Sunday School said Yingman was 'one of the best of citizens and a noble Christian gentleman.'¹²¹

As Methodists supported schools and carried out missionary work at home regularly, this was probably why many Chinese joined the Methodist Church. The number of Chinese children going to Sunday School suggested that their parents were Methodists. A list of children's names included Peter Wong, Ken, Alan, Queenie and Dulcie Shem (whose father was Alex Shem), Gladys and Norma Shem (whose father was Harold Shem), Zean Lee, James Quan Han, Jackie and Diane Wong Sue, and Daphne Lee.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p82.

¹¹⁹ *Extracts from the Minutes of the Methodist Chinese School Held in Murray Street Mission Premises. 1901-1905.* Battye Library, PR 7901, p2.

¹²⁰ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p83.

¹²¹ *The Wesley Story: centenary of Wesley Church, Perth, Western Australia 1870-1970.* Wesley Church 1970.

¹²² *Ibid.* According to the Shem family information, I make a correction of the names of the Shem family children. Interview with Gladys Shem, 29 April 1997. 'The Wesley Story' had published a photo named 'Wesleyan Chinese Sunday School, 1923'. The original one kept in the Chung Wah Association had the

Presbyterian Churches that leant towards converting local Chinese were popular in Western Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century. There might have been some connection with Chinese from eastern Australia because the Presbyterians had made a large number of converts on the goldfields and Chinese Presbyterian Churches existed there.¹²³ Reverend Chee Pow was a Presbyterian missionary in Perth. He used his influence to form a branch of the Chinese Empire Reform Association and successfully organised local Chinese to welcome Qichao Liang to Perth in 1900. Later, the Presbyterian influence seems to have been weaker in the Chinese community as only a minority of their leaders were Presbyterians.

Leaders of Chinese organisations were always associated with the churches. In 1920, Yougong Huang (Yue-Kung Wong) accepted an offer made by the Australian Christian Union to do missionary work among the Chinese in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth.¹²⁴ Huang came to Perth in May 1921. He was also commissioned by the Sydney Nationalist Party to found a new branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party in Perth while doing his missionary work. The branch was successfully established.

During January to July 1927, a Christian Chinese Yongming Guan went to Perth for the missions.¹²⁵ The result of the visit seems to have been the establishment of a branch of the Canton Christian Church in Canton by the Perth Chinese. Mingyang Fan

title name of 'Guomindang Chinese school in Chinese'. So it was a mistake. Jan Ryan's *Ancestors* copied this mistake. Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p84.

¹²³ Sommers, T.V. (1966) *Religions in Australia: the PIX series extended to 41 beliefs*, Adelaide: Rigby Limited, p178.

¹²⁴ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p206.

¹²⁵ *The Chinese Republic News* 6 August 1927.

who was elected as an officer of the Church went to China to undertake work there in May 1927.¹²⁶

Generally, Chinese are atheists because their principal philosophy is of the bipolarity of nature.¹²⁷ Based on such a principle and their practical nature, those Chinese who are theists were not monotheists.¹²⁸ Although many Chinese in Australia may have described themselves as Buddhists, what they practised was a mixture of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, adulterated with folk superstition and combined with ancestor-worship.¹²⁹ The belief of the majority of Chinese migrants in Australia always was: work first, religion second.¹³⁰

Many beliefs of various religions denominations that approached the Chinese were similar to Chinese beliefs, such as education and the so-called 'family values'. That was why some Chinese were converted. A strange social environment and language were other factors to convert the Chinese as they adapted themselves more to the Australian community. It was natural that they turned to the churches where they were embraced by active Christians with their beliefs and humanity. Intermarriage was an outcome of Christianity and made a direct impact on the Chinese and Australian society.¹³¹ A Chinese could be naturalised as a British subject in this way only.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 14 May 1927.

¹²⁷ Thompson (1966) *op. cit.* p3.

¹²⁸ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p82.

¹²⁹ Sommers (1966) *op. cit.* p43.

¹³⁰ A Chinese said 'we are labourers and do not care about other places.' Cited by Kathryn Cronin (1982) *Colonial Casualties: Chinese in early Victoria*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, p107. Also see Maurice Blackburn said 'a man here is a worker first and catholic second'. Irish third. Cited by Ofarrell (1993) *op. cit.* p117.

¹³¹ Macgregor, P. 'Chinese? Australian? The Limits of Geography and Ethnicity as Determinants of Cultural Identity', in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p15.

On the other hand, those ordinary Chinese who were converts did not become true Christians to any degree, not only because they were working men, without much time to be active in a group, but also because they had their own flexible attitudes towards the Christian faith. The Chinese were self-disciplined men but were more realistic and practical, especially as they had come to Australia to make a living for their families. They could discipline themselves in order to regulate their families,¹³² but hardly discipline themselves to God. However, the majority of Chinese in Australia were not converts because of the differences in cultural tradition, especially family values. The Chinese thought white people did not have a 'root' and 'mind' of family because they did not respect their elders.¹³³ This was because they themselves considered ancestor-worship to be of more importance than anything else. The Chinese traditional beliefs were highlighted when they felt challenged by the 'White Australia Policy' and when they were involved in the reform movement and republican activities.

Geography

The formation of a Chinese community was related not only to the needs of their cultural rights and group beliefs but also to the areas in which they lived. Western Australia is the largest State in Australia. It is a land of many contrasts, from the

¹³² Thompson, L.G (1975) *Chinese Religion: an introduction*, California: Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc. pp12-3.

¹³³ An article criticized some Chinese who wanted to marry white women and also criticized the Western religions. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 14 September 1907.

temperate forests of the South, the arid Goldfields of the centre to the tropical grandeur of the North. After the discovery of gold in Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie in the 1890s, Perth and Fremantle became thriving cities. The majority of Chinese came to these cities for their family and business commitments. This thesis mainly deals with Chinese in the Perth and Fremantle metropolitan area. In these areas, Chinese market gardens were found in North Perth, South Perth, Bayswater, Osborne Park, Fremantle and Jandakot; Chinese furniture factories were located in North Perth, and Chinese laundries and general stores were concentrated in the neighbourhood of William and James Streets, Perth, Murray Street, Perth and the High Street / South Terrace section of Fremantle.¹³⁴ Although the Chinese population was small and seemingly in geographical isolation, they demonstrated a strong tendency towards part of a wider community in Australia and had very strong ties with their homelands in China, especially when they reacted to changing citizenship in Australia after 1901. (See Figure 1.3 Places of Chinese settlement in Western Australia.)

Summary

Broadly speaking, the present documents suggest that the early Chinese came under a 'clan-sponsorship' system after the contracted labour scheme ceased. The

¹³⁴ See Atkinson (1988) *op.cit.* pp46-99.

Chinese population in Western Australia was made up mainly of people from Xin Hui, Kai Ping and Zhong Shan counties in the South of China. They and their fellow county men were part of a group who came for the gold rush in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland first and then moved to Western Australia and other places. Combined with those permanent contracted labourers and Chinese from the north of Western Australia, they represented the Chinese population and community in Western Australia between 1901 and 1940. As non-citizens, Chinese presented their somewhat double sided commitment to Australian society: obedience and participation in economic development, at the same time keeping their traditional cultural rights. They had to commute between China and Australia not just because of their family and business commitments, but also because their citizenship rights could not be ensured in Australia. Even though Chinese in Western Australia were in geographical isolation, they were ready for the unification of their interests if their viability was threatened. The following chapters show how those non-citizen Chinese in Western Australia formed their organizations - the Chung Wah Association and the Chinese Nationalist Party - to identify their own cultural rights while they adapted themselves to the western practices.

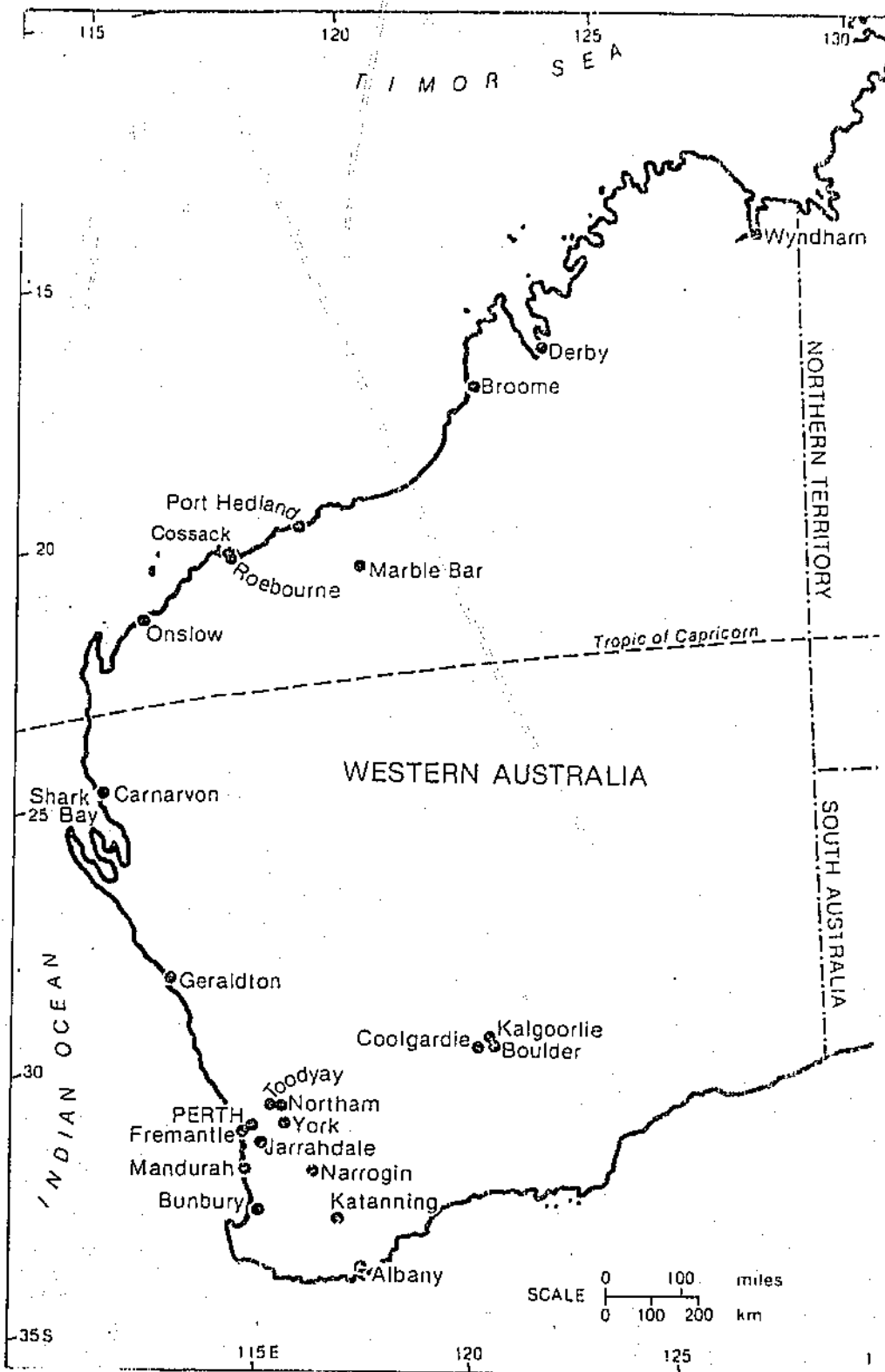


Figure 1.3 Places of Chinese Settlement in Western Australia

Source: Atkinson: *Asian Immigrants to Western Australia 1829-1901*

Chapter 2

The Establishment of the Chung Wah Association

The Chung Wah Association came into being in response to the changing parameters of citizenship in Australia which saw the 'White Australia Policy' encourage a survival bonding of the Chinese community. It was the first time that Chinese in Western Australia formed a social group and declared their desire for 'equality and freedom', qualities essential to citizenship¹ yet denied them.

The circumstance that brought about this group consciousness was due in the first place to the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* which affected newcomers.² Subsequently economic competition between the Chinese community and Australian society led to a further denial of the rights of equality to domiciled Chinese in Australia in their trading businesses and market gardens. In response, the Perth Chinese Association began to organise.

¹ Marshall, in Barbalet (1988) *op. cit.* p58.

² Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p27.

2.1 Responding to the Social Circumstances

The background of the Chung Wah Association in Perth will be discussed, firstly in relation to the profile of the Chinese community in Western Australia; secondly, to gauge the influence of the Chinese in the Eastern States on the Chinese in Western Australia; and thirdly, to investigate the circumstances of the Anti-Chinese movement met by the Chinese in Western Australia.

Profile of Chinese Community

Most Chinese men who arrived in Western Australia in the nineteenth century were contract labourers, working as domestic servants or as labourers on farms.³ They were recruited via the Singapore labour market. The larger agents provided Chinese labourers from a diverse range of Chinese regional areas and linguistic groups to countries that needed labour. At that time, in Singapore, different dialect groups were offered different wages. For example, the Chao Zhou (Teochiu) were highly regarded and therefore were the best paid workers.⁴

The contractors who were responsible for this scheme in Western Australia were ignorant of the significance of Chinese dialect groups, so they were not prepared to pay high contract wages to attract the best workers.⁵ As a consequence, the Chinese indentured labourers who arrived in Western Australia were very diverse. During the years 1887-1891, for example, 536 Chinese came to Western Australia. They were from Canton, Fu Jian

³ Atkinson, 'The Early Chinese in Western Australia', in *The Commemorative Book of Chung Wah Association 1910-1985*, 1985:45.

⁴ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p22.

(Hokkien), Hainan, Chao Zhou (Teochiu), Ke Jia (Hakka) and other areas. Although as many as 182 men came from Canton, they were from seventeen different counties.⁶

Moreover, on arrival, the Chinese were separated from one another and sent to remote and isolated areas. Thus they were not only geographically far removed from their homeland, but were also separated from other members of the same dialect group and the same village. This separation of the Chinese in Western Australia made them feel like 'scattered sand',⁷ and this was in sharp contrast to the situation in the eastern states. In other states, men from the same Chinese county often settled in the same area. Because they lived and worked together, county societies were easily formed to protect their common interests.

For example, in Melbourne, the See Yap Society was founded in 1854 by immigrants from the following four counties: Xin Hui (Sunwui), Kai Ping (Hoiping), En Ping (Yanping) and Tai Shan (Toishan), all in the south of Canton. The reason the society came to be called the See Yap Society was that there were predominantly more immigrants from See Yap than from any of the other counties.⁸ In New South Wales, as there were more immigrants and more immigrant groups, so more county societies were established. In 1891, there were 16 Chinese counties represented in Sydney alone and even more in other cities and areas of the State.⁹

⁵ *Ibid.*, p23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p23.

⁷ 'Essence of Foreword to Minutes Book April 1909', in *The Commemorative Book of Chung Wah Association 1910-1985*, p52.

⁸ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* pp189-191.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p189.

Prior to the 1890s, the idea of forming county societies had not occurred to the various immigrants in Western Australia, although the Chinese had moved into the Perth metropolitan area after the gold rush. In 1898, several Chinese men, Wah Hing Mar, Sling Dar and Lea Quon Lu submitted the rules for the Chinese Society named 'Gee Kung Hong Koong See' (the Society of Order and Justice) to the Government and applied for registration under the *Friendly Societies Act* 1894. The Society aimed at providing welfare services to members, and it also proposed to have a sickness and funeral fund as well as a medical and management fund.¹⁰

Although it is uncertain whether it was formally constituted as such, the so-called Chinese Society resembled today's mutual benefit society. However, unlike many similar organisations elsewhere in Australia, it was not a county society in the traditional Chinese way. This is related to the fact that there was a smaller Chinese population in Western Australia than in the Eastern States, as well as the fact that Chinese in Western Australia were less united as they came from many different counties, except those from Xin Hui.¹¹ But this bigger group of Xin Hui hardly organised social activities because they were mainly made up of market gardeners who were busy working hard.¹² Consequently, there was less provincialism and localism, and more opportunity for unification among Chinese migrants in Western Australia than elsewhere in Australia when the time came.

¹⁰ A.C.C. 1018 53/98 in Batty library. Jan Ryan states that this society is a secret organization. See Ryan, *A Study of the Origins and Development of Chinese Immigration into Western Australia 1880-1901*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1989.

¹¹ See Chapter 1.3.

¹² *Ibid.*

Eastern Influences

Another factor contributing to the establishment of the Association in Western Australia was the influence of Chinese in the eastern states. The Chinese language newspapers, *The Tung Wah News* (later changed to *The Tung Wah Times*) published in Sydney in 1898 and *The Chinese Times* established in Melbourne in 1902, brought news directly to the Chinese in Western Australia.¹³

The spirit of unity was strengthened by some activities taking place in the eastern states. For example, during the war between Russia and Japan in Manchuria in 1904-1905,¹⁴ the Chinese in Australia supported the Japanese. In Western Australia the Chinese had a fund raising campaign whereby 74 people and 15 shops from Perth, Fremantle and Geraldton (only one shop) donated 65.05 pounds sterling to Japanese soldiers' families in Japan.¹⁵ A newspaper claimed that Chinese in Western Australia were responding to a call from Sydney but did much better than Sydney itself.¹⁶ This success gave Chinese in Western Australia a reputation for their 'enthusiastic' and generous personalities.¹⁷

In August 1905, the first interstate Chinese convention was held in Melbourne.¹⁸ The convention, which included 16 representatives from six States,¹⁹ discussed an anti-opium importation crusade initiated by the Chinese in Melbourne. The representatives gave moral

¹³ Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p16.

¹⁴ The war was mentioned in Latourette (1972) *op.cit.* p319.

¹⁵ *The Tung Wah Times*, it mentioned 250 pounds sterling including the Japanese donations. 30 April 1904. The newspaper published a list of person and shops. *The Tung Wah Times*, 14 May 1904.

¹⁶ *The Tung Wah Times*, 30 April 1904.

¹⁷ See a comment in *The Tung Wah Times*, 30 April 1904.

¹⁸ *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 and 9 September 1905. Yong (1977) *op.cit.* pp17-8.

and material support to the boycott movement in China against goods from the U.S.A caused by immigration restrictions of the U.S government.²⁰ Furthermore, the convention asked the Federal Government to relax the Australian Immigration Restriction Act and to allow five classes of Chinese (merchants, students, tourists, teachers and missionaries) to enter Australia.²¹ Mr Xia Chen (Harr Chan) and Mr Ling Mei (Ling Moy) attended the convention as delegates for Western Australia.²² After the convention, the Chinese in Western Australia joined the donation movement requesting the Australian Government to treat them not as 'enemy'²³ but with equality as Australians and to remove its restrictive Act.²⁴ A total of 155.70 pounds sterling from 396 people and 51 business shops contributed to the movement. See Table 2.1 List of places, number of people and number of shops donating.

¹⁹ Yong said that all states except Queensland attended. He made mistake because his reference did not say it. Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p18. See references he had mentioned in *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 and 9 September 1905.

²⁰ The Chinese communities carried out donations to support the boycott. 30 Geraldton Chinese donated 17.18 pounds sterling in the early stage. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 28 October 1905.

²¹ A draft of removing the Act was published in *The Tung Wah Times*, 20 January 1906. Yong (1977), *op. cit.* p18.

²² *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 and 9 September 1905.

²³ A term of 'treat them enemy' was used in the newspapers to express the Chinese feelings. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 20 January 1906.

²⁴ See a list of names in *The Tung Wah Times*, 28 October and 16, 23 and 30 December 1905.

Table 2.1 List of places, number of people and shops donating in 1905

Local Places	Number of people	Number of Shops
Broome	35	7
Carnarvon	8	n/a
Cossack	7	1
Derby	12	1
Fremantle	41	7
Geraldton	24	n/a
Northam	32	4
Perth	214	27
Roebourne	23	4
Total	396	51

Note: The list did not include 9 Bunbury Chinese who donated 3 pounds sterling to the earthquake fund in San Francisco in August 1906. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 4 August 1906.

Source: Calculated from *The Tung Wah Times*, 28 October, 16, 23, and 30 December 1905, and 3 March 1906.

The list of donations gave the names of the local places and some business shops that organised it, such as Hua Li Hao in Fremantle, Yuchun Ji in Broome, Wing Hing in Perth (others were relevant to Ah Sam and Hop Hing), but not the individuals and organizations who were responsible. It suggests that there was not a united social organisation yet, although a political one named the Reform Association had existed in Perth after Qichao Liang came to Australia in 1900.²⁵ However, their joint action indicated that the Chinese in Western Australia were responding to Chinese communities in Eastern Australia and ready for the unification of their interests in the foreseeable future.

The establishment of the Chung Wah Association was greatly affected by the influence

²⁵ See next Chapter.

of Chinese who moved from the eastern states to Western Australia. Having lived in the eastern states for many years, they had some experience in organising a society and defending the common interests of the Chinese.²⁶

Humiliations

It appeared that the most important reason for forming an association was that Chinese in Western Australia faced unwelcome and even hostile circumstances, especially in 1904 and later. The Commonwealth *Immigration Restriction Act*, the basis for the so-called 'White Australia Policy' was passed in 1901. The Act ruled that if any person failed to write out fifty words of dictation in a European language, he or she could not enter Australia. This meant that the door was closed to many Chinese who wished to immigrate, but the passage of this Act did not make the domiciled Chinese in Australia immediately feel insecure.

Although the Act did not discriminate against Chinese business activities in Australia, and did not limit the freedom of Chinese migrants, those who already lived in Australia had to obtain a certificate of exemption (from the Acts regulations) when they travelled to China and wanted to return to Australia.²⁷ Thus, some Chinese could move around Western Australia fairly freely. Also, as economic opportunities were much greater in the West than in the other States after the discovery of gold in the 1890s, quite a lot of Chinese

²⁶ See the Association member's background. The background of some these Chinese were in Anne Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.*

²⁷ *Immigration Restriction Act 1901.*

came to the West from the eastern states, including Queensland. In this way, the Chinese community in Western Australia continued to expand slowly.²⁸

In 1901, the geographical situation of the Chinese in Western Australia had changed in various ways. There were 1503 Chinese males and 18 Chinese females living in Western Australia.²⁹ The majority, 54 percent, lived in rural areas whilst 46 percent lived in the Perth metropolitan area. Those 700 Chinese living in the Perth suburbs established business operations in market gardening, furniture manufacturing, laundry work and retailing. Most of them worked as gardeners. By 1904 at least 150 were employed in 50 Chinese laundries operating in Perth and Fremantle.³⁰

As Chinese businesses were becoming more and more prosperous in the metropolitan area, they came into direct competition with local factories. Members of the fast growing Australian Trade Union movement saw a threat to their jobs at this time.³¹ The unions encouraged anti-Chinese feeling. Such anti-Chinese feelings were rife in other Australian States. For instance, in Victoria, both the Liberal and Labour Parties pressed for enactment of Factories Acts against Chinese cabinet-makers and laundry men.³²

²⁸ Atkinson (1988), *op cit*, p47.

²⁹ See *Official Year Book of Commonwealth of Australia, 1925*.

³⁰ Atkinson in *The Commemorative Book of Chung Wah Association 1910-1985*, *op. cit* p47.

³¹ *Ibid*, p47

³² Yong (1977) *op cit*, p17.

In 1904, due to pressure from the Union movement, the West Australian Government passed the Factories Act which greatly restricted Chinese manufacturing activities.³³ This Act prevented Chinese or other Asiatic races from establishing factories after 1904 and from participating in fair competition in the market place. One of the rules of the Act stated that furniture manufactured by Asiatic labourers should be stamped with the words 'Asiatic Labour'.³⁴ 'Any person apparently of Chinese or any other Asiatic race' was not allowed to be employed by European factory owners.³⁵ Clearly, the Act intended to freeze the industrial development of local Chinese and keep out any new arrivals from the eastern states.³⁶ The Chinese in Western Australia sent their messages to the newspapers and presented a petition to the British Government in protest over the harsh factory regulation.³⁷ Sydney - based Chinese newspapers published news about Perth Chinese reacting against the regulation.³⁸ A Chinese man was reported to have made his personal protest in front of Parliament House in Perth.³⁹

However, a common consensus was not reached by their actions. An anonymous letter sent by some Perth Chinese was published in *The Tung Wah Times*. It accused those Chinese who had helped the unions make a translated Factories Regulation for 'helping a

³³ See Gentill, J 'Early Chinese Migration In Western Australia', *Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 9, p92. and Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.*

³⁴ A case of Hui Li was reported. He was fined 216 pounds sterling because he failed to stamp the words in his furniture factory. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 26 June 1909.

³⁵ Gentill, J. *op. cit.* p92.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p93.

³⁷ A Chinese man made his personal protest at the Parliament House in Perth. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 11 November 1905. A Chinese man Hongjie Zhong in Perth went to a morning newspaper to express his opinions about regulations. He believed the White Australia Policy could not long continue because the world population needed to communicate each with other. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 3 and 10 December 1904. Also see Atkinson in *The Commemorative Book*, *op. cit.* p48.

³⁸ A translated Regulation sent by some Chinese in Western Australia was published in *The Tung Wah Times*, 9 December 1905. It caused controversy. *The Tung Wah Times*, 14 April 1906.

tyrant to do evil'.⁴⁰ But these targeted Chinese who represented 12 laundries in Perth considered they were correct in helping Chinese understand the Regulation.⁴¹ It was natural that the word 'Hanjian' (meaning traitor to Han Chinese) was used for ideological fighting between them, and this denunciatory word was frequently used to condemn those Chinese who stood on the side of the Australian Government and did not help the rest of the Chinese community.⁴² This suggests that there was a divergence of views among the Perth Chinese, which interfered with their unification to a certain extent.⁴³

Growing anti-Chinese feelings which had been silent for a while or had become history on the eastern gold fields in the 1850s were also related to Chinese immorality, disease and gambling vices. The intermarriage of Chinese men and European women also caused some concern.⁴⁴ *The Sunday Times* in Perth published articles about incidents of intermarriages that caused local people who had a prejudice against intermarriage to perceive this as a threat to European culture and tradition.⁴⁵

The Chinese were also concerned about intermarriage but had different views about it.⁴⁶ A story was circulated in the Chinese community. It was said that a Perth church set up

³⁹ See *The Tung Wah Times*, 11 November 1905.

⁴⁰ 'Zhuji Weinue', in Chinese terms, it means aid King Jie in his tyrannical rule.

⁴¹ See *The Tung Wah Times*, 11 November 1905.

⁴² Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences' gave two examples. One was Songguan Pan. Another was some Chinese helped immigration Department to catch illegal entering Chinese for a reward of 25 pounds sterling. In Liu (1989) *op. cit.* pp94 and 96, and in Zhiming Chen, *op. cit.* p89.

⁴³ Wood Lee talked to a western newspaper and disagreed to stop importing of opium. Some Chinese accused him for Hanjian (traitor to Han Chinese). See *The Tung Wah Times*, 12 January 1906.

⁴⁴ A move was tabled in Parliament House but rejected by minister. See *Legislative Assembly*, 16 August 1910.

⁴⁵ 'Asiatics and White Women', *Sunday Times* 31 July 1910. 'The Low-Class Asiatic', *Sunday Times*, 28 August 1910.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 4.

two regulations in order to prevent intermarriage happening, such as 1) white women who were under 19 years of age could not become teachers in Chinese church schools and 2) Chinese would not be allowed to move from one school to another.⁴⁷ The Chinese newspaper thought it would prove a good lesson to those Chinese who believed in Christianity.⁴⁸

'Segregating'

The Chinese in Perth also had a sense about 'segregating' and 'registering'. The move to register Chinese residents was initiated in 1908 by several Federal Senators including Labour Senator Pearce and supported by R.B. Levien, the Victorian Trade Commissioner for the East.⁴⁹ It was reported that a union meeting held in April 1908 in Perth asked the Government to register Chinese residents for the purpose of stopping illegal entry or to levy tax on stowaways.⁵⁰ In New South Wales, at the same time, most Chinese in Sydney and in other places would have liked to have moved further south to make a living - but perhaps for business and safety reasons this caused the local people some anxiety. A proposal to segregate the Chinese was favoured by the local government and a number of people who attended a meeting in the south of Sydney in June 1908.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *The Tung Wah Times* published the story told by a Christian Chinese Miaobin Lei in Perth and presented their opinion for Christianity. *The Tung Wah Times*, 28 December 1907.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* An article that was against intermarriage was published in *The Tung Wah Times*, 14 September 1907.

⁴⁹ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p19.

⁵⁰ *The Tung Wah Times*, 4 April 1908.

⁵¹ *The Tung Wah Times*, 13 June 1908.

Chinese considered these proposals as humiliating and insulting.⁵² A Sydney business man Binnan Ye wrote a letter to the Federal Parliament. He thought that the idea of segregating 'Yellow and White' was 'miserable' and broke the spirit of equality and freedom.⁵³ The results of such a move would 1) differentiate between the races; 2) keep the Chinese separate from civilisation; 3) be against the Government's will of protecting human and civil rights.⁵⁴ The Government letter stated in answer that they would seriously consider the matter. This response made the Chinese feel that the Government was 'upholding justice'.⁵⁵

Obviously, the attitude toward segregation had actually changed. In the gold fields in Victoria in the 1850s, the system of 'Protectors'⁵⁶ and 'Chinese mining villages' worked 'quite well'.⁵⁷ At that time, the Chinese did not seem to have questioned 'segregation', nor did the Government to any extent.⁵⁸ But this time they - the Chinese and the Australian government - strongly opposed any attempt to segregate Chinese into a separate area and become an 'Alien group'.⁵⁹ This indicates that a concept of citizenship was recognised in the Chinese community. The civil rights of freedom, equality and humanity had received much more attention than before.

⁵² Yong mentioned Samuel Wong in Melbourne who wrote to the *Age* opposing the proposal in 1909. Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p19.

⁵³ *The Tung Wah Times*, 25 April 1908.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ The system of supervision was based on salaried Protectors whose job was to organise the Chinese into segregated mining villages, control hygiene and use of water, and settle petty domestic disputes by reference to Chinese custom. Price (1974) *op. cit.* p70.

⁵⁷ Price (1974) *op. cit.* pp70-1.

⁵⁸ The example of Victorian gold fields seems not to extend to other areas. The opinions were divided. For example, Henry Parkes opposed Cowper's attempt to segregate the Chinese into separate gold fields lest this develop a permanently separated alien group. See Price (1974) *op. cit.* p83.

Even so, the Chinese in Western Australia were being discriminated against more and more as time went and hostile feelings remained. At first, quite a few Chinese furniture factories and laundries closed their doors rather than fight the Factories Act. In 1908, some of the large general stores managed by Chinese, such as Hua Li Hao (Warley?), Fa Ji Hao in Fremantle and Yu Jun Sheng in Derby, closed down.⁶⁰ Only market gardening and shops providing commodities and services for Chinese could survive because those occupations were not in direct competition with jobs organised by the unions.⁶¹

However, in 1909, the Trade Union began to order hotels and restaurants to dismiss Asians from their jobs.⁶² Even worse, some of the European gardeners who felt threatened submitted a joint letter to ask the Government to prohibit any Chinese market gardening.⁶³

The news of the joint letter demanding prohibition of gardening by Chinese caused alarm and consternation in the Perth metropolitan area. The Chinese felt they were faced with imminent disaster because most of them supported themselves financially by gardening. They did not know which way to turn. Some Chinese suggested that the Chinese gardeners should boycott the markets for a number of weeks in order to put pressure on the

⁵⁹ Calwell said that compared with other countries Australia had no alien problem (forming foreign communities). Cited by Zubrzycki, J. 'The Evolution of Multiculturalism', in Price (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p120.

⁶⁰ See Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p95. The shop of 'Warley' seems not to be closed because its name was published in *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 January 1909.

⁶¹ Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p95.

⁶² A case was recorded on 16 July 1921 *Minutes Books*,

⁶³ The letter was not found, but it could happen, except for Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', a meeting in South of Sydney mentioned the forbidding of market gardens in 1908. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 13 June 1908, and Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p95. Also see Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p240.

Government to avoid passing harmful legislation.⁶⁴ This required taking united action. Now, however, the Chinese were more supportive of each other, which was also reflected in their donations to South China in aid of flood victims in January 1909. Unlike previous years, when donations were made by individuals, this time 10 Chinese shops had joined together and were responsible for collecting 324.14 pounds sterling from the total number of 627 Perth and Fremantle Chinese and shops.⁶⁵

Simply, the Chinese gardeners' attempt at a direct boycott had a stronger unifying effect on Chinese in Western Australia motivating them to form a united body called the Chung Wah Association.⁶⁶

2.2 Foundation

Chinese businessmen organized the Chung Wah Association but relied on the motivation and good will of the market gardeners because they were in the majority. The Association's achievement in uniting the Chinese was clearly expressed in the building of a Chinese Hall in James Street, Perth.

According to the Minutes,⁶⁷ the Chung Wah Association was established before March 1909, but the Constitution of the Association was officially registered in the Supreme Court

⁶⁴ Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p95.

⁶⁵ See *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 and 9 January 1909. Also 27 from Northam and 37 from Geraldton donated 14.09 pounds sterling. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 6 February 1909.

of Western Australia on 12 July 1910.⁶⁸ The registered address of the Association was given as 407 Murray Street, Perth. Louis Wah Louey, James Lee Wood, Kie Hang (Zhong), Yingman Tam, Sho Ten Lee, Soon Quong Paul, Ah Chew and A Sam Quan became its first trustees.⁶⁹ In fact, many meetings were held by the Association before the registered date.⁷⁰

The land required for building the Hall was registered under the name of Charles Frederick Strauss, goldfields mine manager. On 17th November 1909, the sum of 801 pounds sterling was paid by 'Ah Chew, Tam Yingman, Quan A Sam and Kie Hang'.⁷¹ Later, on 13th January 1910, the title was transferred from C. F. Strauss to 'Ah Chew and others'.⁷² (See Figure 2.1 Examples of Land Title in James Street in 1910) This transfer suggests that the Chinese men did not have trouble buying land through the Government administration. The Government presented a foundation stone for the Hall building,

⁶⁶ Rutang Xie's 'Reminiscences', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* pp96-97.

⁶⁷ *Chung Wah Association Minutes Books 1909-1925*. All information concerning the activities of the Association has come from it and called 'Minutes Books' in the following notes unless stated otherwise.

⁶⁸ Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* p241.

⁶⁹ This reference was in Atkinson, A and Yee, K. Y. 'A Brief History of the Chung Wah Association', *The Commemorative Book 1910-1995*, *op. cit.* p54.

⁷⁰ *Minutes Books*.

⁷¹ A copy example of land title is kept in the Chung Wah Association.

⁷² *Ibid.*

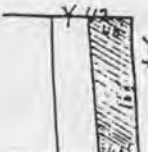
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111
1910

DARTNALL **DARTNALL**
 AUTHORITY TO CANCEL STAMPS AUTHORITY TO CANCEL STAMPS
 PERTH PERTH

No. 12 of 1895
TRANSFER OF LAND.

I, Charles Frederick Shaws of Perth
 Minne arrangements
 being registered as the proprietor of an estate in fee simple
 in the land hereinafter described subject to the encumbrances notified hereunder
 in consideration of the sum of Eight hundred and ~~twenty five~~ ^{thirty five}
 pounds of
 paid to me by Chh Choo ^{of 44 Kingman St} Quang Lam
 and Hue Hany all of Perth Business Men agree
 I do HEREBY TRANSFER to the said Chh Choo, Joseph Kingman, Quang Lam
 and Hue Hany
 all my estate and interest in ALL THAT piece of land being part of Perth
 Town Lot Y 412 as the same is delineated in the plan
 drawn in the margin hereof and colored red and being
 part of the land comprised in Certificate of
 Title Volume 3076 folio 100
 (1904)



Dated the 17th day of November
 One thousand nine hundred and nine
 Signed by the said Charles Frederick Shaws
 in the presence of me the undersigned
 witnesses of my having signed this instrument
John L. Shaws
 Signed by the said
 in the presence of

1. This is a form of land title which is subject to the provisions of the Land Transfer Act, 1895, and the Land Transfer Regulations, 1900.

2. The fee simple estate in the land is transferred to the transferee subject to the encumbrances notified hereunder.

3. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

4. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

5. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

6. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

7. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

8. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

9. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

10. The transferee shall be deemed to have accepted the land with all the encumbrances notified hereunder.

Figure 2.1 Examples of Land Title in James Street in 1910

Source: The Western Australia Land Title Office

which indicates the hostile feeling against the Chinese was cooling down in 1910 unlike that in 1904, at least by the Government.

The trustees of the Chung Wah Association hold the key to understanding the establishment of the Association and its early direction. The first president of the Chung Wah Association was Mr Louis Wah Louey. He was a merchant in Melbourne before he came to Perth and an well-educated and active man. His achievements were acknowledged by his participation in the opening ceremony of the Chinese Hall. As President of the Association for four years, he encouraged the idea of democracy and showed little interest in sectional county belief.⁷³ This was relevant to the fact that the Hall did not become a 'josshouse'⁷⁴ and that the Association was not a county group.

Another foundation member was Wood Lee who was elected Vice President of the Association in 1916. He came to Perth from Melbourne in 1892 and opened a business named 'Kuang Li' at 126 James Street, on a block adjoining that which became the headquarters of the Chung Wah Association.⁷⁵

The other trustee of the Chung Wah Association was Soong Quong Paul who arrived in Victoria in 1885. He came to Western Australia in 1895. The Reverend Soong Quong Paul was a Chinese minister from the Methodist Church. He frequently supported Chinese in spiritual matters and illness, as well as with communication and legal problems. In 1901,

⁷³ *Minutes Books.*

⁷⁴ An ancestor-worship place is called josshouse or temple. The Josshouses were found in Darwin, Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne, but not in Perth in the early days. See Sommers (1966) *op. cit.* pp43-48.

he appealed to the Prime Minister to reduce the severity of the proposed *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901. He became president of the Association between 1915 and 1917.⁷⁶

Yingman Tam arrived in Western Australia in 1898. He was a partner in the firm of Ah Kwong & Co. He was recognised in the Chinese community for his knowledge of Chinese literature. He wrote a number of plays in English that were performed in Perth and in the eastern states. He was the first secretary in the Association and became President of the Association in 1923. He was 31 when he became a trustee of the Association.⁷⁷

Most leading members of the society with the exception of Yingman were over 40 years old and 'all shopkeepers'.⁷⁸ They had migrated from Canton in the south of China. Most were small business men and had lived in Western Australia for more than fifteen years, though some of them had come from the eastern states.⁷⁹ See Table 2.2 The Trustees of the Chung Wah Association in 1910.

⁷⁵ *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia in 1931*, in the Chung Wah Association.

⁷⁶ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p83. and Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.* p254.

⁷⁷ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.* p299

⁷⁸ Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p241.

⁷⁹ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.*

Table 2.2 The Trustees of the Chung Wah Association in 1910

Name	Age	Occupation	Arrived in E.A	Arrived in W.A.
Louis Wah Louey	n/a	Merchant	Melbourne	n/a
Wood Lee	49	Merchant	Melbourne	1892
Soong Quong Paul	42	Methodist	Victoria in 1885	1895
Yingman Tam	31	Shop Assistant	-	1898
Kie Hang Chong	48	Shop Assistant	-	1886
Sho Ten Lee	46	Herbalist	-	1886
A Sam Quan	47	Merchant	-	1876
Ah Chew	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Atkinson(ed) *Asian Immigrants to Western Australia 1829-1901*

These men were responsible for the foundation of the Chung Wah Association.⁸⁰ Firstly, they were well educated men, and had social experiences in Western Australia or other States which gave them the ability to deal with the management of the Association; Secondly, as businessmen, they had the time and money for social work; Thirdly, they encouraged communication with the Chinese in Perth. Their businesses and stores provided market gardeners with gardening equipment and supplies, including carrying poles, baskets, buckets, gardening tools and seeds. They also rendered other valuable assistance to the community such as translating and interpreting services. Because of their high profiles, they were well known by their fellow Chinese. This all helped to foster a sense of community spirit, because these trustees were more sensitive to the fact that the Chinese had to be united in order to present a strong front against discrimination. The inspiration from the

⁸⁰ Ah Chew's background is hardly known as the surname Ah Chew was registered for many occupations held by Chinese in the book *Asian Immigrants to Western Australia*. Therefore it is difficult to distinguish between 'him' and other persons with this surname Ah Chew. But some evidence suggests Ah Chew was the father of Bill Chew.

gardeners' boycott movement became the main motivating factor that led to the formation of the united Association, with a group of businessmen in the forefront. Finally, most of these men stayed in the Association for long periods and some of them were elected to positions of leadership in succession. This guaranteed that the Association management was stable and was continually developing.

The foreword of the Minutes Books of the Chung Wah Association stated that the main objectives of the Association were to 'unite' the hundreds of Chinese in Western Australia, and 'keep them away from sectional county belief and selfishness'. The Association also wanted to 'maintain a common interest', and 'resist the displacement that came from stringent legislation and protect its members'.⁸¹ Every Chinese, wherever he or she came from, could join the Association, so the name of the Association was called 'Chung Wah' which means 'all Chinese'.⁸² For other reasons, this objective was later modified 'to provide a suitable place for Gentlemen of the Chinese nationality residing in Western Australia for the purpose of providing and encouraging literature and education amongst the members of the Association.'⁸³ (See Figure 2.2 Examples of *Minutes Book: Foreword to Minutes Book April 1909 and Association's Regulations*).

The need to unite all Chinese in Western Australia was emphasized by the 'Rules and Regulations' of the Association.⁸⁴ The rules pointed to the fact that when there was no

⁸¹ 'A foreword to Minutes Book in Minutes Books', also in *75 Chung Wah Association 1910-1985, op. cit.* pp52-3.

⁸² *The Commemorative Book 1910-1985, op. cit.* p52.

⁸³ Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p 241.

⁸⁴ 'A foreword to Minutes Book in Minutes Books'.

association, the Chinese living in Western Australia were like 'scattered sand'. The Association's aim was to unite everyone outside and make everyone 'equal' inside. The Association proposed to do its 'utmost to investigate and examine cases where members were bullied or ill-treated.'⁸⁵ Once a year the Association members would elect its leadership and publish its accounts.⁸⁶ Later, they were asked to pay a subscription fee of 7d⁸⁷ and any member leaving the State was required to contribute one pound for the Association.⁸⁸

The third meeting of the Association, held on 18th May 1909 and attended by about 50 people, was the first to be recorded in the *Minutes Books*.⁸⁹ Several months later, on 8th August, the question of buying land and building a Hall was discussed.⁹⁰ This proposal was supported by the members, with an allocated budget for the construction of the Hall estimated at 1,500 pounds sterling.⁹¹ The amount was collected from all the Chinese gardens and factories in the metropolitan area by the elected members.⁹²

Hall Building

After the Association was formed, one of its first important activities was probably to welcome the first Chinese Consul-General Mr Lanxun Liang (Lan Hsun Liang). Mr Liang

⁸⁵ 'Rules and Regulations' in *Minutes Books*.

⁸⁶ 'A foreword to Minutes Book' in *Minutes Books*, also in *75 Chung Wah Association 1910-1985. op. cit.* p52.

⁸⁷ 29 March 1909 in *Minutes Books* (18 May 1909) Before 19 April 1914, the *Minutes* used the Chinese calendar. So I kept original date in *Minutes* first and put quotation marks later, like (13 September 1909). Or I had changed it to become Western calendar in the context and did not put quotation marks in Notes again. Atkinson and Yee mentioned 7/6d, Atkinson and Yee, *op. cit.* p54.

⁸⁸ 29 July 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

⁸⁹ 29th March 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

⁹⁰ 23 June 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

whose ship came via Fremantle stayed a while in Perth before going to Melbourne and starting his official duties. Welcomed by Perth Chinese on 17 March 1909, his mission was to promote trade between China and Australia.⁹³ The establishment of a Chinese Consulate-General in Melbourne after years of petitions was greeted with much excitement.⁹⁴ In July, Mr Liang made his formal visit to Perth.⁹⁵ *The West Australian* reported that when the Consul (Mr Liang) visited the State and found that the Chinese residents had no common meeting place, he advised them to build a Hall (this is however not mentioned in the *Minutes Books*).⁹⁶ Most of the meetings of the Association were held at a shop called Youg Shen Hao in Murray Street, Perth, before the Hall was completed.⁹⁷

Building completion of the Chinese Hall took eighteen months and was a major achievement for the Chung Wah Association. The foundation stone of the building was laid at 128 James Street, Perth on Wednesday, 12th October 1910 by the Lieut-Governor Sir Edward Stone. Lady Stone, the Rev. A. S. C. James and Mrs James, Mr Clifton Penny, President of the Association Mr L. W. Louey and the secretary Mr S. Quong Paul attended the ceremony. Mr Walter James, K.C. and Mr Brown, M.L.A who had accepted the

⁹¹ 14 August 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

⁹² 21 and 29 July and 14 August and 16 September 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

⁹³ *The Tung Wah Times*, 10 April 1909.

⁹⁴ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p22.

⁹⁵ *Minutes Book* mentioned the Association was to prepare for Mr Liang's visit and renting a hotel. See 17 May 1909 and 19 May 1909 in *Minutes Books*. The evidence did not support Atkinson's statement about 'the Chinese Consul-General paid his first visit to Western Australia in March 1912'. See Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p242.

⁹⁶ *Minutes Book*.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

invitation sent letters of apology. The Consul-General for China sent a telegram wishing the Association success.⁹⁸

The President of the Association, Mr Louey, emphasised that the Hall was a building that served as a meeting place for the Chung Wah Association members and for fellow countrymen visiting this state. It was also to be a common centre for the social enjoyment and educational improvement of those connected with the Association. 'Unlawful games were strictly to be prohibited in the building'. Mr Louey also stated that the Hall project was suggested by the Chinese Consul and carried out by an energetic committee organized by the Association. The whole project of building the Hall took eighteen months.⁹⁹

Foundation stone

When the foundation stone of the Hall was laid, Sir Edward Stone, the Rev. A.S.C. James and Mr Clifton Penny in their speeches referred to the Chinese in this state as 'respected', 'honorable businessmen' and law-abiding men. They hoped that the Chinese 'would make the greatest use of the Association and of the Hall in which they would have a library containing newspapers and other literature from various parts of the world, and in which they would be instructed in the English tongue'. It was also mentioned that the Hall had been paid for entirely by the Chinese themselves asking no one else for subscriptions.¹⁰⁰ (See Figure 2.3 Sir Edward Stone laying foundation stone for the Chinese Hall in James Street in 1910).

⁹⁸ *The West Australian*, 15 October 1910.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

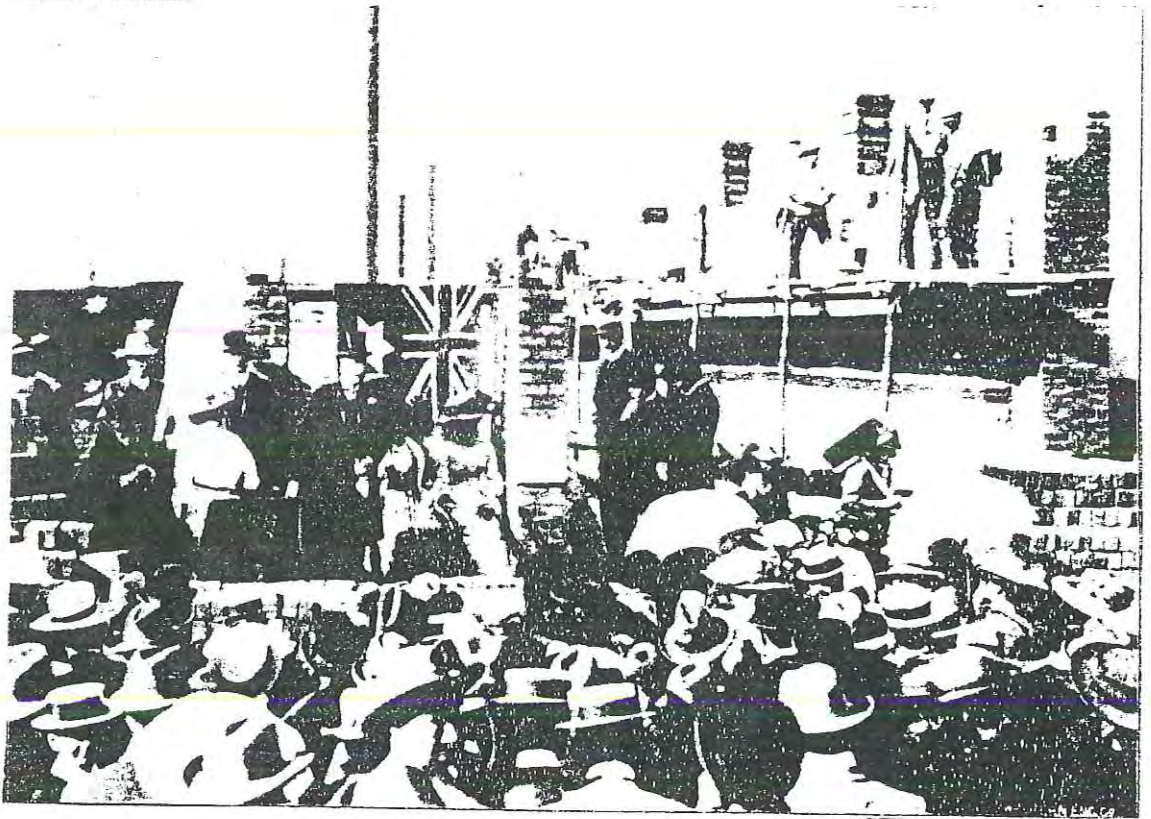


Figure 2.3 Sir Edward Stone Laying Foundation Stone of the Chinese Hall

Source: The Chung Wah Association

Interestingly, Sir Edward Stone made it clear that he had let some of his South Perth land to the Chinese since 1881. He had never had a single difficulty with any of his tenants. It indicated that by 1910 some wealthy Western Australians were quite happy to rent land to the Chinese. Sir Walter James MLA who in the 1890s contended that any exclusion of the Chinese would not be imposed till the members of parliament themselves experienced occupation by the Chinese in their own areas.¹⁰¹ Therefore, it was easier for members of Parliament to be more supportive of the needs of Chinese people than it would be for any other citizens. This can also be seen from some events in other States in 1910, such as the opening of a Chinese restaurant in Melbourne some months earlier by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Batchelor and Dr Maloney, MP where some Chinese in Eastern Australia enjoyed quite favourable conditions.¹⁰²

Often government policy in relation to the Chinese population was made without reference to clearly defined guidelines. In Western Australia, the Government understood that the position of Western Australia and the vastness of its territory meant that a larger population was required. This larger population could include the Chinese; however, at the same time, the Government of Western Australia was worried that the Chinese would eventually dominate the population. The lack of clearly defined Government policy reflected the dilemma. The Government was on the one hand naturally involved in the principle of White Australia while at the same time attempting to uphold a semblance of humanity and racial tolerance.¹⁰³ This is a reason why the Chinese Hall was permitted by

¹⁰¹ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* pp70-75.

¹⁰² *Sunday Times*, 31 July 1910.

¹⁰³ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p26.

the Government in 1910, even to the extent of allowing the Chinese to hold the land title. Chinese men clearly seemed to know the situation, one man saying in the newspaper that the Chinese were often victims of politicians who wanted to get votes in an effort to secure a majority.¹⁰⁴

Location

It was clear that the building of the Chinese Hall became a symbol of unification for the Chinese. Considering that the location was chosen in James Street, the emphasis of unifying the Chinese was more obvious. According to Atkinson's survey, 'Murray Street was the Chinese commercial centre as it contained import/export and wholesale trade outlets. James Street was the social centre for the Chinese community containing restaurants, herbalists and shops catering to a Chinese clientele.'¹⁰⁵ (See Figure 2.4 Map of the Perth metropolitan area and Figure 2.5 The Chung Wah Hall Building and James Street. c1920.)

Rather than being in the central city as Murray Street was, James Street was separated from it, cut off by the railway. Although it was 'not a nice locality',¹⁰⁶ it was convenient. Many Chinese lived in rented, shared accommodation, or lived in workrooms as was the habit of the Chinese residents at the time.¹⁰⁷ According to its population and its business

¹⁰⁴ This opinion probably appeared in Australian newspaper, see *The Tung Wah Times*, 13 June 1908.

¹⁰⁵ Atkinson (1984), *op. cit.* p46.

¹⁰⁶ Stannage (1979) *The People of Perth - A social history of Western Australia's Capital City*. Perth: The Perth City Council, p244.

¹⁰⁷ Atkinson (1984), *op. cit.*



Figure 2.4 Map of the Perth Metropolitan area
Note: Star (★): The Chung Wah Association Hall
Shaded area (■■■■): Central Perth

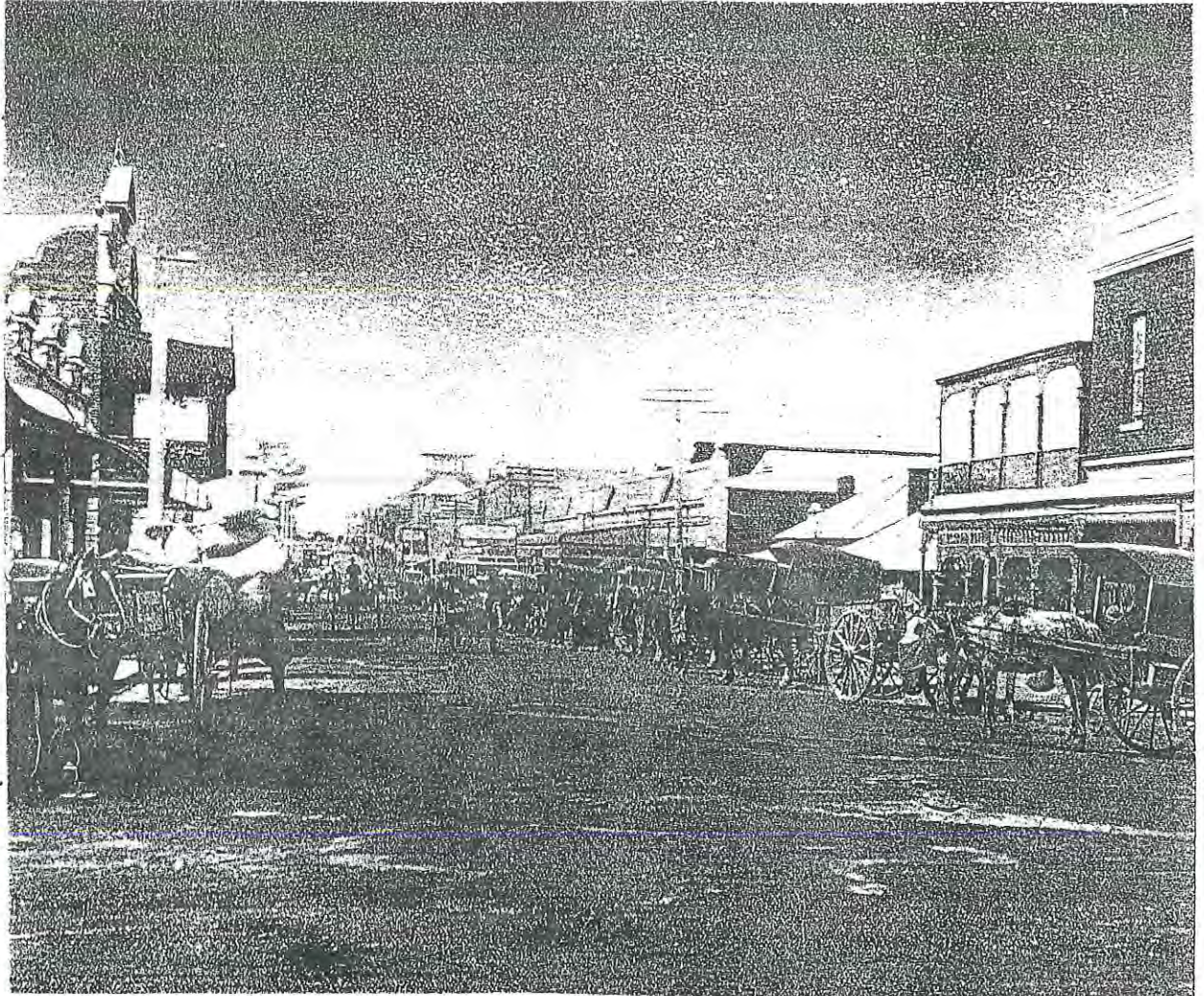


Figure 2.5 The Chung Wah Hall Building and James Street, c.1920

Source: Tom Austen: *The Streets of old Perth*

status, James street was informally referred to as 'China town'.¹⁰⁸

At that time, on the opposite side of the street to the Hall, was a big produce market where Chinese often came and delivered their goods. The Hall was convenient for them. Its presence helped Chinese business development in the area, as can be seen by the fact that later on many Chinese shops and businesses were established in James Street.¹⁰⁹

Another reason for the Association selecting James Street was that the location was not in the privileged central business section of Perth city. Therefore, land for the building of the Hall was easily granted because this would not cause controversy within the general community.¹¹⁰

The building had an imposing frontage to James Street, and contained two large shops that were for renting on the ground floor, a spacious and well furnished hall, a committee-room, two large kitchens and a special kitchen for festival days and other appointments on the first floor.¹¹¹ The design of the two storeyed building reflected those politic Chinese men's business thinking. The Chinese desire to negotiate and be accepted by the host community is reflected in their choice of European architecture for their building.

¹⁰⁸ The elder men (usually called 'Ah Bo') always called James Street 'China Town' to the young Chinese generation. Interview with Doug Sue, Ken Sue and John Keen Fong.

¹⁰⁹ According to Atkinson's map, there were 5 shops, 2 herbalists, 2 restaurants, 3 furniture factories, 3 grocers and fruiterers, one laundry and 5 residential houses in James Street in 1912. Atkinson (1984), *op. cit.* p157.

¹¹⁰ Ryan (1995) *op.cit.* p70.

When the news of the Chung Wah Hall reached Sydney, *The Tung Wah Times* claimed that this signified that Chinese in Western Australia were strongly united. The reporter felt it was a pity that there was no such building in Sydney where there was a bigger Chinese population and more Chinese owned businesses than in Perth. The author asked Sydney-based Chinese to unite each small society into one like the Perth Chung Wah Association. The building of the Hall in Perth provided a model for all Chinese communities in Australia.¹¹² In February 1911, the Chinese consulate published an official notice and asked for the Chinese in each state to set up their unification Association, upholding the Chung Wah Association as an example.¹¹³

The building of the Chinese Hall was a visible mark of unity of the Chinese community. Although the establishment of the Association had been registered before the Hall was built, the Association chose to use the date that the Hall was opened as its birthday. This seems to have been a wise decision because it not only reflected the Chinese' desires, but also reflected the Western Australian Government and people's support - a historical balance. In a very real sense, the Hall is the Association because the Hall ensured the continuation of the Association.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *The West Australian*, 15 October 1910.

¹¹² *The Tung Wah Times*, 5 November 1910.

¹¹³ The notice was published in *The Tung Wah Times*, 11 March 1911.

2.3 Activities

When examining the early history of the Chung Wah Association, it is obvious that the Association played an important role in the process of uniting all Chinese in Western Australia. Specifically, the objectives of the Association were 1) to protect the common interests of Chinese; 2) to ensure the unification of Chinese; 3) to take care of social activities; and 4) to keep liaison with the Chinese in the eastern states and China as well as participation in local events.

Common interests

Regarding the protection of the common interests of the Chinese, the Association tried hard to do its best after the year 1909. The Association provided a welfare service to its members and other Chinese in Western Australia. In May 1911, the Association decided each member who was old or sick was to be given 4 pounds sterling when they asked for financial help in order to return to China.¹¹⁵ A few days later, it was agreed that the money was to be given to everyone, whether they were members or not.¹¹⁶ In 1921 this travel allowance was reduced to one pound because the Association was short of funds.¹¹⁷

On several occasions the Association defended the interests of the Chinese in Western Australia. During the periods 1909-1925 it was recorded in the Minutes Book that several Chinese had been killed or had been sent to court. For example, in October 1912, the

¹¹⁴ *Commemorative Book 1910-1985. op. cit.*

¹¹⁵ 9 April 1911 in *Minutes Books*.

¹¹⁶ 22 April 1911 in *Minutes Books*.

members of the Association discussed the case of a Chinese man who was killed. It was agreed that the Association pay a lawyer to investigate the incident.¹¹⁸

In February 1919, the Association was concerned with another instance of a Chinese man named Kuang, who was accused of having killed an European 'by mistaken use of a gun'.¹¹⁹ Members of the Association considered this matter important to the Chinese in Perth because it related to the reputation of the Chinese community. The Association collected money to pay a defence lawyer to represent Kuang in court. In May 1922, as Kuang had decided to return to China after his release from jail, the Association paid him some of the money that it still held from the sum that had been donated but not spent on his court case.¹²⁰

The Association also treated others as equals. For example, in September 1919, a Chinese man was killed by a Western Australian. The Association members discussed the case and decided to collect money in order to be able to lodge the case before a court.¹²¹ Knowing the killer was a respected soldier and had been sentenced to jail instead of execution, members of the Association decided to take no more action against the killer on the grounds of humanity.¹²²

¹¹⁷ 11 September 1921 in *Minutes Books*.

¹¹⁸ 18 September 1912 in *Minutes Books*. (date 27 October 1912)

¹¹⁹ 21 February 1919 in *Minutes Books*.

¹²⁰ 21 May 1922 in *Minutes Books*.

¹²¹ 10 September 1919 in *Minutes Books*.

¹²² 20 October 1919 in *Minutes Books*.

Because of the strong stance taken by the Association, the Chinese in Western Australia and indeed overseas Chinese turned to the Association for help. In April 1921, two Chinese sailors who worked on a Japanese ship were injured by Japanese while the ship was in Western Australia. The Association donated money and asked a lawyer to defend them in court. After that, the injured Chinese were given compensation and happily returned to Singapore.¹²³

The Chung Wah Association joined the Chinese in the eastern states to work for common causes, such as the relaxation of the Immigration Restriction Act. In 1918, the Commonwealth Chinese Community's Representative Committee was founded by leading Chinese merchants in Sydney. The aim of the Committee was to fight for modification of the Immigration Restriction Act.¹²⁴ The Chung Wah Association was responsive to the call from the Committee in Sydney and appointed Mr Wangda Lei as a delegate to the interstate convention in Melbourne on 5th November 1918.¹²⁵ The delegates representing the six States asked the Australian Government to change the harsh legislation. They wanted wives of resident Chinese in Australia to be allowed to come and stay in Australia for a period of ten years. They also wanted relatives of Chinese residents to come to Australia to take over businesses left by Chinese proprietors. They hoped the Australian Government would allow 'five classes of Chinese' to enter Australia. As a result, some concessions were granted.

¹²³ 10 April 1921 in *Minutes Books*.

¹²⁴ Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p28.

¹²⁵ It was mentioned 15 August, 24 October 1918 in *Minutes Books*.

This included the ability for merchants to bring their wives, and children who were under 16 years of age, when entering Australia.¹²⁶

In response to the harsh legislation instigated by the State Government, the Association was fighting for equal rights. In 1920, The Factory and Shops Bill that was settled to replace the *Factories Act 1904* planned to limit the hours that Chinese were able to operate small shops and close opportunities for participating in one area of retail trading.¹²⁷ In November 1920, the Association had a meeting and nearly 60 members discussed this restriction. They thought the Bill was 'secretly plotting against Chinese people's interests and rights' and was 'unreasonable and unfair'.¹²⁸ They agreed to employ a lawyer and fund a legal battle to defend the rights of Chinese people in Western Australia.¹²⁹

Just a week later, a meeting reported that a petition that begged for leniency - in Chinese terms 'Qiuqing' had been sent to Members of Parliament by ministers of religion.¹³⁰ The Chinese were 'hopeful' about the result of their efforts but they were again deeply disappointed. The Factories and Shops Act was assented to on 31 December 1920, although the members of Parliament had read two petitions - one was submitted under the name of the Chung Wah Association and containing 80 signatures, another was from 'various Chinese laundry men' containing 27 signatures.¹³¹ There is no record to say

¹²⁶ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* pp128-130.

¹²⁷ See Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* pp244-245.

¹²⁸ 7 September 1920 in *Minutes Books*. Also see Atkinson(1991), *op. cit.* p245

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ 14 November 1920 in *Minutes Books*.

¹³¹ *Western Australian Parliamentary Debates*, 23 November 1920. p1771. See Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* p245.

whether the Chinese appealed against the Act, but they were wholeheartedly involved in the Chinese nationalist movement in 1921.¹³² They hoped that their status of being 'politically and socially powerless in their dealings with the Australian Government' would be changed when their motherland China became a stronger united nationalist country.¹³³

Unification

Because it seemed to be protecting Chinese interests, the Association was welcomed by all Chinese in Western Australia. To the wider community, the Association had been condemned as a 'shield' for protecting the Chinese by several Australian newspapers¹³⁴. However, the Association only gave legal or financial assistance to the Chinese. No illegal assistance was reported as being given by the Association and this has been the case since it was established in 1909. Thus, the Association was developing healthily and became a necessary organization for many Chinese in Western Australia after its foundation.

The character of unity in the Association was not only represented by its name of 'Chung Wah', but also by its beliefs. Before the Hall was built, members of the Association had decided that ancestral tablets and regional statues were not to be placed in the Hall.¹³⁵ Later, they decided that the four Chinese characters of 'Qun Xian Bi Ji' (the meaning is

¹³² See next Chapter.

¹³³ Atkinson pointed out that defeated by the lack of response to their petition, reasons for that were Chinese men's realisation and the rise of nationalism. See Atkinson(1991) *op. cit.* p246. A more relevant fact is that it was a matter with factories and shops rather than market gardens. The Union movement created a free and equal social environment, but business men, such as Chinese business men did not like it. This is worth a special section to deal with, because it is important to understand how economical development needs free and equal conditions which have not been established in today's China so far.

¹³⁴ 19 July 1922 in *Minutes Books*.

¹³⁵ 21 July 1909 in *Minutes Books*.

'everyone together whoever you are') should hang in the middle of the Hall.¹³⁶ The building was registered as an Association instead of in a single person's name.¹³⁷ All this expressed democracy and unity among the Chinese, but more importantly, it meant the Association cut through 'county lines' because each county in China, even in other Australian states had their different ancestral tablets and Halls.

Perhaps, because there were too few people living in Western Australia, a fighting incident that occurred between two groups of county men in Perth in 1918, caused much concern in Sydney and Melbourne. The newspaper accused the Perth Chinese of disunity and 'killing each other' - in the Chinese terms 'Zixiang Cansha'.¹³⁸ Indeed, during 1917 and 1918, the Minutes Book recorded some unpleasant events such as arguing and fighting in the Association.¹³⁹ However, no more unpleasant events or fighting appeared in the records, indicating perhaps that the leadership of the Association was ensured.

The Association had regular meetings, usually once a month on a Sunday night. Eighty people came to the first meeting held at the Chinese Hall in April 1911.¹⁴⁰ Each meeting probably attracted between 40 and 60 members. It was also common for the Chinese to come together in special circumstances. When there was special news or important events were happening in Australia or China, more members attended the meeting. For example, when the first Chinese consul, Mr Liang, addressed the members in

¹³⁶ 24 November 1910 in *Minutes Books*.

¹³⁷ It had been mentioned two times - 6 December 1909 and 11 February 1910 in *Minutes Books*.

¹³⁸ *The Chinese Republic News*, 2 March and 13 April 1918.

¹³⁹ 29 April 1917 in *Minutes Books*. It record more than two hundred chairs were broken in a fighting. 9 January 1918 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁴⁰ 2 April 1911 in *Minutes Books*. (30 April 1911)

July 1909, over a hundred people were present.¹⁴¹ At annual elections regarding leadership positions, the members numbered hundreds: the highest recorded were 215 in May 1915 and 360 in April 1918.¹⁴²

The members of the Association felt free to attend each meeting as they were not compulsory. From this point of view, the Association was not a strongly disciplined organization. The large attendance was indicative of the interest in the Association especially given that there were only 700-800 Chinese in the Perth and Fremantle areas.

On an official level, the Chung Wah Association acted as 'mediator' between individual Chinese and government bodies. The Association dealt with proposed letters that were sent to the Government and other bodies such as charitable organizations. The Chung Wah Association was directly connected to the Chinese societies and other associations in the Eastern States. The Association passed letters or news to the Chinese in Perth. Most important matters were discussed by the members before making a decision.

The Association persisted in its principled stand and defended its reputation while protecting the common interests of Chinese. For example, on 16 July 1921, members of the Association discussed how to deal with a request from the union movement, asking the Association to stop two Chinese men who were found working in a white Australian hotel. The members believed this was not the duty of the Association. They could not use their power to interfere with personal freedom. However, considering the request, they agreed

¹⁴¹ 3 June 1909 in *Minutes Books*. (19 July 1909)

that it was better to use personal influence instead of the name of the Association to persuade these two Chinese to leave their jobs. However, it was really up to the individuals concerned as to whether they remained in their employment or not.¹⁴³

The office bearers in the Association were financially assisted. In April 1911, members of the General Meeting agreed that the Association President was to be paid 12 pounds sterling, and the Secretary and Officers were to be paid 10 pounds each year.¹⁴⁴ After 1922, members questioned whether or not the President and Vice President should in fact receive remuneration.¹⁴⁵ This fee-paying system ensured that official members of the Association took responsibility for the Association.

On another official level, the Association acted as an agency of immigration. In August 1910, it announced that any person who wanted to go to China could get the travel application form from the Secretary's office of the Association.¹⁴⁶

The Association was a social organisation although it seemed to perform a similar official role in relation to the trading community. In March 1913, regarding a request from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Sydney, members of the Association agreed to change the name of 'Chung Wah Association' to 'Perth Chinese Chamber of

¹⁴² 9 May 1915 and 28 April 1918 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁴³ 16 July 1921 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁴⁴ 2 April 1911 in *Minutes Books*. (30 April 1911)

¹⁴⁵ 19 March 1921 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁴⁶ 24 July 1910 in *Minutes Books*. (28 August 1910) It mentioned a charge of 2 pounds sterling was for the Association. A meeting record after 30 April 1916 in *Minutes Books*.

Commerce'.¹⁴⁷ However, while passively acknowledging this name, the Association continued to retain its title the 'Chung Wah Association'. After that, only one example of the Association's commercial role which can be found in the Minutes Book was that the Chinese met to discuss how to distribute an amount of tea among the retail shops in Perth in October 1917. This tea was imported from China by a Sydney-based business.¹⁴⁸

Nevertheless, there was little commercial activity in the Association after the name was changed, not even a mentioning of the 'name' again in meetings. On the other hand, although some commercial matters were discussed, these were of benefit to the organization itself. For instance, there were many discussions about how much rent was to be charged for the two shops on the ground floor of the Hall.¹⁴⁹ On another occasion, Chinese could obtain travel tickets from the Association as it had an agreement with a shipping company to that effect. If the Association helped the shipping company to sell the tickets, then the shipping company paid a commission to the Association on the basis of one pound per passenger.¹⁵⁰

The Association was predominantly a social organisation and not a commercial body. This was related to the fact that the majority of members were market gardeners. As

¹⁴⁷ 20 February 1913 in *Minutes Books*. (27 March 1913). Atkinson in her doctoral thesis made a paragraph about 'the Chinese Chamber of Commerce' (pp243-47), but she did not give strong evidence to support it. She knew the fact, that the Western Australian Chinese Chamber of Commerce did not maintain strong links with the Eastern States and she questioned whether Chamber took over from the Association or whether the Association remained. It is worth discussing. The main mistake was that she had a wrongly translated version of Chinese in the *Minutes Books*. See Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* footnote 102 and 104. pp243-44. The Association's debate was recorded on 25 March 1917. In this record, the meeting was called from the business men (Shangjia), but it was an Association meeting. No Chinese words proved it was a 'Commerce's meeting.

¹⁴⁸ 18 (?) October 1917 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁴⁹ 6 June 1909 (22 July 1909) and 30 April 1921 in *Minutes Books*.

previously analysed cases suggests the Association retained the other name of 'Chamber of Commerce' as required by the Sydney Commerce body, but did nothing about the commercial situation because although shopkeepers were important members in the Association, they could not disregard the majority's interests.

The Association concerned itself with fund-raising for charity. Organizations which benefited included Royal Perth Hospital, Red Cross Society, Children's Hospital, the Home of Peace and orphanages. The Association members thought it their duty to donate some money even when they were in a difficult situation. In 1917, the Association organized business activities and supported the donation of money to the Australian Army in World War One.¹⁵¹ A random selection of donations in the Association that was recorded in the Minutes Books suggests that Chinese in Western Australia were generous contributors. See Table 2.3 A Selection of Donations in the Association in 1909-1925.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ 24 July 1910 in *Minutes Books*. (28 August 1910).

¹⁵¹ 7 November 1918 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁵² Atkinson questioned Yong's figure of 1900 pounds sterling in 1912 and said no record of this amount was reported. The *Minutes Books* proved her comments were wrong. See Atkinson (1991) *op. cit.* footnote 94, p242.

Table 2.3 A Selection of Donations in the Association in 1909-1925

Date	Amounts(pounds)	For
20 May 1910	20	Hospital
15 Sep 1911	500	Revolutionary Army
20 Oct 1911	700	Revolutionary Army
18 Mar 1912	21	Consul Liang's traveling
12 Oct 1912	1600	Revolutionary Army
4 Jan 1913	378	Revolutionary Army
12 Jun 1918	5	Youth Club
29 Sep 1919	210	Canton flood
10 Oct 1920	136	Shandong and Henan
14 May 1922	32	Hospital in Perth
25 Aug 1924	30	Canton flood
15 Aug 1925	150	Shanghai Workers
Total	3782	

Source: The Chung Wah Association Minutes Books 1909-1925. The date before 19 April 1914 were recorded by Chinese calendar.

The figure does not include more than 2,000 pounds for the Hall building and 520 pounds that were donated by those persons leaving the State for China.

The Chung Wah Association was also concerned with the economic and political events in mainland China, and a political body called the Chinese Nationalist Party was founded which will be discussed in the next Chapter. The reason that the Chinese in Western Australia concerned themselves with China's affairs was partly, that they had traditionally strong personal ties with China, and also because their generally hostile social environment encouraged them to look back to their homeland.¹⁵³ In 1911, when Sun's revolution succeeded in China, the Association collected 1,200 pounds sterling for the revolutionary army, and organized a night boat trip on the Swan River as a celebration.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p116.

¹⁵⁴ 8 January 1912 in *Minutes Books*. The Date of a night boat trip was reported to be 27 February 1912.

Later, the sums of 1,600 pounds sterling in October 1912 and 378 pounds sterling in January 1913 were sent to the revolutionary army.¹⁵⁵

The Association demonstrated its concern over natural disasters in China. For instance, in September 1919, members donated 210 pounds sterling to the people in the flooded areas of Canton.¹⁵⁶ In October 1920, the Association sent 136 pounds sterling to a hospital in China to help people in the drought areas of Shandong and Henan in the north of China.¹⁵⁷

The Association's meetings covered a wide range of subjects. In order to 'encourage literature and education amongst the members of the Association', a plan for a library was discussed in April 1911.¹⁵⁸ Some books, newspapers and a banner were ordered from China and Hong Kong. On 30th April 1916, members of the Association agreed that the Association invite members to a lecture on international affairs on Sunday nights and opened its library in the Hall.¹⁵⁹ A large red silk banner (27' long and 4.5' wide) that was used by the Association in parades in St George's Terrace in 1917 and later to celebrate the end of World War One in 1918 remains a heritage treasure today.¹⁶⁰ (See Figure 2.6

The Banner and the Chinese Performing Arts Group. c.1930)

¹⁵⁵ 15 September and 20 October 1911 in *Minutes Books*. (5 November and 10 December 1911)

¹⁵⁶ 29 September 1919 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁵⁷ 10 October 1920 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁵⁸ 22 April 1911 in *Minutes Books*. (21 May 1911)

¹⁵⁹ 30 April 1916 in *Minutes Books*.

¹⁶⁰ The banner is kept in the Chung Wah Association. Kaylene Poon and her historical group try to gain funding to repair the banner.

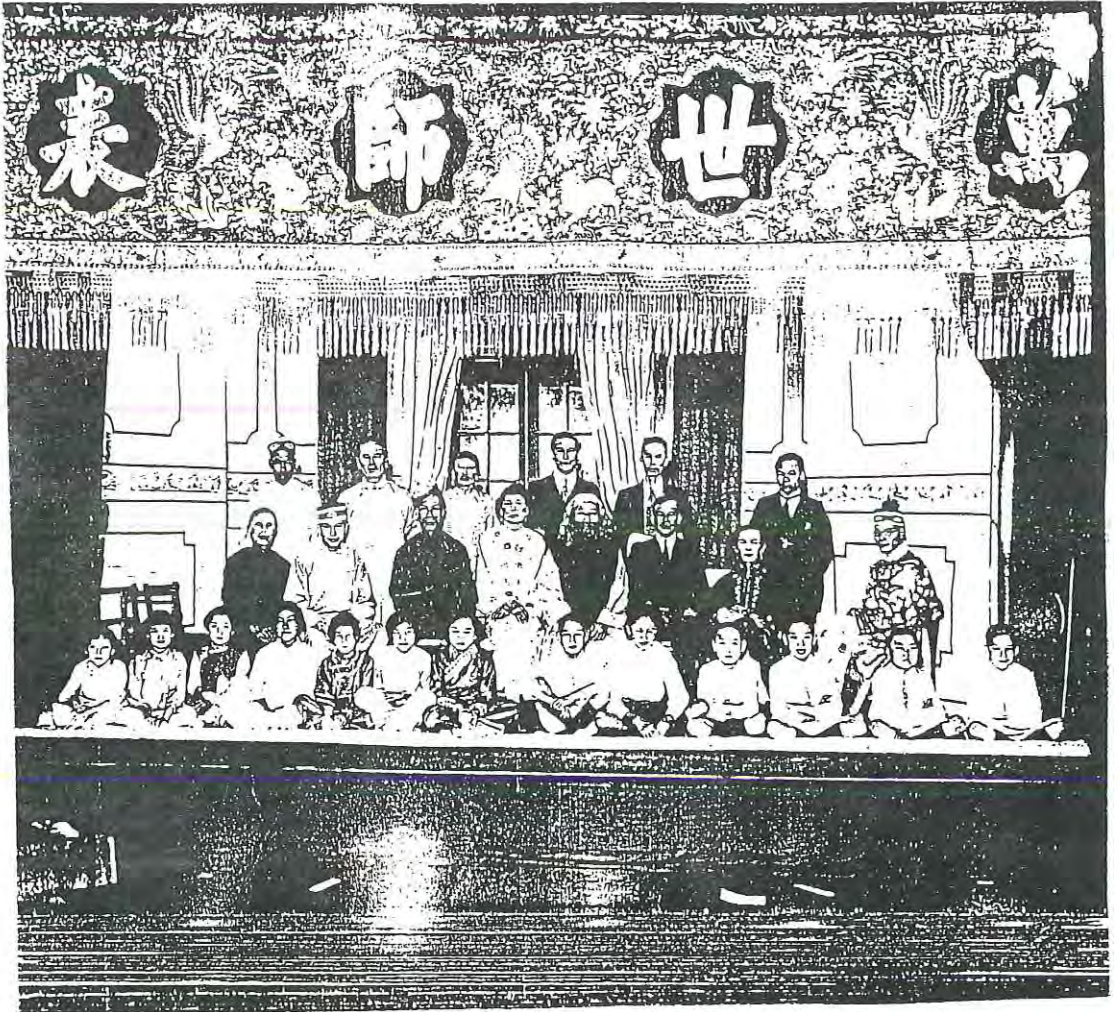


Figure 2.6 The Banner and the Chinese Performing Arts Group, c.1930

Source: Battye Library: 8292B / 970-1

On 26th April 1925, the President of the Association Mr Qizhen Zhong (Kim Chong) announced at the General Meeting that the Association had bought out the land title for the Chinese Hall. In order to obtain the land title, the Association had requested help from all its members, especially those who had left Western Australia. The Association asked each Chinese who was returning to China to donate 10 shillings at least and the sum of money collected amounted to 520 pounds sterling. Apparently, these Chinese and others felt strongly about the Association and were happy to donate money. Also the sum collected contained the message that hundreds of Chinese had left Australia in the years 1924-1925. The building of the Hall cost over 2000 pounds. In 1923, there was a rumour about selling the building but this never came true.¹⁶¹ Indeed, "the building was made out of the Chinese pioneers' 'blood and sweat' money. It should not be taken for granted." as a Chinese descendant said.¹⁶²

As soon as the Hall became operational, the two shops on the ground floor were rented out to provide revenue for the Association. In 1922, the Hall was rented to Kuomintang (Nationalist Party).¹⁶³ Although the Association membership declined as it faced more difficult circumstances, the Association kept its activities alive.

¹⁶¹ 25 March 1923 *Minutes Books*.

¹⁶² Interview with John Kee Fong, 30 April 1997.

¹⁶³ 7 May 1922 in *Minutes Books*.

Summary

In this analysis of the origins of Western Australia's Chung Wah Association the beginning point was that the establishment of the Association was a response by Chinese who were classified as aliens and non-British subjects. The Commonwealth *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901 and Western Australia's *Factories Act* of 1904 made the Chinese residents feel they were increasingly discriminated against. They demanded their right to equality and freedom in Australian society even though they could not be naturalised. When emotional actions became heated both in Unions and the Chinese community, the Perth Chinese organised its first unified social body called the Chung Wah Association which stood to protect the Chinese from discrimination and struggled for civil rights.

The Chinese Hall, constructed in James Street, Perth in 1910, was a considerable achievement by the Association and those Chinese who had no intention to stay permanently, but who supported the project. Clearly it shows the early Chinese men's commitment to Australia and their expectations for the future generations of Chinese in Western Australia. The Hall became a symbol of Chinese unity in Western Australia. As a Chinese descendant said 'the Association (Hall) was looked upon as a substitute family to care for and look after all Chinese.' ¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Kaylene Poon, *Dalkeith Rotary Presentation*, 26 May 1997.

Chapter 3

The Chinese Nationalist Party in the 1920s

The overseas Chinese had no apparent interest in local political actions, but they were often emotionally committed to the political activities in their homeland, especially if the event was related to their interests or they were in an unstable situation.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chinese in Australia were in a dilemma, not only because they were discriminated against by the 'White Australia Policy', and they were unable to obtain citizen's rights even when they made protestations and petitions for it, but also because they were reluctant to return to China where there was chaos. They simply thought of themselves as being bullied by 'White' people as their country was weak and divided. As demonstrated in the following chapter they hoped their country would become united and stronger. Their patriotism first met the need of a monarchical movement led by Kang (Youwei) and Liang (Qichao). Later, they turned to Sun (Yet Sen)'s republican movement, and committed themselves to war efforts for fighting against the Japanese.

The establishment of the Chinese Nationalist Party was reflected in a kind of patriotic emotion by the Chinese community in Perth, and at the same time reflected

Chinese migrants' interests in Australia: they desired rights to live in Australia. One of the reasons for Chinese patriotism to Nationalist China was that Chinese were treated as non-citizens in Australia. They had to look for other ways to identify themselves if they wanted to survive. Therefore, Chinese political movements in Australia promoted their racial identity and cultural rights but reduced the demand for Australian citizenship among Chinese in Australia. This chapter examines Chinese responses to community and identity as well as the consciousness of the Perth Chinese political movements.

3.1 The Reform Movement in 1900

Background

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Chinese community was one of the fastest growing and developing minorities in Western Australia. It also served Western Australia well. In 1892-93, a succession of gold discoveries made Western Australia move forward at a remarkable speed. Thousands of gold seekers came to the so-called isolated colony and began to look for new opportunities.¹ The Chinese were no exception. Most of the new arrivals came from the eastern colonies. This changed the configuration of the Chinese community. The number of Chinese had increased tenfold, from 145 in 1881 to

¹ Crowley, F. K. and Garis, B. K. de (1974) *A Short History of Western Australia*, South Melbourne: Macmillan, pp36-37.

1521 in 1901 despite discriminatory legislation.² These figures were higher than average compared to other population groups in Western Australia.³

Unlike eastern Australia, Chinese men in the west were banned from the gold fields by the Government imposed regulations. The Government learned that the Chinese presence might lead to public disturbances as experienced in the eastern colonies. However, these men found other jobs to serve the economical development. They lived around the mining areas and the city, and constituted a self-supply and self-serving Chinese community. In 1900, a Chinese shop named Hua Li (Warley) was found to be one of the three biggest shops in Fremantle.⁴ Perth and Fremantle became central locations for Chinese activities.

Communications were enhanced as people moved from state to state and interstate trading developed. In Sydney in 1894, the first Chinese newspaper '*The Chinese Australian Herald*' was published. Four years later, another paper '*Tung Wah News*' was put into circulation in Sydney. These newspapers provided some basic information about China and Australia to local Chinese, and benefitted the Chinese communities.⁵

Compared to the peaceful Australian economic movement, there were troubles and chaos in China. In the 1840s, China's door was forced to open. Arrogant Qing rulers became inflexible and weak while they were unable to deal with internal and external

² Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p22.

³ The number of people in Western Australia had increased six times, from 30,013 in 1881 to 194,889 in 1901, see Fraser, Malcolm A. C. (1904) *Western Australian Year Book for 1900-1903.* p6.

⁴ *The Tung Wah News*, 21 November 1900. in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p150.

⁵ The types of Chinese newspapers represent certain groups of the Chinese in Australia.

affairs. In the 1870s and 1880s, the so-called Self-Strengthening Movement led by the Qing government was to introduce Western industry and communications into China.⁶ China's defeat by Japan in 1895 exposed the limitations of the movement.⁷ As a result, the need for more extensive reform was urged by scholars, officials and even Emperors.

Kang's reform

A 'radical force' that was led by thinker-idealist Youwei Kang advocated a drastic institutional change in China to ensure the survival of the nation. This group came close to power in the summer of 1898 and opposed the conservative reform that was instituted ten years earlier and was based on a limited adoption of Western methods to supplement the basic Chinese structure. Emperor Xu Guang (1875-1908) supported Kang's reform plans and carried out the reformer's policies. Empress Dowager Xi Ci feared losing her power and staged a coup which put an end to the Hundred Days of Reform (From 11th June to 21st September).⁸

As the Reform Movement collapsed in Beijing in 1898, Emperor Guang was placed under arrest in the palace. The main leaders of the movement Kang and Liang fled to Japan and began to marshal the support of the overseas Chinese for their cause.⁹ They established 'Baohuanghui' (the Chinese Empire Reform Association) to restore the Emperor's power and fight for a constitutional monarchy. Such a monarchical movement

⁶ Schrecker, J.E. (1991) *The Chinese Revolution in Historical Perspective*, New York: Greenwood Press, p110.

⁷ Hook, Brian (General Editor)(1982) *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p242.

⁸ Hsu, I.C.Y (1973) *The Rise of Modern China*, London: Oxford University Press, pp423-457.

⁹ Schrecker (1991) *op. cit.*, p127.

ran parallel with the revolutionary movement led by Sun (Yat Sen) which aimed at overthrowing the Qing dynasty.¹⁰

Liang in Perth

Kang and Liang's reform movement seemed to be more acceptable to overseas Chinese in Australia and other countries. The New South Wales Chinese Empire Reform Association (the Baohuanghui) was formed in Sydney in January 1900.¹¹ Qi-chao Liang made a trip to Australia arranged by the Association in 1900. The event resulted in a monarchist movement in the Chinese Community in Australia which continued to the later 1910s.¹²

Perth Chinese men rejoiced with enthusiasm over Liang coming to Australia. They found for the first time a political cause that aroused their interests. When Liang and his interpreter Chang Lou from Cathay arrived in Fremantle on 26th October 1900, they received a warm welcome by Reverend Chee Pow of the Chinese Presbyterian missionary, Soong Quong Paul, Jiuxia Chen, Dianhong Li, Ji Wang and Shoutian Li.¹³ For the first few days, they stayed in the Osborne Hotel.¹⁴ Later, they moved to Perth and Fremantle and lived in the home of a person from the same county, to receive visitors.¹⁵

¹⁰ Hook (ed) (1982) *op. cit.* p246.

¹¹ Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p117.

¹² Yong claimed that the monarchist movement came to an end in 1912. *op. cit.* p135. He was not aware of the facts: Kang and Liang's movement had changed its name and continued to later 1910s. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 1901-1927. Also see Hook (ed) (1982) *Kang Yu-Wei*; Kang was a die-hard monarchist. 'Upon returning to China in 1913, he became an indefatigable monarchist campaigner and a fierce critic of Sun Yat Sen and of the Republic.' p247.

¹³ *The West Australian*, 27 October 1900 and *The Tung Wah News*, 21 November 1900. *The Tung Wah News* reported Liang came to Fremantle on 25th October 1900, in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p144.

¹⁴ A Chinese newspaper commented it was a first class hotel in Perth. In Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p150. Professor Bolton points out the location of the hotel was on the corner of Osborne Parade and Bindaring Parade.

¹⁵ *The Tung Wah News*, 25 October 1900.

During Liang's stay in Perth, he accepted an invitation from Geraldton Chinese Liang Kuang who was a business man, and had a shop named Guanghechang. Liang made a trip there, and lectured in the local Presbyterian Church. He called for the local Chinese community to support the reform association. Almost thirty more local Chinese joined the Baohuanghui in Geraldton.¹⁶

Liang's activities in Perth reached a high pitch by 5th November. He addressed a fairly large number of Chinese people on the subject of reform in China at the Queen's Hall. His excellency, the Administrator, occupied the chair and presented a gold medal to Mr Liang. The gold medal bore the inscription: 'Presented to Leong Kia Chu by the Chinese Reform Association of Perth, WA. in appreciation of his endeavors to reform the Chinese Empire Nov. 5, 1900.'¹⁷ This message suggested that the Chinese community of Perth had founded its Reform Association in response to Sydney's Association and to meet the need of Mr. Liang coming to Australia, although it was hard to find any documents detailing when the Chinese Reform Association of Perth was registered. The news report of *The West Australian* claimed the Association was mainly organized by the members of various missionary groups.¹⁸ This is not only because missionaries had the ability and spare time to organize activities, but also because many of Kang and Liang's

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *The West Australian*, 6 November 1900.

¹⁸ Two Chinese missionaries were mentioned by the newspapers. Pow Chee was a Chinese Presbyterian missionary. Pan Song Guang was a Methodist Chinese Church missionary, see *Extracts from the minutes of the Methodist Chinese School held in Murray street mission premises, 1901-1905*, held by Wesley Church Trust.

ideas on reform came from the missionaries and made them welcome by religious groups.¹⁹

Liang had been in Australia circumspectly from 25 October 1900 to 14 April 1901. He visited Western Australia as the first stop of his tour of Australia. It was the same time as the Boxers' Uprising in Beijing and Tianjing in China.²⁰ He talked to journalists from *The West Australian*, his mission to Australia was to lecture and collect funds for carrying on the work of the Chinese Reform Association. He explained that the Association was 'pro-foreign', 'not anti-foreign'. It was distinctly opposed to the 'Boxers'.²¹ Such attitudes did not cause him trouble.²²

During the eleven days he stayed in Western Australia, Liang became friends with the local Chinese. He created a deep friendship with Reverend Chee Pow who helped him organize lectures and who accompanied him on a tour of the eastern states.²³ Liang collected funds of around 300 pounds.²⁴ Liang's birthplace which was Xin Hui of Canton helped him communicate easily with the Perth Chinese who mainly came from Xin Hui.

¹⁹ Hsu (1970) *op.cit.* p426.

²⁰ Boxers was the name given by foreigners to a Chinese secret society called the Yi He Qaaan. In 1899, the Boxers Uprising was a vast anti foreign movement. In June and August 1900, Boxers for nearly two months was a miracle in Tianjing-Beijing because the movement was supported by the Qing court and later it was suppressed by foreign allied troops. Foreigners and Chinese Christians were first victims of the uprising. Hsu (1970) *op. cit* pp460-477.

²¹ *The West Australian*, 27 October 1900.

²² The Sydney monarchists twice tried to arrange a visit by Kang Youwei to Australia without success. Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p125.

²³ Pow Chee was committed to Brisbane and Thursday Island to prepare Liang's visit. *The Tung Wah News*, 29 May 1901.

²⁴ Wenjiang Ding, 'A Chronicle of Liang's Life', in Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p.173

Therefore, Liang felt his efforts for reform soon after coming to Australia were 'very encouraging'.²⁵

At that time, the Perth Chinese political thinking was a combination of traditional and modern concepts, which was clearly expressed in Liang's lectures. Liang emphasized that his reform had been requested by the Emperor Guang who was willing to adopt 'European methods'. Liang thought it was important to accept European customs as he hoped that 'while the Chinese people here were learning their lesson, they would use it not only for their own benefit, but for the advantage of China and its people as well'.²⁶ Reverend Pow, in his speech, mentioned Liang as 'the right sort of man to reform China' but unfortunately he was considered a 'mad man' in China because he 'advised the Chinese to accept European customs'.²⁷ From this point of view, Liang's lectures represented the emotion of the Chinese who enjoyed their overseas journey and accepted the European methods.

From another point of view, Liang's thinking was conservative. He claimed his reform was associated with the authority of the Emperor. 'The Emperor (Guang) had for a long time been in favour of reform, but was opposed by the Empress Dowager (Ci).' As the Chinese should follow the instruction of the Emperor, Liang required the Chinese to

²⁵ *The West Australian*, 6 November 1900.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Also Liang supported Government sponsorship of programmes for study abroad. He commented on 26 September 1902 in *Xinmin Congpao*: the 'returned students' were 'the masters and rulers of the future of China', in Chen, Jerome (1979) *China and West-society and culture 1815-1937*, London: Indiana University Press, p170.

²⁷ *The West Australian*, 6 November 1900.

become royalists.²⁸ That attitude was totally different with Sun's revolutionary movement that aimed at bringing down the Qing Emperors and their imperial systems.²⁹

Compared to Sun who had founded the Xing Zhonghui in Hawaii in 1894, Kang and Liang's monarchic ideas were easily accepted by Chinese in Australia. This is not only because Sun did not come to Australia, but also because of Sun's perceived radical political solution for China. The British monarch's status had made some impact upon the attitude of the Chinese to their Emperor. It was natural for Liang, who represented all Associations, and his countrymen to pay gushing tributes to the memory of Queen Victoria when she died in January 1901.³⁰

The situation of the Baohuanghui in America was similar to Australia.³¹ By the early 1900s, the Baohuanghui claimed thirty thousand members in North America, completely eclipsing Sun's Xin Zhong Hui, a revolutionary organization.³² Possibly, Kang and Liang's privileged positions and their program for reforming the imperial system proved to be much more palatable to the Chinese of the period, especially to many merchants.³³ Liang's success in Perth at first and Sun's disappointment in America suggested that the Chinese

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Sun arrived Hong Kong on 28 May 1901. He said to journalists this would be the third time he launched revolution in China. He and his comrades would fight for a democratic country. See *the Tung Wah News*, 28 August 1901.

³⁰ *The Tung Wah News*, 2 February 1901.

³¹ Lai, H. M 'The Kuomintang in Chinese America Communities before World War II', in Chan, Sucheng (ed) (1991) *Entry Denied-exclusion and Chinese Community in America 1882-1943* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, p175.

³² Lai in Chan (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p175

³³ *Ibid.* pp174-175.

were in favour of the centuries-old Imperial system at the time. The overseas Chinese would have to wait for another time to arouse their republicanism.

3.2 Formation

Perhaps the most striking influences that Kang and Liang's constitutional monarchy gave overseas Chinese were 1) opposition to any kind of revolutionary movement and 2) re-creation of Confucian thought.³⁴ As a result, the Monarchist movements dominated the Chinese in Australia for some time. However there was no lack of anti-Manchu sentiments among Chinese in Australia. For example, some organizations such as 'the New National Mind Broadening Association' in Melbourne did not make the restoration of Emperor Guang a precondition for any reforms in China, and 'the Queue-Cutting Society' in Melbourne was anti-Manchu. However, most Chinese appeared to accept the Manchu Government as the legitimate rulers.³⁵

After the Boxers Uprising, the Empress Dowager Ci and the Manchu court had to proclaim their decision to institute reforms.³⁶ On 27 August 1908, the Qing rulers issued an 'Outline of Constitution' and prescribed a nine-year process for the creation of a

³⁴ *The Tung Wah Times*, a newspaper for the reform movement, expressed these two subjects during 1900-1927. Each year, Sydney merchants had a celebration of Confucius' birthday. Also Schrecker pointed out Kang's philosophy is highly significant as one of the last attempts to revolutionize China under the banner of Confucianism. Schrecker (1991) *op.cit.* pp120-21.

³⁵ Under influence of some ideology, Yong did not analyse the monarchist movement's functions, but gave the fact. See Yong (1977) *op. cit.* pp 137-38.

³⁶ Hsu (1970) *op.cit.* pp488-500.

constitutional system.³⁷ The attitude that the Qing Court took in wanting to create a constitutional and parliamentary government did not make the majority of Chinese feel a bloody revolutionary movement was necessary. The Chinese awaited the changes patiently.³⁸ The first Chinese Consul-General who represented the Manchu court came to Melbourne in 1909 and gave the Chinese hope that their government would protect their interests in Australia.³⁹

Living in a peaceful environment and the fear of partition in China made overseas Chinese disapprove of revolutionary programs. The emotion of the Chinese who would like to avoid chaotic situations happening in China helped the Monarchist's movements.⁴⁰ On the other hand, conservative Chinese directly opposed Sun's revolutionary movement because they considered any rebellious or revolutionary behaviour as a kind of force that caused the chaotic situation in China.⁴¹ However, they did share the common aim of saving China from further disasters stemming from the revolutionary group.

The ideological struggles

The Tung Wah Times in Sydney reflected their thoughts. The newspaper supported monarchists and attacked republicans' revolutionary ideas. Even though the revolutionary situation was flourishing in China in 1910, the monarchic editors still argued : the

³⁷ The Qing court was pressed into declaring its intended constitutional reforms in September 1906. This Constitution Movement was really a continuation of the 1898 Reform Movement. See Hook (ed) (1982) 'Constitutional Movement', *op. cit.* p249.

³⁸ *The Tung Wah Times*, 8 December 1906.

³⁹ Consul-General Liang opened its business in Melbourne on 17 April 1909. The Chinese in Australia welcomed him come to Australia. *The Tung Wah Times*, 10, 17 April and 26 June 1909.

⁴⁰ Anti-revolution was the main subject in *The Tung Wah Times* in 1910s.

⁴¹ *The Tung Wah Times*, 28 October 1911.

Chinese needed 'political revolution' instead of 'nationalist revolution'. The fighting between 'Manchu nationality and Han nationality' would lead to the country being disrupted. Uprisings of rebels would cause thousands of people to perish and devastate the country, and it would not achieve their objects.⁴²

In such a situation, *the Ai Guo Bao (The Chinese Times)*, a newspaper that was founded in Melbourne in 1902, helped spread anti-Manchu feelings and revolutionary ideas but did not have any significant influence among the Chinese at first.⁴³ Later, two republican devotees came to Melbourne from China in 1908. They became the editors of *The Chinese Times*.⁴⁴ The newspaper began to challenge the conservative opinions that were published in *The Tung Wah Times*. The key issues were discussed, such as 'revolution and partition', 'the Qing government's constitution and revolutionary movement'⁴⁵ and 'Manchu and Han are one race'.⁴⁶ Sydney and Melbourne became the centre for Monarchists and Republic as the opposing newspapers were fighting each other.⁴⁷ The ideological struggles between Republicans and Monarchists did not come to an end by the outbreak of the Double-tenth Uprising that led to the fall of the Qing dynasty in China in 1911.⁴⁸

⁴² *The Tung Wah Times*, 6 May 1911.

⁴³ Yong (1977) *op.cit.* pp137-148.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p138.

⁴⁵ The subject was debated in many overseas Chinese newspapers, see Hwang, Y.C (1976) *The overseas Chinese and the 1911 revolution*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, p95.

⁴⁶ *The Tung Wah Times*, 6 May, 16 August and 16 September 1911, also see Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p131.

⁴⁷ There were arguments in both *The Tung Wah Times* and *The Chinese Times*, see *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 September 1909.

⁴⁸ The reformers did not recognize Sun as a hero in the Double-tenth Uprising. They published other photos of revolutionary heroes but did not show Sun's picture in *The Tung Wah Times*, 24 February 1912. They did not stop criticizing Sun's radical movement until Sun's death in 1925, see *The Tung Wah Times*, 21 March 1925.

It was normal for a small community to stop their activities when an occasional event ended. Thus, it is understandable that the Perth Chinese passion for the monarchist movement faded soon after Liang left Australia in 1901. However, there is some evidence to show that the Perth Chinese community was occasionally involved in the reform movement. In April 1904, the Perth Baohuanghui joined other Associations to write a letter to the Qing Court. They required the Court to fight the Russian forces who were occupying North-East China.⁴⁹ In 1905, the Perth Chinese used the name of Chinese Empire Reform Association to join other Associations involved in the activities of 1) opposing Australian regulations on the Chinese and 2) abandoning importation of opium campaign.⁵⁰ On 7th August 1907, there was a tea party for the celebration of the Emperor Guang's birthday in Perth. Two hundred people enjoyed this occasion.⁵¹ Such activities of people who were interested in the reform cause proved that the Chinese in Australia had been influenced by Liang's visit to Australia.⁵²

Neutral stand: The Chung Wah Association

The non-political association, Chung Wah Association, established among the Chinese community in Perth in 1909, demonstrated that this small community was neutral in the ideological struggles between Monarchists and Republicans. The object of the Association was to unite the Chinese and to help them overcome the hardships they faced. Later, the Association played a role in political activities before the Nationalist Party was

⁴⁹ *The Tung Wah Times*, 9 April 1904.

⁵⁰ There was no address of the Chinese Empire Reform Association in a advertisement in the newspaper, *Ibid.* 2 September 1905.

⁵¹ The news reported the Perth Chinese wanted to show that there was reform activity in Western Australia, see *The Tung Wah Times*, 24 August 1907.

⁵² *The Tung Wah Times*, 2 November 1912.

established. Upon request, the Chinese were involved in fund-raising campaigns to support revolutionary armies, and held various celebrations for their new Nanjing government.⁵³ Although the government had changed from Sun's regime in Nanjing to Yuan's rule in Beijing, the Perth community followed the central government's instructions to carry out their duties. An amount of 2205 pounds sterling from 686 Chinese in Perth, Fremantle, Broome, Carnarvon and Geraldton was donated to the National Patriotic Fund campaign organized by the Chinese Council in Melbourne from June 1912 to January 1913.⁵⁴

Republican cause

In 1915, circumstances led the Perth community to raise a republican movement in Australia. The movement was apparently different to previous ones. First, the times had changed. Kang and Liang's reform movement was not as popular as it had been after a series of events that happened: 1) Emperor Guang died in 1908; 2) the Qing Court was replaced by the Republic of China in 1912; 3) the main leaders of the movement Kang and Liang went back to China in 1914 and 1912 respectively after they had been exiled for more than ten years overseas.⁵⁵ At its best, Kang's reform movements overseas had led to 200 local Chinese community organizations being established between 1904-1908.⁵⁶ Following instruction from Kang's Association, the New South Wales Chinese Empire

⁵³ *Chung Wah Association Minutes Book 1909-1925*, in Chung Wah Association.

⁵⁴ Calculated from *The Tung Wah Times*, 22 June 7 December 1912 and 5 April 1913. See specific figure in the previously Chapter.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 2 November 1912 and 16 January 1915.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 162 units were mentioned in *The Tung Wah Times* on 30 December 1905 and 200 units were mentioned on 22 August 1908.

Reform Association had changed its name to the Chinese Empire Reform Party in 1906⁵⁷, the Chinese Empire Constitutional Association in 1907⁵⁸ and the Chinese Nationalist Association in 1912.⁵⁹ The fact that the Association was still being mentioned in the newspaper in 1917 might have been reassuring, its credibility had sunk as low as possible.⁶⁰ The members of the Association mainly turned to their commercial activities. For example, the New South Wales Chinese Chamber of Commerce was set up in 1913 after the revolution in China.⁶¹

Secondly, Yuan's regime was not being accepted. The aftermath of the Double-tenth (10th October) Uprising in 1911, Sun, the leading politician of the revolutionary movement, was elected as the provisional President of the Republic of China in Nan Jing. To terminate the Qing dynasty and achieve national unification, Sun resigned as the provisional President and Yuan (Shi-kai) became his successor in 1912.⁶² After the Qing abdication, Yuan's regime in the Chinese Republic demonstrated that it was not a democratic government. Yuan dissolved Sun's Guomindang in 1913. Later, he declared himself Emperor in December 1915, which caused widespread opposition to his regime, even conservative Chinese could not bear the fact that Yuan had betrayed republican principles. Anti-Yuan feelings encouraged Chinese in Australia to support a new republican movement.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 30 June 1906.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 23 February 1907.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 9 March 1912.

⁶⁰ There were farewell parties for its members who left Australia. The last one was recorded on 20 May 1917 in *The Tung Wah Times*. The conservatives were united under the name of the New South Wales Chinese Merchants' Society. *The Tung Wah Times* continued to support Kang's ideas.

⁶¹ See *The Tung Wah Times*, 18 January 1913 and Yong (1977) *op. cit.* p80.

⁶² Twitchett, D. and Fairbank, J. K. (ed)(1980) *The Cambridge History of China Vol II Late Ching, 1800-1911, Part 2 Birth of the Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp532-533.

⁶³ *The Tung Wah Times*, 14 August and 16 October 1915.

Thirdly, a new party emerged during the time of anti-Yuan feelings. The Guomindang was formed from Sun's Tongmenhui and four other political groups in 1912 in Beijing.⁶⁴ After Yuan dismissed the Guomindang and crushed the republican forces, Sun was again forced into exile in Japan in 1913.⁶⁵ Overseas, Sun rebuilt the organization called the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914. The radical revolutionary activities that wanted to destroy Yuan's dictatorship and achieve a complete republic were considered a solution for China's situation although some conservative Chinese were still weary of fighting and more bloodshed.⁶⁶ Overseas Chinese quickly responded to the cause when Sun called for a new movement that was against Yuan's despotic rule. After the death of Yuan in 1916, Sun continued his Constitution Protection Movement, and renamed its Party as the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhonggou Guomindang) in Shanghai in 1919. Later, he set up a republican government that was a rival to the warlord government in Bei Jing. Sun was elected President of the southern government in Canton in 1921.⁶⁷

In Sydney, following the foundation of Sun's republican movement, the Chinese Revolutionary Party was founded in 1915.⁶⁸ The Party used *The Chinese Republic News* for propagating Sun's political doctrines and conducting an anti-Yuan campaign.⁶⁹ In

⁶⁴ Fairbank, J. K. and Reischauer, E. O. (1990) *China-tradition and Transformation*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp416-417

⁶⁵ Hsu (1971) *op. cit.* p566.

⁶⁶ *The Chinese Times*, 19 February 1916.

⁶⁷ Hsu (1971) *op. cit.* p575.

⁶⁸ *The Chinese Republic News*, 4 June 1921, also see Yong (1977) *op.cit.* p150.

1916, the Chinese Revolutionary Party was dissolved and replaced by the Chinese Nationalist Party.⁷⁰ The Perth Chinese witnessed the Yuan regime from its glory to its decline and expressed their anger at the Yuan dictatorship.⁷¹ Their passionate patriotism was fueled by the support it received from organizations in the eastern states and the South of China.⁷² Coincidentally, they turned their disappointment in dealing with the State Government about the Factories Act 1920 to China's affairs,⁷³ which they hoped would change the Australian Government's attitudes toward Chinese without Australian citizenship.

A branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party (the Zhongguo Guomindang) in Perth was encouraged and conducted mainly by Mr Yougong Huang (Yue-Kung Wong) who was a representative of the Sydney Party branch. In May 1921, Huang was commissioned to go to Western Australia to found a new branch. A united non-political group of the Chung Wah Association, the members of which became a strong base of the Party, welcomed him to Perth. His lectures and missions were very successful although he was threatened by some Chinese who wrote letters to ask the local Government to stop his secret society and his mission because there was a strong conservative group in eastern

⁶⁹ *The Chinese Republic News* was established on 21 February 1914

⁷⁰ The Party was delayed for registering in August 1921 as Yuan's regime and War World I during 1912 and 1918. In Australia, the Guomindang branches were not banned but it was banned in Malaya and Singapore, see Yong, C. F. and Mckenna, R. B. "The Kuomintang Movement in Malaya and Singapore", 1912-1925, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.xii. No.1 March 1981. There were 12 branches of the Party in 1917, in Australia, *The Chinese Republic News*, 1 January 1917, also see Yong, (1977) *op. cit.* p150.

⁷¹ *Chung Wah Association Minutes Book 1909-1925*, 20 September 1915.

⁷² Wong Yougong came to Perth to help the Chinese set up a branch, see *The Chinese Times*, 23 July 1921.

⁷³ See Chapter 2.

Australia.⁷⁴ On 5th May, the branch of the Zhongguo Guomindang was announced. Nearly four hundred Chinese immediately joined this political party.⁷⁵

On 29th June 1921, a celebration of the Chinese Nationalist Party was held with a dinner and a meeting. It started in the Chung Wah Hall, at 128 James Street, then moved into the Party's new hall at the corner of Lake and James Streets. Five hundred people witnessed this evening's oratory. 'Everywhere were Chinamen, extending from the rear of the decorated hall, where there was standing room only, to the flag of the Chinese Republic and a portrait of Dr Sun Yat Sen displayed at the back of the platform.'⁷⁶ Dr Sun, the President of Southern China, was the 'hero' held by the Chinese residents. Chinese were 'loudly applauding any reference' to him in their speeches.⁷⁷

The President of the Chinese Nationalist Party's Western Australian branch, Mr P. Quan Geen explained the objectives of the Party (1) the upholding of the democratic constitution of the Chinese Republic; (2) the maintenance of real republicanism in China; (3) adoption of the best socialist, economic and industrial principles within the United States of China; (4) cultivation of international friendship; (5) suppression of militarism; (6) adoption of local government.⁷⁸ These objectives indicated that Chinese desired a Western democratic constitution like the Australian one for China, and Chinese in Australia identified more to Australia in a sense of the politic if not the culture.

⁷⁴ *The Chinese Times*, 23 July 1921.

⁷⁵ There were 381 Chinese listed in the *Members Fees Book of Perth Branch 1921*. 70 % of the Chinese in Perth joined the Party, see *Facts on the Development of the Australian Branch, the Chinese Nationalist Party* Sydney: 1935, p92.

⁷⁶ *The West Australian*, 30 June 1921.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

The Party branch had invited many of Perth's leading citizens to join the celebration. The Mayor of Perth Sir William Lathlain, Sir Edward Wittenoom, Revs. J. W. Grove, M.A, G. A. W. Legge, M. A. and J. H. Dabb, B. A. B. D, Mr. J. S. Battye, and the party's delegates from Sydney and Melbourne Mr Shee King and Oon Nam (Hongnan Wu) were glad to be present, and wished the organization every success.⁷⁹ Considering Sir William Lathlain and Sir Edward Wittenoom and others were almost conservative politicians,⁸⁰ it suggests that Sun's republican movement and Perth Chinese political activity had made quite a big influence on Western Australian politicians' attitudes towards the Chinese affairs.⁸¹ Mr Hongnan Wu introduced his impression of Perth to the Melbourne branch of the Party: it was very exciting because he was never to see such an opening ceremony in any other Australian place.⁸² (See Figure 3.1 Members of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1922).

⁷⁸ *Ibid*

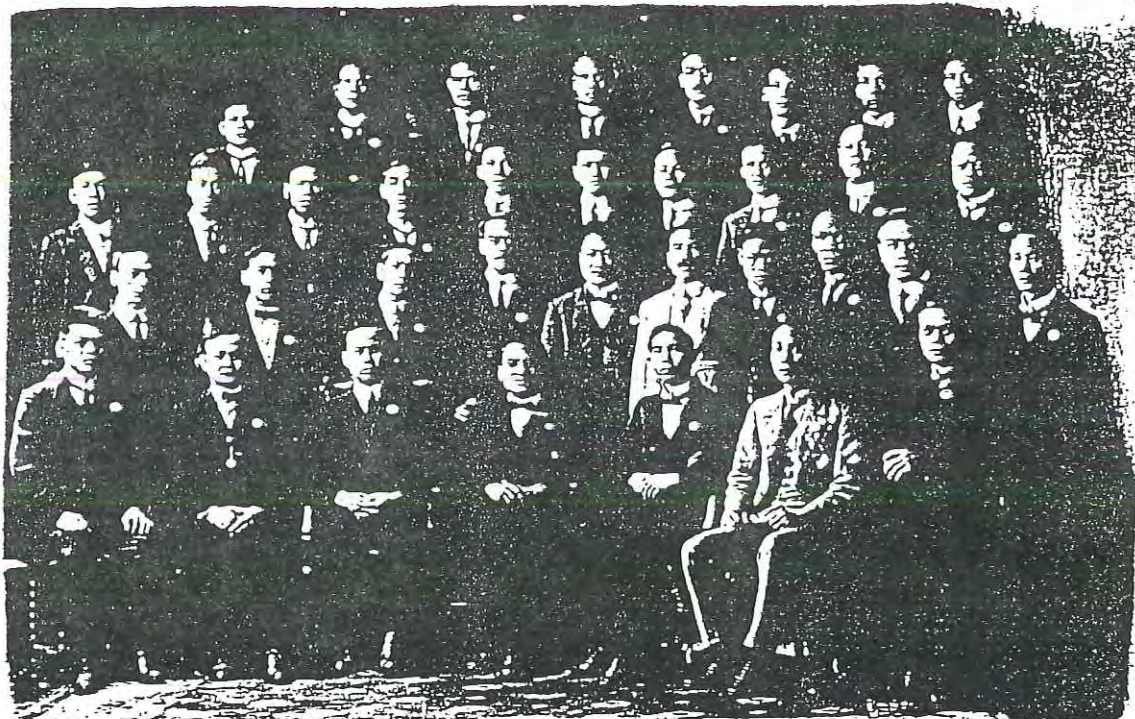
⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰ Conversation with Professor Bolton.

⁸¹ Black, D and Bolton, G (1990) *Biographical Register of Members of the Parliament of Western Australia*, Vol.1. 1870-1930 Perth.

⁸² *The Chinese Times*, 6 August 1921.

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湯立陳 岑保潘 若始朱 洛振溫 顯輝謝 培宗黃 費大鍾 榮攝號
 界興陳 容克溫 海文黃 財成潘 榮永謝 浙嗣開 積潘 鴻永雷 吳仲李 和運胡
 廷克溫 厚啟鍾 森文張 宜球陳 林謝 雁大鍾 邦植胡 斌益胡 楊明范 海謝
 堂徒司 鎮啟鍾 文其鍾 仁安陳 源開 坤謝 祥立陳

Figure 3.1 Members of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1922

Source: The Chung Wah Association

3.3 Functions

After the establishment of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhongguo Guomindang) branch in Perth, the Party effectively performed a variety of functions. Its main tasks ahead were to carry out the revolutionary propaganda and raising of funds to support the republican movements in China during 1921 and 1922.⁸³ After that, the Party was reorganized and enhanced its connection with China. During World War Two, Western Australian Chinese patriotism once again rose in the Chinese community. The Party made efforts to support China fighting against the Japanese. It quite successfully achieved its tasks and became one of the most active groups in the Chinese community in Australia.

Not long after the Chinese Nationalist Party branch was founded, members welcomed a new event in Melbourne. On 26th December 1921, a three-storey brick building for the Melbourne branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party was completed at 189 Little Bourke Street. It was built after the five-storey Sydney Party Hall. For celebration, the Second Chinese Nationalist Party Convention was held in Melbourne.⁸⁴

At the time, the greatest events among the Chinese in Australia were 1) the northern expedition led by Sun who was elected as President of South China in April 1921 and 2) the visit of Anren Chen who came to Australia in October 1921, as a special representative

⁸³ After 1923, the sounds (activities) of Guomindang in Australia were almost silent in the Chinese Republic News, only a few words mentioned the first National Congress of the Guomindang held in Guangzhou, from 20th to 30th January 1924. It might suggest that the branches of the Party in Australia disagreed with Sun's new revolutionary program and the Party's linking with communism.

⁸⁴ Chen, An Ren (ed) (1922) *The Chinese Nationalist Party Convention Album*, The Melbourne branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party, p25, in Chinese Community Centre W.A.

of the President Sun. Thus the second Convention became more significant and exciting than the first Convention that was held in April 1919 in Sydney. It put the republican movement into a new tide in the affairs of the Chinese communities.⁸⁵ However, some conservative Chinese groups did not enjoy the affair because this kind of news was not published in their newspaper. For example, people hardly found any news about the Chinese Nationalist Party in *The Tung Wah Times* in the 1920s.⁸⁶

Convention delegates came from all branches throughout Australia and the South Pacific. They represented 5,000 members of the Chinese Nationalist Party. The Convention sent their telegrams to the Governments of Britain, America and France and appealed to them to recognize Sun's South Government in China as a legal government.⁸⁷ Sun's Chinese Nationalist Party claimed that they had 500,000 members.⁸⁸ Their activities had made quite an impression on the whole world. The Australian Government and Australian newspapers showed their support for the Chinese republican movement.⁸⁹

Although the Convention was mainly concerned with the Party's affairs, Chinese in Australia hoped that it would make some changes to the attitudes of Anglo-Australians who used to 'look down' on the Chinese. The news of 'Chinese wake up' in one newspaper made the Chinese realize that their Convention could create a new image of

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ See *The Tung Wah Times*.

⁸⁷ Chen (1922) *op. cit.* p25.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p25. In January 1926, the membership of the Guomindang was 200,000 in China, see Hook (1982) *op. cit.* p256.

⁸⁹ Chen (1922) *op. cit.* p27.

the Chinese among local people.⁹⁰ Chinese could be considered as more than just poorly educated labourers.⁹¹ The Perth branch sent their representative Dong Xie to the meeting and also gave money to support the Hall building.⁹² The Convention passed a variety of bills, such as openings of Chinese schools, training of propagandists and contributing of the party funds,⁹³ which had an influence on the development of the Perth branch.

Political and Social Activities

It is not hard to find news about activities of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party branch in *The Chinese Times* during the 1920s. For example, in February 1922, the Perth branch organized a propaganda team. The purpose of it was to give publicity to Sun's political philosophies and the training of propagandists. These forms of propaganda had long been practised by the Chinese revolutionaries in Japan and other places. As it had the effect of launching a new republican movement, it was encouraged to be practised among the Party.⁹⁴

The Perth branch was the first attempt to organise a propaganda team. The team was made up of Kun Xie, Dong Xie, Cheng-qu Xie, Yuang Guan, Si-cheng Guan, Si-han Guan, Yingman Tam, Ran-he Hu, Ming-yang Fang, Sheng-cai Pan, Weng-can Zhang, Hong-yong Chen, Da-feng Huang, De Liao and Dong Situ. The team held a meeting each Sunday night. The meeting was attended by a large audience, around 60-70 people.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p27 and see *the Age*, 28 and 30 December 1921.

⁹¹ Chen (1922) *op. cit* p27.

⁹² *Ibid.* pp49-50. 154 Perth Chinese donated to the building.

⁹³ *Ibid.* pp40-46.

⁹⁴ Hwang, Yen Ching (1976) *op. cit.* p117.

⁹⁵ *The Chinese Times*, 11 March 1922.

The propagandists talked about national affairs and Sun's principles, in order to wake up the patriotism of the Chinese. These activities included some debates.⁹⁶

On Sunday night, 7th May 1922, the Chinese had a debate about 'whether women were to be involved in politics'. The debate was formal. There was a chairman Xie Dong, and three judges Lizuo Chen, Minyang Fang and Cheng Guan. One side was in support of 'Women should be involved in politics' and the other side was against it. Both sides had three people who made great efforts to get the better result. In the end, the supporting side won. The debate was fiery. It did not finish until 10 p.m.⁹⁷ At this time, there were few Chinese women amongst the Chinese communities in Australia. This debate about women, carried out by men, might suggest Sun's Three People Principles-Nationalism, Democracy and Popular Livelihood⁹⁸ had made quite an impact on the Chinese men's thinking. Also a recent event of the time saw a woman (Edith Cowan), elected to the Western Australian Parliament in 1921, which may have been a factor to evoke the debate.⁹⁹

Another main form of revolutionary propaganda was drama. As most of the Chinese were illiterate, drama was considered to be the most effective medium for mass education and entertainment, a tradition which began in the Song dynasty (969-1279). The modern Chinese drama was influenced by Western culture. In the 1920s, drama mainly served the

⁹⁶ *The Chinese Times*, 27 May 1922.

⁹⁷ *The Chinese Times*, 27 May 1922.

⁹⁸ Hook (ed) (1982) *op.cit.* p252.

⁹⁹ Crowley, F. (ed) (1976) *op. cit.* p396.

revolutionary propaganda movement.¹⁰⁰ Although drama was the best medium for mass indoctrination in the movement as in Singapore and Malaya, its main functions in the Perth Chinese community was to raise funds. On 24th June 1929, the Party organized a performance of the drama 'Baihuaju' for its eighth anniversary. On the national day, Double-tenth 1930, they also performed a drama in celebration. According to the Minutes, such performances were quite successful and welcomed although it did not record the theme of the drama they performed.¹⁰¹ The Perth branch also opened a school on 16th June 1922 to help young Chinese to learn the Chinese language. Yingman Tam was appointed as its principal, and Kun Xian, Dong Situ, Rai-he Hu, Li-za Chen and Hai Xie were selected as teachers. Around 20 students attended the classes.¹⁰² The school continued until the late 1930s. (See Figure 3.2 Members of the Chinese School organised by the Chinese Nationalist Party).

The Chinese in Perth not only gave money to their branch, but also supported other branches' activities, such as Sydney and Melbourne. At the beginning, the members of the Perth Party branch were heavily involved in various donations. Such donations were recorded fourteen times and the total amounts were 3,345 pounds sterling during 1921 and 1922.¹⁰³ Among them, fund-raising for the revolutionary armies was 650 pounds sterling, and the fund-raising for buying airplanes was 327 pounds sterling.¹⁰⁴ These facts suggested

¹⁰⁰ Hwang (1976) *op. cit.* pp122-27.

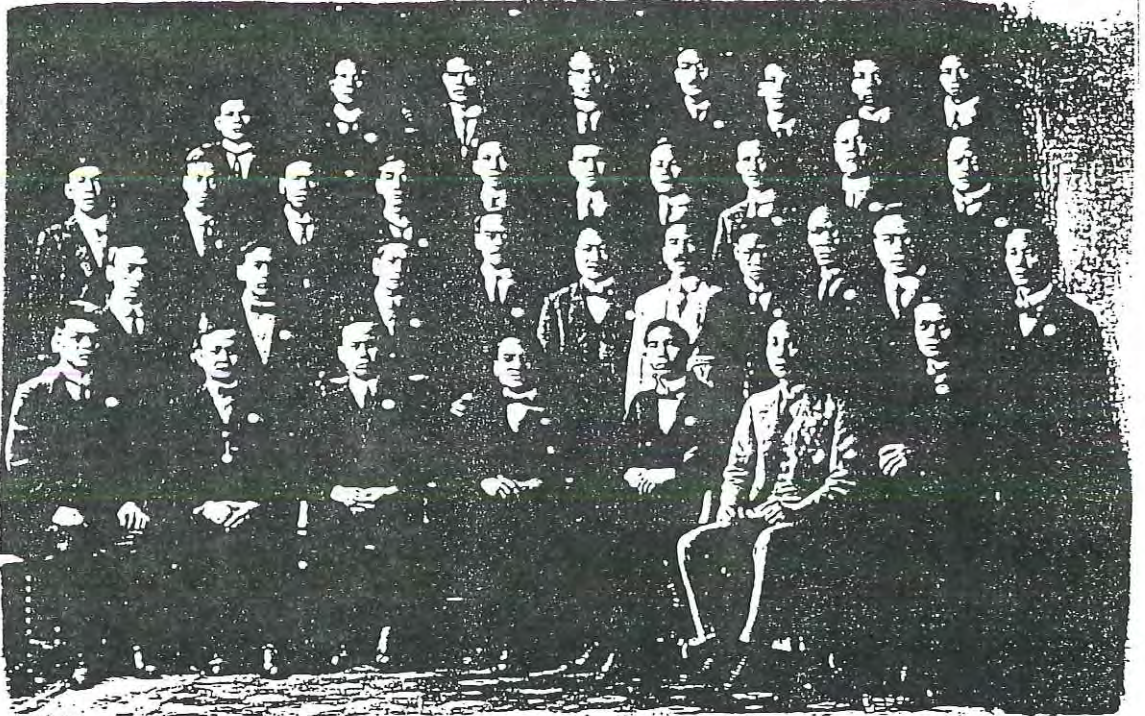
¹⁰¹ See some photos, in Chung Wah Association. The events and organizations were mentioned in *The Minutes of the Perth Nationalist Party 1929-1932*, on 12, 19 May and 30 June 1929; on 9 March 1930 and on 4 September and 23 October 1932.

¹⁰² *The Chinese Times*, 17 June 1922.

¹⁰³ Calculated from 'Members fees of the Perth branch 1921-1922'.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

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馮立陳 榮保潘 岩始朱 岳標溫 顯輝謝 培宗黃 費大鍾 榮椿號
 界興保 容克溫 海文黃 財威潘 榮之謝 齊嗣閻 積潘 鴻承雷 榮仲李 和運胡
 廷克溫 厚啟鍾 森文張 宜球陳 林謝 雁大鍾 邦植初 斌昌胡 揚明范 海謝
 董徒司 鎮啟鍾 文其鍾 仁安陳 源謝 坤謝 祥立陳

Figure 3.1 Members of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1922

Source: The Chung Wah Association

that the Perth branch was not only close to other Chinese communities, especially in the eastern states, but also particularly involved in the republican movement.

Challenges

The Party branch faced new challenges after the fervent passion for a republican China had passed. To adjust itself to new conditions, other branches joined the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party in 1924. The Party included the Broome branch and four ship's branches that were made up of the Chinese crews on ships sailing between Singapore, North West ports and Fremantle. It became a more independent administration than before. In 1931, the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party was reorganized as the Western Australian Chinese Nationalist Party.¹⁰⁵

These changes did not mean that there were more and more people joining the Party.¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, many Chinese left the Party as they went back to China. Some Chinese were not interested in the Party's affairs or some of them could not afford frequent fund-raising, which might have been the reasons for reduction in the number of members in the Party. In a sense, the reformation in the Party organization clearly indicated that the Party was an independent and united organization under the leadership of Sun's Chinese Nationalist Party in Sydney.

¹⁰⁵ *The Minutes of the Perth Nationalist Party 1929-1932*, in Chung Wah Association and see Liu (1989) *op. cit.* p98.

¹⁰⁶ 232 members in 1926, see *Register of Guomindang Members 1926*, in the Chung Wah Association. 161 members in 1930, see *The Minutes of the Perth Nationalist Party 1929-1932*, 16 March 1930.

The Perth Chinese Nationalist Party still kept its normal meetings and activities throughout difficult circumstances. Early in the 1930s, the depression was Australia-wide. The effect of the economic recession on Western Australia was severe.¹⁰⁷ Most Chinese felt that businesses were too quiet.¹⁰⁸ For one reason or another, such as their ages, and the state of the 'White Australia Policy' in Australia, more and more Chinese left Australia.

The 'farewell party' became a main event in the Party. The Perth Party held special meetings and hoped that members who went back to China would continue to fight for Sun's republic.¹⁰⁹ Chinese seemed content with introducing letters written by the Party when they went back home because they could find the same Party everywhere in China at that time. Obviously, this circumstance made the Party desire to set up an agency in China. (See Figure 3.3 Examples of Certificates for the Chinese Nationalist Party members who returned to China).

Agency in Guangzho

The Party set up an agency in Guangzhou as their representative in 1929.¹¹⁰ The Party paid a fee of 25 pounds sterling every year to maintain it.¹¹¹ It enhanced the Party's connection with China and members' villages. The agency was not only considered a

¹⁰⁷ Crowley and Garis (1974) *op. cit.* pp 74 -75.

¹⁰⁸ *Minutes of Perth Chinese Nationalist Party*. 11 January 1932.

¹⁰⁹ *Minutes of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party*.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 10 March 1929.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 24 March 1929. It recorded 500 Chinese dollars, which was worth 25 pounds sterling at the time.



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茲有西澳普扶支部黨員 李養 回國查該黨員平
素對於本黨克盡義務應予以相當保護特此証明

領 姓名 李養

年歲 六十歲

籍貫 廣東新會縣

黨部 普扶支部

本人相片



所屬黨部主席 閻國偉



右保書給 李養

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中華民國十九年十二月廿二日

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Figure 3.3 Examples of Certificates for the Chinese Nationalist Party Members who returned to China

Source: The Chung Wah Association

very important unit for the Chinese who went back to China, but also as an organization for the Chinese in Western Australia. Members of the Party often brought the information they received from their villages to the meetings and requested that their agency carry out the particular duties. For example, on 17th March 1929, Jiwen Huang accused a local village landlord of occupation of his lands in China, and asked the Party to send a message to the agency to handle the case.¹¹² The agency played a role in the concern of member's interests, although there was no suggestion that such cases had been achieved by the agency.¹¹³

Many gardeners were not very interested in political things after the emotional republican movement had passed, so the agency set up in Canton could extend the political interests of these Chinese, as the gardeners were concerned about their direct interests in China. On the other hand, it also benefitted the development of the Party. However, the China agency closed when it was in financial difficulties in the late 1930s.¹¹⁴

The Party could keep going because of its responsible committee. For example, the Party held its meeting once or twice a week. Leading members were elected each year.¹¹⁵ Without a doubt, these activities helped keep the Party running well. The executive members often discussed various affairs in the meeting and carried out the party's duties. On special days, like 'Double Tenth' (10th October), Sun's commemoration (12th March),

¹¹² Such cases were often mentioned at the meeting. See *Minutes of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party* on 17 March, 12 May, 14 July, 21 July and 15 September 1929.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 17 April 1932.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

and the Foundation Day of the Nanjing Government (1st January), the Party organized some activities such as a picnic and drama to celebrate them.¹¹⁶ (See Figure 3.4 Sports Day in Claremont Showgrounds organised by the Perth Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1922).

Resisting Japan

In 1931, Japan launched its war of aggression on China. Chinese in Australia quickly responded to the event. In Sydney, the Association of 'resisting Japan and saving the nation' was founded.¹¹⁷ But the Chinese Nationalist Party did not take any further action as the Nanjing Government controlled by the Party was silent at the time.¹¹⁸ However in Perth, on the 11th October 1931, committee members of the Western Australian Chinese Nationalist Party discussed the Japanese aggression. Some members suggested that the Party should send message to Nanjing and ask the Government to open fire on the Japanese. In the end, most of the members agreed that the central government had the power to make whatever decision they wanted. The overseas Chinese were the supporters of the Government.¹¹⁹ Later, because of these attitudes, Party meetings did not further discuss these things. Following instructions of the central government in China, it became an unchanged policy in the Party.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 11 January 1932.

¹¹⁸ Japan began to occupy Manchuria from 18 September 1931. The Nanjing Government's response was to seek redress, not by military means but through diplomatic channels, although fighting occurred at Shanghai from January 1932 involving the 19th Route Army, resolved by a truce in May 1932, see Hook (1982) *op.cit.* p260.

¹¹⁹ *Minutes of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party* on 11 October 1931.

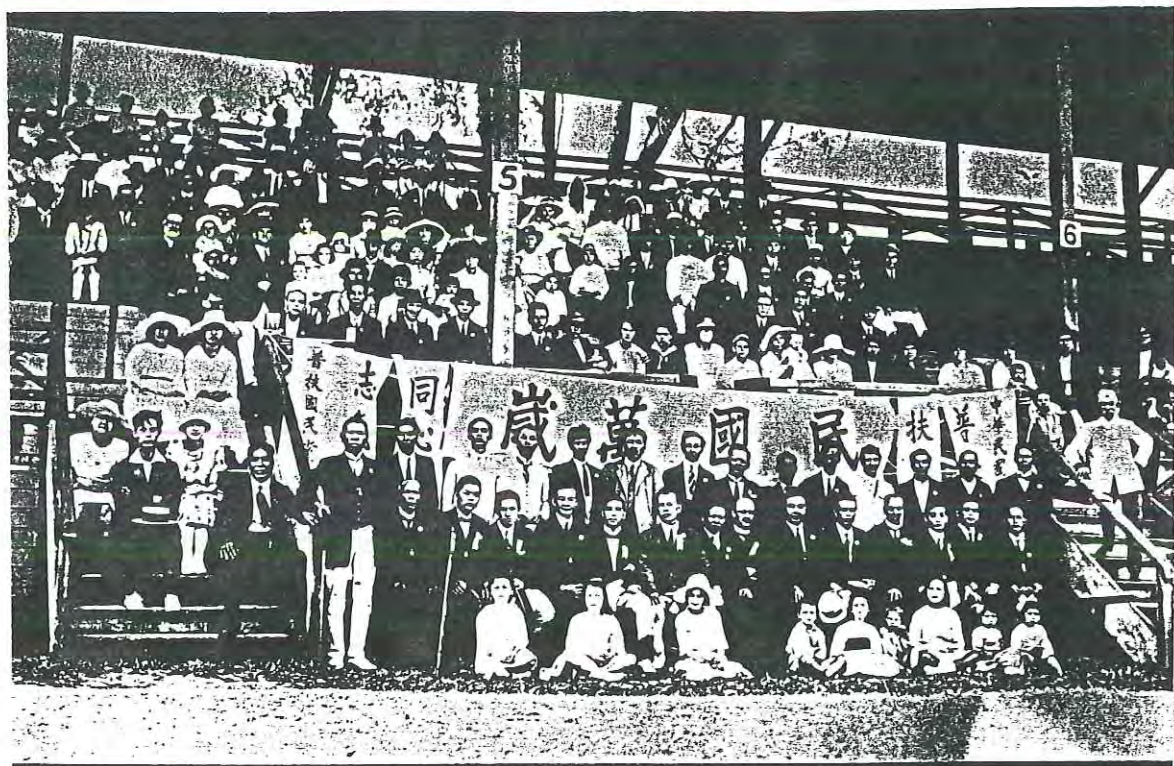


Figure 3.4 Sports Day in Claremont Showgrounds Organised by the Perth Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1922

Source: The Chung Wah Association

Once the Central Government had to make their decision to resist the Japanese in the late 1930s, the Chinese Nationalist Party started their efforts to support China. It was another patriotic occasion. The Western Australian Party played an important role in helping China to fight against the Japanese. Some documents and photographs clearly showed how they carried out the task of 'resisting the Japanese and saving the country', especially fund raising for the war effort. In November and December 1937, a Chinese Relief Concert was held in Perth, and young members of the Perth Chinese community performed.¹²⁰ The Miss China Quest had quite a successful result.¹²¹ During the second World War, the Party gave their support to the Australian Armed Forces. On 11th November 1942, Party members celebrated a victory of sinking one Japanese raider and two aircraft by the Dutch Tanker Ondina.¹²² On 11th October 1943, there was the 'Chinese National Day Ball' in the Chung Wah Hall in aid of Chinese famine relief.¹²³

3.4 Features

Basically, the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party branch had a good relationship with the Chung Wah Association because the branch was organized by the same group of businessmen and shop assistants. Qizheng Zhong, Yuan Guan, Yingman Tam, Guoqi Guan, Guoli Guan, Yongzong Xie were appointed as leading members in both organizations. For example, in 1922, Guoqi Guan (Alex Shem) was elected President of

¹²⁰ *The West Australia*, 18 November 1937.

¹²¹ Miss Joyce Shem was elected as the Miss China, a Photograph was taken in c1941.

¹²² The photograph is kept in Chung Wah Association.

the Chung Wah Association and vice-minister of the Guomindang; Yingman Tam was Vice President in the Association and secretary in the Party. Most Perth Chinese were members of these two societies.¹²⁴

It seems logical to conclude that these two separate organizations were the same one as they were made up of the same leading persons and people. In fact, they were totally different societies. Firstly, the Party was established on the basis of the political movement. Before the Party was formed, the Chung Wah Association was the only social organization in the Perth Chinese community during 1909 and 1921. The Association also efficiently dealt with matters of interest to the local Chinese community and some activities that supported the political movement in China.¹²⁵

In the 1920s, Sun's republican movement, especially his party's activities, influenced all overseas Chinese. As the Party sent their representative to Perth, the connection between states became necessary. Also as Party affairs were beyond the normal duty of the Association, the Perth branch was set up to carry out the Party tasks. That was one reason why this small community population needed to form a Party.

Actually, overseas Chinese were always diverse as groups because of different kinship and various opinions. In Sydney and Melbourne, there were many such different groups. They could not set up a united group as the Chung Wah Association in Perth even

¹²³ The photograph was taken on 11 October 1942, in Chung Wah Association.

¹²⁴ *The Chinese Times*, 11 March and 3 June 1922. *The Chung Wah Association Minutes book 1909-1925*.

¹²⁵ *Minutes book 1909-1925*.

if the Chinese Consulate called for it.¹²⁶ In 1909, the Perth Chinese community was renowned in the Eastern States for uniting as one strong group based on no-kinship and building their own Hall in James Street.¹²⁷

This laid the base for further development of the political Party. When the leading men in the Association had a common political awareness of Yuan's dictatorship and Sun's revolutionary movement, it was easy for them to form a political party in the same community. That was why the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party branch was one of the biggest branches according to its members in the Party.¹²⁸ As the two societies could cooperate with each other, the people, though of two groups, were able to act as one.

Secondly, the Perth Guomindang branch was a political party. That was a fundamental distinction between the two societies. The emotions deriving from patriotism and the disasters in China were the main motivations for most Perth Chinese to join the Party. But these emotions were not to last for long among the ordinary Chinese. Memberships of the Party declined as time passed.¹²⁹

In the 1930s, when the majority of Chinese left Western Australia and returned to China, the Party and the Association both faced hardship. The Association could hardly keep going but the Party was carrying out its duties until the 1940s. After 1922, the Association leased its Hall to the branch of the Zhongguo Guomindang, which indicated

¹²⁶ *The Tung Wah Times*, 11 March 1911.

¹²⁷ *The Tung Wah Times*, 5 November 1910.

¹²⁸ Wang Yougong said it was the biggest branch in Australia. See *The Chinese Times*, 13 August 1921.

that the important activities among the Chinese were held by the Party. The Association became relevantly unimportant as it was, although it was able to exist for different reasons

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Thirdly the Zhongguo Guomindang was a disciplinary party. The Perth branch was under control of the Sydney branch that was directly led by Sun's representative. Most of the organizations led by Sun were secret societies, especially those operating in China, like Xingzhonghui (1894), Tongmenhui (1905), Zhonghua Gemingdang (1914), and with the exception of Guomindang (1912) and Zhongguo Guomindang (1919). The changes reflected the fact that there was not a good democratic environment in China, so Sun had to walk these ways to reach his goals. These events helped Sun make the organization more disciplined each time as he learned lessons from the previous failures of the Party. For example, Sun assembled local and expatriate revolutionaries to form the Singapore branch of the Tongmenghui in April 1906. The members were required to take an oath and sign it in the presence of Dr Sun. The contents were:

'I swear under Heaven that I will do my utmost to work for the expulsion of the Manchus, the restoration of Chinese sovereignty, the establishment of the republic and equalization of land rights. I solemnly undertake to be faithful to these principles. If I betray my trust, I am willing to submit to the severest penalties imposed by my comrades.'¹³¹

Such loyalty was required even though the Party had official status. It became a main principle of the Party. In the 1920s, Sun's Zhongguo Guomindang and revolutionary

¹²⁹ *Minutes of the Perth Chinese Nationalist Party.*

¹³⁰ See *Minutes book 1909-1925.*

movements were in a favourable situation in China. Sun took the opportunity to further launch overseas Chinese to support the republic. The more members that joined, the more finances the Party could get. To develop its membership meant adding to its finances. (See Figure 3.5 Examples of the Minutes Book of the Chinese Nationalist Party).

The spreading of the Australian branches was influenced by these circumstances, with members recruited from a financial point of view rather than political loyalty. That can be explained by the Perth branch's rapid set up and its membership reaching more than three hundred. Using patriotic emotion, a leading member of the Perth community Qizheng Zhong from Xin Hui county successfully persuaded most of his fellow county Chinese market gardeners to join the party.¹³² The result made the Melbourne branch feel ashamed since there were so many Chinese in Perth that had joined the Party. The Melbourne leaders called for learning from the Perth branch and asked each member to introduce one person to the Party as soon as possible in order to gain more members.¹³³

As the Party was a hierarchical organization, the Perth branch did not stop its work even though its membership numbers were decreasing. The remaining members still followed instructions from the Sydney branch. In 1927, following a purge organized by the Nationalist Government in Nanjing, the purge committee of the overseas Chinese Nationalist Party asked members of each branch to fill in a form and declare their

¹³¹ Hwang (1976) *op. cit.* pp92-93.

¹³² 40 % of the members were introduced by Zhong, see *Facts on the Development of Australian Branch, op. cit.* p92.

¹³³ There were 2000 Chinese in Melbourne but 200 people joined the Party, see Lei Peng's speaking in the *Chinese Times*, 13 August 1921.

<p>第十一次會議紀錄 五月十九日</p>	<p>到會者 閻國偉 謝永聰 謝世榮 鍾啓鎮 譚英文 李仲泉 黃宗培</p>	<p>譚橋春 鍾永祺 閻國偉 黃天悅 何茲傑</p>	<p>主席 閻國偉 紀錄 何茲傑</p>	<p>恭讀總理遺教 報告事項 債上期 決議 票五包 王部 職員表 一 孫鎮同志</p>	<p>報告經理 蔡合其 文 謝仲泉 同志 報告 奉命 往向 李奕 劍 節</p>	<p>昨 四月廿八 既 因 何 無 辜 閻 進 奉 究 擾 亂 政 局 他 亦 認 差 自 知 候 會 其</p>	<p>文 目 除 責 其 究 羽 外 亦 已 道 歉 云 孫 鎮 同 志 又 報 告 多 處 刑 多 處 師</p>	<p>工 且 嗚 呼 英 六 同 志 報 告 義 忠 情 形 亦 請 併 記 同 志 子 女 每 逢 星</p>	<p>期 四 晚 未 校 讀 書 無 倫 何 人 一 律 歡 迎</p>	<p>討論事項</p>	<p>茲 傑 同 志 提 議 現 在 各 黨 員 每 年 負 担 中 央 印 花 銀 六 元 可 否 連 同 經</p>
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Figure 3.5 Examples of the Minutes Book of the Chinese Nationalist Party

Source: The Chung Wah Association

loyalty to the Party.¹³⁴ In 1931, the Party registered its members and examined the members' knowledge about the Party.¹³⁵

The Perth branch of the Guomindang and the Chung Wah Association were organized by the same group of Chinese in Western Australia. They dealt with different tasks according to different needs from the eastern states and China. As a result, the image of the Chinese living in Western Australia that they were like 'scattered sand' in the early twentieth century had changed. Compared to the larger Chinese populations in Sydney and Melbourne, this small community became well known as a consolidated group.

Summary

There was the tumult of battle in China by the end of the nineteenth century but a peaceful economic environment in Australia. Chinese in Australia stood astride two worlds. They worried about their country's situation and feared discrimination in Australia under the 'White Australia Policy'. They could do little but hope their country would become stronger and united. Patriotism was a basic motivation for involving themselves in political affairs. But this patriotism was driven by various forces in different circumstances.¹³⁶

Australia's democratic status had made some impact upon Chinese conservative attitude towards China's revolutionary movement. That is why they easily accepted Kang

¹³⁴ See *Investigation Form of the Party Member*, in Chung Wah Association. The target of the purge was to clear of Chinese Communists, see Hook (ed) (1982) *op. cit.* p260.

¹³⁵ See *Registration and Examination Form of the member of the Zhongguo Guomindang*, in Chung Wah Association.

and Liang's ideas of the monarchist movement and opposed Sun's revolutionary activity in the 1910s. After the outbreak of the Double-tenth (10th October) Uprising that led to the downfall of the Manchu Empire in China in 1911, the ideological struggles between revolution (Republicans) and constitution (Reformers) did not come to an end, because *The Chung Wah Times* that was established on a premise of the Sydney Chinese merchants still argued that Sun's revolution divided the country and that Sun was a 'criminal' instead of a 'hero'.¹³⁷

The small Chinese community in Western Australia did not hold such conservative opinions for long. In 1921, a branch of Sun's Zhongguo Guomindang was founded in Perth. Membership numbers at first were higher even than Melbourne's, where there was a large Chinese community, which indicated that the Perth Chinese were united to support the republican movement.

Generally, 'whenever immigrants have settled in Australia, there has been the possibility of forming ethnic communities'.¹³⁸ A minority of the Chinese community, was foremost in responding to the social environment that denied Chinese men the right to naturalisation and other civil rights. At the same time, the 'social networks' such as organizations created by the Chinese who struggled for identity tested the Australian

¹³⁶ See Quan Gong in a article of 'Compared to overseas' patriotism to the Chinese in China' said that overseas Chinese were patriots in general but they were being used and cheated quite often because they did not know what the situation was in their mainland. *The Tung Wah Times*, 25 January 1919.

¹³⁷ A News report said 'Sun bombs out people in the city of Huizhou' on 18 August 1923. Such news was often published in *the Chung Wah Times* during 1900 and 1920.

¹³⁸ Harvey, S 'Ethnic Communities', in Kellehear (ed) (1996) *Social Self, Global Culture: an introduction to sociological ideas*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p117.

Government's tolerance towards difference.¹³⁹ The manner in which some dynamic Perth Chinese organisations acted or reacted to conditions within the Australian social environment after 1901 indicate that development of citizenship rights can change the way in which Chinese identify themselves. That is why the Chung Wah Association tried to protect Chinese common interests in Australia and retain the right of Chinese to survive in Western Australia; but the Chinese Nationalist Party was tied up strongly with China's political movements. The important reason for the Chinese who developed a strong sense of belonging to a broader Chinese community is that they were generally treated as non-citizens by the 'White Australia Policy'.

¹³⁹ I use what Harvey terms said 'Boundary' and 'Social networks' to explain why the Chinese were organised and how the Government reacted. See Harvey, *Ibid.* pp117-123.

Part Two: The Chinese Community in Transition

Introduction

It was a period of transition in Australia and for the Chinese community during the war and afterwards. In wartime, the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chung Wah Association mainly performed a charitable function which was very different from that previously analysed, as Chinese lived in quiet social circumstances showing there was prevalent a somewhat friendlier attitude towards them. Not only did the Chinese Consulate that operated in Perth play an important role in linking friendship between Australians and Chinese, but also China was portrayed by Australians as an equal member of the 'Democratic Alliance' formed to beat fascism.¹ Traditional discourses in favour of Chinese transcended old working-class prejudices. Chinese seamen in Australia during the war were organised by the Seamen's Union of Australia. 'Numbering over 5000, Asian workers who were marooned in Australia were employed in vital economic sectors and welcomed into many unions', whereas most unions continued to support racist policies.²

After the War, Australia created its *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* and policies of assimilation were prominent in political debate. Chinese organisations in Perth did not perform such a strong ethnic 'group consciousness' as before, because the community was no longer replenished by immigration and the Australian social environment moved from a defensive stance to a friendly attitude towards Chinese. So

¹ Strahan (1996) *op. cit.* p24.

² *Ibid.*, pp24-6.

Chinese families and descendants could proudly feel they belonged to Australia not only because they were born in Australia, but also because many had fought for Australia during the War. Legally they became equal members just as any Australian citizens that were recognised by the Nationalist and Citizenship Act.

However, families and descendants were socially denied access to Chinese cultural resources such as language and customs. Although Chinese family lives existed, which could bind small Chinese populations together, only on very few occasions did they have the opportunity to broaden their sense of belonging to a Chinese community or proudly display their Chinese culture to the non-Chinese community. Hardly had new needs arisen when a new flow of migrants arrived. Hence the ailing Chung Wah Association was restored to its former strength. Chinese organizations at this time aimed at sustaining cultural identity and continuing their 'welfare function'. Such changes evinced in the context of Australian citizenship had been established on the basis of racial equity and the later policy of multiculturalism.

In this period of transition, Chinese response to citizenship was strongly represented by those newly arrived Chinese migrants who were considered to be 'citizenship-seekers' because they were refugees from the ravages of war with its political and economical upheavals. Their citizenship ideology contrasted sharply with the early pioneer Chinese residents' patriotism to nationalist China. An important relevant event was that China was involved in a civil war and later became a communist regime. The Chinese Government did not take much care of the overseas Chinese, and worse,

events such as 'land reform'³ that occurred in China shocked those so-called wealthy Chinese in Australia and elsewhere. The ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia felt a sense of insecurity due to their experience of racial and religious discrimination, as they had hardly any citizenship and political rights in their country of birth.⁴ Australia's stable political environment and the higher living standards attracted them. More importantly, Australia started to open its doors to Asian people. Therefore, the struggle of Chinese in Australia to acquire citizenship became more and more active than before.

The following chapters evaluate Chinese responses to changing issues and citizenship criteria. Firstly, the focus is on the early Chinese Families and their descendants, especially the Australian born Chinese who had committed and contributed to the War effort. Secondly, the thesis concentrates on the Chinese Labour Corps and the Chinese society during World War Two. Thirdly, the chapter examines the rejuvenation of the Chinese community in the early 1970s.

³ Latourette, K.S (1972) *op. cit.* pp402-03.

⁴ Godley, Michael. R 'China's Policy Towards Migrants, 1842-1949,' in Inglis (eds) (1992), *op. cit.* pp16-18.

Chapter 4

The Impact of Australian Born Chinese to Views of Self Identification

The Chinese in Western Australia have spanned six generations since they first arrived in Australia.⁵ The first Chinese man Moon Chow came to Western Australia by the 'Emily Taylor' on 12th October 1829 from India soon after the Swan River Colony was established in June 1829. Moon Chow worked at Fremantle as a carpenter and married Mary Thorpe in 1847. They had several children.⁶ Probably, this was the first case of intermarriage between a Chinese man and a European woman in the Perth metropolitan area. At the beginning of the twentieth century, forty-four Chinese with wives in the colony and forty eight half-caste Chinese were listed in the 1901 Western Australian census.⁷ Compared to a predominantly male Chinese population in Western Australia, only a small number, 3 %, had wives and families with them.⁸ Although Chinese families and their descendants were not significant in numbers, they played important roles in linking the Chinese community and Australian society.

Most Chinese families and descendants were deeply influenced by the policy of assimilationism during their life time. Ironically, these descendants did not often have the right of citizenship but acted truly as Australian citizens, especially in wartime.

⁵ One of the fourth generation is Gloria Taylor. Her family trees are Charles Ah You (Gipp) - Annie Gipp - Daisy Kallenberg - Gloria Taylor - Tracy Taylor - Kyle.

⁶ Erickson, R. (ed) (1988) *op. cit.* p2207. Atkinson (1988) (ed), *op. cit.* p228.

⁷ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p80.

⁸ Atkinson (1988) (ed), *op. cit.* p5.

When multiculturalism became a government priority in the 1970s, the responses to the changing citizenship saw the access of Chinese to cultural resources such as language and customs, and they looked for their roots and proudly defended their pioneering history and their cultural rights. That is why history is being recorded and written enthusiastically by these Chinese descendants rather than the new migrants.⁹

4.1 Background: the Early Chinese Families

Family Man

Traditionally, a Chinese was a family man.¹⁰ From birth to death, an individual was constantly under the influence of the family and kinship system that was supported by the Confucian tradition of filial piety.¹¹ Like most migrants 'dedicated to personal sacrifice for the good of others',¹² Chinese migrants devoted their personal lives to their families, when they experienced economic and social difficulties at home. This traditional stand still influenced new migrants, but was more typically expressed by the pioneer Chinese migrants of rural South China who came to Australia in the late nineteenth century.

⁹ This is a phenomenon among the Chinese community that the Chinese descendants are much more aware of Chinese history than the other Chinese. When Kaylene Poon recalled the role of the Historical Group, she said that once started she was committed for life. Most of the members in the Chung Wah Association Historical Group were descendants of the early Chinese families. See her *Dalkeith Rotary Presentation*, 26 May 1997, pp4-5.

¹⁰ The Majority of Chinese migrants had married before or after they came to Australia. In the *Register of the Chinese in Western Australia in 1931*, more than 90% men showed their marital status and they had one child or more.

¹¹ Choi (1975) *op.cit* pp9-11.

¹² O'Farrell (1993) *op.cit*, p87.

The ambitions of the early Chinese migrants concerning family seems to be that Chinese in Australia were always in connection with their families whether they were single or married men. It explains why many young males migrated from their homeland to look for fortune and sent remittances back to their families. They worked hard and lived thrifty lives to look after their families.¹³ Except for some who retained single status, most Chinese were married men. These two types of people can be found among the Chinese migrant groups in Western Australia. One type is of the young or middle-aged men who came to Australia once they married. Their wives and families remained in China;¹⁴ the other consists of those migrants who stayed a few years in Australia and returned to their home village to marry. They arrived single and married afterwards either outside or within Australia.¹⁵ However, most Chinese, whose wives were not in Australia, were unwilling to show their marriage status in public or in official publications when they came to Australia, their situations of 'unmarried' and 'single' were recorded as their personal identity.¹⁶

Father-Son

The special 'Father - Son' families who lived in Australia reflected how lineage-oriented Chinese migration systems continued.¹⁷ It also indicated that Chinese desired to identify their interests in both Australia and their homeland. There existed many Chinese migrants who came with their fathers or replaced retiring fathers in Western

¹³ One of the characters of overseas Chinese is thrift. A similar situation can be found in other migrant groups. *Sunday Times* reported that Britain's top 100 South Asian millionaires had attributed their wealth to their values of thrift, hard work and family life. *The Straits Times*, 23 February 1997.

¹⁴ Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p96.

¹⁵ See Australian Archive (W.A.) *Registers of Applications for Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test* and Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.*

¹⁶ J. Gentilli pointed out that through some aberration, census collectors had been instructed to count as 'unmarried' all Chinese whose wives were not in Australia. 'Early Chinese Migration in Western Australia', *Royal Western Australia Historical Society*, Vol. 9. 1984:91.

¹⁷ Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p84

Australia. For example, market gardener Ying Wah in Wanneroo returned to Western Australia in April 1903 after he had been to China. During the same period, his son Ah Kwong arrived and worked at Wanneroo as a market gardener.¹⁸ On the other hand, the Chinese migrants' daughters remained in the village and had more chance to marry one of the young sons from a migrant family.

Such family chain migrants were popular in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in China.¹⁹ The financial supporting family was the one important motivation for Chinese migrating to overseas countries. By comparison, those migrants' families had a better life in the villages than those with no migrant relatives. It was said that Joseph Tieghan's father built a house each time he visited the village of Nan He Cun. He built three houses with fine brick, which is considered as high quality in houses by today's standard.²⁰ Joseph Tieghan arrived Australia in 1896 when he was 20.²¹ Clearly, he came under a 'clan-sponsorship' system as previously discussed. Indeed, many Chinese men in Western Australia had an itinerant life because they had to look after their families in the home village.²² See Table 4.1 for the numbers of the

¹⁸ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op.cit.* p53 and p299.

¹⁹ Choi (1975) *op.cit.* pp11-14.

²⁰ I saw Tieghan's father's houses in the village when I visited Xin Hui in February 1998. The village people recalled that those families who had a background of overseas migrants relied on financial support from overseas. Usually the money was brought direct to the villages from Hong Kong instead of remittances being sent by mail. Sometimes, the money had been exchanged for goods and brought to the families. During war time, when money hardly got through between overseas countries and the villages, it caused disaster among these families in China. In Xin Hui, during World War Two as well as famine, one out of three among those overseas families died, as they could not get finance from overseas and they could not do any farming in the villages. This experience made overseas Chinese realize that they had to invest in land rather than in house buildings or in money support in order to avoid such tragedy. However, the 'land reform' in China after 1949 made those overseas Chinese who had bought land have another kind of misfortune because they became the target of the land reform.

²¹ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op.cit.* p266.

²² See Australian Archives (W. A.), *Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test* were requirements for Asians entering Australia after travelling overseas under the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* reflected how the Chinese in Western Australia moved between China and Australia. Also see Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op.cit.*

Chinese in Western Australia registered with Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test (C.E.D.T.) during 1920 and 1945.

Table 4.1 The numbers of the Chinese registered with C. E. D. T. (1920-1945).

Years	Chinese	Total Number of C.E.D.T
1920	82	198
1921	115	175
1922	83	115
1923	74	122
1924	67	92
1925	67	114
1926	60	101
1927	75	100
1928	64	90
1929	65	93
1930	60	92
1931	42	57
1932	24	32
1933	32	43
1934	28	42
1935	25	50
1936	21	30
1937	25	38
1938	15	24
1939	8	9
1940	10	14
1941	3	8
1942	-	-
1943	-	-
1944	-	-
1945	-	-

Source: Calculated from data in Australian Archives (W.A.) PP363/1, 1904-1958

Commuters

The figures show that the period between 1920 and 1930 was a busy time for Chinese travelling to China although some who held a 'Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test' (C.E.D.T.) did not use it or some Chinese did not apply for it when they left Australia.

The C.E.D.T. was given to Asian people who travelled between Australia and other countries under the *Immigration Restriction Act* 1901 as a travel document. Before 1904, the 'Certificate of Domicile' (C.D.) was required by Asians if they wished to leave Australia temporarily. The applicants were asked to prove their ownership of freehold property or similar material possessions and demonstrate proof of good character and to have had five years residential status. Wives and children could accompany husbands who were in possession of the certificate.²³ However, the majority of the applications to have their families join them were rejected, and only a few Chinese merchants engaged in export /import businesses had their families come to Australia.²⁴ After 1904, the C.D. was replaced by the C.E.D.T. which unlike the C.D. did not allow wives and children to accompany holders of the certificate but only applied to the individual traveller.²⁵ The C.E.D.T. required the applicant to fill in a form of 'Statutory Declaration' complete with photos and submit letters of personal character written by two Australian British subjects.²⁶ These changing certificates indicated that the resident Chinese in Australia had certain rights to travel between the

²³ See Atkinson (1988) *Ibid.*

²⁴ See Yarwood (1967) *op.cit.* p68 and Atkinson (1984) *op.cit.* p39.

²⁵ See Atkinson (1988) *op.cit.*

²⁶ See Australian Archives (W.A.) PP 363 / 1 'Register of Certificates of Exemption from the Dictation Test'.

two countries but their right to bring families to Australia was very limited. (See Figure 4.1 Examples of Certificate Exempting From Dictation Test).

The domiciliary Chinese were keen to have the 'certificate' because it could display their status in Australia, even though it was not always used owing to the financial difficulty involved in travelling. They were willing to pay 1 or 2 pounds sterling for each letter in which the local Australians wrote the good character references as required by the process of application. One resident in South Perth, where there was a concentrated area of Chinese market gardening, recalled that his grandmother frequently did writing for Chinese and had made a small fortune.²⁷

The reasons for the Chinese to visit their home village were various, but, the most important one was to look after the family. Some went to China to marry. Xianli Wang (Sue Wong) arrived in Western Australia in 1899 when he was 15 years old. He travelled overseas twice, from June 1910 to July 1911 and from February 1922 to September 1923. During this period of time, he married a Chinese woman in the village and had children. He did not visit the home family after he had married for a second time in Australia in 1925.²⁸ Ah Ping, 15 years of age, arrived with his father Charlie Yickon and brother Ah Yong in Western Australia in 1902. He made eight return visits to China before he left Western Australia in 1947. During these visits to China, Ah Ping

²⁷ Interview with Arthur Tondut, August 1997.

²⁸ Interview with Ken Sue, also see Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.* p285.

BOOK N° 80. Form No. 21. COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. No. 51
DUPLICATE. Immigration Restriction Acts 1901-1905 and Regulations.

17/1911

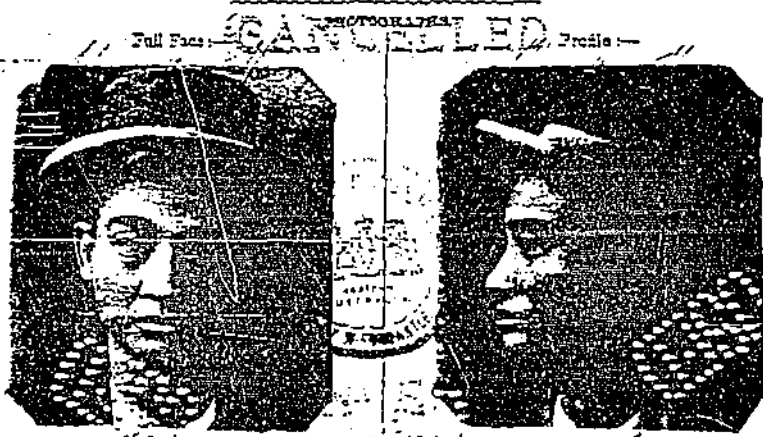
CERTIFICATE EXEMPTING FROM DICTATION TEST.

I, Colayton James Mason the Collector of Customs for the State of Western Australia in the said Commonwealth, hereby certify that Lee Chee Si hereinafter described, who is leaving the Commonwealth temporarily, will be exempted from the provisions of paragraph (a) of Section 3 of the Act if he returns to the Commonwealth within a period of three months, from this date.

Dated 27 January 1911. Clayton Mason Collector of Customs.

By Authority: Messrs. H. Marks, (Incorporated) Printers, Melbourne.

DESCRIPTION.
Nationality Chinese Birthplace China
Age 24 years Height 5 ft 10 in
Build Slim Eyes Dark Brown
Particular marks Scar left wrist with right thumb embossed
(For impression of hand see back of this document)



Date of departure 27-1-1911 Destination Singapore
Ship Albatross
Date of return 5-5-1911 Ship Albatross
Port Singapore
Charles C. Smith Customs Officer

Department of Immigration, U.A. Branch,
Or conditions of Migration from Dictation Tests, 1901-1905:
MELB 1905
Approved on Application: Application 7261/1, dated 17/1911

Figure 4.1 Examples of Certificate Exempting Form Dictation Test
Source: Australian Archives (W.A.) PP 63/1 Item 17/1911

married and had five children. His wife and children remained in China.²⁹ Dayan Zhong (Joseph Tieghan), an artist, visited the village in the 1930s. He bought a set of camera equipment and furniture tools for his grandsons. He hoped the elder son would be a photographer and the younger one learn furniture making skills before they went to Australia. His expectation was not fulfilled due to family circumstances in China and the 'White Australia Policy' that stopped Chinese coming to Australia. However, his grandsons opened a camera shop in Jiangmen in the late 1940 and became professional photographers in China.³⁰

Those Chinese men who had wives in China had the appearance of being single men in Australia, which caused Europeans anxiety. This is one of the conflicts between the two cultures. Obviously, Chinese had their traditional family customs. Europeans did not know that many Chinese men on their own, who were designated single, had family commitments in China. The newspapers' comments on those 'single' country men, who especially if they intermarried, would bring unheard dangers to Australia³¹ were proven to be unfounded.

In fact, the Chinese worried about intermarriage and some took precautions against it under the influence of their traditional education. They believed that the Chinese race and morals were superior to those of the foreigners. Although Chinese felt much less constrained when they came to a free Australian environment, they accepted the material civilization rather than Western morals. Castigating the immorality of

²⁹ Atkinson (ed) (1988) *op. cit.* p70.

³⁰ Interview with Tieghan's grandson and granddaughter in Xin Hui in February 1998.

³¹ See 'Asiatics and White Women', in *Sunday Times*, 31 July 1910.

Australian society was one of the themes in Chinese newspapers in Australia.³² A newspaper argued that 'The Chinese should maintain the morals and ethics passed on by their ancestors. Foreigners, while enjoying political stability, could not save themselves from degeneracy.'³³ So although Australia's social climate was liberal, Chinese became more conservative, especially with regard to marriage. Furthermore, from the family and lineage's point of view, the majority of Chinese rarely accepted intermarriage. This is one major reason why Chinese migrants seldom married European women.³⁴

Europeans had the same attitudes towards intermarriage.³⁵ They were against their women marrying Chinese and proposed a Bill prohibiting marriages between Asiatic men and white women in the state of Western Australia.³⁶ Chinese in Australia expressed strong opposition to this proposal.³⁷ A Chinese newspaper pointed out such legislation was racially discriminatory against Chinese and broke the democratic spirit of respect for women. But at the same time, the commentator thought if the legislation was passed, it would have benefited Chinese society because it could stop intermarriage, especially of those Chinese men who did not care for their wives in China.³⁸ Such attitudes clearly showed that the Chinese in Australia accepted Western customs if they complemented their own standards. In relation to their families in China the so-called single Chinese men did not think they behaved immorally by presenting themselves as single.

³² Poon, Y.L. 'The Two-Way Mirror: contemporary issues as seen through the eyes of the Chinese language press, 1901-1911', in Fitzgerald, S and Wotherspoon, G. (ed) (1995) *Minorities-cultural diversity in Sydney*, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, pp56-57.

³³ *Ibid.* p57.

³⁴ Price (1974) *op. cit.* p55

³⁵ See 'The Low- Class Asiatic', *Sunday Times*, 28 August 1910.

³⁶ *Legislative Assembly*, 16 August 1910.

In these circumstances, there were few Chinese-Australian intermarried families at the beginning of the twentieth century in Western Australia. Besides traditional family values, language and poverty also seem to have been barriers to intermarriage with white women.³⁹ Those men who were young and held higher economic status more easily took an Australian wife. Some Church groups did help a few Chinese establish a family relationship. The Western Australian Registrar's Offices received nineteen marriage registrations from Chinese males between 1880 and 1900. Ten of these marriages were performed in churches.⁴⁰

How did a Chinese marry an European woman? The *Sunday Times* gave an example. Miss Mary Letchford, a native of York, came to Perth to look for work in 1906. At Clergy College, an ecclesiastical establishment in St. George's Terrace, she soon gained a reputation for reverence and sanctity, and finally decided to pass her spare time in converting the Confucian Chinese to Christianity. She took a class at the Chinese Mission, the headquarters of which was at Shearer's Memorial Hall, Beaufort Street. There she met her most attentive pupil, Wai Lyne Lew, a banana importer, of 31 Murray Street, Perth. In 1910, they married in the Town Hall, Cathedral Avenue. The reporter of the newspaper wondered how an 'oval faced, rotund and of somewhat prepossessing appearance' white woman married a 'full-blooded, almond-eyed and shrivel-skinned Mongolian'. Focusing on the different attires worn by the bride and the groom, the author tried to describe how ugly their marriage was and urged the

³⁷ *The Tung Wah Times*, 24 September 1910.

³⁸ *The Tung Wah Times*, 24 September 1910.

³⁹ Skinner (1957) *op. cit.* p127.

⁴⁰ Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p80.

Australian society to push for legislation to stop the intermixing of races because 'this was not the first time a Chow and a Christian had been in wedlock together'.⁴¹

Intermarriage was not easy for either side of the two races due to different cultures and beliefs. However, the pressure of discrimination fell more heavily on the female side because women directly faced the hostile attitudes of their parents and the local community. In Perth, furniture factory owner Hoy Poy Yuen married Mary, a native Victorian-born Australian. Mary became 'Chinese by marriage' and lost her British nationality when she married. During war time, she did not have coupons to get any of the foods that were rationed for Europeans, but she got the Chinese rice ration.⁴² By contrast with the women's situation, those Chinese who married European women benefited from their intermarriages. Their well-established businesses and family life helped them establish their social position in both Australian society and the Chinese community. Perhaps being under pressure, those couples appeared to have had a stable relationship.

'Two-Wives' Family

Chinese families had several different structures. Apart from the 'intermarriage' family, the 'full blood' Chinese family, the 'Father - Son' family and the 'brothers' family, a type of 'two-wives' family could also be found among Chinese immigrants.⁴³ In the Perth metropolitan area, some Chinese had two wives. One was an European who lived in Perth. The other was a Chinese wife who lived in a village in

⁴¹ *Sunday Times*, 31 July, 1910.

⁴² Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p104.

⁴³ Many cases can be tracked down but Atkinson mentioned that only one case of Doug Sue's father had been found in Western Australia. See Atkinson (1984) Hons thesis, *op. cit.* p41. In his big picture book of the Chinese in Australia, Eric Rolls did not mention it. Rolls (1992) (1996) *op. cit.*

China. As mentioned above, the Chinese community did not support such things in principle, but they understood the situation. Generally, those Chinese who had two wives held a good economic position. In turn, they became important members in the Chinese community and tended not to disclose their marital situation. There was no legal problem for a man who had two or more wives in the late Qing period of China. Secondly, if the man could keep two wives instead of 'love the new and loathe the old' - in Chinese terms 'Xi Xin Yan Jiu', it was in keeping with Confucian morality. Australians could hardly understand it, as from their point of view, this was in direct conflict with Australian law.

The 'two wives' families seem to have had peaceful lives. In the 1930s, a Perth merchant businessman Tim See Chiew had called his Chinese wife to come to Perth for a visit. Her six months stay did not cause much trouble.⁴⁴ John Kee Fong's uncle Henley Fong, let his son and wife visit Broome from China although Henley Fong had since married a Japanese. His Chinese wife and son lived in Broome for about a year before they returned to China.⁴⁵ Doug Sue's father, a market gardener in York, maintained a good relationship between his two wives. Doug Sue's mother seemed to understand her husband's situation, as did the Chinese wife. In letters, the Chinese wife called Doug Sue's mother 'sister' and expressed her concern about the whole family affair. She hoped the 'sister' looked after the children and came to China to visit.⁴⁶ Ken Sue went to visit his father Sue Wong's village in 1984. His father's Chinese wife had just died one month earlier. Ken Sue had never known the 'mother' until village

⁴⁴ Interview with William Ronald Chiew and Beryl Chiew, 3 February 1997.

⁴⁵ Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1996.

⁴⁶ The letters are kept in Doug Sue's family.

relatives told him.⁴⁷ These marriage situations might suggest that some Chinese had rid themselves of traditional family concepts and lived in more practical circumstances. They made Australia their home even though they were reluctant to lose their connection with the homeland.

Family functions

Those Chinese lucky enough to live as families have produced many children: six, eight or a dozen.⁴⁸ This was not unusual as other Australians in the wider community had done the same in the early days, but from the Chinese point of view, this had two significant meanings. One was traditional family commitment, in Chinese term 'Duo Zi Duo Fu' (More children you have, more happy you are). This family ideology was built into Chinese lives. Another was that 'families have always been buttresses against hard times'. 'Family members have been able to band together to form life-sustaining businesses, a united front against a world that was often hostile and unpredictable'.⁴⁹ Chinese community activities also relied on those members who had families and children. At the social gatherings, children always came to perform and accompany, which is one of the characteristics of the ethnic Chinese organisations. In most cases, Chinese families were hardly able to provide their children with a higher education like other Australian families did during the hard times. However, Chinese always gave their children the best education they could afford and stressed the need for their children to do 'best' at school. Harold Sham's family gave their children a musical education. Sisters Gladys and Norma Sham successively won scholarships to Perth Modern School in 1929 and 1936. Norma Sham had elocution lessons and won many Exhibitions in the

⁴⁷ Interview with Ken Sue, 4 April 1997.

⁴⁸ Giese (1997), *op.cit.* p168-69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp168-69.

annual speech exams held at the W.A. University.⁵⁰ Generally, when Australians considered Chinese migrants were unable to assimilate due to their lower level of literacy skills (English), they did not know how hard these migrant families had tried to foster an educated generation of Australian citizens. These issues need to be considered when analysing Chinese migrants' remarkable commitment to Australia. Norma Sham's instance demonstrates that Chinese families expected their children to be first-class citizens if being second-class citizens just meant less educated Australians.⁵¹

In those types of Chinese families, the influences of Chinese culture on children usually depended on the mother's side to a certain extent. So if the mother was European, her children were less used to Chinese culture and customs. Norman Moy's mother was European. He was not aware of any Chinese customs until he married his Chinese wife.⁵² At that time, a married European woman was not recognized as a British subject, so their children were naturally identified as Chinese, especially when the children came to join the armed forces during war time. These circumstances helped children to accept Chinese customs. It may have been an example of 'slowing down the rate of assimilation'.⁵³

Often, the elder son or daughter among children in an intermarriage family more easily accepted the influences of Chinese cultures. This is not because they were the oldest, but mainly because they had to work with their father in their early years to

⁵⁰ Interview with Norman Moy, 6 March 1996.

⁵¹ Later, a survey showed that 'Australians of Chinese ancestry have been attracted to the health professions, they are proportionally strongly over represented as medical practitioners and nurses.' See Legge, Varoe and Westbrook, Mary. T, 'Ethnicity, Illness and Aged People', in Waddrell, C. et al (eds) (1994) *Just Health: inequality in illness, care and prevention*, Melbourne: Churchill Livingstone, p171.

⁵² Interview with Norman Moy, 6 March 1996.

⁵³ Choi (1975) *op.cit.* p95.

look after the whole family. Therefore, the first generation of Australian-born Chinese accepted family values as one of the important Chinese customs.⁵⁴ Due to family influences, some of them had to go to China for their Chinese education and marriage. John Kee Fong, who was born in Broome in 1925, was sent to China for his education during the 1930s.⁵⁵

Some children felt alienated in China and Australia both when they went and when they returned. Ellen Fong Yung who was born in Broome in 1925 gave an account of her life in China during the 1930s.

'We were born in Australia and got used to wearing western-style clothes. When the fellow villagers saw us they treated us as strange people. I remember once when our domestic servant took my brothers and sister and me to school, on the way we were jeered at by the villagers. They called us "foreign girls" and some even lifted the edges of our skirts to see whether we wore pants or not. We felt miserable because we were born in Australia and white people did not treat us as "westerners"; but when we were in China, the Chinese did not call us "Chinese".'⁵⁶

Gum Yuen, the owner of the J.W. Wing Ltd Furniture Factory, regularly commuted between Perth and China. Raymond Yuan, his son, stayed in the village from the age of six weeks in 1911 till he was fourteen years old in 1924. When he attended a college for the first time in Australia, he experienced racial prejudice and committed suicide by hanging himself in 1926.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Interview with Doug Sue, Jack Sue, Norman Moy and John Kee Fong.

⁵⁵ Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1996.

⁵⁶ Ellen Fong Yung in Helena Lee Yeung (ed) (1996) *Looking Back at the Past: life stories of Chinese seniors in Melville*. City of Melville, p59.

Compared to intermarriage families, those Australian-born Chinese men or women of full blood Chinese families showed a greater tendency to choose a Chinese spouse, which might suggest that Chinese family morals deeply influenced them, especially the females.⁵⁸ This also can be explained by old married customs. 'The older generation, while accepting mixed marriages for their daughters, still strongly disapproved of the boys marrying other than Chinese girls'.⁵⁹ The random selections of the first Chinese migrants of intermarriage families or the full blood Chinese marriage families proved that. See Table 4.2 The married status of Australian born Chinese in the first Chinese migrants' families (intermarriage or no-intermarriage) in Western Australia.

Table 4.2 The married status of Australian born Chinese in the first Chinese migrant families(intermarriage or no-intermarriage) in Western Australia.

Inter-M family	Children	M-Chinese	M-Australian	No-M
Chew, Kum	5	1 girl	4 (2 girls)	
Chung, Sue	7		7 (4 girls)	
Lee, Kong Sam	7	1 girl	6 boys	
Wong, Sue	6		6 (1 girl)	
Yuen, Hoy Poy	6	2 boys		4 girls
Chinese Family				
Chiew, Tim See	6	2 girls	3 boys	1 boy
Gooy Lew, John	8	2 girls	3 (1 girl)	3 (1girl)
Lee, Wood	5	5 (3 girls)		
Yuen, Kum	5	5 (2 girls)		

Source: Recorded from Australian born Chinese families.

⁵⁷ Raymond suicided on 14th April 1926. See *The Tung Wah Times*, 24 April 1926. Also see Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit* pp94-95.

⁵⁸ Choi (1975) *op. cit* p103.

⁵⁹ Jones gave an example about Alec Fong's father's attitudes in the 1950s. See Jones, Timothy G (1990) *The Chinese in the Northern Territory*, Darwin: NTU Press, p119.

Australian born Chinese made their contribution to the Chinese community. Together with those young Chinese who were born in China but educated in Australia, they had more opportunity to influence both the Chinese community and the Australian social environment. Not only were they young and bilingual, they had a certain financial background from their parents or their own businesses.

More importantly, their experiences in their families and society made them feel that it was their duty to work for the Chinese community.⁶⁰ In some cases, they were really victims of the 'White Australia Policy' because they knew that the policy was unfair.⁶¹ In Perth, a number of active members in the Chung Wah Association were Australian-born Chinese. Guoqi Guan (Alex Shem) was born in Melbourne in 1893. He owned 'Ah Sam and Co' at 112 Barrack Street, Perth, a business that was familiar to the older generation of Perth. He was also a leader in both the Chung Wah Association and the Guomindang Party. In other states, William Liu was another example of this (born in Sydney in 1893).⁶² Compared to the second and third generation Chinese, the first generation Australian born Chinese were linked more to their predecessors than others. Their education was influenced by the traditional Chinese cultural networks, which made this generation somehow different during the War years.

⁶⁰ Interview with Edie Hoy Poy, 15 March 1996.

⁶¹ An Italian said that he could understand the insults when he could speak English. See Thompson, S. L. (1980) *Australia Through Italian Eyes - a study of settlers returning from Australia to Italy*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p148. The Chinese had this in common with Italian migrants' feeling.

⁶² Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* pp263-264.

4.2 War as Indicator of Chinese Views in Transition

Australian-born Chinese had special experiences during World War I and II because of their family background. They made obvious contributions to the War effort as they were directly involved in the armed forces. During the War, overseas Chinese, especially those in the Chinese Labour Corps gave all their effort to the development of the Australian home defences. Here we look at the role Australian born Chinese played in the defence of Australia and under the influence of Chinese family tradition, which showed how they responded to an Australian social environment.

World War I

There were few young Chinese descendants who were old enough to join the Australian armed forces during World War I. However, there was a small number of Chinese descendants in the Eastern States who served. As army officers were instructed to reject those people who were not substantially of European origin, Chinese descendants had to persevere to be accepted.⁶³ Some Australian born Chinese did well in the Great War. For example, James Caleb Shang, Billy Sing and Albert Victor Chan won Distinguished Conduct Medals during World War I.⁶⁴

At this time in Western Australia (1914-1918), the first Australian born Chinese known to have joined the armed forces in Perth were three brothers from the Charles Ah You family: Sergeant Francis George Gipp, Private Robert James Gipp and Private

⁶³ *Ibid.* p441.

⁶⁴ See *Honour List of Australian Ex-Service Personnel of Chinese Descent Who Served in WW1, WW2, Korean War, Vietnam War and in the Australian Merchant Navy, WW2*, compiled by Gilbert Jan, a copy is kept in Chung Wah Association. Eric Rolls did not mention Chan Albert Victor in his *Citizens*, *op.cit* pp441-442.

Charles You Gipp.⁶⁵ The father Charles Ah You came from Canton and married Elizabeth of the David Walters family in Melbourne in the 1880s. The Gipp family lived in the Perth metropolitan area in the 1890s, so the three sons were all educated at the James Street School in Perth. Charles Ah You probably had a business shop in James Street in 1901.⁶⁶ Soon after World War I began on 5th August 1914, Francis George Gipp enlisted at Perth in August as the first soldier of the 16th Battalion. His registration number was No. 59. In November, three months later, he sailed for Gallipoli, and took part in the landing and was severely wounded. He was sent to a hospital in England and then invalided home to Australia.⁶⁷ Robert James Gipp (No.429) enlisted in the 28th Battalion in Perth on 8th March 1915 and sailed for Egypt on 9th June 1915. He went to France and remained there until the War was over.⁶⁸

Charles You (also spelled Charles Y Gipp) was born in 1891 in Perth. During the War, Charles Y. Gipp (No. 4632) married Eva E. Hudson and had one child. He was rejected by the Army as not of substantially British origin at first. After he indicated his two brothers were already serving in the Army, he was accepted in the 11th Battalion. He sailed for Egypt on the 13th February 1916 and crossed to France. He was killed at Pozieres on 25th July 1916, aged 25. There is a tree with his name on a plaque in Kings Park, Perth, which contributes to the impressive record of the Chinese who gave

⁶⁵ How was the surname of 'You' changed into 'Gipp'? It remains an unsolved mystery for their later generation families. Interview with Gloria Taylor, 17th March 1997.

⁶⁶ The Gipp family probably had a shop in James Street, *The Sunday Times* had mentioned Charlie Ah You and his shop as an opium den. See *The Sunday Times*, 2 June 1901.

⁶⁷ *Australia's Fighting Sons of the Empire: portraits and biographies of Australians in the Great War* Perth: Palmer & Ashworth, p91.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p91

service in World War I.⁶⁹ (See Figure 4.2 Gloria Taylor, a fourth generation in the Gipp family Standing by Charles Y. Gipp's Plaque in Kings Park, Perth, 1997)

World War II

In the 1940s in World War II, Australian born Chinese again contributed to the armed services. An honour list of Australian ex-service personnel of Chinese descent shows 315 out of 365 Chinese descendants saw service in World War II.⁷⁰ In Western Australia, there were around 30 people who joined the Australian forces.⁷¹ Some families had most of their children enrolled in the armed forces. For example, in Ah Ying Zhong's family, four people Doug Sue (RAAF), Dave Sue (AIF), Rene Sue (WRAAF) and James (Jim) Albert Sue (RAAF) were enlisted.⁷² Kong Sam Lee's family of Northam had five sons in the Australian forces: William (RAAF), Jack (AIF), Sydney, Edward (AIF) and Jim (AIF). Other Chinese did civilian and essential work on the home front.

Changing Attitudes

Compared to the Second World War, Chinese in Australia had different attitudes towards the First World War, which influenced their children. During 1914 and 1918,

⁶⁹ Interview with Gloria, a fourth generation Chinese of Australian in the Gipp family, 17 March 1997. Also see *Australia's Fighting Sons of the Empire* p91.

⁷⁰ See Gilbert Jan, *op. cit.* In the 'Honour list'. Although figure is incomplete, for example, Charles Ah You and his brothers were not in the list, it is an effort to record it.

⁷¹ According to information provided by some families and their relatives, Kate Quan recorded their names. In Gilbert Jan, *op. cit.*, I add three names Wing Fong, Charles and Steve Hoy on the list. The total number is 34. There were many problems to find out how many of Chinese descent had enlisted in the armed forces. One is that the war records give no indication of ethnicity. Another is that of Chinese-sounding names that can not be judged as of Chinese descent. More difficult is that finding of many a quarter Chinese who gave service in the army, for example, Gloria's two brothers Frank Kallenberg and Alex Kallenberg were in World War II. It seems that nobody thinks of them as being of Chinese descent.

⁷² Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p68.



Figure 4.2 Gloria Taylor, Fourth Generation Gipp Family, Standing by Charles Y. Gipp's Plaque in Kings Park, Perth 1997

the majority of Chinese migrants were middle aged while their children were teenagers. They were not interested in the War. Partly because they were isolated from Australian society when they were asked to register under the *War Precautions Regulations*, and also because this was a European War and the theatres of war did not happen to be in Australia or China. Another fact distracting them from the War was that they were concerned about the Republican movement in mainland China.⁷³

When Chinese in the suburbs received letters requiring them to join the armed services, it caused them much anxiety.⁷⁴ In a meeting of the Chung Wah Association, the Chinese expressed their worries. They could not understand why the Government had called them to join the army as they were treated in an unequal way. They hoped their Consul in Melbourne would solve the matter.⁷⁵

When the Chinese Government declared that China was involved in the First World War, the Chinese felt compelled that they should make some contribution. For example, the Chinese in Perth discussed an invitation to welcome the French Governor General for raising Australian war funds. At first, they agreed to send some money but did not want to be involved in the activities. However, when they realised that it was a privilege for the Chinese to be invited among all ethnic people except German residents, they decided to organize their people to participate in the activities. This was another example of the Chinese organization that always considered the whole Chinese image first.⁷⁶

⁷³ See chapter 3.

⁷⁴ In Sydney, the *Tung Wah Times* asked the Chinese not to be worried about the letters. See the *Tung Wah Times*, 22 January 1916.

⁷⁵ *Minutes book*, 4 February 1916.

⁷⁶ *Minutes book*, 7 November and 11 November 1918.

It was a different situation for the Chinese in the 1930s. The Japanese invaded China in 1931. Later, the Chinese government declared war against the Japanese in 1937, which brought out the patriotism of the overseas Chinese as mentioned in the above chapter. In these circumstances, the Chinese and their families in Australia were more aware of war than were other Australian residents. For most Australians, even the first two years of the war (1939-1941) were still like peace-time,⁷⁷ but, the Chinese and their descendants in Australia had already been heavily involved in the war effort. They raised money to help China fight Japan in the early 1930s. Some families had a strong awareness of the Sino-Japanese War. Jack Sue, his brothers and sisters with their parents were involved in various activities, such as the Chinese concert party which toured the Perth metropolitan area raising funds to send back to China for relief agencies.⁷⁸

Chinese in Western Australia had a positive attitude towards World War Two. The reason why they were involved in the War was that they were in the same position as the Australians. As Australians showed their growing contempt for 'enemy aliens' in a variety of ways, though there was a manifest revulsion for anything German or Italian which led to a demand for changes of name, the Chinese did not have to endure these sufferings.⁷⁹ They shared the same fears as Australians'. In the early period of the War, the Chinese had made a great effort to help China. Their activities gained much support from Australians. Later, when Australia entered the War, the Chinese community directed its funds to the Australian war effort. At that time, 'there were concerts, dances

⁷⁷ Bolton, '1939-1951' in Crowley, F. (1974) *op. cit.* p459.

⁷⁸ Interview with Jack Sue. Also see Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p76.

and gambling games to raise money and United Nations beauty competitions, where the Chinese supported their candidate financially.⁸⁰

As war tensions mounted, the Chinese gardeners, although unable to read the papers, could listen to the ABC on the radio and really knew what was going on. They became angry as they heard what the Japanese were doing to the civilians in China. The Chinese gardeners would say they wished they were back in China so they could fight the Japanese.⁸¹

During the war period, many Australians thought that the Chinese in Australia were Japanese as they were similar in appearance. That made some Chinese feel 'a bit unpleasant'. As some Chinese wanted to distinguish themselves from the Japanese, they suggested that every Chinese should wear a badge that indicated they were Chinese.⁸² This phenomenon might explain why the Australian Army was unwilling to send Chinese soldiers into battle because some mistaken for Japanese had been shot by their fellow soldiers. Therefore, Chinese soldiers tended to be put into catering, radio and aircraft mechanics.⁸³

The Australian born Chinese who lived within two cultures and customs had a double sense of their patriotic duty in time of war. This was particularly evident in World War Two. Doug Sue who worked in a Chinese market garden made an application to enlist in the Air Force when the War started in 1939. His father did not

⁷⁹ McKernan, M. (1983) *All In! - Australia During the Second World War* Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, p41.

⁸⁰ Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p95.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p66

⁸² *Ibid.* p95.

agree with him because of their market garden business. When Japan came into the War at Pearl Harbour in December 1941, other Chinese gardeners and Doug's father encouraged him to go and fight the Japanese. His father said to him: 'The Japanese are bad people'. It was racist in a way but it impressed Doug Sue and made him think of his duty.⁸⁴ He, his two brothers and one sister, went into the armed forces.

Between the full blood Chinese families and the intermarriage families there were no significantly different attitudes towards those of their children who wanted to join the Army. If there had been, there would have been more family concern for the children in the Chinese families. Part of the reason for this lay in the traditional structure of the Chinese family that needed children to look after the family business. Unlike Doug Sue who was born to an intermarriage family, Roise Yuen was born in a Chinese family. When Roise wanted to join the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force, her parents were against it, especially her mother who feared of her 'going away'. When her brother Albert (Mick) Yuen was called up in 1942, his parents did not want him to go and tried to get him into a reserved occupation. Roise's father Gum Yuen, a furniture manufacturer of J. W. Wing Ltd in Newcastle Street, Perth, tried everything and saw members of parliament he knew but that did not help.⁸⁵ Quite a few Chinese families were afraid for their children serving in the War and of losing them. In Roise Yuen's sister-in-law's family, Kong Sam Lee's five sons were in the armed services. When all sons were posted overseas, it was said their father's hair turned white through worry.⁸⁶

⁸³ Interview with John Kee Fong, April 1997. Also see Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* p472.

⁸⁴ Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op.cit.* p66.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p97.

The Australian born Chinese were different from their parents. Although Australian Army officers accepted them into their ranks with various degrees of reluctance,⁸⁷ many Australian born Chinese persisted in exercising what they considered to be a commitment to defend their homeland, Australia. To be allowed to enlist in the Army was taken as a compliment for those young Australian born Chinese. Even though everyone had different circumstances and various motivations, they were all enthusiastic about what they did. They tried a variety of methods to get into the Australian defence services. Jack Sue was stimulated by an incident. At the age of 16, he could not join the Army, but he looked older than his age. One day, as he walked to work, he passed a neighbour who had sons serving in New Guinea and other theatres of war. The neighbour sent him a 'white feather', the symbol of 'cowardice'. Jack was very hurt when he got it not knowing what would happen to the family. He made up his mind to give up his job and went straight to the Merchant Navy. He forged his parents' signatures on the application form authorising their consent. It was a shock for his parents to find out that he had joined the Navy and had sailed.⁸⁸ Similar to Jack Sue, Roise Yuen cheated when she knew her parents would not give their approval and sign the release form for her. She managed to get her mother to sign by pretending it was for something else and hurried her along to sign it quickly. She joined the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force.⁸⁹ John Kee Fong himself had other experiences. When he turned 18 years old, he worried about how he could look after his uncle if he joined the armed forces. With support from his uncle, he enlisted in the

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p97.

⁸⁷ Loh and Winternitz's book revealed the tracks, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p76.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p95.

Army and served in ambulance units in New Guinea until World War Two was over.⁹⁰ Albert Yuan had received a letter when he turned the age of 18. Like most young Australians, he was called up by the RAAF.⁹¹ Doug Sue tried three times to get into the Air Force and became one of an air craft maintenance crew in the Royal Australian Air Force for four years.⁹²

Australian born Chinese met discrimination when they wanted to do something for Australia and join the armed forces. They were rejected because of their Chinese family background and because their parents were not British subjects. It was a bitter and unforgettable experience for them. Jack Sue was young and felt confident that he would be accepted by the Royal Australian Navy because he had a background of yachting and sea scouting. At the time, the Navy recruiting office was set up in Forrest Place, Perth. Sixty or seventy fellows came to the office. In front of everybody, Jack Sue was told by an officer that he could not join the Navy because his father was born in China. It was a horrifying experience to be embarrassed in front of a large group of young fellows. His reply was: 'My father wouldn't want to join your bloody navy'. Later, he went straight round to the RAAF to enlist.⁹³ The first time, Doug Sue went to enlist in the Air Force, his father did not agree with him. The Air Force told Doug that he could not join because he had Chinese blood. When he got knocked back, he thought 'to hell with them'.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Interview with John Kee Fong, March 1996.

⁹¹ Interview with Albert Yuan, December 1996.

⁹² Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit* p66.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p77.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p66.

War Time

During war time, the Australian Government changed the rules of recruiting according to the changing situation. At the time the Navy had strict rules to recruit just British subjects, similar to the Air Force and the Army.⁹⁵ As the Japanese entered the War in December 1941, Australia was at risk. A news item - 'Australian Military Age is 60' in a newspaper *The Hong Kong News* was not overstated.⁹⁶ All Australians were in the War. The demands on recruiters were increased. In Perth, 'hundreds of men overwhelmed recruiting staff in a rush to enlist'.⁹⁷ Few people seemed to have objected to transferring to the AIF.⁹⁸ The Navy also modified the rules in order to get more people to serve in the armed forces. Dalton Gock Bo Liu, son of William Liu, was accepted by the Navy in February 1942 after his application had to be reviewed.⁹⁹ Although there were no more than three Chinese that were accepted by the Australian Navy during World War II,¹⁰⁰ Doug Sue, Jack Sue and other Australian born Chinese had joined the Australian fighting forces at last, which reflected that Australia was in a crucial situation that made only 'European blood' less important for the safety of Australia. In 1943, Australian born Chinese John Kee Fong was sent a form and asked to join the Army. He was accepted and nobody cared about his Chinese family background or his 'assumed name'.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Interview with Jack Sue. Also see Major General Clive Steele recalled that they prevented everybody joining the AIF except stockbrokers and certain classes of unemployed. Under these circumstances only the ultra-loyal, many of whom are stated to have enlisted under an assumed name or calling, were available. In Grey, J (1990) *A Military History of Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p145.

⁹⁶ *The Hong Kong News*, 8 March 1942. *The West Australian* reported that all men under 60 years of age had been called up for military service. 7 March 1942.

⁹⁷ McKernan, M. (1983) *op. cit.* p98.

⁹⁸ Grey, J. (1990) *op. cit.* p179.

⁹⁹ Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* p473.

¹⁰⁰ Eric Rolls mentioned that except Even D.G. Bo and Ronnie Gee Kee, it is unlikely that there were others in his book. See Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* p473. But other Chinese name is Angwin, W. L., see Gilbert Jan, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ Interview with John Kee Fong, March 1996.

Many Australian born Chinese felt that there was not any discrimination in the armed forces. Contrarily, at school or at work, they often met discrimination because there was a small section of children and adults who disliked them and thought of them as different. Roise Yuen did not find any prejudice existing in the Women's Air Training Corps.¹⁰² Nor did Doug Sue and Jack Sue in the RAAF. They even found that the attitudes in the armed forces were more tolerant than they were in civilian life. The reasons for that are varied. Firstly, there was the collective life of the Army. Nobody could be ignored and everyone had to depend on the person next to him in the services. Secondly, Australian born Chinese did not have any problem with the language. They easily communicated with their fellows. Thirdly, some of them with only slight Chinese features hardly made other people think of them as different.¹⁰³

Australian born Chinese did their best in the armed forces. Jack Sue was a remarkable example. He was born in Perth in September 1925 and grew up in an intermarriage family. His father Sue Wong was a Chinese herbalist. Later, he became a restauranter as supplies of herbs from China were cut off by the War. Jack joined the merchant navy when he was sixteen. Two years later, he tried to enlist in the Royal Australian Navy, but did not succeed. He was accepted by the Royal Australian Air Force in 1944 and served with the air-sea rescue flotilla for four months. Then he was approached to join Z Force, a highly secret and skilled unit formed from all the forces of all the allies. Along with six other colleagues they went to strong enemy posts in British North Borneo (Sabah) to locate the Australian prisoners of war and investigate

¹⁰² Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p95.


¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p68 and p73.

the Japanese strength. Behind Japanese lines for six months, Jack, at great personal risk, went into the township as a coolie to make intelligence reports among the local population, and also to help train local people in arms and form military organizations. For 'working in the heart of enemy held British North Borneo and displaying outstanding leadership and courage', Sergeant Jack Sue Wong was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the second highest honour after the Victorian Cross, from the office of the Governor-General on 25th May 1946.¹⁰⁴ Jack's achievement was not only related to his special task in the armed forces and his personality, but also due to his use of his Chinese background and Chinese resources. His example did the Chinese and Australian-born Chinese proud.¹⁰⁵ See Appendice 2. Australians of Chinese descent in Western Australia who served in World War Two and See Figure 4.3 Examples of Australian Military Forces Certificate of Discharge.

¹⁰⁴ Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* pp75-82.

¹⁰⁵ Jack Sue is still active in his skin diving business and community organizations. Interview with Jack Sue, March 1996.

Certificate No 536451


 Australian Military Forces
Certificate of Discharge

This is to Certify that

WY. 22518 SARGEANT CHARLES GOOBY
 2/22 AUSTRALIAN FIELD PARK COMPANY R.A.E.

Served on Continuous Full Time War Service in the
 Australian Imperial Force from 3rd August 1943 to 10th October 1946.

for a Total Effective Period*
 of One thousand one hundred and sixty five Days
 which included Active Service
 in Australia for 741 days Outside Australia for 424 days
 Decorations and Awards during that Service

N I L

War Badge R.A.S. A/284808

This Soldier has been discharged from the A.I.F.
 taking effect on and from
 the Tenth day of October 1945

Place KARRAKATTA W.A. was made eligible for MAJOR

Date 10th October 1946 Officer in Charge 5 MIL. DIST. Ech. & Rec.

Description of the Soldier on Discharge

Height 5 ft. 8 ins. Eyes BROWN Complexion Dark Hair Black
 Marks or Scars Mole left shoulder.
 Trade Group in which employed during Army Service N.I.L.

Specimen Signature of Soldier *C. Gooby*

EFFECTIVE PERIOD MEANS THE PERIOD OF SERVICE, LESS ANY CONSECUTIVE 61 DAYS OR MORE FOR WHICH THE SOLDIER WAS NOT ENTITLED TO PAY
 † 'AUSTRALIA' MEANS THE MAINLAND OF AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA. ‡ DOES NOT INCLUDE WAR MEDALS.

Figure 4.3 Examples of Australian Military Forces Certificate of Discharge

Source: Gooby Bill

Chapter 5

The Chinese Labour Corps and the Chinese Society

During World War Two, all Australians were occupied in the War effort, as were Chinese in Western Australia. The war against Japanese militarism generated 'heroic images' of China in Australia. 'As soldiers, merchants, seamen, reporters and missionaries, Australians came face to face with Chinese in Asia, united in the struggle against a common enemy.'¹ The War also underscored the relationship between Australians and Chinese in Australia.

This chapter examines the formation of the Chinese Labour Corps and the Perth Chinese community's activities as well as the Chinese cafe business during World War II, which showed a sense of Chinese commitment to Australian society. These 'non-citizen' Chinese responded to changing situations and created a prosperous period. Their reactions proved that they had the ability in self-employment and in business operations during the most difficult times in Australia. Although they had not been considered as British subjects, Chinese actually participated as citizens in their commitment to Australia.

5.1 The Chinese Labour Corps

The Chinese population increased in the Perth metropolitan area during World War II. Many inland Chinese in the North of Western Australia transferred to Perth, also there was an influx of Chinese refugees or seamen. This was the case, especially, when the Japanese captured Singapore and South-East Asia in early 1942, Chinese refugees fled to Australia.

The Australian Government arranged the evacuation of women and children from Darwin and the Northern Territory in December 1941 when the War broke out, and hundreds of Chinese women and children were also evacuated south.² During 1942 and 1943, when the Japanese launched air attacks on Wyndham, Derby, Broome and Port Hedland in Western Australia and other locations, the Chinese living in those areas had to move to the Perth metropolitan area. For example, six people of the Fong family and four people of the Lee family went to Perth from Wyndham.³ John Kee Fong and his uncle Henly Fong moved to Perth from Broome.⁴

At this time, Chinese seamen and other Chinese had fled to Australia. A large number of evacuee British subjects and overseas people from Singapore and other places in the Far East disembarked at Fremantle, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney.⁵ An estimate of the number of overseas Chinese residing in Australia was 5,000.⁶ From

¹ Strahan, Lachlan (1996) *Australia's China: changing perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, p21.

² Rolls mentioned 363 Chinese were evacuated south. See Rolls (1996) *op. cit.* pp467-469

³ Lee Tong's two brothers, one sister and his parents and Wing Fong's brother and his parents came to Perth from Wyndham. Interview with Ken Sue, 4 April 1997.

⁴ Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1996.

⁵ *The West Australian*, 11 March 1942.

⁶ Rankine, Wendy 'Australia's Chinese Army Corps', in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p67.

1940 to 1945, there were 1,397 Chinese officially recorded to have entered Western Australia, among them 89 females, most of whom came in 1942.⁷ See Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Chinese Entering Western Australia, 1940-1945

Year	Males	Females	Total
1940	317	29	346
1941	156	35	191
1942	753	25	778
1943	23		23
1944	51		51
1945	8		8
Total	1308	89	1397

Source: Calculated from data in Australian Archives (W.A.) PP6 / 1, 46 / H / 1180

Those Chinese in the above record who came to Western Australia had varying circumstances, some were admitted to hospital and later died; some came for recreation; while others were evacuees from Singapore. Several refused to sign contracts and proceeded to Sydney; some were deserters and left for overseas; while others were employees of B.O.A Ltd and landed in Broome then proceeded to Sydney. Some were employed by the U.S Navy.⁸ Therefore, probably out of the total number who came, half of that number about 600-700 in Western Australia for the duration of the War.

Chinese Seamen

Chinese seamen were in the majority of Chinese arrivals. Inspired by Chinese crews who won successful strikes in the eastern states, they demanded a pay rise in January 1942. As a result of this clash, two Chinese were killed and four were injured, more than

⁷ Australian Archives (W.A.) PP 6 / 1, 46 / H / 1180: *Chinese Entering Australia During World War Two* (9/1/1940-27/4/1945).

⁸ *Ibid.*

300 Chinese were taken into military detention at Woodman's Point, south of Fremantle, and another fifty Chinese who were regarded as the leaders were held in the Military Detention Barracks at Fremantle.⁹ Soon after these Chinese seamen were allowed the freedom to leave the camp on condition they reported back daily. Later, additional National Security regulations made it compulsory for any seaman to accept a berth when requested or instructed to do so by the Maritime Industry Commission.¹⁰

Labour Corps

Considering the shortage of manpower and the large numbers of refugee aliens and seamen who stayed in Australia, the Government decided to use them for Australia's fighting services. On 7th March 1942, Mr. Forde, the Minister for the Army, announced that the first units of the Labour Corps of the Australian Military Forces (LCAM) was formed and the first batch of refugee alien volunteers was called to report for service.¹¹ It was expected that all refugee volunteers would be in camps before the end of March. The Government also asked that two categories of people- 'refugee aliens' and 'non-refugee enemy aliens' be included to join the compulsory civil auxiliary service.¹² At first, aliens' responses to voluntarily join the fighting services were disappointing because many of them claimed exemption under the list of reserved occupations.¹³ (See Figure 5.1 Members of the Chinese Labour Corps. c1942).

Despite this, most Chinese seamen responded to the call.¹⁴ A total number of 577 Chinese was recorded on a list of the Chinese Labour Corps, Western Australia.¹⁵

⁹ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p67.

¹⁰ *The West Australian*, 11 March 1942.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

Among the members, those Chinese seamen who had been detained were released for employment in the Labour Corps and later transferred to the American Forces as civilian employees. Many Chinese seamen landed for service in the Chinese Labour Corps when their ships arrived. Shiu Chuen Wong (W.64170) and all sixty four crewmen working on a ship 'Yochow' were enlisted in the 7th Chinese Labour Corps. There were 17 Chinese crewmen on 'Cornville', Ah Yu Koa (W.92979) and another 13 seamen landed for the service.¹⁶ Besides seamen, Chinese refugees who had been evacuated from Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong were also enlisted into the Labour Corps.¹⁷ Hence, the 'Chinese Labour Corps' was an army labour unit organized by the Government and made up by a majority of Chinese seamen and other Chinese refugees.¹⁸

¹⁴ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit* p68.

¹⁵ A copy of 'The Chinese Labour Corps List' is held in the Chung Wah Association.

¹⁶ Australian Archives (W.A.), PP 6 / 1, 46 / H / 1180.

¹⁷ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit* . p69

¹⁸ The Chinese Labour Corps had different names, such as '7th Coy', 'No.7 Chinese Labour Corps', 'The Chinese Labour Company', 'The Australian Army Labour Corps' and 'Australian Army Labour Battalion', see Australian Archives (W.A.), PP 6 / 1, 46 / H / 1180.

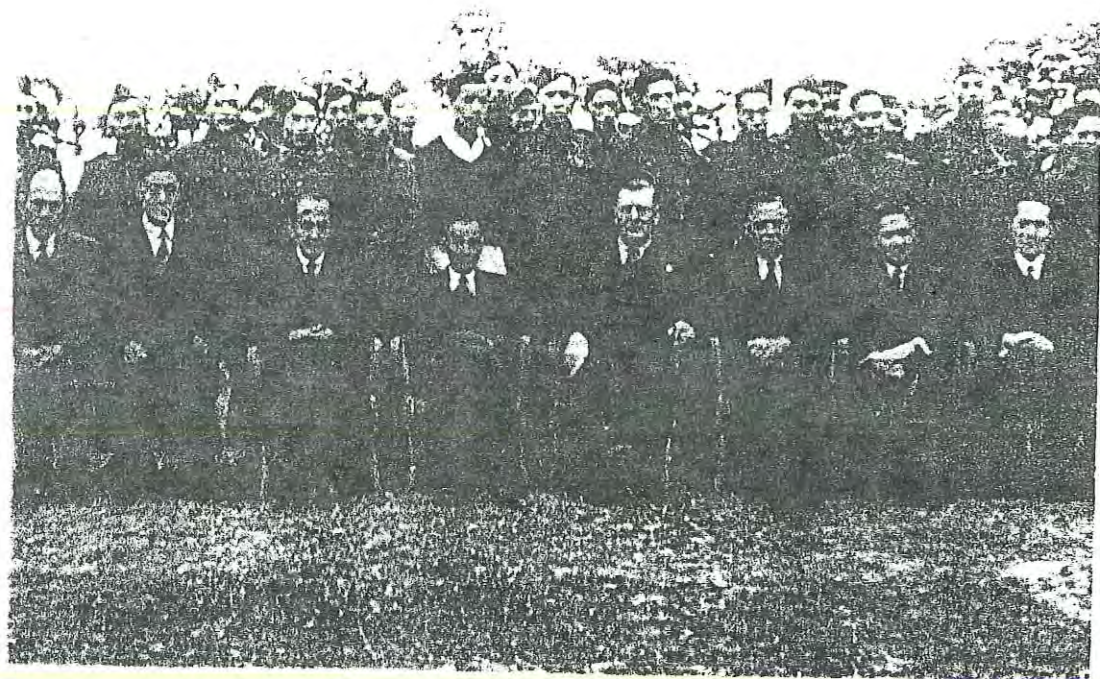


Figure 5.1 Members of the Chinese Labour Corps, c.1942

Source: The Chung Wah Association

The response by Chinese seamen to join up was not only because of war time, but also due to employment. Those Chinese who enlisted received 'the same basic rate of pay and allowances as Australian members - six shillings a day'.¹⁹ The Government guaranteed those people who served in the Labour Corps would suffer no financial loss.²⁰ But a few Chinese seamen volunteered for discharge when they were dissatisfied in the Labour Corps.²¹ In some cases, their dissatisfaction of the low payment in the Corps saw them look for employment in the American Navy.²²

Civilian Services

Chinese seamen carried out their civilian services in many areas. Wendy Rankine's '*Australia's Chinese Army Corps*' reveals that the Chinese went anywhere in the course of performing their duties.²³ Corps members built a tented staging camp at Chidlow's Well near Northam; some went to Geraldton and were taken further north in open trucks; while others built Royal Australian Air Force quarters at Potshot near Learmonth. The Corps helped the 3rd Corps Signals to erect telegraph lines when they were stationed east of Learmonth at Yanrey; and some worked on the wharves loading and unloading supplies. A large military camp was set up for the Chinese Labour Corps at the Claremont Showgrounds in Perth. These Chinese built 'a Taoist Temple and small gardens around their quarters'.²⁴ The Chinese were grouped in different dialect units, such as the 'Chinese', who were Cantonese, Fujian (Fukienese), Malays speaking Hainanese, Chinese speaking Hainanese. These Chinese would not always combine

¹⁹ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p68.

²⁰ *The West Australian*, 18 March 1942.

²¹ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p69.

²² Chang Hsi Fang, Chen Hai Lin and Tuan Hui Hsich worked in an United States cookhouse at Crawley, see *Daily News*, 11 September 1944.

²³ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* pp70-71.

work with pleasure.²⁵ Even worse, a fight might be caused by the Chinese men who had difficulty communicating due to different dialects.²⁶

The Chinese Labour Corps was involved with the Perth metropolitan community. In the city, supplies of potatoes were delayed by cool, wet weather and a shortage of manpower in the harvesting season, so fifty members of the Chinese Labour Corps were arranged by the Department of Agriculture to dig potatoes in Harvey and Bunbury in October 1942, thereby bolstering the supplies of potatoes.²⁷ When Perth people launched Poppy Day collecting funds (in aid of disabled and distressed ex-servicemen in World War I) through the city streets on 11th November 1942, 320 members of a Chinese Labour Corps purchased imitation Flanders poppies to wear. A newspaper considered that it was the desire of Chinese nationals in the State to identify themselves.²⁸

5.2 A Changing Chinese Community

Businesses and the local population became more prosperous as the number of people who stayed in the city of Perth and Fremantle swelled during war time. American, British and Dutch naval forces were at Fremantle, Allied soldiers and Air Force people at other bases. Western Australia became a 'mixed-up society', 'with street fights, prostitution and disunited families.'²⁹

²⁴ See *Ibid.* p69. An Australian born Chinese Bill Gooley who was born in 1903 never heard of the camp and the Temple. But he thought it might be a military secret during the World War Two. Interview with Bill Gooley, 8 April 1997.

²⁵ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op.cit.* pp68-71.

²⁶ *Daily News*, 11 September 1944.

²⁷ See 'Chinese to Dig Potatoes', *Daily News*, 30 October 1942.

²⁸ See 'Chinese Buy Poppies', *Daily News*, 11 November 1942.

²⁹ Austen, T. (1996) *Western Images-Western Australia in pictures from the colonial era to the present*, Perth: St George Books, p127.

The Perth Chinese community became active again. Although local Chinese had been involved in the movement of 'resisting the Japanese and saving the country' since 1931, their activities were few and became even less as their population reduced. The small local Chinese community was once again agitated by new factors and an increasing population.

The Chinese seamen and refugees in the Chinese Labour Corps quickly approached the local Chinese community to make their acquaintance. One incident highlights the fact that the Chinese Labour Corps was not isolated from the local community. A Chinese soldier Ah-Sun Loh (W.63928, spelt Ah Sun Low) was asked by a woman to come to a house in Roe Street, Perth, where two Chinese were fighting over a girl. Later, he was fined 3 pounds sterling in the Perth Police Court for disorderly conduct in Roe Street.³⁰ This instance suggests that members of the Chinese Labour Corps had the same freedom and restrictions as any Australian soldier.³¹ In fact, not all members of the Chinese Labour Corps lived in the camp. Jack Sue remembers one family, Anne May Wong and her husband Josen who was an editor of *The Singapore Times*. Josen Wong joined the Chinese Labour Corps during his stay in Perth, and together with his wife lived at 97 Aberdeen Street, next to Jack Sue's house.³²

Chinese Consul

The Chinese Consul in Perth played an important role not only in connecting local Chinese and the Chinese Labour Corps, but also in promoting a new friendship between

³⁰ *Daily News*, 27 August 1942.

³¹ Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op.cit.* p71.

³² In 'Chinese Labour Corps List', Wong Son (W.64784) might be Wong Josen who was an editor of *The Singapore Times*. Interview with Jack Sue, 19 March 1996.

China and Australia. A Consulate office operated in Perth from 1942 to 1947 representing the Chinese.³³ On 26th August 1942, Mr. W.Y. Tsao, the Chinese Consul, gave a semi-official party to celebrate the establishment of a new Consulate at 23 Malcolm Street, West Perth. He hoped his office would become one of Perth's social centres.³⁴ In fact, some events indicated it had. The people of Perth knew Tsao not only because of his Consular office but also because he had made headlines speaking on the strategic importance to the Pacific Nations and the Allied cause by the opening of a second European Front.³⁵ Tsao also addressed members of the fellowship of Writers W.A. Section and emphasized the importance of the connection between East and West.³⁶ His book *'Two Pacific Democracies: China and Australia'* was published in Melbourne in 1941 and was well reviewed by Australian readers.³⁷ Tsao was described as a 'refreshingly frank' diplomat and he was 'admired' by many people according to the *Daily News*.³⁸ (See Figure 5.2 Chinese Consul in Western Australia in 1942)

The Chinese Consul was welcomed by the Chinese community in Perth, and on their behalf Mr. Harold Shem presented a cheque for 500 pounds sterling for distress relief in China to the Consul at the Chung Wah Hall on 30th September 1942. Mr Alex Shem was the chairman for the social evening in honour of Madam Tsao's arrival in Perth. The Chinese crew of the steamer 'Klang' contributed a cheque for 111.18 pounds sterling. Mr Y. T. Erh made a donation of 50 pounds sterling to be used at the Consul's

³³ The Chinese consuls were W. Y. Tsao (1942-1943), J.D. Lee (1944-1945) and W. P. Liu (1946-1947).

³⁴ *Daily News*, 27 August 1942.

³⁵ *Daily News*, 24 October 1942.

³⁶ The meeting was on 29 October 1942. See *Daily News*, 31 October 1942.

³⁷ The book was published by F.W. Cheshire Pty. Ltd, 338 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, 1941. See 'Chinese Diplomat', *Daily News*, 24 October 1942.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

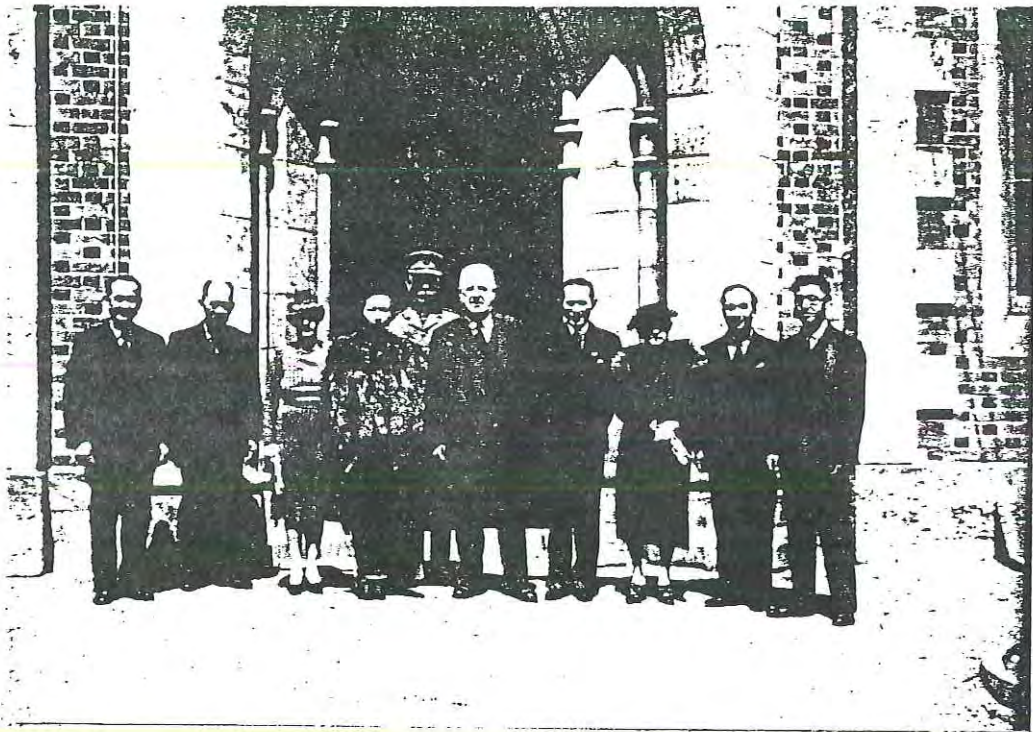


Figure 5.2 Chinese Consul in Western Australia in 1942

Source: The Chung Wah Association

discretion. Members from the Chinese Labour Corps attended along with a broad cross-section of the Chinese community. A journalist commented that the gathering of 300-400 Chinese was probably the largest one seen in Perth.³⁹

The friendly climate in Western Australia was another factor encouraging the Chinese community and their war efforts. Newspapers reminded Australians that China was fighting the same war as Australia. News of the Chinese fighting the Japanese encouraged the local people. It was a time of peaceful coexistence between the local people and the Chinese of Perth. During China's National Day on 10 October 1942, the Curtin Government instructed that Chinese flags would be flown on Commonwealth buildings wherever possible.⁴⁰ An exhibition of Chinese art was officially opened by the Lord Mayor Dr T.W. Meagher at Westralian Newspaper House Art Gallery on 5th October. The proceeds of the exhibition were for the Australia-China Association.⁴¹ Although details of the Association were unavailable, its establishment was obviously an effort made by the Chinese Consul and Australian people.⁴² At the time, Mrs Irene Greenwood gave her lecture on the 'New Life Movement in China' in the Women's Service Guild.⁴³ This was another example of the concern Australians felt about China's affairs.

The contribution of the 'Miss China' entrant in the Allies Day Queen Contest Rally strengthened the friendly atmosphere in Western Australia. This event was held at Gloucester Park on 6th February 1943. Ten ladies who represented Belgium, China,

³⁹ *Daily News*, 1 October 1942.

⁴⁰ *Daily News*, 9 October, 1942.

⁴¹ *Daily News*, 3 October, 1942.

⁴² Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op.cit.* p72.

⁴³ *Daily News*, 6 November 1942.

Czechoslovakia, Free France, Greece, Holland, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia participated in this fund raising venture. 'Miss China' was represented by a local Chinese girl, Miss Joyce Shem. 'Miss China' won the contest with 973,567 votes (one vote, one penny).⁴⁴ Her success could be attributed to many factors. The Chinese Consulate gave its support by advertising in the newspaper on the last day before the Rally.⁴⁵ 400-500 members of the Chinese Labour Corps and other Chinese groups were important community sectors supporting 'Miss China'. The backing of local Australians and the social environment of Western Australia probably were the most influential factors. As a newspaper commented 'Miss China' deserved the pride of place as China was the first of the United Nations to be embroiled in the war. In any event, the Chinese community showed their solid and united spirit and gave a strong message to Australians that China would not be defeated by the Japanese.⁴⁶ (See Figure 5.3 Chinese National Day Ball).

The friendship between China and Australia developed further. A branch office of 'Chinese Comforts Fund' (the Patriotic and War Fund of China) was set up inside the Chinese consular office in Malcolm Street. In the Perth branch, local Chinese and Australians joined together. Madame C.N. Tay was the President and T.F.W. Kendall and W.W. Raad were the vice-presidents. (See Table 5.2 The Perth Branch of Chinese Comforts Fund). Donations to the fund were allowable deductions for companies and

⁴⁴ *Sunday Times*, 7 February 1943.

⁴⁵ See *Daily News*, 5 February 1943.

⁴⁶ See *Sunday Times*, 7 February 1943.



Figure 5.3 Chinese National Day Ball

Source: The Chung Wah Association

debatable allowances for individuals.⁴⁷ A number of the Chinese seamen helped the office.⁴⁸ (See Figure 5.4 Example of Receipt for the Chinese Patriotic Society 1943).

Table 5.2 The Perth Branch of Chinese Comforts Fund

Patron:	His Excellency Dr. Hsu Mo	Envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for the Republic of China
President:	Madame C. N. Tay	
Vice-Presidents:	T. F. W. Kendall. W. W. Raad	
Hon. Treasurer:	T. G. Heydon	
Trustees:	A. L. Birch Alex Shem	
Executive Committee:	Harold Shem C. Lee A. Z. Liu T. L. Sze	
Hon. Secretary:	T. T. Young	
Hon. Auditor	A. E. Dry (A.C.A.)	

Source: The Chung Wah Association.

If the Perth Chinese Consulate mainly promoted friendship between two countries and united Chinese in the Perth metropolitan area, then the local Chinese and the Chinese Labour Corps created a prosperous economic phenomenon. One of the business signs was the boom of Chinese restaurants in the cities of Fremantle and Perth.

⁴⁷ See a letterhead, kept in the Chung Wah Association.

⁴⁸ A seaman Hong Kien Foo was employed by the Chinese consul D. J. Lee as a translator, see Australian Archive (W.A.) PP15/1, 53/60/6153 'Chinese Crews'.

The Chinese Patriotic Society
of W.A.
128 JAMES STREET,
PERTH, W.A.

No 383

西 澳
中 華 救 國 會

茲收到

伍保南 君來七七獻銀

第 次捐款銀壹元

經手人 徐第 此據

會計

中華民國卅二年八月廿日

The Colastyne Press Ltd., 874 Hay St., Perth

Figure 5.4 Examples of Receipts for the Chinese Patriotic Society 1943

Source: Norman Moy

5.3 Chinese Cafes: a Sign of Change

Chinese restaurants exist all around Australia. As the towns pushed into the hinterland and became large metropolises, so the occupational opportunities for Chinese migrants also changed. The images of Chinese market gardens were replaced by Chinese restaurants. Chinese migrants who came from cities instead of villages contributed to this change. Especially, those new Chinese migrants who had secured positions in the Chinese restaurant business because of their limited knowledge of the English language and different work skills.

Historically, Chinese restaurants were not popular with Anglo-Australians before the Second World War, although many Chinese were involved in the hospitality industry. Chinese in Australia had taken to cooking as an occupation since the gold-rush days when Chinese turned to other employment.⁴⁹ Chinese worked as kitchen hands or cooks not only in Australian employer's homes and bush stations but also in Australian hotels and restaurants. Sometimes, they were hidden by their employers as the Unions and the public were anti-Chinese labour, especially when emotions against Chinese ran high. In literature, the 'Chinese cooks' with 'poisonous food', and the 'carving knife' were often described as the stereotype threatening Australian life.⁵⁰ Chinese food styles and tastes were considered alien. Thus there was no demand for Chinese restaurants to be established at the time.⁵¹ Chinese owned restaurants were few as they catered only for the small Chinese population.

⁴⁹ Ouyang, Yu *op. cit.* p101.

⁵⁰ For example, Brunton Stephens's poems, 'My Chinese Cook' and 'My Other Chinese Cook', and Henry Lawson's stories. See Ouyang, Yu *Ibid.* pp101-104.

⁵¹ Atkinson mentioned that the first documented restaurant run by Chinese was a dining room in a boarding house in James Street in 1899. The rate book entry noted that Jim Long, the manager, was a

For a period of time, Chinese grocery shops played a part in the restaurant business. When Chinese market gardeners went to the city, they might have a drink and a meal in those shops. As many Chinese lived in Northbridge, in the area including James and Lake Street, their homes were actually convenient eating places for their friends. To go to a restaurant was a luxurious outing for most Chinese as they were struggling for survival and saving money for their families at home. These socio-economic issues deterred the expansion of the Chinese restaurants business during this early period.⁵²

During the war years, the population increased in the Perth metropolitan area. Two groups of people encouraged the opening of Chinese restaurants. One was the large numbers of American and other allied countries servicemen who were stationed throughout Australia. At that time, 'Sunday seemed to be a very dull day' in Australia. Drinking, dancing and eating in a restaurant remained illicit.⁵³ The influx of American soldiers tested Australian traditions. Those soldiers wanted to leave their camps to wander freely in the cities and they wanted sports, theatres, movies, concerts and eating out on Sunday. So the Americans fought to alter 'this state of affairs'.⁵⁴ Changes were reflected in restaurant names, such as 'The Washington All Night Cafe' in 188 William Street, 'American Silver Grill' in 846 Hay Street, Perth, 'New York Cafe' and 'Hollywood Cafe' in 125 and 137 Barrack Street, Perth and the 'International

'Chinaman'. In 1905, a Chinese woman Ah Ghi rented Murray Street premises for a restaurant. In 1912, three restaurants, two in Murray Street and one in James Street, were advertised. See Atkinson (1984) *op.cit.* p112.

⁵² During 1901 and 1940, only few - 1 or 3 Chinese restaurants were listed in an annual *Wise's Western Australia Post Office Directory*.

⁵³ McKernan, M. (1983) *op. cit.* p240

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p241.

Cafe' in 87 High Street, Fremantle.⁵⁵ American soldiers also favoured Chinese food and other Oriental tastes. The other influential group was the overseas Chinese and Chinese seamen. As previously mentioned, these Chinese were welcomed by the local communities. Such a stimulating environment provided an opportunity to develop the restaurant business.

Chinese cafes were booming in the Perth metropolitan area during the war. The 'Canton Cafe' was at 197 William Street, Northbridge and had existed in the area since 1920.⁵⁶ The 'Canton Cafe' restaurant was in the downstairs section of the Chung Wah Association Hall in James Street in the 1910s, and its owner was Han Chong. The restaurant moved to William Street and its management passed to Felix Wong later in the 1920s. In a letter to the Department of Home Affairs in 1929, Wong asked to import a professional cook from China because he 'had found the local Chinese cooks were most unsatisfactory and unreliable, and he was often compelled to do the cooking himself.'⁵⁷ The reason for importing a cook was stated in an appraisal of Wong's business which said his business was 'valued at about 1600 pounds sterling' and his

⁵⁵ See *Wise's Western Australia Post Office Directory, 1942-1945*.

⁵⁶ See Atkinson (1984) *op. cit.* p112. Its advertisement can be seen only in the 1932-33 *Western Australian Post Directory* and afterwards.

⁵⁷ See Atkinson (1984) *op. cit.* p113.

turnover was 'in the vicinity of 60 pounds per week. He employs four hands, i.e. one Chinese cook, one Chinese handyman and two European waitresses.'⁵⁸

Wong's business was a reflection of Chinese restaurant practices, the relationship between the owner and the cooks and the need of fresh labourers to enhance the business. Chinese restaurants did not really become popular until war time provided such opportunities and the manpower to develop them.

Peter Kim Wong took over the Canton Cafe in 1939 after his father died. When Peter joined the Australian Army, a Chinese herbalist Sue Wong took over the restaurant during the years 1940 to 1945. There were about 50 seats in the restaurant. Not only did many Chinese seamen and the elderly Chinese gardeners go there, but also many American servicemen and others came in. After the war, the restaurant had to close its doors as these servicemen and Chinese seamen no longer came.⁵⁹

Some Chinese cafes used the names of Chinese cities. Among the more well known were names such as 'Peking Cafe' at 903 Hay Street, 'China Cafe' at 71 James Street, 'Shanghai Cafe' in Murray Street, 'Kunming Cafe' at 181 William Street and 'Yan Seng Cafe' in South Terrace, Fremantle.⁶⁰ They existed alongside such popular names as 'New York Cafe'(at 125 Barrack Street, Perth), 'United Allies Cafe & Hamburger Bar'(at 572 Hay Street, Perth) and 'Allies Victory Cafe'(at 101 High Street, Fremantle). These names were connected with the so-called Allied countries. It

⁵⁸ Australian Archives: CRS A1, File 29 / 10740 'T.Wong (Cafe Canton Perth) E/C Chef', see Atkinson (1984) *op. cit.* p112.

⁵⁹ Interview with Ken Sue, 11 April 1997.

⁶⁰ See *Wise's Western Australia Post Office Directory*, 1942-1945.

indicated that China's fight against the Japanese and with the Allied Army, was appreciated and supported by the local community.

In contrast to the 'Canton Cafe', those Cafes with northern Chinese city names suggested that the owners and employees of these businesses were from different Chinese backgrounds. They represented new faces in local society and played different roles in the local Chinese community. Many Chinese seamen were involved in the cafe business. Wing Vah Dong and Vin An Lu were employed by the U.S. Navy when they arrived via the 'Whang Pu' in March 1942. After signing off in September 1943, they became the owners of the 'Kunming Cafe'.⁶¹ Other 'Whang Pu' seamen Ping Sun Chang and Ah King Ying were the 'Peking Cafe's owners. Some evacuee maidservants were employed in the cafes. They were called 'Amahs'.⁶² The 'Canton Cafe' employed two Amahs.⁶³ Foong Leong (born in 1899) and Ah Ngan Choa (born in 1893) were evacuated from Singapore and they worked in 'Yan Seng Cafe' and 'Wellington Cafe' respectively.⁶⁴

At this time, hotels and restaurants faced food supply problems. Ingredients of 'chop suey, shark's fin soup, bird's nest soup' and other Chinese dishes were scarce because there had been no fresh supplies since Hong Kong had fallen. In some cafes, apart from food such as Chinese rice, tea, soya bean sauce, Chinese bean sprouts, lychee nuts and ginger, other goods such as chopsticks, rice bowls and crockery were unprocurable. Despite this scarcity, a newspaper commented that 'Chinese cafes in

⁶¹ Australian Archive (W.A.) PP6/1 46/ H/1180.

⁶² In the South-Eastern countries, middle-age maidservant was called Amah.

⁶³ Interview with Ken Sue, 11 April 1997.

⁶⁴ See Australian Archive (W.A.) PP6/1 48/ H/ 696 *Chinese Seamen and Amahs*, and PP6/1 46/ H/ 1180

Perth maintain attractive national menus and business on the whole is good'.⁶⁵ That the Chinese cafes were busy was due to a lot of custom from Chinese nationals and a number of people from Malaya, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and America although blackout and petrol shortages prevented many Australian customers from visiting Chinese Cafes.⁶⁶

Overseas Chinese and non-Chinese Australians joined in the Chinese restaurant venture. Captain Tong Chu Wan and his family went to Fremantle for a long service holiday in October 1941. When war was declared, he stayed until 1945. The port city became much busier with the onset of war and there were few places to eat. Wan met two Australian fellows, Jack Sheedy and Fred Samson, and together they opened a Chinese restaurant named 'Rendezvous' in High Street, Fremantle in 1942. Although they could not get any utensils to replicate Chinese food, they 'used the largest soup ladles to cook in'. 'At around about 25 cents a dish, there were many satisfied marines already familiar with the oriental kitchen and many locals commencing their Oriental journey from a culinary point of view, who left the Rendezvous happy.'⁶⁷ The name of the restaurant is remembered not only because Wan's Australian friends were well known local identities: Australian Rules footballer Jack Sheedy and long serving Fremantle mayor Sir Frederick Samson, but also because Wan's venture in the Chinese restaurant business continues today.

After Wan returned to Perth in 1950, he ran an import and export business in Fremantle and began another Chinese restaurant business. First, he opened the 'Pink

⁶⁵ *Daily News*, 5 September 1942.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ 'Captain's a Part of Port History-Canton Stirs Up a Memory', *Sunday Times*, 16 September 1990.

Lotus Chinese Restaurant' at the corner of Milligan and Hay Streets in 1958. Later, together with his family members he became the owner of the 'Canton Restaurant' at 532 Hay Street in 1965-66, which is still running.⁶⁸ Mr Tong Chu Wan was awarded a medal of Honour in recognition of both long and outstanding service to the hospitality industry in Western Australia in 1992.⁶⁹

Market Gardeners

During World War Two, most of the Chinese market gardeners who had come to Western Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century were getting old. Although many had returned to China before the war or retired, some still kept their market gardens going. In South Perth and the north of Fremantle, Chinese market gardens had been 'tended and nurtured with such loving care' by those elderly Chinese men.⁷⁰ As the market garden was classified an essential service, they and their descendants were not allowed to join the armed forces. Chinese market gardeners supplied vegetables for military bases and satisfied the needs of civilians in World War Two. John Gooley, whose market gardens covered a low-lying tract off Charles Street since the turn of the century,⁷¹ signed a contract with the American Navy, and provided various vegetables to them.⁷²

Summary

⁶⁸ Interview with Brian Wan, 1 April 1997.

⁶⁹ *Sunday Times*, 2 August 1992.

⁷⁰ See a poem 'Fremantle town' written by Basil Garrity. It is kept in Mrs Maiorana family.

⁷¹ Bolton (1997) *Daphne Street*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, p76.

⁷² Interview with Bill Gooley, 13 March 1997.

'War is a powerful agent of social change.'⁷³ All Australians were in the war; in return, the war gave Australia a closer relationship with its neighbouring Pacific countries. Aliens became Australian's friends. As one of the Allied countries, China and its residents in Western Australia were no longer considered potential enemies. The friendship was strengthened between China and Australia. Many seamen and refugees who stayed in Western Australia brought new vitality into the small Chinese community. The Chinese Labour Corps had an impact on Australian society. Encouraged by the Chinese Consuls, Chinese in Western Australia united and generously contributed to the war effort. The boom of Chinese Cafes became a sign of changes in the environment of Australia. Australians began to enjoy a rich variety of food and culture, which led to a shift in their attitudes towards Asian people and later in its altered racial concept of citizenship as well as immigration policies. The Chinese in Western Australia did not take these new changes for granted.

⁷³ Bolton, '1939-51', in Crowley(ed) (1976) p458.

Chapter 6

Rejuvenation of the Chinese Community

Post-war immigration policy was 'designed to strengthen the "British character" of Australia, and the large-scale entry of other ethnic groups was not originally intended.'¹ Australia was in a difficult situation where it needed immigration to defend the country while it would not open the 'floodgates' to 'coloured' migration. Arthur Calwell, the first Minister for Immigration, repeatedly declared his racial stands.² However, Calwell was 'readier than most Australians for an "open door" migration policy which in time would dilute Australia's primarily Anglo-Celtic stock.'³ Some Australians were encouraged by the war experience to stoutly reject notions of racial exclusiveness. For example, Rowley James, an Australian Labour Party parliamentarian, 'condemned the White Australia Policy and said that if the Chinese were good enough to fight for democracy, then they were good enough to live in democratic Australia: "I would not have a coloured man defending me unless I could say, welcome, brother, come and live with me."⁴

In a post-war international environment, Australia's paradox made Chinese and Asian refugees have rights to live in Australia possibly at the same time as they

¹ Castles, Stephen. 'The "New" Migration and Australian Immigration Policy,' in Inglis (1992) (eds) *op. cit.* p68.
² Strahan (1996) *op. cit.* p33.

struggled against the racial discrimination under the Australian legal system. An Indonesian widow who had remarried an Australian citizen named O'Keefe appealed against the Minister's refusal to grant her a certificate of exemption. She won the right to live in Australia supported by the High Court decision in 1949.⁵

Facing new and difficult circumstances, the groups of Chinese migrants had different attitudes towards these events and utilised them to adapt to a changing social environment. Especially, a new generation of migrants, such as seamen, refugees, students and new incoming ethnic Chinese with different nationality backgrounds, desired to have Australian citizenship and struggled for it much more strongly than their pioneers. This chapter examines how the Chinese responded to a new concept of Australian citizenship - *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* and in what circumstances the Chinese community was rejuvenated.

6.1 Facing Two Worlds

The Census figures showed that the Chinese population was 310 in 1947, 320 in 1954, 225 in 1961 and 315 in 1966. The figures indicated some changes had taken place in the Chinese community: most lived in urban instead of rural areas; while Chinese 'migratory' figures slowly increased as the number of local Chinese residents were declining. The number of Chinese women arriving in Australia also increased. See Table 6.1 the Chinese in urban and rural Western Australia.

³ Bolton (1990), *op. cit.* p54.

⁴ Cited by Strahan, *Ibid.* p31.

⁵ Bolton(1990), *op. cit.* p56.

Table 6.1 Chinese in Urban and Rural Western Australia, 1954,1961 and 1966

Birthplace	Year	Urban	Rural	Migratory	Whole State
China	1954	280(F67)	39(F14)	146 (F1)	465(F82)
China	1961	212(F72)	27(F14)	60	313(F86)
Nationality					
Chinese	1966	64(F16)	35(F8)	216	315(F24)

Note: F means Female.

Source: Census 1954, 1961 and 1966

The local Chinese, Chinese seamen and other ethnic Chinese refugees were delighted by the war victory. They could see their patriotism had achieved good results and they were satisfied with their war efforts. Soon after that they faced different worlds - the homeland they dreamed of had become a communist country. That was a fact they were reluctant to face.⁶ How did these groups of Chinese respond to the changing situation? What were their attitudes towards Australian citizenship?

Chinese market gardeners

The early Chinese migrants classified as 'non-citizen' in Western Australia who had felt hope about the future of China faced a hard choice. They were old and wished

⁶ The difficult position for the Chinese was described by Gungwu Wang, in Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p10.

to die in China in keeping with their cultural traditions; it was their birthplace and many had families and relatives there. Whatever the circumstances in their country, it was their home, where they had their roots. These deep emotional ties were enhanced by their political and patriotic movements in Australia.

However, many market gardeners were in a tragic situation in both countries. China was almost impossible for them to return safely, and Australia did not accept them as citizens although they had lived there for almost half a century. They had to become 'Settlers' in Australia instead of 'Sojourners',⁷ proceeding from objectives to realities, but if they had the opportunity to go home, they would return to their home villages to die, like the case of the Lee brothers.⁸

The Chinese market gardeners were in a dilemma when they wanted to return to their homeland to die, a Chinese tradition of 'Ye Luo Gui Gen'.⁹ In 1947, 13 Chinese were reported to go to China before it became a communist country in 1949.¹⁰ Some came back to Australia and some ended up living in Hong Kong. On Dick, Han Cheong, Sam Fong and Wing Hong Fong (Pau I Fong) had their Certificates of Exemption from Dictation Tests extended while they stayed in Canton or Hong Kong. The fees were paid by their friends in Australia. A well known item was circulated amongst the Chinese community regarding Han who sold his properties and returned to

⁷ John Kee Fong recalled 22 market gardeners were not able to return to China and were too old to work, but they were unable to claim social security payments before 1954 because of their alien status. He was able to obtain the 'old age pension' for them in 1954. See Atkinson (1991), *op. cit.* p247.

⁸ *West Australian*, 6 July 1975.

⁹ In Chinese terms, it means a person residing elsewhere finally returns to his ancestral home.

¹⁰ Australian Archive (W.A.) PP66/6 *Book Butts of Certificates of Exemption from Dictation Tests, 1947-1958*

China.¹¹ He found he was not a free man and his properties were confiscated by the Chinese authorities. He wrote letters and asked his fellow countrymen to consider the matter before returning to China.¹² A Chinese descendant recalled the awful stories of her childhood, of her father William Fan sending money back to China, and how her grandfather and family would be beaten by the village authorities who were suspicious of where the money had come from.¹³

The news hurt the Chinese market gardeners and made them decide against a return to China, which clashed with their own cultural ethos. The Census showed that there were 80 people who were over 70 years old by 1954. This aged group of Chinese people was reduced to 47 in 1961.¹⁴ According to the record, only 3 people returned to China between 1954 and 1961.¹⁵ Therefore, the figures suggest that most aged Chinese stayed in Western Australia. The obvious reason was that they feared China's uncertain political situation.¹⁶

York's last Chinese market gardeners, the Lee brothers, actually prepared to leave Australia when they were elderly and sick in 1956. The older brother Li Chong

¹¹ Interview with Ken Sue, 11 April 1997.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Callaghan, R. 'Turning Points of History', *The West magazine*, 28 June 1997, p12.

¹⁴ *Census*.

¹⁵ Ah Hong, Peter Wong and Yet Kwong went to China. 22 Chinese applied for Certificates of Exemption From Dictation Tests during 1947 and 1958, some Chinese did not use it. See Australian Archive (W.A.) PP66/6 *Book Butts of Certificates of Exemption from Dictation Tests, 1947-1958*. After 1958 and 1961 there was not record of any Chinese who went to China.

¹⁶ In Xin Hui, 1499 overseas Chinese (Huaqiao) were judged as 'landlords' and 562 as 'rich peasants' in 1952 and became the target of the land reform. See *Xin Hui Xian Zhi*, *op. cit.* p1098. Dayan Zhong (Joseph Tieghan) did not return to Xin Hui. When he visited the village in the 1932, he escaped from the prosecution by the village headman because of his Christian religion. However, he should have known about China's situation and confiscation of his grandson's photo shop because he kept communications with his grandson and granddaughter in letters. His grandson showed me one of the letters that was written on 29 November 1960 in Xin Hui in February 1998.

Lee had bad eyesight and his younger brother Wan Chong Lee was profoundly deaf. They made their applications to return to China. The documents showed that the Australian Immigration Department had issued travel visas to them for 36 months and informed them that if they were not allowed entry into China they could return to Australia. Obviously, the Government was unsure what situation the Lee brothers would meet in China. On the other hand, the Chinese Government did not prevent them entering as long as they acquired certificates from the local Chinese organization. Miss S.M. Yocklunn, who worked at the University Women's College, Nedlands, helped the Lee brothers with their documents, but they did not go until 1975.¹⁷

The South Perth Chinese market garden was the last one left in Western Australia in the 1950s. The place was 'one of the finest and best-kept gardens in the neighbourhood of Perth'.¹⁸ In 1951, the South Perth council carried out a health inspection on the living conditions of the Chinese market gardeners. The report found that most Chinese gardeners lived in poor conditions.¹⁹ See Table 6.2 the Chinese Market Gardeners in South Perth.

¹⁷ ACC 2482 Chinese in Australia *The Lee Brothers*.

¹⁸ Florey, C (1995) *Peninsular City - a social history of the city of the South Perth, Western Australia*. Sandgate St: City of South Perth.

Table 6.2 The Chinese Market Gardeners in South Perth

Name	Location
Hong Wah	Mill Point Rd/ Onslow St
Wong	as above
Soon Kee	as above
Sun Sing	King Edward / Forrest St
Ah Sam	as above
Wong Chew	Forrest St / Mill Point Rd
Wong Bue	as above
Ah Kin	Forrest St / Olive St
Ah Yung	as above
Ah Kim	as above
Peter Wong	Coode St / Olive St
Lin Sing	as above
Wong Lee	Douglas Avenue/ Clydesdale Park
Chon Hoy	as above

Source: Senior Health Inspector's Report, 6 June 1951, kept in South Perth Heritage House.

In 1952, responding to public desire to clean up the Perth water foreshore, the South Perth Road Board carried out this task and worked towards making the area into playing fields. The Chinese were transferred to the old Hurlingham Polo Grounds in Ranelagh Crescent. Later, some of them went to Sunset Home in Nedlands, and some others lived in Roe Street, Northbridge. Actually, this adult playground scheme failed. It was said that the Chinese had laid their curse on the area when they left.²⁰ Wong Wong (72 years old) was the last one to be seen at the 'Aquatic Gardens' that were constructed near Clydesdale Park where he had lived until 1956.²¹ See Quing was

¹⁹ Senior Health Inspector's Report, 6 June 1951, in Florey, C. (1995) *op. cit.*

²⁰ 'Last of the Chinese Market Gardeners', *The West Australian*, 20 March 1968. Also see Ryan (1995) *op. cit.* p12-13.

²¹ *The West Australian*, 27 June 1956.

90 when he lived at Sunset Home in 1968. The Wong brothers lived in South Perth for over 30 years and were respected by the local people. Bue Wong died in 1954. Chew Wong, aged 87 years, returned to Hong Kong in 1968. An author who did some research about the Chinese gardeners commented that 'Chinese would outlive most of their critics and be beaten only by time and age'.²²

Some retired Chinese market gardeners came to 'China Town' at Northbridge from the country towns of York, Albany and other places such as Spearwood. They lived in Roe Street where there used to be a gambling place. Probably sixteen to seventeen old Chinese men shared the houses at 12 A, B, C and D Little Roe Street, 'China Town' during the war years. These men seemed to live contentedly. They played gambling games, chatted and spent time together. Most of them still smoked opium. Doug Sue used to visit his father Chung Sue there once a week after the war. The market gardener Chung Sue had worked in York for over 30 years. He married an Australian woman and had seven children. In his later years, he chose to live with his fellow Chinese in 'China Town'.²³ It was natural for Chung Sue to share experiences with his fellow countrymen when they could not return to China to die. His life typically seems to reflect how the Chinese, being pragmatic by nature, stood astride two worlds.

Circumstances made the old Chinese men decide to stay and finish their journey from sojourner to settler, although they were denied Australian citizenship. They felt that their homeland was too insecure for them to live in after China became a communist country. Many did not have enough money to return, although they worked

²² Florey, C. (1995). *op. cit.* p115.

²³ Interview with Doug Sue, 21 March 1996.

extremely hard, usually 16 hours a day. See Quing used to work in a Chinese market garden at Bibra Lake near Jandakot and also in South Perth. He sold his vegetables from a horse and cart. At the age of 90 in 1968, he summed up his recreation as just 'Playing fan tan, drink, gamble on racehorses. I was a silly fool. I spent all my money.'²⁴

Some Chinese used to send all their money back to support their families in mainland China or Hong Kong. They could not go home because they did not have enough money for the trip. Now old they were also unable to support the family. These distant families did not necessarily understand what their husbands/fathers did and how hard they had worked in Australia and some simply took for granted the money they had received. The demand never stopped. Ye Chin, for example, was asked by his children in Hong Kong to show how he spent his earnings when the family received a small amount of money, in Chinese terms called 'Qing Zhang'.²⁵ Ye Chin tried to hang himself because of the pressure from his family.²⁶

Other Chinese used their money to help the Chinese Government fight the Japanese during the years of war. Henly Fong, a tailor who lived most of his life in Broome, was in Perth during the war time. He spent all his savings buying Chinese Government bonds and supported China fighting the Japanese. After the war, the bonds become worthless due to inflation. He had no money left to enable his return to China. Henly Fong and his fellow countrymen's patriotism seems to be poorly understood by the later generation.²⁷

²⁴ *The West Australian*, 20 March 1968.

²⁵ In Chinese terms, square an account.

²⁶ Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1996.

²⁷ One of the striking features in the first generation Chinese immigrants is patriotism. But, the new young generation Chinese immigrants have totally different attitudes towards their country - China is a

However, the old Chinese market gardeners finally got their pensions with the help of the Chinese community and the local Government.²⁸ As human beings, these Chinese market gardeners were not special. But as Chinese, it was a life of hardship and sacrifice for most of them. Especially as they were family men to a great extent. In return, nothing but the value of the family was remembered by their descendants.

Chinese market gardeners left their mark on the West lands. In the town of York, a street was named 'Lee Crescent' after the long lives of the Lee brothers who both died over the age of one hundred, and became local legends.²⁹ The Perth City Council proposed 'Gooley Place' was a fitting reminder of the Gooley family who had lived in North Perth since the turn of the century, unfortunately it was rejected twice.³⁰ 'Gooley Place' is not on the map but in the hearts of the Perth people: 'His horse and cart, toiling up the Albert Street hill before plodding along Daphne Street, was a familiar sight for many years.'³¹ Perth writer T.A. Hungerford did not forget about Chu Wong and his letterbox :

'All the years while we played by the river, outgrew our childhood, left school and found jobs, went to war and came back, got married or went roaming, grew to middle age and beyond

communist country. The situation has had some changes at present because of the factors of China's economic developments and its connection with the global economy.

²⁸ The Chung Wah Association and John Kee Fong helped 16 market gardeners get their homesteads and pensions. Letters kept in the Chung Wah Association.

²⁹ See 'Ex-York man dies at 114', *West Australian*, 30 April 1987.

³⁰ The reason was that people buying homes in the street might not be impressed. See *The West Australian*, 22 August 1978.

³¹ Bolton (1997) *op. cit.* p76.

... all those years the pillar box stood on the corner and Wong Chu worked among his vegetables ...'³²

Citizenship-seekers

After World War Two, the Chinese population continued to decline as many seamen and refugees went back to their places of origin. Australia began to reform its citizenship ideology and immigration policy under the influence of international pressures but did not institute any immediate change. China had become a communist country which forced some victims of the system to migrate to other countries. That influenced some Chinese to drift apart from homeland China, which in turn influenced why they needed Australian citizenship. In this circumstance, the majority of Chinese migrants who came to Australia in the period were ethnic Chinese and refugees. The structure of this group was different to the early Chinese migrants who had been born in villages in China. They were eager for the right to gain Australian citizenship, although for this to become possible they needed to reside in Australia for fifteen years.³³ These groups of Chinese included those seamen, refugees and students as well as later businessmen.

Chinese seamen

³² Hungerford, T. (1977) *Wong Chu and the Queen's Letterbox*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, p4.

³³ In 1956, the Government granted citizenship for those people who had lived in Australia for 15 years. See Tan, Thoms Tsu-wee (1986) *Your Chinese Roots*. p95.

Chinese seamen were confronted with circumstances similar to the market gardeners. They found a new life in Australia during war time. These men who simply enjoyed living in Australia were a new dynamic force in the Chinese community. Their struggles for a living in Australia were a continuity of the lifestyle of the early Chinese.

Chinese seamen became burdens for the Australian Government when the war was over. During the war, the Government was concerned about the future of these men and agreed that members of the Chinese Labour Corps could be enlisted in the United States Army after the American Army tried to import Chinese labour from China to meet manpower shortages. It was on the condition that the Chinese were not permanently kept on the Australian mainland and were to be returned to China at the end of the war. Many enjoyed their time in the US Army.³⁴ Some Chinese seamen moved with considerable freedom to obtain work as cooks or in shops and factories.³⁵

Australia's ambivalence towards Asians once again turned full circle: Asian migrants - once allies - were now not considered to be part of White Australia. The Government was determined to repatriate evacuees and seamen as soon as possible after peace was declared. 1,500 people were taken to Hong Kong in December 1945.³⁶ Others were pressured to go or were deported. At the same time, the Government sought many thousands of immigrants from northern Europe in 1947. In mid 1949, the Wartime Refugee Removal Act gave the Government powers to deport remaining refugees and

³⁴ See Rankine in Ryan (ed) (1995) *op. cit.* p72.

³⁵ See Loh and Winternitz (1989) *op. cit.* p37

³⁶ Some Chinese documentaries archives mentioned that 1500 people who were workers in Australia returned to China in 1946. 752 went to Guangzhou and others went to Tianjing, Shanghai, Fujian and Shan Tou through Hong Kong. Amongst them, 419 people who were considered as the experienced skilled workers were prepared for employment by the Guangdong Government in February 1946. See A

seamen in order to uphold the White Australia policy. Australia's attitude towards Asians was incorrigibly stubborn in a changing world. Chinese and other Asian people challenged the Act because they saw the changes of time. Many Australians gave their support. It was an uneasy moment for many families. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published a photo named 'Collection to Fight Test Case' in August 1949. Mrs Sin Ah Jong, Mrs Norma Han and Mrs Peggy Han, whose husbands were in jail awaiting deportation or were threatened with deportation, were pictured counting money raised from an appeal made in the Chinese community to test the validity of deportation orders against Chinese. Fortunately, a Federal election brought a change of Government in December 1949 before the case was finished. The new Minister for Immigration Harold Holt allowed the refugees to remain but without the right to introduce their families.³⁷

Deportation of Chinese seamen was carried out in Western Australia. Documents show that Heng Toa and another 38 seamen who arrived in August 1942 were detained and prepared for deportation.³⁸ The Immigration Department asked Shell Company of Australia Limited to arrange a ship for Au Chung and another 9 seamen to leave in 1947.³⁹

At that time, many seamen worked in the hotels and had interests in the cafe business. For example, Au Chung, Foo Say Check and Foo Hock Kew were employed by the Hotel Esplanade, Perth. The hotel manager wrote letters asking to extend their

Selection of the overseas Chinese Historical Documents (1991), Guang Zhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, p360 and p367.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p38.

³⁸ Australian Archive (W.A.) 53/60/6153 *Chinese Crews*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

certificates because the hotel could not get any chefs from Sydney and Melbourne.⁴⁰ Foo Hong Kien was another case. He was kept under watch as he did not join the Chinese Labour Corps when he was released from military detention in 1942. He worked for the Chinese Consul as a translator, and was later employed by the U.S. Navy. Chinese Consuls Tsao and Lee gave evidence to support him.⁴¹ The documents indicate that not only were Chinese seamen struggling for survival, but also that Australian employers were helping them to obtain their right to stay in Australia. However, not many seamen were protected by their employers, so they went underground and became illegal, 'black people', in Chinese terms 'Heimin'. In Perth, seamen Ping Sun Chang, Ah King Ying and Wai Ching worked in the Peking Cafe and other restaurants. Although all had married local girls, they continued the struggle for survival until they were naturalized. Ping Sun Chang married a well known Chinese businessman's daughter - Dolly Lee Wood and became an Australian citizen in 1957.⁴²

In the north of Western Australia, Chinese seamen and indentured labourers also faced deportation even though the newspapers claimed '*Too Few Men at Broome*'⁴³ and '*Darwin Pearlier Seeks Indentured Labour*'⁴⁴. During the war, most aliens lived in Broome, numbering around 600 seamen and refugees, but a few of them lived in Cossack, Onslow, Derby, Port Hedland and Geraldton.⁴⁵ In July 1946, Wan Fatt You of Kalgoorlie, King Yee Lee of Derby and another 23 Chinese seamen were listed for repatriation although the document did not show whether they were deported or not.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Interview with Bill and Beryl Chiew, 3 February 1997.

⁴³ *Daily News*, 14 January 1950.

⁴⁴ See *The Western Australian*, 16 March and 27 March 1946, 16 January 1950.

⁴⁵ Australian Archive (W.A.) PP6 /1 46/H217 *Indentured Labour Pearlring Industry*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

An ex-armed forces man Chi Ching Yet, who had worked in Broome and other places for 16 years, tried to apply for Australian citizenship and sadly left for Hong Kong.⁴⁷

Refugees

Illegal entry by Chinese occurred in response to China's change of regime to communism. Business and shipping between Hong Kong and Australia increased, and provided a convenient opportunity for seamen stowaways. While hunting stowaways, the Immigration Department took action against the shipping agents responsible and imposed a penalty of 100 pounds sterling on them.⁴⁸ Such hard sanctions indicated that the Australian Government was worried about Chinese who came from China and their communist activities in Australia. On the other hand, the Government seemed to misinterpret the stowaways' actions.

Actually, the communist movement in Australia was a cause for anxiety to a degree. Ung Chan Bunn's case was one.⁴⁹ Bunn who was sponsored by a bondsman came to Sydney as a market gardener in August 1952. However, he was deported in 1953 when he broke regulations.⁵⁰ The case had been taken up by the Communists in Australia for their own purposes. It was said that a meeting was held on 22nd July at the Chinese Youth Club, at 66a Dixon Street, Sydney, which was the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party in Sydney. They wanted to use the case to fight with all their might against the 'White Australia Policy'. The case was tabled in the Federal House of Representatives. The Consul-General for China Taiwan issued a circular about the case

⁴⁷ Interview with John Kee Fong, 30 April 1997. Also see 'Introduction'.

⁴⁸ Australian Archive (W.A) PP15/1 53/65/ 2290 Wong Wah.

⁴⁹ The case was mentioned in *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, October 1953, pp241-245.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

of Bunn and asked the Chinese in Australia not to be fooled by the Communist propaganda.⁵¹

It might be a mystery how the Chinese Communist Party in Australia was connected with the Communist Party of Australia if they existed. In the 1920s, Sun's republican movement had many Chinese supporters but did not find Communist activity in Australia. Possibly the reasons were 1) the Chinese Communist Party was a small organisation at this time; 2) the Chinese Communist Party mainly focused on the peasant' problems in China rather than the working class; in a sense, overseas Chinese were their revolution's target rather than friends because they were wealthy people compared to China's peasants;⁵² 3) the Chinese Communist Party had little impact in Australia because the Western media opposed Communism and less Chinese supported it. After the 1950s, the Chinese Communist Party attempted to cut China's ties with the West. The news about China and its 'land reform' hurt most overseas Chinese.⁵³ If the Chinese Communist Party had developed members among the small Chinese population and its community in Australia, it was insignificant. The Taiwan Consulate in Australia played a certain role in suppressing the emotional sway of Chinese as in the Bunn's case.

On the other hand, the Communist Party of Australia was outlawed during the years 1940 to 1942 and later survived the Menzies Government's attempt to ban it in a

⁵¹ *Ibid.* A letter from Taiwan consulate in Sydney was concerned about the case. The copy of the letter is kept in the Chung Wah Association.

⁵² Albert Yuen's father bought some lands in home village but did not claimed it. The land titles are kept in the Yuen family. Interview with Albert Yuen, 5 August 1996.

⁵³ In 1951, ten million hectares were said to have been confiscated and divided among eighty million peasants. See Latourette, K. S. (1964) *op. cit.* pp401-403.

referendum in 1951, but continued to lose members.⁵⁴ Obviously, the Communist Party of Australia was concerned about the Union movement⁵⁵ and seemed to be different from the Chinese Communist Party, even though there was no clear evidence to show that Chinese in Australia supported the Communist Party of Australia.

At this time, in the 1950s, only a few Chinese who lived in China were able to come to Australia. Captain Tong Chu Wan was a lucky one. He stayed in Perth and returned to China with his enthusiastic patriotism when the war was over in 1945. He was frightened when Shanghai was taken over by the Communists in 1949. Together with his family they sailed for one year on a ship and came to Hong Kong where they lived illegally for another year. Then Captain Wan and his family went to Western Australia after they got visas from the Immigration Department.⁵⁶ Wan's case suggests that the Australian Government accepted certain Chinese from China. In fact, there were some signs of changing attitudes towards Chinese as was clearly evident in the number of citizenships granted to Chinese increasing after 1958. See Table 6.3 Chinese granted Australian citizenship by naturalization, 1945-1973.

⁵⁴ Bolton (1993) *op. cit.* p11 and p82.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp69-72 and p103.

⁵⁶ Interview with Blossom Wan and Brian Wan, 18 April 1997.

Table 6.3 Chinese Granted Australian Citizenship by naturalization, 1945-1973

1945	No
1946	1
1947	No
1948	No
1949	No
1950	No
1951	No
1952	1
1953	1
1954	2
1955	4
1956	1
1957	70
1958	200
1959	365
1960	522
1961	609
1962	512
1963-64	392
1964-65	299
1965-66	325
1966-67	1086
1967-68	1071
1968-69	868
1969-70	592
1970-71	435
1971-72	337
1972-73	425

Total: 8,118

Source: Official Year Book of Commonwealth of Australia, 1945-1973. The Year Book of 1973 reported that 8,347 Chinese were granted Australian citizenship from 1945 to 1973. p166.

Students

At the time, some overseas students came to Australia, and later became the first group that was allowed to apply for Australian citizenship after graduation in the 1960s when Australian immigration policies changed.

When the 'Colombo Plan' was formulated in January 1950 to promote education, health and economic modernization in South-East Asia, Asian students began to come to Australia for their secondary and tertiary qualifications.⁵⁷ The students were from Singapore, Hong Kong and later Malaysia instead of China. The 'Plan' was not an easy process. Between January 1954 to January 1956, only four students with Chinese backgrounds from Singapore were recorded to have arrived in Western Australia.⁵⁸ They could stay 36 months for their studies in Australia. After 1960, the number of overseas students increased.⁵⁹ Further, some former students were granted permission to get Australian citizenship and settled in Australia in the late 1960s.

The students made an impact on society in both their overseas countries and Australia. Blossom Tan's studying experience was an example. She came to Claremont Teachers College to study in 1959. She remembers there were not many Asian students. Only one girl from Singapore was at the college. She went back to Singapore and took a job as a teacher after receiving her teaching certificate in 1962. She came back to Western Australia to live in 1963 after she married Mr Brian Wan whom she met while

⁵⁷ Bolton (1993) *op. cit.* p78.

⁵⁸ Chee Kim Chua, Ching Siew Ying (21), Annie Lye (19) and Khaw Cheng Poon (22). See Australia Archive (W.A.) PP 50/3 *Certificate of Exemption Book Butts*.

studying in Perth. Now she is a school teacher and the owner of a Chinese restaurant.⁶⁰ Richard Liow was an accountancy student at the Perth Technical College in 1961. More than 30 years later, Liow and his teacher Des Westlake were in practice together in a real estate consultation Acuity Investments Pty Ltd in 1994.⁶¹ Obviously, overseas students' contributions had more effect on the Chinese community after the late 1970s, which is beyond the period of this thesis.

Australian Born Chinese

It would be natural that second and third generation Chinese did not share the same interests as the first generation in the Chinese community because in general they had been educated in Australia.⁶² As television journalist and presenter Alison Fan said, she did not see herself as Chinese.⁶³ But, specifically, many Perth Chinese descendants shared Chinese cultural traditions because they were close to their families which had not been accepted by mainstream society, and their parents were not Australian citizens. More over, some of them though born in Australia were classified as Chinese at certain times and under certain conditions.⁶⁴ How frustrated they were when denied equality with their Australian friends, when they wanted to enrol in the Australian Armed Forces during the War, which has been discussed in the previous Chapter.

The sense of belonging to the Chinese community tended to increase when they lived in a racially discriminated situation. In a sense, Chinese descendants have

⁵⁹ In 1951, there was a total of 1,543 non-European private students in Australia. By 1963 this had increased to 11,158. The great majority of students in all categories were Chinese. The greatest numbers came from Malaysia. See Huck, A. (1968) *The Chinese in Australia*. Croydon: Longmans, p46.

⁶⁰ Interview with Blossom Wan and Brian Wan, 18 April 1997.

⁶¹ *The West Australian*, 21 September 1994.

⁶² Harvey, S. in Kellehear (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p127.

⁶³ *Ibid.* p12.

continued to carry out the task of pioneer Chinese who were struggling for survival in two worlds. They were encouraged by the Chinese Consul to unite and defend Chinese cultural traditions which by themselves had hardly carried them through during the time of the 'White Australia Policy'. Their achievements were such that the Chung Wah Association was rejuvenated and the Hall renovated, waiting for a new wave of migration in the late 1960s.

Australian born Chinese dominated the Chinese community during the 1950s and the 1960s. Not only did looking after those old Chinese men fall to the Australian born Chinese, but also bridging the gap between the new and the old migrants. Although only a small number of families lived in the Perth metropolitan area, those families kept the Chinese community alive. The first generation Chinese families included merchants Wood Lee (1860-1946), Tim See Chiew (1882-1945), Alex Shem (1893-1971), Harold Shem (1895-1975), and furniture manufacturers Hoy Poy Yuen (1870-1943) and Kum Yuan (1875-1943) and herbalist Xianli Wong (1884-1952). They were well known both in business and in the Chinese community, and were founders of the Chung Wah Association in the 1910s and the Chinese Nationalist Party in the 1920s. Market gardeners Ah Sue Chung (1862-1947), Kong Sam Lee (1868-1956) and John Gooley Lew (1870-1959) had large families that remained in Australia.

Wood Lee, Kum Yuan, Hoy Poy Yuen and Tim See Chiew died in the 1940s. Their businesses continued to operate by their children for a while. Wood Lee's 'Kuang Li' in James Street, Kum Yuan's 'J.W. Wing Ltd' in Newcastle Street and Hoy Poy Yuen's

⁶⁴ The National Act 1920 permitted a woman who married an 'alien' to retain the right as a British subject but only while she was resident in Australia. See Goldlust (1996) *op. cit.* p13.

'See Wah & Co' in James Street closed in the late 1940s. But Tim See Chiew's 'Jds Chiew & Co' in James Street was retained by a family member till 1969. Started by their father Quan Ah Shem, later ran by Alex and Harold Shem's 'Ah Sam & Co' first opened in Barrack Street in 1910, staying there until 1950, and later moved to James Street in the 1960s. The company dealt with wholesale fruit and vegetables and supplied ships operating between Singapore and Fremantle. Sons Alex Shem and Harold Shem were active members of the Chinese community and leaders of the Association in this period.

Many Australian born Chinese faced new challenges. Their education and living conditions determined that they were Australian citizens. They had committed themselves to Australia, which had been reflected in their enthusiastic service in the armed forces during the war years. Generally, Australian born Chinese were not in conflict with their parents, partly because their parents had already settled in Australia when they married and had the children, and partly because the children did not have much Chinese education. Under the influence of the policy of assimilation, the parents knew that to learn Chinese was unrealistic for their children as their numbers in Western Australia declined during these years. Some parents changed their habits and tried hard to speak broken English at home in order to help their children reach the standard class when they went to school. Therefore, Australian born Chinese were only slightly interested in the affairs of the Chinese community when they grew up. They were less likely to work in their parents' business.

Many Australian born Chinese looked for jobs after they were discharged from the Army and returned to civilian life. They met difficulties in finding jobs the same as

other servicemen. However, they were practical. Some went to Sydney and Melbourne. Others moved to north Western Australia. Some got casual work in Perth. Doug Sue worked for the Government as an engineer (1949-1972) after he did retail business for four years. Jack Sue used to pick wildflowers to sell. He also sold firewood and motorcars and worked at the *Sunday Times* as a journalist (casual). Later he managed a motor cycle shop in Perth after he and the family went to Adelaide to learn the South Australian motor cycle business. At the same time, he started a diving business in 1951. This business has continued to develop, and has indelibly associated Jack Sue's name with Western Australian skin divers. Ken Sue, his younger brother, ran a driving school after quitting a job in the Commonwealth Bank in 1957.⁶⁵

However, some Australian born Chinese kept in touch with activities in the Chinese community, especially those who maintained their parent's family business or whose fathers were active community members. Some Australian born Chinese stepped into Chinese business, which maintained a connection between the old and new generation. Their positive roles impressed the Chinese community when most family businesses had to close down. John Kee Fong's 'Hop Hing' was an example.⁶⁶

'Hop Hing' located in James Street, next door to the Chinese Hall in the early 1910, sold Chinese merchandise and other goods. The business conducted many functions in the Chinese community, and after the Hall was built, continued to supply foodstuffs for Chinese dinners or meetings at the Hall. Kim Chong was the owner from 1900 to 1950. His activities in the Chinese community have been mentioned in chapters 2 and

⁶⁵ Interview with Ken Sue, 4 April 1997.

⁶⁶ Interview with John Kee Fong, 22 March 1997.

3. As a businessman, he was reported to be 'easy going' and 'generous'. He had a 'good heart'.⁶⁷ The building was also home for many Chinese gardeners. Kim Chong had a mortgage of 900 pounds sterling from a bank but his Chinese customers owed him 2000 pounds sterling when he died in 1950. Chinese friends erected a memorial on his grave in Karrakatta cemetery to remember him forever. A businessman Sin Chin from Broome took over 'Hop Hing' for a while. Philip Wong also from Broome looked after the shop after Sin Chin committed suicide when found guilty of selling gold and pressured by demands for money by his family in Hong Kong.⁶⁸

In 1955, John Kee Fong came back to Perth to look after his uncle Henley Fong. This was after Fong's service in the Army (1942-1945) and working in several jobs including cook for a whaling company in Carnarvon (1948-1950) as well as some works in Sydney (1951-54). He restarted the 'Hop Hing' business with his wife at the suggestion of Philip Wong. Fong enlarged the business and got a licence to import, although business was slow as there was only a small Chinese population in Western Australia during this time. Compared to his cousin's 'Qin Wah' Company in Melbourne in 1959 and his brother's 'De Sheng Tang' in Hong Kong in 1960, Fong's business started early but fell behind the ranks. Hop Hing finally closed in 1974 when Fong retired and family members did not want to continue. This business' history reflected a trend of family-orientated businesses in the Chinese community. The location of 'Hop Hing & Co' meant that it became a de facto meeting place when the Chung Wah Hall was no longer open. Fong was a caretaker of the Chung Wah Hall

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

building. He took on the unofficial role of social worker for the Chinese and helped old Chinese men get pensions as the rest of the Chinese committee were elderly.⁶⁹

Restaurateurs and family business men (women)

In 1965, the Australian Government relaxed its immigration laws and began to allow non-European migrants into Australia. After that, Chinese, mainly from Hong Kong, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore arrived to reside in Perth. The tradition of 'clan-sponsorship' started again. Their families and relatives were also reunited in Australia. For example, Sheng Zhu, who was an officer from the well known 'Huangpu Military Academy' in China in 1949, struggled for more than 15 years in Australia to qualify for citizenship.⁷⁰ These migrants looked for new employment to survive but not as market gardeners this time.

'Chinese Cafes' became a legend, suddenly declining as many armed service men and overseas Chinese left after the war. However, the experience of these Chinese restaurant businesses and the changes in Australian tastes had important influences on future development of the restaurant business.

The Chinese restaurant business lives on although it developed slowly. Mr Charles Brown and his wife, a migrant from Penang, Malaysia, started a Chinese restaurant named 'Pagoda Lounge' in Hay Street, Perth in 1955-56, which is the site for the present 'Royal India Restaurant'. Captain Wan resumed the restaurant business and

⁶⁹ Poon, K 'Reminiscence', *Chung Wah Association 85th Anniversary*, p78.

⁷⁰ After communism in China, Sheng Zhu went to Hong Kong and stayed as a stowaway in Sydney in 1953. He had a temporary resident visa in 1966 and applied for citizenship in 1971. During the period, his wife and daughter lived in Hong Kong. The family came to Perth in 1972 and have started a Chinese

operated the 'Pink Lotus Chinese Restaurant' in Hay Street in 1958 after he came back to Western Australia in 1951. Four Chinese men who were said to have come from the Eastern States joined a venture to establish the 'Canton Restaurant' in 1963. This restaurant, later sold to Wan in 1966, has been standing in Hay Street since then. The Wan family have made some changes, such as moving the restaurant from the ground floor to the first floor in 1982 and forming today's sign. John Kee Fong was also involved in operating two restaurants: the 'Chinese Lantern Restaurant' in Albany Highway, Victoria Park and the 'Chinese Jade Restaurant' in Barrack Street, Perth in 1966. (See Figure 6.1 Chinese Restaurants)

Many Chinese who came from the Eastern States started ventures in the restaurant business. Bill Lee came to Perth in 1968, after living in Sydney since 1951 where he was a student, at fourteen years of age. He did kitchen work while studying, and started new restaurants in Sydney in the 1960s. Lee looked for an opportunity in Perth when he heard of the new economic development in Western Australia. He went to Albany to open his first Chinese restaurant 'Double Happy' in Western Australia. From that time until now, he has opened the 'Bill Lee Chinese Restaurant' (in Roe Street) and nine other restaurants. During this period, he briefly left Perth to return Sydney between 1986 and 1988. Now he works in the 'University Asian Restaurant' in Broadway, Nedlands.⁷¹ Maggie Tsum who married an Australian Mr Cream in Hong Kong came to Western Australia in 1967 to enable their children to receive a good education in Australia. She started the Shouyu Restaurant in 1969 and Haohao Restaurant in 1972.

restaurant named 'China House Restaurant' in Shenton Park until now. Interview with Jienming Zen and his wife, 19 June 1997.

⁷¹ Interview with Bill Lee, 6 May 1997.

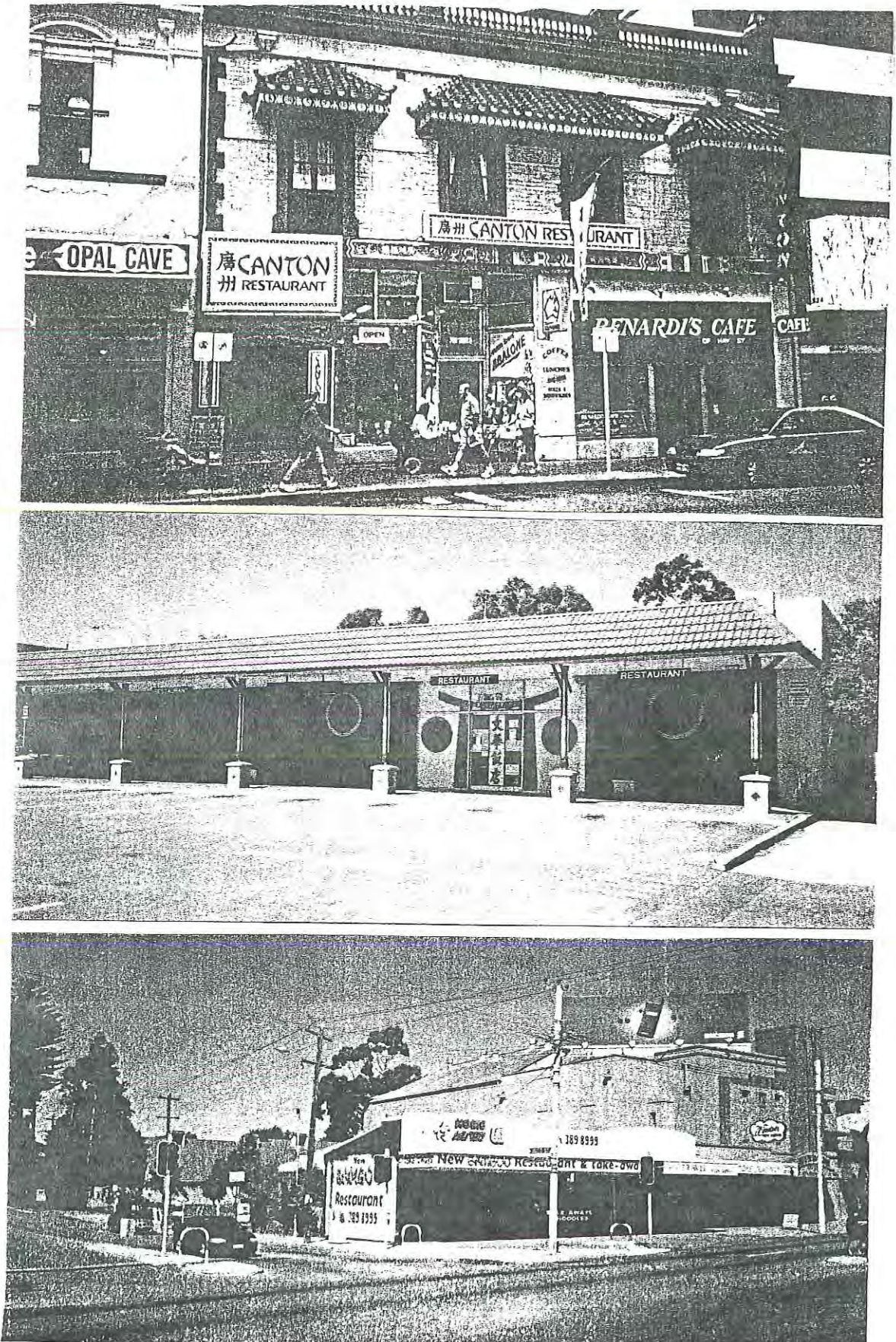


Figure 6.1 Chinese Restaurants: Canton Restaurant in Hay St in 1997 (top); China House in Shenton Park (middle) and Bamboo Restaurant in Stirling Hwy. in 1998 (bottom)

Later, she taught Asian food cooking at TAFE.⁷² Chen Wah Ho, Wai Kuen Ma and Kim Bu Kuen Ng, the trustees of the Chung Wah Association in early 1970s, were from the Eastern States and were also involved in the Chinese restaurant business.⁷³

The experiences of Bill Lee and other businessmen indicated that Chinese in Australia were never isolated from each other, which was one of the features of Chinese immigrants. Chinese in Western Australia maintained their relationship with Chinese in the eastern states to varying degrees. Those who came from the eastern states helped to develop the local Chinese community and business activities, which could be traced back to the establishment of the Chung Wah Association in 1909.

When new migrants came, either as investors or as employees, Chinese migrants could easily find a position in the restaurants. That is why Chinese restaurants are more developed than other general businesses. Another reason for rapid progress is that the Chinese restaurant business is not a competitive business. Non-competitive labour such as chefs, assistants and special clerks were admissible in Australian society.⁷⁴ Therefore, many Chinese cooks who were sponsored by restaurant owners or investors came to Australia as part of a new generation of migrants. Students who came to study in Western Australia became another component in the Chinese community. These students were not only consumers but also participants in the Chinese restaurant business. As Chinese numbers increased and their occupations were concentrated, this

⁷² Yeung, H. L. (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p80.

⁷³ Interview with John Kee Fong, 30 April 1997.

⁷⁴ In early 1950, three kinds of people-market gardener, cook and student could be sponsored to come to Australia. Bill Lee came to Sydney from Zhongshan county of Canton in China in 1951 as his sister-in-law supported him financially. Such chances for the Chinese immigrants were stopped when Canton was totally controlled by the Chinese communist government after 1951. Interview with Bill Lee, 6th May 1997. Also see Choi (1975) *op. cit.* p41.

kind of migration actually changed the image of the early Chinese migrants as market gardeners in Australia.⁷⁵ It was natural that the restaurant business gave most financial support to the activities of the Chinese community, especially in the restoration of the Hall. The increasing Chinese population had laid the ground work for the restarting of the Chung Wah Association.

All above mentioned situations had an impact on the small Chinese community and Western Australia. Everything was in a state of preparedness for the rejuvenation of the Chinese community.

6.2 The Restoration of the Chung Wah Hall

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a new direction in Australia, especially non-discriminatory immigration policy towards Asian people. Australia's population grew by 1.5 million between the censuses of 1966 and 1971, of these people about 40 per cent were migrants.⁷⁶ The Chinese Hall building in James Street that was restored in early 1970 indicated that the Chinese community had entered into a new period. However, the togetherness of the Chinese along with the restoration of the Hall had mainly been influenced by two factors: Taiwan (ROC) consuls and the co-operation between Australian born Chinese and other Chinese immigrants. This new wave of

⁷⁵ The influence of Chinese restaurant staff on the Chinese community's activities could be seen on a traditional date 'Qingming' (5th solar term, 4th or 5th April each year), a memorial ceremony for ancestors, that has been changed to Easter Friday because that day is the only working-day off for most of the Chinese restaurant staff during the year. The Chinese organizations have to consider their majority member's situation. It was the same as the Chinese market gardeners who were in the majority in the early days.

⁷⁶ Bolton (1993), *op. cit.* p183.

Chinese migrants revitalised the Chinese community. Without them, as American experience suggests, ethnic communities dissipated and the ethnicity that remained was symbolic only.⁷⁷

Taiwan consuls were directly responsible for helping the local Chinese organize their community. Dr William C.P. Chen came from California to Western Australia and set up a Taiwanese consular office in Perth in 1969. The aim of the office was to unite the local Chinese together and promote trade. It was a time for the Taiwanese Government to strengthen its relationship with foreign countries while the Chinese Government (PRC) began to be recognized on the international scene. In fact, the Australian Government gave diplomatic recognition to communist China in 1972 and the Taiwan consuls were withdrawn at the same time after existing for three years. However, whatever the political situation or political stand, the Chinese community in Perth welcomed the consuls, despite most Chinese not wanting to be involved in political affairs. History repeated itself. The Chinese consuls who visited Perth in 1909 and in 1942 had quite an influence on the Chinese community as the previous chapters showed.

The Taiwanese consuls made an impression on the Chinese community. When consul Chen came to Perth, he quickly made friends with the Chinese. Often when he walked in the streets, he would greet anyone who looked Chinese and talk to them.⁷⁸ Australian born Chinese Ken Sue met Chen in these circumstances. The necessity of the Chinese organization was realized by the Chinese community in Perth when the

⁷⁷ See Harvey's article in Kellehear (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p127.

⁷⁸ Interview with Ken Sue, 11 April 1997.

Taiwan Chinese Nationalist Navy visited Western Australia in May 1969. Since the war no official Chinese had come to Perth, the news of the Navy's visit was exciting the local Chinese, who were concerned about an appropriate welcoming celebration. Although there was no formal organization or a place to welcome the Chinese Navy, each family and person took visitors home after a simple ceremony was held at the port. Roy and Edie Hoy Poy brought around 20 sailors to their home to enjoy Chinese food and drink.⁷⁹ (See Figure 6.2 Welcoming the Chinese Nationalist Navy, May 1969).

As this kind of event was encouraged by the consul, the Chinese community, mainly Australian born Chinese, began to rejuvenate the Chung Wah Association. Although it was re-registered in July 1951, the Association was barely managed by a skeleton committee as the population had declined following World War Two.⁸⁰ This time, they made the central objective of the Association, a social club, relegating political activities. Initially, the meeting was held in the Poon Brother's office in Beaufort Street. Australian born Chinese Jim Lee Wood from the Lee family, Roy Hoy Poy from the Yuen family and Edie Hoy Poy, Ken Sue from the Wong family and William Gooley from the Gooley family were active members and became either presidents or vice presidents between 1969 and 1976.

At first the main task for the Association was the restoration of the Hall. The two storey building had seen maintenance lapse since the late 1950s. It was necessary to install a concrete floor between the two levels for fire prevention. Association president Ken Sue and his father-in-law offered to undertake the re-construction of the building

⁷⁹ Interview with Edie Hoy Poy, 15 March 1996.

⁸⁰ *Chung Wah Association 85th Anniversary*, p18.



一九六九年五月兒童獻花歡迎中華民國海軍軍艦訪西澳
Welcoming the Chinese Nationalist Navy, May 1969
Presenters (l to r) Shauna DEMMER, Kaylene FONG, Zoe COLLINGE,
Kelly SUE and two boys unknown.

Figure 6.2 Welcoming the Chinese Nationalist Navy, May 1969

Source: Kaylene Poon

and put six inch-thick steel between the floors. Other basic works such as plumbing, electrical and repairs to the banisters had been done. The Association also asked Kim Bu Kuen Ng to lease the ground floor as a Chinese restaurant. Kuen had a restaurant in Fremantle. He moved and spent nearly \$100,000 on restoration and changed the two ground floor shops into one as the restaurant. In return, the Association allowed him to have a long lease. The Poon Brothers also gave financial support for the preservation of the building. Thus, the old and shabby Chung Wah Hall was substantially renovated in 1971. After that, the Association opened its first Chinese school and had nine children in the inaugural class. Also membership had increased to nearly 200 and the Association successfully arranged for the Lee brothers (market gardeners) to return to China in 1975.⁸¹ 'Song Jiu-Ying Xin'.⁸²

Today, this distinctive two storeyed building has been standing in James Street, Northbridge since 1911. At the top of the building are the words 'Chung Wah Hall' in Chinese and 'Chung Wah Association' in English. On the ground floor, a restaurant still operates. Upon entering the front door in the middle of the building, and going up the stairs, there is a spacious and well-furnished hall. Around the hall are a number of rooms: a committee-room, an office-room, a library and a large kitchen. Every day the Chinese community conducts various activities in the building. As the incumbent President of the Chung Wah Association Mr James Chong said: 'The Association is not the building in James Street or the Executive Committee, it is every one of its Members'.⁸³ Indeed, this 88 year old building has not only been a witness to the development of the Chinese in Western Australia, but it has also been a significant

⁸¹ *The West Australian*, 6 July 1975.

⁸² In Chinese terms, see off the old and welcome the new.

⁸³ *Chung Wah News*, April-May 1995, p2.

symbol of how Australia became today's multicultural society. (See Figure 6.3 Two pictures of Chung Wah Hall Building).

6.3 A Reflection on New Directions

As Asian migrations to Australia increased, especially the many Chinese with their different backgrounds and different birth places, the pluralism of the Chinese communities became its present feature. Not long after the increase in the number of Chinese migrants in 1985, a concept of forming a national organization of Chinese associations in Australia was raised. The national conferences on the issue took place in Sydney in 1986 and in Melbourne in 1990. Thirty-three organizations from every state with nearly 200 delegates attended the first conference.⁸⁴ However, since then, a common desire to establish a national Chinese Australian organization has so far not been fulfilled. In real terms, it seems unlikely because of 'growth in size and numbers means growth in complexity and diversity.'⁸⁵ The situations are the same as for the Chinese communities between 1910 - 1920: Many Associations are strong enough to support themselves by their own members.⁸⁶ In Western Australia, the Perth Chinese community was united in the past because of its small population as previously

⁸⁴ Yee, Kee Yong, 'History of Chung Wah Association: part two 1985-1995', *Chung Wah Association 85th Anniversary 1910-1995*, p20

⁸⁵ O'farrell (191993) *op. cit.*, p111.

⁸⁶ See Yong (1977) *op. cit.*



Figure 6.3 Two Pictures of the Chung Wah Hall Building
 Source: The Chung Wah Association

analyzed. But now diversity is everywhere. This is presented by its social groups and the structure of the population. First, there are many Chinese organizations in Perth. The Chung Wah Association is still one of the largest groups. In 1978, more than one hundred members withdrew from the Association because they believed that 1) the Association could not carry out genuine traditional Chinese culture and 2) English was being spoken in the Association rather than Chinese, as well as other reasons.⁸⁷ Those members formed a social body named the Chinese Community Centre (CCC). It might be called the generational 'gap' between Chinese descendants who had western education and Chinese who had more Chinese education. Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian Chinese have their own Association which is the second biggest one after the Chung Wah Association.

Other communities could be categorized by the local area or the birth place from which the migrants came, such as the Hong Kong and Macau Association of WA Inc, the Taiwan club, the Sabah Club and the Kejia Association; by political presentation such as the Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Datomen Hui; by social functions such as the Dragon Boat Club, the Youth Groups and the Martial Arts Clubs. Various religious and commercial groups are also active in Perth. These include the WA Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Medicine Association of Australia Inc, the Perth Chinese Christian Church and the Australian Institute of Buddhist Learning and Practice. An Australian based group named the Australia- China Friendship Society also developed further as a result of the increasing Chinese population and business opportunities between China and Australia.

Secondly, the diversity is linked to different groups of Chinese migrants. Unlike the earlier Chinese migrants who usually came from mainland China, today's ethnic Chinese are from any corner of the world. They might be divided into three significant groups. 1) Asian students and professional groups from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia at the beginning of the late 1960s. 2) Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian Chinese as refugees in the middle 1970s; 3) Chinese students from mainland China in the late 1980s.⁸⁸ The Family Reunion Scheme under the Immigration Act contributed to increasing the number of Chinese migrants and helped the Chinese maintain a traditional 'clan-sponsorship' scheme. Those people who invested in Australia from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma, Singapore and mainland China brought its population up to a new level. The so-called flying migrants are doing business in their birth countries and other places while leaving their families or children in Australia.

Comparatively, those ethnic Chinese from South-East Asia felt that Australia had a better welfare system and was democratic. The country in which they resided would at least benefit their children and families - a Chinese traditional culture that demands their sacrifice for the good of the next generation. In return, what they expect is that their children keep the traditional Chinese culture going. That is why Chinese weekend schools organised by various social groups are in progress.⁸⁹ Chinese language study seems to be a common factor among various groups whatever their different political views.

⁸⁷ Interview with John Xizhong Xu, 15 June 1997.

⁸⁸ Bob Tan Chin Huat, 'The Chinese Community in Australia: a 27 year retrospective', *Chung Wah Association 85th Anniversary 1910-1995*. pp34-5.

Except for maintaining tradition, the direction for Chinese in Australia predominately remains neutral in political affairs. It seems to go back to the pioneers' days - economical interests rather than political ones as most of them are the victims and witnesses of harsh political regimes. Furthermore, the ideas, hopes and aspirations they hold in mind seem to be no different from those the earlier Chinese migrants once held - they wish to see a truly strong China built upon a firm economic and democratic base, especially with democracy.

Today, China's high speed economical growth and business opportunities provide new opportunities for overseas Chinese. Moreover, many have their relatives with whom to communicate, although an uncertain political social environment could make them worry about the future of China. A balance between two worlds could be reflected in many Chinese families in Australia: One family member may hold an Australian passport while another keeps the Chinese passport or their birth country passport. In a sense, they appear to be more pragmatic by nature.

This new wave of Chinese immigrants in Australia would like to enjoy their cultural rights - maintain ethnic identity, language and family values while

⁸⁹ At present, there are more than 2,500 students at different weekend Chinese schools. The largest one is the Chung Wah Association that has around 1,500 students enrolled in their three schools at Morley, Leeming and Parkwood, and the Chinese Community Centre that has around 400 students in Highgate.

supporting their children's education and helping them towards a better future. R.J.F.

Boyer knew these migrants' hearts very deeply when he said:

In becoming Australians you should never lose the warm spot in your heart for the land of your origin and the people of your past. They are part of your history. No one is a good citizen who is not conscious of his place in history...⁹⁰

⁹⁰ From an address by R.J.F. Boyer, Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, at a naturalisation ceremony held in Canberra in January 1954, cited by Zubrzycki, in Price (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p126.

Conclusion

The history of the Chinese in Western Australia from 1901 to 1973 was contextualised within the broader issues of citizenship. The initial response of Chinese to changing citizenship criteria in Australia was influenced by the pragmatic economic needs of these immigrants. The term of 'commuter' instead of 'sojourner' reflects how these migrants were astride two worlds: they wanted a continuance of migration while they worked hard in Australia. Their family interests ensured their commitment to both Australia and China. This two way commitment was influenced by the enforcing of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which denied the right of Chinese to bring their families into Australia.¹

Typically, Chinese were not citizenship-seekers during this period before World War Two. This thesis clearly demonstrated how these Chinese were impacted by the concept of citizenship, which was dominated by the 'White Australia Policy'. As Chinese were not accepted for naturalisation for British subject status, they had to look to China - their homeland. The affairs in China, such as the reform movement and the republican activities, provided an alternative for Chinese who preferred the status of Chinese citizen to that of 'British subject'. So the Chinese attitude towards citizenship had been formed by the exclusion they faced in Australia and also by the traditional

¹ Yarwood, A.T in Scott (ed) (1968) *op.cit.* p137.

concepts of Han's citizenship and cultural rights that were familiar to them. The Chinese political movements both in China and Australia enhanced their rights to hold Han's racial traditions and brought new hope to these 'traditional' Chinese.

When Chinese businesses were targeted by the union movements and racist ideology impacted on their civil and social rights, the impact of the 'White Australia Policy' had clearly gone beyond immigration restrictions. Chinese had to unite in a struggle for identification and a demand for their cultural rights. Their struggles were reflected in the establishments of the Chung Wah Association in 1909 and the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1921. While the Chung Wah Association tried to protect the Chinese common interest in Australia and retain the Chinese right to survive in Western Australia, the Chinese Nationalist Party tied Chinese immigrants strongly to China's affairs.

It was not until World War Two that significant political realignments between Australia and China influenced Chinese to rethink ideas of responsibilities and loyalties. Chinese revealed citizenship desires by their commitment to fight for Australia during World War Two. This thesis sought to explain changes that happened among the Chinese families and descendants, and the new-coming seamen and refugees. It was still difficult for Chinese migrants to merge into mainstream Australian society when they were denied the 'common possession' of political rights in a strange environment.² However, some Chinese families and their descendants demonstrated that they had a sense of belonging to Australia, especially the descendants who joined the armed forces when Australia was at risk during World War Two. This was a sign that Australian

² Marshall's term, in Barbalet (1988) *op.cit.* p20.

society had won migrants to the core value system,³ although war was a sad theme to introduce into a book on Australian national identity.⁴ Intermarriage between some Chinese and Caucasians was another example indicating that some Chinese desired to remain permanent settlers and integrate with Australian culture. They were the real victims of the policy of assimilationism because they could not assert their own cultural rights under such pressures. It was a bitter experience for most of them.

Those Chinese seamen and refugees who stayed in Australia during war time became a new manpower for the Australian home front. Their reactions, such as the formation of the Chinese Labour Corps and the establishment of Chinese cafes, proved that they had the ability to adapt during the most difficult times in Australia. The relationship between Chinese and Australians seemed to be more friendly and closer to each other than at any previous time, which showed Australians had started to change their perceptions of China and the Chinese in Australia.

The Chinese who were struggling for the right to have naturalisation in Australia became more and more active in the following years of change. The end of World War Two can be considered a turning point in the transition. Australia for the

³ Price, 'Conclusion', in Price (ed) (1991) *op. cit* p161.

⁴ During war time, civil rights for dissenters and minorities were at a discount. No fewer than 6780 Australians were interned as potentially dangerous aliens. Bolton (1993) *The Oxford History of Australia: the Middle Way 1942-1988*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p11. Australian citizenship did not entirely protect those Australians of German ancestry. Harmstorf, in Price (ed) (1991) *op. cit.* p47.

first time created its *Nationality and Citizenship Act* in 1948. This Act and the Government's new migration plans seemed to bring new opportunities for Chinese who wanted to migrate and become Australian citizens. Australian attitudes towards Asian people had begun to change. The response to such changes was identified by those incoming new migrants who had been seamen during war time, who were victims of a communist regime, and who had no citizenship rights in their birth countries. They were much more aware of their citizenship status than the pioneer migrants. These Chinese, some staying in Australia for many years, realized that Australian social and economical conditions were much better than in their home country, at the same time, many had lost their traditional influences, and some embraced Western patterns. The disappointment in China's affairs, such as the communist revolution, influenced some young Chinese migrants, giving them a less strong sense of belonging to China, unlike the pioneer Chinese. Chinese were further encouraged to seek Australian citizenship because China's doors were closed. These changing attitudes suggests that the development of citizenship rights may change the way in which people identify themselves.⁵

In this thesis the responses of Chinese migrants to changing citizenship issue are divided into such two parts or two periods, and relevant Chinese migrants are generally described as 'non-citizens' or 'citizenship-seekers'. These are convenient terms, with clearly drawn implications, which include changing Chinese migrant ideology and attitudes towards citizenship and Australia's transitions in the political and social rights of Chinese immigrants.

⁵ Barbalet, J.M. (1988) *op. cit* p57.

This thesis has explained the role of the ethnic community organisation in liaising between Chinese migrants and the Australian society. The Chinese community and its organisations played an important role in helping Chinese to adjust to new conditions and maintain traditional cultures. Generally, the Chinese community could be considered as a conservative force in the host society, but they were more united and more likely to fight for their cultural rights and interests when facing discrimination or threat. They tended to be more apolitical when the social climate was liberal. Chinese organisations had always considered the needs of the whole Chinese community first, rather than of individuals, a characteristic directly connected to their traditional cultures. In other words, the Chinese 'community' adhered to Australia's principles and abided by its legal systems. The Perth Chinese community and the Chung Wah Association were such a case in point when they responded to changing citizenship rights in Australia.

Historically, the 'Chinese question' has its special place in the history of Australia. It was raised in different circumstances and tested Australia's tolerance. The Chinese question could be a political issue, an economical and trading issue, as well as an immigration and racial issue, but it seems to have never ended after the foundation of the colony.⁶ Australian historians have found that fear and ideologies powered the formation of the 'White Australia Policy'.⁷ Race and immigrant numbers in Australia were responsible for the conflicts between Australians and Chinese.⁸

⁶ Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party seems to be such a kind of issue which echoes back the noise of the shot that happened a hundred years ago.

⁷ Price (1974) *op. cit.*

⁸ It is a controversial subject. See Price (1974) *ibid.* Also Gungwu Wang pointed out that 'in a new nation-state, it was particularly important to limit the number of aliens'. In Reid (ed) (1996) *op. cit.* p11.

Interestingly, the Chinese race was recognized as both inferior and superior.⁹ This inconsistent thinking seems to influence how the Chinese were treated in different circumstances. It was natural that the Chinese were colonial casualties and victims of white Australian racism in an atmosphere of hostility and negativity. On the other hand, however, the Chinese were survivors and they were never without supporters among European Australians.¹⁰ Although Western Australia was more British orientated in many aspects than other states¹¹, the early Chinese in this state had their own distinctive development and achievements. This complex phenomenon, presented in this thesis, is also relevant to inconsistent Australian thinking.¹² Australian democratic principles were not identical with the principles on which citizenship was granted. The Chinese migrants and communities in Australia were not only fighting for their own cultural rights, but also the democratic principles that they witnessed in Australia. Their striving for such 'historical balance' between themselves and the host Australian society has been revealed in this thesis.

Citizenship was central to understanding the nature of Chinese migrants and their relationship with the social and political environment in Australia as analysed above. Australian citizenship characteristics made the Chinese in Australia both victims of the racial policy and survivors of the democratic system. This thesis has made a distinctive

⁹ Henry Parkes's 'The Chinese in Australia', cited by York, B. (1991) *op. cit* p27.

¹⁰ York, B. (1991) *op. cit* p29.

¹¹ Johnston, R. (ed) (1979) *Immigrants In Western Australia*. Nedlands: The University of Western Australia Press.

¹² Price (1974) *op. cit* pp111-112.

contribution to the history of Chinese in Australia in its investigation of citizenship and political and cultural rights of Chinese. Such a coherent historical explanation relating citizenship transition from 1901 to 1973 can help people's understanding of the varying Chinese experiences in Australia and of the origins of Australia's multi-cultural society.

Appendice I**The Chinese in Western Australia in 1931****Xin Hui county 新會 161 people**

Name	Chinese	Age	Arrived	O	M	C	Birth Place
Ah Ack	趙亞迪	52	1899	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Bue	趙彪	57	1896	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Chan	趙俊	58	1898	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Cheong	溫振連	56	1900	農	y	2	新會王井頭村
Ah Chew	鐘大能	57	1897	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Chin	溫世杰	52	1900	農	y	2	新會王井頭村
Ah Chong	李章	54	1895	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Ah Cing	趙亞程	56	1896	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Dan	溫裘	67	1885	農	y	2	新會王井頭村
Ah Denn	馬進	52	1898	農	y	2	新會麻園村
Ah Dick	鐘啓紹	58	1890	工	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Fang	陳阿晃	53	1897	農	-	-	新會紫泥村
Ah Fat	溫發	64	1892	工	y	-	新會王井頭村
Ah Find	鐘亞番	56	1897	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Goue	鐘大麓	53	1896	農	y	2	新會城
Ah Gouley	鐘大覺	51	1901	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Guan	鐘關	51	1899	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Kee	趙基	56	1898	工	a	2	新會城
Ah Kim	趙堅	47	1901	農	y	1	新會舉頭村
Ah Kim	鐘亞堅	55	1898	農	y	-	新會南合村
Ah Kin	鐘華堅	57	1901	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah King	鐘阿京	46	1902	農	y	-	新會南合村
Ah Lam	鐘承祚	62	1897	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Lee	李青遠	55	1897	農	y	1	新會三村

Ah Lick	鐘阿力	55	1893	工	2	1	新會城
Ah Lim	鐘承能	55	1902	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Lim	馬阿林	49	1898	農	y	1	新會麻園村
Ah Lum	趙澤林	50	1898	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Nam	趙仲念	62	1888	工	-	2	新會舉頭村
Ah Pang	黃邦	50	1900	農	y	2	新會京背村
Ah Ping	趙亞煩	44	1902	農	y	5	新會舉頭村
Ah Ping	鐘大壤	50	1902	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Sin	鐘亞銓	54	1896	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Sing	鐘承保	53	1894	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Sing Shing	趙勝	61	1892	農	y	1	新會舉頭村
Ah Soon	鐘阿羨	58	1897	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Soot	鐘述	56	1896	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Sue	鐘大趙	61	1889	農	y	a	新會南合村
Ah Tag	何彩	59	1900	商	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Tai	溫奔尚	53	1899	農	y	1	新會王井頭村
Ah Tao	鐘阿柿	51	1898	農	-	-	新會南合村
Ah Wah	鐘華	50	1898	農	y	-	新會嶺崗
Ah Wane	鐘運	62	1891	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ah Wim	趙咏南	61	1893	農	y	1	新會舉頭鄉
Ah Wing	鐘大國	53	1891	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ah Wook	翁獲	58	1899	農	y	1	新會良德村
Ah Won	楊允	48	1901	農	y	2	新會仙洞村
Ah Yanley	趙舉	48	1900	農	-	1	新會舉頭村
Ah Yee Lep man	陳立滿	46	1897	工	-	-	新會旺冲村
Ah Yeong	鐘大轉	55	1895	農	y	1	新會城
Ah Yick	鐘啓盈	60	1892	商	y	2	新會嶺崗村
Ah Yon	鐘堯	65	1888	工	y	-	新會南合村
Ah Young	鐘阿養	64	1897	工	y	1	新會嶺崗村
Ah Yuen	趙源	47	1899	農	y	1	新會舉頭村
Bark Hoy	鐘大葵	55	1896	農	y	1	新會南合村
Cay Ming	趙啓明	57	1897	農	y	2	新會舉頭村

Chen Fany	陳恒	48	1901	工	-	-	新會旺興村
Chen Hing	陳係偉	62	1894	工	y	1	新會崖西坑
Chen Hon	陳漢	56	1896	農	y	3	新會高沙村
Chen Hoy	陳開	64	1899	工	y	3	新會坑頭村
Cheng Mee	陳美	61	1894	農	y	1	新會坑頭村
Cheong Daw	鐘做	65	1884	工	y	1	新會城青雲坊
Cheong Hong	鐘洪	61	1900	農	y	1	新會南莊永塘里
Cheong Jack	黃章澤	51	1898	農	y	2	新會京背村
Cheong Toon	鐘全	62	1887	工	y	2	新會嶺崗村
Cheong Wah	張慧山	15	1930	學生			新會崖西坑美里
Cheong Yee	張儀	55	1897	農	y	1	新會雙新沙富村
Chew Lee	趙仲利	73	1898	農	y	1	新會舉頭村
Chew Sing	趙成	58	1898	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Chew Wah Hing	趙華慶	51	1898	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Chew Wing	趙永	47	1899	農	y	4	新會舉頭村
Chew Yet	周義	70	1886	工	y	1	新會城
Chiew Yen	趙兆元	50	1899	農	-	-	新會舉頭村
Ching Loy	陳來府	60	1900	農	y	1	新會坑頭村
Chong Ah Yick	鐘大然	64	1891	商	y	1	新會南合村
Chong Han	鐘欣	48	1897	商	-	-	新會嶺崗村
Chong Kie Hang	鐘啓珩	68	1881	商	y	2	新會嶺崗村
C. Kim	鐘啓鎮	60	1892	商	y	1	新會南合村
Chew Yep	趙士葉	56	1901	工	y	1	新會舉頭村
Chew Ying	趙似	47	1899	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Chong Can	鐘勤	57	1896	農	y	2	新會南合村
Chong Pay	鐘培	49	1901	農	y	2	新會南莊村
Chong Wong	趙長旺	48	1897	農	y	4	新會舉頭村
Chuck Sing	陸亞深	61	1898	農	y	1	新會仙洞村
Chung Dee	鐘承湛	62	1893	農	y	1	新會南合村
Chung Hung	鐘杏	61	1894	農	y	1	新會富山村
Chung Koy	鄭凶煥	56	1893	農	y	1	新會城合隆坊
Coocy	鐘阿攜	56	1892	農	y	1	新會南合村

Crung Sang	李理鎮	63	1896	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Dao Lin	梁祖連	64	1897	農	y	2	新會南合村
Gearge Cheong	趙景祥	51	1898	農	y	2	新會舉頭村
Hing Kee	鐘凶基	56	1901	農	y	-	新會南合村
Ho Chee	何池	48	1900	農	y	3	新會南合村
Ho Wing Yen	何榮燕	58	1891	商	y	3	新會南合村
Ho Sun	何信	52	1895	農	y	2	新會南合村
Ho Yee Shing	何詒盛	55	1884	農	y	1	新會南合村
Ho Young	何楊	51	1901	農	y	2	新會南合村
Hoe Hay	許培	47	1898	工	y	3	新會城
J. A. Tang	鐘蒼	55	1891	農	y	2	新會南合村
Jae Gau	趙近	52	1898	農	-	-	新會舉頭村
James Hay	鐘啓雅	48	1901	工	2	6	新會南合村
J. C. Tan	鐘大葉	55	1886	商	y	3	新會嶺崗村
Jorge Yan	林遇	57	1900	工	y	1	新會江門
Joseph Tieg Han	鐘大雁	56	1899	工	y	2	新會南合村
Lang Too Hing	梁祖聘	71	1893	工	y	1	新會南合村
Lay Shing	余來	58	1900	農	y	1	新會基背村
Lee Chee	李池	62	1888	農	-	-	新會三村
Lee Die	李大	55	1896	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Lee Hon	李漢	54	1897	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Lee Hung	李理恒	66	1889	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Lee Lake	李美足	59	1900	農	y	2	新會三村
Lee Leong	李胄良	65	1897	工	y	1	新會三村
Lee Luing	石亞炯	55	1896	農	y	1	新會黃冲村
Lee Mee	李美	56	1899	農	y	2	新會田寮村
Lee Yoon	李然	59	1896	農	y	1	新會田寮村
Lee You	李耀	60	1886	農	y	2	新會田寮村
Lee Young	李濟壤	65	1891	工	-	2	新會三村鄉
O Chick	區赤	54	1901	農	y	1	新會白芬朗
Man Hong	鄒文洪	65	1899	農	y	2	新會長江村
Many Too	黃望謙	62	1892	農	y	2	新會京背村

Scar	鐘亞社	77	1879	工	-	-	新會嶺崗村
Shew Leen	趙麟	51	1896	農	y	1	新會皋頭村
Shing Dan	鐘承贈	59	1892	工	y	1	新會南合村
Sing Dick	鐘承藉	67	1881	工	y	2	新會南合村
Sing Gee	趙成志	56	1894	農	y	2	新會皋頭村
Sing Hop	鐘承合	60	1895	農	y	2	新會南合村
Sing Nung	鐘承孟	56	1897	工	y	1	新會南合村
Sing Key	鐘承祺	64	1895	工	y	2	新會南合村
Taming	譚香	74	1890	工	y	1	新會南坦村
Tan Yick	鐘大羽	55	1897	農	y	1	新會南合村
Tei Yam	鐘大任	59	1896	農	y	2	新會南合村
Tep He	鐘繩熙	49	1901	工	y	1	新會南合村
Tin Chung Wing	錢椿榮	51	1901	農	-	-	新會旺冲村
Tip Lee	鐘接利	56	1896	工	y	-	新會嶺崗村
Wan Duk	尹德	77	1881	工	-	-	新會木朗村
Wang	黃彪	52	1896	農	y	1	新會黃冲村
Wang Cheong	黃協民	52	1899	商	y	2	新會黃冲村
Wang Cheong Yee	黃燃	51	1901	農	y	1	新會黃冲村
Wang Chong	黃德任	66	1889	工	y	2	新會黃冲村
Wang Kan Jan	黃求濯	59	1896	農	y	1	新會黃冲村
Wang Nann	黃美了	64	1887	工	-	-	新會張村
Wang Quen	黃昆	73	1888	農	y	1	新會京背村
War Shing	趙煩俊	49	1899	農	y	3	新會皋頭村
War Sung	廖登女	53	1897	農	-	-	新會坑頭村
Wing Kwong	溫榮光	53	1896	農	y	1	新會王井頭村
Wing On	趙永安	48	1898	農	y	1	新會皋頭村
Wing Wah	鐘啓濯	64	1896	農	y	1	新會南合村
Won Yin Sing	溫振聲	49	1900	農	y	2	新會王井頭村
Wong Chew	黃周	47	1898	農	y	1	新會黃冲村
Wong Chung	黃祥	61	1888	農	y	1	新會黃涌鄉
Wong Fook	黃福	57	1901	農	y	3	新會黃涌村
Wong Toon	黃俊	61	1898	農	y	2	新會黃涌鄉

Wong Way	黃烈文	52	1898	農	y	-	新會黃冲村
Wong Yam	黃宗培	60	1896	工	y	1	新會麥田村
Willey Kee	陳基	49	1899	農	-	-	新會旺冲村
Willic Ho Yue	何叔封	16	1928	學生			新會南合村
Woon Yeu	溫振龍	49	1900	農	y	1	新會王井頭村
Yee Tong	黃如俊	48	1901	工	y	1	新會黃冲村
Young Chin	楊傳	57	1897	農	y	2	新會仙洞村
Young Song	楊雲雙	53	1898	農	y	2	新會仙洞村
You Wang	黃觀輝	49	1902	農	y	1	新會水背村

Kai Ping County 開平 43 people

Ah Dick	潘財積	64	1887	工	-	-	開平橋頭村
Ah Har	梁西豪	53	1900	商	y	2	開平才洞玉棠美
Ah Hong	謝阿桐	49	1898	商	y	2	開平潭邊南安里
Ah Loung	勞國球	50	1902	工	y	1	開平臺洞梨園村
Ah Min	胡持銘	53	1898	商	y	2	開平水滿村
Ah Pay	司徒培	60	1896	工	y	1	開平羊路回龍里
Ah Sam	司徒森	64	1898	農	y	3	開平龍田里
Ah Shoo	關國鐘	56	1896	農	y	1	開平赤坎牛路頭
Ah Tan	關 燦	50	1900	工	y	2	開平忠塘里
Ah Wao	謝 棖	63	1893	商	y	2	開平潭溪安民里
Ah Wing	謝永聰	59	1896	工	y	2	開平潭邊園
Ah Yaagk	謝亞毓	47	1901	商	y	2	開平潭邊
Ah You	謝 佑	71	1883	工	y	2	開平潭邊園蒼前村
Alex Shem	關國倚	38		商	-	-	Victoria 開平駝茨村
Andrew Jene	張 臻	63	1896	工	y	1	開平象南上村
Bwan Hay	關國準	73	1887	工	y	1	開平駝茨村
Chie Hung	朱始杏	61	1886	農	y	1	開平黃獅坑村
Dare Long	謝 龍	64	1882	農	y	2	開平三板步村
Dare Park	謝永壤	55	1900	農	y	-	開平天嶺村
Dar Turn	謝 燦	43	1901	商	y	1	開平潭溪安民里

Dick On	胡作璇	52	1899	商	y	2	開平紅滿村
Frank Hay	謝海	50	1901	商	y	2	開平潭邊圓村
Fun Kee	謝齊煥	67	1884	商	-	-	開平潭溪
George Way	謝華威	64	1888	工	y	1	開平木橋頭村
Hap War	梁亞有	47	1901	商	y	2	開平才洞玉棠美
Hop Sang	胡持欽	58	1896	農	y	2	開平紅滿村
Horald Shem	關國俐	36		商	-	-	Victoria
James Qwen	謝汝棠	46	1899	商	y	1	開平潭邊圓村
Jashua Cheong	張龍	60	1890	工	y	1	開平牛山柴嶺村
Jay Watt	謝活	52	1892	商	y	1	開平潭溪天嶺村
Jeasenph Jack	胡植邦	50	1898	農	y	2	開平芋良
Pan Chin	潘惠贊	70	1888	農	y	1	開平橋頭村
Quan Ham	關國佳	48	1901	工	y	2	開平圓村
Quan Leang Set	關崇椿	50	1901	商	y	6	開平圓村
Quan Sark	關灼	58	1898	農	y	1	開平駝衣洞
Simon Sun Tie	胡昌濟	57	1899	農	y	2	開平芋良村
Way Hin	謝維顯	58	1892	商	y	1	開平大湖塘村
Way Lee	謝金	61	1897	工	y	-	開平潭邊圓村
Wing Hor	謝永豪	61	1901	農	y	3	開平潭邊圓村
Woo Hang	胡鴻	69	1898	農	y	1	開平芋良高村
Woo You	胡昌熾	62	1900	農	y	1	開平芋良村
Yee Fatt	余發中	70	1885	農	y	2	開平金村
Yee Yep	余葉	56	1894	裁縫工	y	2	開平單紅口

Tai Shan County 臺山 37 people

Ah Hing	譚橋泰	41	-	工	y	1	臺山海宴丹堂北頭村
Ah Hong	黃亨	59	1892	農	y	2	臺山沙瀾海邊村
Ah Kee	伍時來	59	1899	農	y	1	臺山上澤村
Ah Kitt	陳典學	44	-	商	y	2	六村秀塾村
Ah Laue	劉學暖	60	1892	農	y	1	臺山坑口湖陽村

Ah Sing	阮賢仁	62	1895	工	y	2	臺山廣海奇石村
Andrew Fang	鄺修賢	52	1888	商	y	3	臺山沖雲墟
Bark Tang	伍柏松	64	1885	工	-	-	臺山牛角灘村
C.S. Yacklum	宋玉麟	47	1900	農	y	-	臺山廣海旗榮村
Chen Goey	陳 駒	64	1892	工	y	1	臺山總江村
Felix Wong	黃遠籍	48	1900	商	y	1	臺山松樹槐村
Ham Ling	譚 令	61	1902	工	y	2	海宴丹堂比頭村
Hem Cheong	秦 昌	33	1899	工	-	-	Carnarvon, W.A.
Henry Lowy	雷永鴻	50	1877	商	y	2	臺山
Lee An	李 安	48	1901	工	y	2	臺山獨登堡福田里
Lee June	李 長	51	1898	工	y	1	海宴鴨界地村
Lee Wah	李 和	60	1902	工	y	2	海宴鴨界地村
Lee Wood	李 活	74	1894	商	y	2	臺山沙瀾村
Leong Lung	雷學清	65	1896	農	y	-	臺山橋頭里
Non Kong	陳文昂	73	1882	工	y	2	臺山沖婁總江村
Pang Sie	彭 仕	51	1901	工	y	-	臺山甫草村
Say Wing	胡世榮	54	1900	農	y	2	廣海郊塢村
Sing Nee	梁盛美	64	1903	工	y	2	海宴鴨界地村
Tam Din	譚俊揚	64	1901	工	y	2	臺山白水東成村
Tam Him	譚 文	57	1901	農	y	2	臺山白水游魚村
Tam Wing	譚迪晉	53	1897	農	y	2	臺山白水東成村
Tam Wing	譚迪鏞	55	1896	工	y	2	臺山白水堡
Tom Boon	譚 均	67	1885	商	y	4	臺山白水堡堯平里
Tom Ching	譚 貞	52	1898	農	y	1	臺山東成村
Tom Foo	譚灼名	52	1900	農	y	2	臺山白水東成村
Tom Tong	譚 松	59	1890	工	y	2	海宴凌沖村
Tom Toy	譚 彩	52	1897	商	y	4	臺山白水堡堯平里
Took Goon Chun	陳福源	64	1885	工	y	1	臺山廣海河清里
Wang Shice Sue	黃兆獅	46	1899	工	y	5	臺山 水口村
Wang Kee	黃基泮	63	1912	工	y	1	臺山南坑山塘村
William Fang	鄺委林	47	1899	商	y	1	臺山沖雲龍村
Yen King	李 京	31	1900	工	y	-	臺山沖婁合安村

Hai Nan Qou Zhou 海南瓊州 13 people

Ah Fong	韓國豐	64	1881	工	y	1	文昌縣富宿村
Fan Ming Young	範明揚	60	1892	商	y	-	瓊州文昌復鳳村
Han Leattan	韓劉準	63	1888	工	y	1	文昌縣留昌村
Jac Sing	何敦深	66	1895	工	y	1	文昌良內村
James Lane	劉炎鑾	59	1897	工	y	-	文昌家禮坑村
Li Taon	黃大俊	57	1896	工	y	-	文昌理教昌村
Sawer Pang Wan	蔡邦鑾	62	1892	工	y	1	瓊州樂全青池榜村
Tay Ken Ket	洗干杰	56	1891	工	y	-	瓊山縣大福嶺村
Tom Foo Tong	符福宗	64	1890	工	-	-	文昌江湖村
Wang Dicken	王真簡	56	1894	工	y	1	瓊州樂全邁湯村
Wang John Tan	王運珊	68	1887	工	y	-	文昌文新墩村
William Ley	鄭俞啓	55	1893	工	-	-	瓊州東縣潮蘭村
Willie Say	符開子	62	1895	工	y	1	文昌昌洞村

Zhong Shan County 中山 8 people

Gee Chop	劉汝緝	50	1900	工	-	-	中山龍都龍頭環
Gum Yuen	阮金元	57	1900	商	y	4	中山龍都象角鄉
Hoy Poy	阮藹培	56	1893	商	y	6	中山龍都象角鄉
Mew Toy	阮妙彩	48	1901	工	y	2	中山良都竹秀園
Tam Kim	譚金	69	1883	工	y	2	中山崖口村
Wong Ahe	黃容葉	50	1897	工	y	2	中山長洲
Yen Gong	阮江	49	1899	工	y	-	中山龍都象角鄉
Yuen Baw	阮保	47	1901	工	y	4	中山西鄉區象角鄉

Yang Jiang and other counties in Canton 13 people

Ah Chong	何進	64	1893	工	-	-	陽江城
Wang On	黃安	70	1891	工	-	-	陽江禾蒼村

Long Fay	梁啓祥	57	1896	農	y	1	南海田心鄉
Lee Hing	李慶	57	1898	農	-	-	番禺珠江村
Jam Sing	曹容德	63	1887	工	-	-	番禺啞湖村
Ah Jack	李文托	64	1891	工	y	1	潮州新岡寨
J. Jone	劉子雲	58	1896	商	y	1	潮州大浦高庇村
Ho Fang Fatt	何同發	70	1886	工	y	-	四會福錄寨村
Tang Foo	周廷富	78	1871	工	-	-	增城雅瑤村
Ah Chong	李接鄰	63	1888	工	y	-	梅縣西箱葆村
Ah Wong	蔡旺	61	1891	工	-	-	東莞官蒼村
Leang Kow	梁恩球	73	1877	工	-	-	東邑中堂司寮度
Jimmy Here	趙承額	58	1897	工	-	-	潮州湖陽縣城
Fu Jian	福建	3 people					
Ah Hang	林洪蔭	73	1889	工	-	-	福建龍岩洲上坪王乾村
Ah Sang	吳亞生	63	1886	工	-	-	福建樟洲人
Ah Taw	陳如萍	63	1886	工	-	-	福建樟洲

Note:

O -- Occupation

M -- Married 'y' - yes ' ' - not record

C -- Children

農 -- Market gardener

工 -- Working man

商 -- Shopkeeper

學生 -- Student

Appendice 2**Australians of Chinese descent in Western Australia
who Served in World War Two**

Name	Rank	Re No.	Unit	Town
Chung, See Yaw			Army	Broome
Fong, Athol	Sergeant		Army	Geraldton
Fong, John	Private	W53898	Army 7 Fid Amb	Broome
Fong, Wing			Army	
Goey, Charles			Army	Perth
Hoy Poy, Bruce		4628	Army 5th Ack (HK vol)	Perth
Hoy Poy, Clyde	Corporal		Army 2/28 Batt	Perth
Hoy Poy, Renie			USAF (civ)	Perth
Hoy, Steve				
Lee Kong, Edward			AIF	Northam
Lee Kong, James			AIF	Northam
Lee Kong, John			AIF	Northam
Lee Kong, Sydney				Northam
Lee Kong, William			RAAF	Northam
Leewood, William (boy)			RAAF	Perth
Leicester, Bill				Carnarvon
Leicester, Doug				Carnarvon
Limon, Mervyn Oswald	LAC	29602	RAAF F/Rigger	
Lums, Hosanah (Ozzie)			Army	
Qwen, William	LAC		RAAF	
Quan Han, Ian			Army	
Quan Sing, Winston			RAAF	Carnarvon
Quan, Doreen	Corporal	108249	WAAAF	
Quan, Kathleen	ACW	177995	WAAAF	
Sue, Dave			AIF	Perth
Sue, Doug	LAC	81542	RAAF (35Squadn)	Perth
Sue, James Albert (Jim)	Sergeant		RAAF	Perth
Sue, (Rene)Uranie	ACW		WAAAF	Perth
Sue, Jack	Sergeant	83783	RAAF	Perth
Way, Bobby			Army	
Wong, Charles			AIF	
Wong, Peter			RAAF	
Yuen, Albert (Mick)	LAC	83636	RAAF (76Squadm)	Perth
Yuen, Roise	ACW	113549	WAAAF	Perth

Source: 'Honour List' compiled by Gilbert Jan and Kate Quan, and interview with Australians of Chinese descent in Western Australia.

Glossary

Pin Yin romanization
(or other)

Chinese

Ah Kuang	廣記
Ah Sam Co	三記
Ai Guo Bao	愛國報
Anren Chen	陳安仁
Baihua Ju	白話劇
Bao Huang Hui	保皇會
Bi Shang Liang Shan	逼上梁山
Bingnan Ye	葉炳南
C.B. Hie	安邑泰
Chang Luo	羅昌
Chao Zhou	潮州
Chen	陳
Chengqu Xie	謝承渠
Chen Wah Ho	何振華
Chee Pow	潘積
Chinese Chamber of Commerce	中華商會
Chinese Constitutionalist Party	中國憲政黨
Chinese Empire Reform Association	中國維新會
Chinese Nationalist Party	中國國民黨
Chinese Republic news	民國報
Chinese Times	民報
Chin Hop	振合
Chin Sing	陳勝
Chu Wo She	除倭社
Ci Xi	慈禧
Dafeng Huang	黃達峰
Da Tong Men	大同盟
Deng Liao	大登
Dianhong Li	李殿洪
Dong Guan	東莞
Dong Situ	司徒董
Dong Xie	謝棟
Duo Zi Duo Fu	多子多福
En Ping	恩平
Fa Ji Hao	發記號
Fu Jian	福建
Gao Tou Cun	高頭村
Gao Yao	高要
Guang Xi	廣西
Guang Xu	光緒
Guang Zhou	廣州
Gui Lin	桂林
Guoli Guan (Herald Shem)	關國
Guoqi Guan (Alex Shem)	關奇
Guoren	國人
Hao Hao	好好
Han	漢

Hanmin	漢民
Han Jian	漢奸
Hai Nan	海南
Hai Nan Qiong Hai Jule Bu	海南瓊海俱樂部
Hai Xie	海謝
Hap Lee	合利
Hap War	合和
He Nan	河南
Hee Kee & Co	喜記
Hongnan Wu (Nam Oon)	伍鴻南
Hongrong Chen	陳鴻榮
Hop Hing	合興
Hop Poy	葛培
Hua Li Hao	華利號
Hu Yang	湖陽
Hui Li	李輝
Ji Wang	黃江
Jiang Meng	江門
Jiuxia Chen	陳君
Jiwen Huang	黃文
J. W. Wing Ltd	榮記
Kai Ping	開平
Kcja	客家
Kuang Hong Sing	廣同盛
Kuang Li	廣利
Kuming	昆明
Kun Xie	謝昆
Leiwang Da	雷旺
Liang	梁
Liang Lan Xun	梁燾
Ling Mei	梅靈
Lizuo Chen	陳立
Long Yan Zhou	龍岩
Mai Zhuzi	賈豬仔
Mei Xian	梅縣
Mingyang Fan	饒明揚
Nan He Cun	南合村
Nan Jing	南京
Nan Hai	南海
Pan Yu	番禺
Qi Zhang	清賬
Qian Zhongshu	錢鐘書
Qichao Liang	梁啓
Qing	清
Qiong Dong	瓊東
Qiong Zhou	瓊洲
Qionyi Chen	陳瓊宜
Qiu Qing	求情
Qizhen Zhong (Kim Chong)	鐘啓鎮
Qun Xian Bi Ji	群賢畢集
Ranhe Hu	胡乃和
Ren Ru Fu Zhong	忍辱負重
Shang dong	山東
Sheng Zhu	朱勝
Shengcai Pan	潘盛財
Shoutian Li	李壽田
Si Hui	四會
Si Yi	四邑
Soon Lee	順利

Soong Quong Paul	廣新
Songguan Pan	宋廣
Song Jiu Ying Xin	宋舊迎
Tai Kongren	太空人
Tai Shan	臺山人
Tangren	唐人
Tong Men Hui	同盟會
Tuang Wah Times	東華
Wai Kuen Ma	馬惠昆
Wan Nin	萬寧
Way Lee	偉利
Wengcan Zhang	張文燦
Wing Hing	水興
Xi Xin Yan Jiu	喜新厭舊
Xi Zhou	西周
Xing Zhong Hui	興中會
Xia Chen	陳霞
Xianli Wang	黃靈立
Yuan Guan	關源
Yang Guiz'	洋鬼子
Yang Jiang	陽江
Ye Luo Gui Gen	葉落歸根
Yeren	野人
Yingmen Tam	譚英文
Yongmin Guan	關用敏
Yougong Huang (Yue Kung Wong)	黃右公
Yongshen Hao	永生號
Yongcong Xie	謝永惠
You Hao She	友豪社
Youwei Kang	康有為
Yu Chun Ji	余春記
Yu Jun Sheng	余鈞盛
Yuan	袁
Yuan Guan	關源
Zhang Zhou	樟州
Zhao	趙
Zeng Cheng	增
Zhong	鐘
Zhongguo Guomindang	中國國民黨
Zhonghua Gemindang	中華革命黨
Zhong Shan	中山
Zhu Jie Wei Nuc	助桀為虐
Zi Xiang Can Sha	自相殘殺
Zongquan Chen	陳宗

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中華會館會議記錄 *Minutes Books of the Chung Wah Association, 1909-1925.*

Minutes record in detail the activities of the Association from the beginning of its establishment in 1909-1925. It provides the Chinese association's form and functions.

普扶國民黨支部議場記錄冊 *Minutes of the Perth Branch of Guomindang* (4 March 1929-23 March 1930) Vol. 1, pp1-87.

中國國民黨西澳支部議場記錄冊 *Minutes of the Western Australia branch of Zhongguo Guomindang* (11 October 1931-20 November 1932) Vol. 1, pp1-46.

Minutes record a lot of details in the operation of the Perth Guomindang during 1929 and 1932. It gives helpful information on the functions and activities of the Perth branch of Guomindang.

民國二十年華僑登記存稿冊 1931年5月10日登記, *The Register of the Chinese in Western Australia on 10th May 1931*, Vol. 1.

It is a record of the Chinese in Western Australia in 1931. It contains Name in both Chinese and English, Age, Birth place in county (village), Resident place in Western Australia, Occupation, Marriage and the Year of coming to Australia.

There were 278 people who came from 16 counties and two provinces - Canton (廣東) and Fu Jian (福建). Among them, 161 were from Xin Hui (新會), 43 were from Kai Ping (開平) and 37 were Tai Shan (臺山), 13 were Qiong Zhou of Hai Nan (海南瓊州), 8 were Zhong Shan (中山). Others came from Yang Jiang, 2 (陽江), Pan Yu, 2 (番禺), Chao Zhou, 2 (潮州), Dong Guan, 2 (東莞), Nan Hai, 1 (南海), Si Hui, 1 (四會), Zeng Cheng, 1 (增城), Mei Xian, 1 (梅縣), Hu Yang, 1 (湖陽). People who were from Long Yan Zhou (龍岩州) and Zhang Zhou (樟州) of Fu Jian province (福建省) were only 3. Most of them were market gardeners. In the Register, 19 shops were given their names and addresses. It is an important document to show where the original of the Chinese in Western Australia came from.

普扶國民黨分部黨員經費部(民國十年新五月立) *Members Fees Book of the Perth branch of the Guomindang, May 1921* Volume 1.

It consists of 1) The alphabet of the Chinese Surnames (41 Surnames); 2) The name of members of the branch, 327 people; 3) The name of the members who paid annual fees, 100 people; 4) The name of members who paid various fees, 381 people. The fee pay was recorded 15 times, it included the Revolutionary army fund (650 pounds), Donations for the Buying of an airplane (327 pounds), the Annual member fee (1-2 pounds in 1921 and 2.2 pounds in 1922), some kinds of donations, such as shares and donation to Minbao (Chinese Republic News). The total amount of donation was 3345.3 Pounds sterling.

The member fees book shows how many members there were in the Perth branch and how much (often) the members contributed during 1921 and 1922. It is very helpful for the understanding of the Perth Branch of the Guomindang.

國民黨黨員登記表 *Register of Guomindang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) Members 1926-1927* Volume 1.

The register was recorded by alphabet of the Chinese name. 232 Chinese were registered. It includes Name, Age in the registering year, Birthplace (from which village and county in China), Occupation in Australia and the Year and Month of admission to the Party. The register was kept between 1926 and 1927. As there were no popular Chinese names of Li, Zhong, Chen and Huang, it might be assumed that there is another volume missing.

However, this Register provides the birthplace details that show which county the Chinese in Western Australia came from, which can hardly be found in other sources. In the Register, out of 232 people, 185 people came from Canton: 新會 (Xin Hui) 71, 開平 (Kai Ping) 61, 臺山 (Tai Shan) 32, 中山 (Zhong Shan) 6, 瓊州 (Qiong Zhou and others) 9, 南海 (Nan Hai) 3, 東莞 (Dong Guan) 2, 潮州 (Chao Zhou) 1; 2 people came from 廣西 (Guang Xi); and another 45 people did not give their birthplaces.

黨員審查表 (中國國民黨海外清黨委員會制) *The Form of the Party Member* (Made by the Committee of Overseas Investigation of the Zhongguo Guomindang), in Chung Wah Association, W.A.

There are 38 forms that show some details of the members of the Branch of Minzhui (民主露船分部): Name, Age, Birthplace, Living place, Occupation, The year and the location of joining Party and Recommended person (Sponsor). Each form had the person's photo. The members of the Branch were the Chinese seamen. Most of them came from Qiongzhou Wenchang of Hainan (海南瓊州文昌) and lived in Singapore. They joined the Party during 1926 and 1927 (20 people in 1926 and 8 people in 1927). Mingyang Fan (範明揚) had recommended 14 people for Party memberships. The forms had been checked and approved by the local Party committee in December 1927. The target of the purge was to clear out Chinese communists. These forms indicated how the Perth branch of Guomindang responded to the Nationalist government at Nanjing that was established on 18 April 1927, by Jiang Jieshi following a purge of Chinese Communists.

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The album keeps the records of the Chinese Nationalist Party Convention that was held on 26th December 1921 and 2nd January 1922 in Melbourne. The Perth branch of Guomindang sent their representative Dong Xie (謝棟) to the Convention. There is a list of 157 people of the Perth branch who donated to the building.

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